C LOUIS LEIPOLDT'S *THE VALLEY* — CONSTRUCTING AN ALTERNATIVE PAST?

by

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FOREWORD & ACKNOWLEGMENTS

The introduction to *The Valley* came from a visit to the farm Bushmans Kloof in the Cederberg, at the time owned by Mr Bill McAdam, when doing research there, for a manuscript. It began with a reading of the 1980 edition of *Stormwrack*, edited by Stephen Gray, with its 'Introduction' by Gray. Gray posed unanswered questions about the connection between Leipoldt's life and the text, which prompted curiosity and further investigation. The article written by Stephen Gray entitled 'Leipoldt's Valley Community: The Novelist as Archivist'[1] proved invaluable for the research undertaken in this thesis.

In 1999, whilst researching the BK manuscript in the Africana section of the J S Gericke Library at the University of Stellenbosch, I met Dr John Kannemeyer whom I know.[2] He very kindly gave me a copy of Chapter II of his raw manuscript for his proposed biography of C Louis Leipoldt, subsequently published as *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal.*[3] The reading of Kannemeyer's chapter further enhanced my interest in C Louis Leipoldt and for this I am indebted to John Kannemeyer, for this kind act, and I wish to state that it greatly inspired me for further work on Leipoldt.

Thanks go to Mrs Hannah Botha, at the time, of the J S Gericke Library of the University of Stellenbosch, for her assistance when I was researching the BK manuscript as well as to Mimi Seyffert, Head: Special Collections at the Library as well as Lynne Fourie who assisted with the Preller research. Thanks are extended to Professor Marius Leibold, formerly of the University of Stellenbosch, a person with great experience in research, for encouraging me and ensuring that I understood that my thesis should contain the 'golden thread'. Also, thanks to Dr Keith Hunt, formerly of Rhodes University, for his encouragement and making sure that I fully understood that a project of this nature would require great commitment and hard work, especially towards the end of the process, when finally 'putting it together'. To be forewarned in this way certainly forearmed me for the task that lay ahead. Professor 'J P' van Niekerk, formerly of the University of Cape Town, has been a source of great encouragement, and explained to me how one day my mind would change from the

[1]Stephen Gray, 'Leipoldt's Valley Community: The Novelist as Archivist', *Social Dynamics*, 10(1), pp. 46 – 51, 1984.
[2]Subsequent to writing the Foreword to this thesis, John Kannemeyer died on 28 December 2011, precisely 132 years after the birth of C Louis Leipoldt (28 December 1880).
[3]J C Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal,* Tafelberg, Cape Town, 1999.

experience of writing up a thesis of this nature. Dr Eric Woods, a close friend, encouraged me to absorb as much as I could. Cape food historian Peter Veldsman is thanked for his guidance in matters pertaining to Leipoldt — Peter's conversation on the topic has always been incredibly helpful as he so freely and kindly shared his views on aspects of the life of C Louis Leipoldt, with me. Psychologist Dr Glenda Cleaver's insights into the way Leipoldt might have reversed the roles of certain of his characters in *The Mask,* have proved most reassuring and I thank her for the conversations I could have with her, a long-standing friend.

This thesis was made possible through the kind donation of books by Raymond Danowski; and the generosity of Mr J J M (Boetie) van Zyl. Raymond Danowski gave up much of his time in conversation and has been sending books for my studies, and a long time before that. This act of generosity has stimulated much thought across many fields, especially in the philosophy of history. Mr J J M (Boetie) van Zyl sponsored my MA studies at the University of Stellenbosch, entitled 'The Historiographic Metafiction of Etienne van Heerden' and also gave me financial assistance in the early stages of my research, for this thesis. The school where I currently teach, Diocesan College, awarded me a bursary and so did the University of Pretoria, and for this I am most grateful.

Michael King, my Deputy-Principal at school, assisted me with ideas over many sessions of conversation about the topic for my research and such times were immensely meaningful. Thanks go to history honours graduate Fiona Mallett who listened to my reasoning for certain of the ideas I had for the thesis and these discussions led to further research, and thus were immensely helpful. She very kindly proof-read my thesis and in this way her assistance has been greatly appreciated. From the outset, Professor Stuart Whittaker has shown a great deal of interest in my studies, and gave me practical advice to ensure they stayed on track and all along, supported by Dr Judy Whittaker. I am indeed greatly indebted to both of them for their friendship, guidance and encouragement.

Professor J C (Kay) de Villiers gave immense moral support and in several telephone conversations, ensured he would always leave you with one or two important leads to pursue. My close friend, the acclaimed author, Etienne van Heerden, gave constant moral support in the most amazing way, and so did Kaia van Heerden. Marthinus van Bart assisted by sending related articles. Nikki Gerhardi greatly assisted me with the technical side of compiling

footnotes and the table of contents and with setting up the bibliography and in so doing improved my electronic editing skills.

Professor Karen Harris of the University of Pretoria is greatly thanked for her encouragement and giving me the self-belief. I wish to express my gratitude to one of my two promoters Professor Andries Wessels who read my thesis and gave invaluable and insightful comments. His meticulous attention to detail was most helpful and contributed to a more polished final product. The way he shares ideas is appreciated. Professor Lize Kriel my supervisor who lived through the study is greatly thanked. This thesis would not have been possible without her vision. She was always 'on the money' in terms of her guiding comments.

Mr Dirk Muller is thanked for introducing me to his father Mr Billy Muller whom I interviewed at age 101. Billy was a personal friend of Louis Leipoldt, and a regular visitor at 'Arbury', Leipoldt's home in Kenilworth. Dirk is thanked for sending me a picture from his personal family collection, featuring Louis Leipoldt with members of the distinguished Van Zijl family of Clanwilliam — one of the persons in the picture is Hendrik Van Zijl, Judge President of the Cape Supreme Court, and another his son Helm who later also was President of the Cape Supreme Court. Professor Wium van Zyl is thanked for sending me articles relating to Leipoldt, and Mr Piet Westra formerly Director of the South African National Library, is thanked for his encouragement. The Bergh families of the Cederberg, Martin and Yola, John and Sue and their sons Oloff, Robert, Ross and Thomas, are thanked for their hospitality whenever I stayed on their farms, which appear somewhere in Leipoldt's fiction; as are Robert and Anne Paterson, of Clanwilliam, who took me on a discovery trail to detect the farm of the character Everardus Nolte. I would like to thank the staff of the Leipoldt Collection at the University of Cape Town Archives and Manuscripts, for their amazing assistance; Lesley Hart, Isaac Ntabankulu, Bobby Eldridge and André Landman have been very helpful. Trudy Hoefnagels a colleague at the school where I teach greatly assisted with some of the Preller translations from Afrikaner-Dutch to English.

I thank Diana Madden of the Brenthurst Library for granting permission to use the references from the Reitz manuscript. Great thanks go to Michael Reitz, the grandson of Deneys Reitz, for allowing me access to his grandfather's unpublished manuscripts and also for the long telephone conversations about related topics, for instance that his grandfather's book had sold

particularly well.[4] Thanks go to Marié Coetzee, Head of the Archives and Special Collection at the University of South Africa, as well as Annette le Roux, the Archivist. The Library Staff at the Adler Museum of Medicine in Johannesburg, the Library Staff especially Alett Nell and and Elsa Coertse at the University of Pretoria and the staff at the National Archives in Pretoria are thanked for their kind assistance. I would like to thank David and Marlene McCay, Christo and Caro Wiese and Japie Basson[5], as well as Dr Ton Vosloo for the continued interest in my studies. Finally, I should like to thank Riaan Oppelt for sharing some thoughts about *The Valley* and sending me unpublished material to read, which greatly stimulated my interest, for instance, 'C. Louis Leipoldt and the Role of the "Cape Malay" in South African Cookery.'[6] The acclaimed British photographer Jennifer Gough-Cooper is thanked for her inspiration, in the form of many conversations, which took place around the dinner table on the beautiful farm, Nooitgedacht[7] in the Karoo. The renowned international architect and artist Pancho Geddes, over many years, has always been a great source of inspiration, and has probably been the greatest influence for me to try to conceptualize aspects of Leipoldt's life, the writing of which has emerged in the words of this thesis, through careful research — producing an alternative history (and form of history).

[4]Michael Reitz in a conversation with me on 9 July 2008.
[5]Mr Japie Basson, a retired South African politician, passed away on 8 August 2012.
[6]Riaan Oppelt, 'C. Louis Leipoldt and the Role of the "Cape Malay" in South African Cookery', *Journal of Literary Studies*, 28(1), March 2012, pp. 51 – 68.
[7]The meaning of 'Nooitgedacht' is 'who would ever have thought …' and so in a similar way, one could say, who would ever have thought that a study such as this thesis would one day come to fruition.

KEY TERMS

Cultural memory
Experientiality
Herbartian apperceptive masses
Historiographic metafiction
Intellectual pluralism
Parallel processes
Political liberalism
Presence
Reception ethics
Representationalism
Side-shadowing
White's formalism

ABSTRACT

The South African author C Louis Leipoldt is known as an Afrikaans poet and as one of the 'Driemanskap' with Celliers and Totius. Together with Eugène Marais, they wrote the first serious Afrikaans literary poetry in the early decades of the Twentieth Century. The 'Driemanskap', grouped together for its clear national(ist) thrust, is well-known as part of the Tweede Afrikaanse Taalbeweging not only for celebrating the universal effects of nature but also for extolling the virtues of forgiveness after the South African War. Apart from his extensive canon of Afrikaans literature and a sizable discourse in the culinary field, not much is known about The Valley, *Leipoldt's so-called 'English' novels written in the late 1920s and early 1930s in English, a language he was equally at home in. The titles of these novels making up* The Valley *trilogy are* Gallows Gecko, Stormwrack *and* The Mask. *Despite several efforts to have the novels published with leading publishing houses in both Britain and the United States of America, both during and after his lifetime, the three 'English' novels of C Louis Leipoldt remained unpublished for 69 years. It was in 2001 that for the first time they appeared unedited in a compendium volume. Prior to 2001, two of the novels were published −in 1980, the year of the centenary of Leipoldt's birth, an abridged edition of* Stormwrack *appeared, edited by Stephen Gray and published by David Philip, Cape Town. It was re-published by Human & Rousseau in 2000. An abridged edition of* Gallows Gecko *appeared in 2001, under the title* Chameleon on the Gallows *which the editor Stephen Gray explains he changed for stylistic reasons.*

Leipoldt uses the form of historical fiction in his trilogy as a way of conveying historical meaning by relating the chronicle (1820 – 1930) of the place he calls the Valley, recognizable as Clanwilliam. Initially, the Valley is at peace and is sketched in its idyllic state. After the Jameson Raid of 1895, the prospects of the South African War become a reality for the inhabitants of the Cederberg as they are torn apart by their emotions, feelings and loyalties. The course of events drastically changes when war finally comes to the District. Discontinuity and change is a strong theme in the novels. Eventually the inhabitants of the Valley find that the former, respectful relations, based on tradition and tolerance, have given way to sectarian interests. This changes the social fibre of the once idyllic environment. The Valley *is a lamentation of lost opportunities for a culturally unified South Africa. Its voice is one of moderateness and is inclusive for all South Africans, addressing race relations as a theme as well as decrying sectionalism. In the light of this, it is argued that Leipoldt is revealed as a political liberal and cultural pluralist. This can be heard through the voices of the characters in* The Valley *and seen by the way Leipoldt meant the events in his fiction to serve as an allegory for the way he saw South Africa emerging at the time. He was writing against the Nationalists, particularly against the narrative of Gustav S Preller, who spent his working life constructing a v*olksgeskiedenis *that resulted in a significant public history that dominated Afrikaner historical thinking from* circa *1905 to 1938. In this sense, it is argued,* The Valley *is an alternative history to the dominating Preller historiography, and because it is in the form of narrative/historical fiction, it can also be seen as an alternative form of history, to be read against certain theoretical texts, without in any way detracting from the voices of criticism agains deconstructivist history.*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

LITERATURE SURVEY

> Historical fiction is never really about *who* any given historical figure actually *was*, but with who we are now and what it's possible for us to become — or what we might want to avoid at all costs.
> — Dr Jeanne Reames.[1]

1.1 – INTRODUCTION

C Louis Leipoldt is well known as an Afrikaans poet canonized in the Afrikaans literary system, as one of the early Driemanskap of Afrikaans poetry, for his poem *Oom Gert Vertel* (1911). The Leipoldt discourse in English is virtually non-existent, academically speaking, although a sizable popular discourse has developed around Leipoldt as a culinary figure.[2] Whilst this thesis concentrates on the value of Leipoldt's so-called 'English' novels one should not lose sight of the fact that in the first place he was a laureate author who twice received the highest award for Afrikaans literature — the Hertzog Prize for his volume of poetry *Skoonheidstroos* (1934) and for two of his dramas *Die Laaste Aand* and *Die Heks* (1944).[3] In this respect, the following words by literary historian Peter Merrington about Leipoldt's 'variations' regarding his allegiances, is important:

> While he began his literary career as a young man with moving and significant accounts of atrocities committed against the Dutch 'Cape rebels' in the South African War of 1899 – 1902, and while much of his lyrical poetry is quintessential to the Afrikaner national canon, his allegiances were far more complex and varied.[4]

Little was known about Leipoldt's English novels until the abridged versions of *Stormwrack*[5] and *Gallows Gecko* of which the name was changed to *Chameleon on the Gallows* by Stephen Gray[6], appeared, and since then the unedited, complete and final manuscripts of

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[1]Dr Jeanne Reames, Martin Professor of European History in the Department of History, University of Nebraska at Omaha, email to me dated 16 July 2011 (mreames@mail.unomaha.edu).
[2]Riaan Oppelt, 'C. Louis Leipoldt and the Role of the "Cape Malay" in South African Cookery', *Journal of Literary Studies*, 28(1), March 2012, pp. 51 – 68, wrote: 'Leipoldt regularly wrote about food and culinary traditions in South Africa and used his knowledge of local cuisine to argue against notions of "authentic Afrikaner dishes", instead insisting that the earliest authorities behind original South African dishes came from the "Cape Malay" population of the Western Cape.
[3]Ds. Zach Blomerus recently translated Leipoldt's *Die Heks* into English for his production at St Cyprians Grammar School in Kimberley. The play was performed over the weekend of 17/18 May 2012 at the school.
[4]Peter Merrington, 'C. Louis Leipoldt's "Valley trilogy" and Contested South African Nationalisms in the Early Twentieth century', *Current Writing*, 15(2), 2003, p. 33.
[5]C Louis Leipoldt, *Stormwrack* (ed. Stephen Gray), David Philip, Cape Town, 1980. The TS for this is in BC94 A7.13.1 (Jagger).
[6]C Louis Leipoldt, *Chameleon on the Gallows* (ed. Stephen Gray), Human & Rousseau, Cape Town, 2000.

The Valley were published in a single volume in 2001. In addition, *Gallows Gecko* (2007), *Stormwrack* (2007) and *The Mask* (2006) have been separately published.

1.2 – AIM

C Louis Leipoldt wrote *The Valley* against the unfolding dialectic of liberal and conservative forces that were shaping South African history at the time of the 1920s. The three novels, albeit fiction, take a particular line — anti-Great Trek, anti-nationalist, pro-reconciliation, finding common ground rather than focussing on exclusivity. It is argued that firstly, *The Valley* is an alternative history to the narrative of the journalist Gustav S Preller through the way he constructed a *volksgeskiedenis*, that became the dominating public Afrikaner historiography from *circa* 1905 to 1938. It is argued that this fundamental historiography is the summative, contrary evidence at the end of the full sweep of Leipoldt's *The Valley*. Secondly, it is argued that *The Valley* can serve as an alternative *form* of history to *standard* works of history such as those by Ross, Keegan, Dubow and Legassick and can extend the scope and ambit of the historical field. Furthermore, whilst *The Valley* is read against works of theory of pioneer thinkers Ricoeur and White, leading scholar Ankersmit, and less known authors in the field, Runia and Grethlein, one should nevertheless not lose sight of the voices of serious criticism against postmodernism, such as those of Chris Lorenz, Eric Hobsbawm, G G Iggers and Richard Evans. It stands to reason that knowledge of a certain literary history or historical fiction does not imply actual knowledge of a certain historical topic or historical period. In addition the works of, *inter alia*, Aleida Assmann, Ann Rigney, Astrid Erll *et al* should be noted for newer trends which engage in recent developments in historical representation and the social and cultural relevance of historical consciousness.

Leipoldt's *The Valley* is a collection of three independent yet closely related novels of historical fiction. The fictitious characters are drawn from real people that Leipoldt either knew himself, or knew about at second hand or third hand.[7] As characters in the fiction, they constantly take an anti-Trek stance, comment on the value of local, deep tradition and discuss the need for tolerance and respect. They argue that an absence of good values and the end to tradition can lead to partisan feelings and cause a community to degenerate over generations. *The Valley* chronicles approximately one hundred years of history in the District, the Valley and the Village although, as one can imagine with historical fiction, this does not necessarily

[7]C Louis Leipoldt, 'Clanwilliam: Herinneringe aan 'n Ou Dorpie', *Die Huisgenoot*, 5 November 1926.

occur on a rigorously historical basis in the novels. Gustav S Preller's public *volksgeskiedenis*, which celebrates the Afrikaner's Voortrekker history, covers more or less the same period (*circa* 1830s to the 1930s). To Preller, the trekkers' actions are seen as heroic, as they moved away from the Cape into wide-open spaces in the face of what he saw as impending danger from the black people, using his carefully researched historical material from which to build a Voortrekker historiography.

However, it is argued that not only is *The Valley* an alternative to the Preller historiography, it can also serve as an alternative form of history, different in nature to the fully researched, 'first referenced' retrospective kind. Acclaimed South African author Stephen Gray has discussed one of Leipoldt's poems with a historical setting[8] to illustrate historical fiction as a form of relating what happened in the past, with further, related references to, and descriptions of, 'the project which occupied him [Leipoldt] through the late 1920s and into the 30s, the writing of the 'Valley' trilogy.'[9] In this light, the following from Gray is noted:

> The historical novelist may create the illusion that he or she writes history *per se* for the sake of history (this type of false claim is maintained in endless blurbs), but for the novelist his or her contemporaneous audience is always more of a priority than any empirical research.[10]

A further point from Gray is noted viz. that the novel can be seen 'as a vehicle for conveying broad social scenes acted on by the impact of historical change.'[11] Thus, *The Valley* explains the changes in the historical and social development as experienced by the community of Clanwilliam[12], the place of Leipoldt's youth. On 30 July 1901, whilst still working in Cape Town, Leipoldt penned the following poem under the pseudonym 'F.W.B' entitled 'The Executions in Cape Colony – A Fragment':

> The gibbet and the grave gave life, and will
> Give life again to those that strive and strain
> For freedom and its cause; nor strive in vain
> Those whose desires need force and cords to kill.
> The thing is done; or right or wrong 'tis done,
> And only the remembrance shall endure.
> But not the memory of a wrong shall stand
> More firm or rooted faster or more sure.

[8]C Louis Leipoldt, Poem XXVIII in *Dinsdagaand* (1920) in *Versamelde Gedigte* (ed. J C Kannemeyer), Tafelberg, Cape Town, 1980, pp. 92 – 95.
[9]Stephen Gray, 'Leipoldt's Valley Community: The Novelist as Archivist', *Social Dynamics*, 10(1), 1984, p. 50.
[10]*Ibid*., p. 51.
[11]*Ibid*., p. 47.
[12]The place in Leipoldt's fiction is recognizable as Clanwilliam.

> And it shall serve to keep this dismal land
> More dismal till the final aim is won.[13]

This poem illustrates a sense of dynamic change, also a theme of *The Valley* in the way the tradition once found in the old-world families, now gives way to sectionalism in the community. In this sense, it might be possible to call *The Valley* South Africa's own *I Ching.*[14] This idea of change is nowhere better borne out than on the final page of *The Mask*. The Valley is changed from its former idyllic, bucolic setting. It is somewhere in the late 1920s or early 1930s and Mr Mabuis, an expatriate living in Argentina, whose ancestors were among the foremost farmers of the Valley, is now visiting the Valley on a return visit and re-living his memories. He and Santa, the vociferous young nationalist resident in the Village, are engaged in a range of polemical discussions about issues in South African history such as the language and franchise questions, and the way the Dutch Reformed Church's role has been inimical to culture. Mabuis is fairly well versed in Serbian history, from his travels there (reminiscent of Leipoldt travelling through the Balkans in 1912) and consequently was able to make some comparisons between the two countries. But before Mabuis returns to his country Argentina, he leaves a wedding gift for the newly married couple, Santa and Eric van Deren, with the idea that it should, for them, serve as a memento of the past:

> Santa opened the parcel on her return from the Strand, and found an antiquated silver frame, tarnished with age.
>
> 'I send you,' wrote the expatriated one, 'what I have reason to believe is something that belonged to my family in the dim past. It may remind you of our drive among the sorrels; it will, at any rate, remind you of what the past was for some of us, and of the obligations which we owe it.'
>
> 'Oh, I don't want to be reminded of the past, Eric dear,' Santa said to her husband, as she placed the frame on the table. 'The future is before me. Mr Mabuis did say such disturbing things.'
>
> 'I don't think he wants to disturb us,' Eric replied thoughtfully, 'but he means the same sort of thing Aunt Gertrude has in mind, and your mother, my dear. Shall we run out

[13]C Louis Leipoldt under the pseudonym, 'F.W.B.' entitled 'The Executions in Cape Colony – A Fragment' in *Songs of the Veld and Other Poems* with the Introduction by Marthinus van Bart, Cederberg Publishers, 2008, p. 44; based on *Songs of the Veld and Other Poems* first published by New Age Press in London in 1902. The poem has a very similar thrust to the poem 'Vergewe en vergeet' by Totius (J D du Toit), with Leipoldt, a member of the 'Driemanskap.'

[14]*I Ching* ('Book of Changes') translated by Richard Wilhelm and rendered into English by Cary F Baynes, with the forward by C G Jung, Penguin Books, 2003. The book is based on the ideas that there is a dynamic balance of opposites, whereby the evolution of events is seen as a process; and that there is the acceptance of the inevitability of change. This can be likened to the concept of Impermanence in Buddhism which Leipoldt was interested in and would have known of.

> and see them? They are waiting outside, and Uncle Jerry is burning to show us his tobacco plantation.'[15]

In *The Valley*, Leipoldt was writing from an alternative perspective, very much from a Cape and South African 'loyal-unionist' point of view in the context of the period of 'Closer Union' to the British Empire.[16] At the same time, from a broader cultural perspective, he was also writing to promote reconciliation, forgiveness and forgetting after the tragedy of the South African War of 1899 – 1902.[17] Against this Gustav Preller was propagating a history with the intention of constructing an Afrikaner *volksgeskiedenis*. In *The Valley*, the character of Santa represents the new generation, concerned about her own political and other interests that are so different from her mother's traditional past and noble virtues of tolerance and respect held up as dear and lasting characteristics among the more well-established Dutch-Afrikaner families of the District. In *The Mask*, Leipoldt mocks Santa and her anti-English, republican ideals through the voice of the character Mabuis III, showing his disdain for the narrow nationalism propagated by writers such as Gustav Preller. Leipoldt is commenting on what is 'puzzling in the relations between the races'[18] and it is possible that he is using the voice of Mabuis III to explain allegorically how the society of the Valley was changing, also for South Africa.

1.3 – THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

One aim of the thesis is to view *The Valley* as an alternative to the Preller discourse. The second aim is to see *The Valley* as a possible, alternative ***form*** of history (reading of the past) as historical narrative. For this reason the novels are read against works of historical theory. Hard to ignore for such a study is the pioneer in the field of the role of narrative in the philosophy of history, the American medieval scholar-turned-literary critic, Hayden White. White's view is that because the past is not knowable, rhetorical construction is justified. We get to know the past through deferred meaning, derived through the traces (interpretation) that we emplot in a story (narrative – representation). The 'new wave' of intellectual and cultural historians, Hayden White and leading scholar and philosopher of history

[15]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 673.
[16]See L M Thompson's account in Chapter II entitled 'The Impulse towards Union' in which he discusses the initiative taken by the Kindergarten, and the South African Response, towards closer Union — L M Thompson, *The Unification of South Africa: 1902 – 1910*, Oxford University Press, London, 1960.
[17]Peter Merrington, 'Carrying the Torch: Dorothea Fairbridge and the Cape Loyalist Imagination', Paper presented at the University of Pretoria, 2002, www.childlit.org.za/KonfBoerMerrington.html.
[18]BC94 A7.7 (Jagger).

Frank Ankersmit place the emphasis on form **and** content of the historical work, for historical understanding. Alun Munslow, a proponent of White, recognizes 'the rediscovery in the past 22 years of the importance of narrative (referring to White) as an access to the tell-able worlds of the past (which) is very much … the result of White's purposeful and formalistic rhetorical constructionism.'[19]

The Valley is based on historical events and the characters in it are drawn from real persons and based on types such as Leipoldt's 'Oupa' who surfaces as a character in the first of the novels, *Gallows Gecko*, as the wise cleric Pastor Johann von Bergmann. The story begins with the time of the Dutch farmers living in the Valley during the British Occupation. The arrival of the English[20] settlers in 1820 changes the dynamic as the Dutch element comes to accept its new neighbours, a point that can be supported by the following account reflecting Leipoldt's belief that culturally the two groups were compatible:

> Afrikanders and British are not so far removed from each other culturally as to admit of the subject being treated from opposite aspects. Their association in South Africa has been too close for that. The cultural development of each has indeed lain long lines of its own; but the one has so markedly influenced the other that it is possible to recognise, even at the present stage [written between 1926 – 1936], the beginnings of a national South African culture that is assimilating to itself the best and most lasting characteristics of the cultural development of each section, fashioning from them a culture as representative of the country as that which is being evolved in almost analogous circumstances in Canada.[21]

White's theory that a text can be 'examined for its possibilities of meaning'[22] (other ways to the past), in contrast to 'modernist historians which incline them (methodological aims) towards the ultimate viability of correspondence between evidence and interpretation …'[23] makes it possible to examine *The Valley* as a work of historical fiction. This claim is further

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[19]Alun Munslow in http://www.history.ac.uk/resources/e-seminars/munslow-paper.
[20]See Andreas Bester's column 'Op die Voorgrond' entitled 'Clanwilliam hou sy veldblomskou nou in die historiese N G Kerk' in *Die Burger*, 2 September 1995 for a brief description of some of the Irish families who came to settle there in 1820.
For a comprehensive study of the topic of the Irish settlers at Clanwilliam in 1820, see G B Dickason, 'Irish Settlers to the Cape: History of the Clanwilliam 1820 Settlers from Cork Harbour', A. A. Balkema, Cape Town, 1973. Leipoldt placed English characters (and not Irish) an example of which is an actual resident of Clanwilliam, Charles Montague-Fryer, around whom he constructs the English gentleman, Andrew Quakerley (the acknowledged reference to this point is made elsewhere in this thesis).
[21]C Louis Leipoldt, Chapter XXXII of *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Volume VIII, 'South Africa, Rhodesia and the Protectorates', A P Newton & E A Nenians (General Editors), E A Walker (Advisor in South Africa), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1936, p. 844.
[22]Alun Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, Routledge, London and New York, 1997, p. 16.
[23]*Ibid*.

supported by Alun Munslow's explanation that the new historicism, 'like deconstructive history, is built on assumptions that directly challenge the empiricist paradigm.'[24]

These statements as well as the point that 'because there is no direct way in which historians can acquire first-hand historical knowledge'[25] provide an opportunity to view fictional texts in a way that is similar to viewing historical texts. Furthermore, one can assume that 'history as a literary form is about the unique and contingent event' which means that 'the real nature of causality must consequently always remain unresolved.'[26] In the light of these assumptions, it is argued, it may be possible to examine historical fiction as an alternative way to the past, although the voices of criticism against the deconstructivist/narrativist paradigm must also be heard.

The view of Munslow that 'the distinction between cultural history and other literary disciplines has disappeared under new historicist thinking about the conventions underpinning the representation of factual as well as fictional texts'[27] thus opens up the possibility of an 'analysis of the form of history's written form'.[28] When we analyse emplotment and style as in fictional literature, we can also do this to the historical text, and to the sources, so that 'the narrative form of explanation is now redeemed as a central feature of historical enterprise, and the notional distinction between historical and literary language disappears'.[29]

In addition to Munslow's point that historical 'facts' are constructed artefacts, the following point from Nancy Partner is that they (facts) are 'no different in cognitive origin than any other made thing of fiction'.[30] In some cases, on the topic of history and fiction, it might even be that E M Forster's words, 'In this direction fiction is truer than history, because it goes beyond the evidence and each of us knows from his own experience that there is something beyond the evidence'[31] ring true.

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[24]Alun Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, Routledge, London and New York, 1997, p. 31.
[25]*Ibid*.
[26]*Ibid*.
[27]*Ibid*.
[28]*Ibid*.
[29]*Ibid*., p. 32.
[30]Adam Bencard, 'Life Beyond Information: Contesting Life and the Body in History and Molecular Biology', in Susanne Bauer and Ayo Wahlberg (eds.), *Contested Categories: Life Sciences in Society*, Ashgate, Farnham, 2009, p. 142.
[31]E M Forster, *Aspects of the Novel*, (1927), reprinted by Harmondsworth, London, 1962 and 1990, pp. 69 – 70.

1.4. – CONTEXTUALIZING LITERATURE

This section examines pioneering and leading, as well as less well-known, philosophers of history, and also newer trends in the field of historical representation. At the same time, it is acknowledged that the voices of serious criticism against this postmodernist and deconstructivist paradigm need to be heard, such as the voices of Chris Lorenz, Eric Hobsbawm, G G Iggers, and most notably Richard Evans in *In Defence of History.*

1.4.1 – WORKS OF A THEORETICAL NATURE AGAINST WHICH *THE VALLEY* CAN BE READ

A classic work in the field of the philosophy of history is the pioneering thinker, Hayden White's *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-century Europe*.[32] White explains that historians take events from the past and construct a story in a narrative form. The story is made through the arrangement of events in a specific order, relating what happened, including some and excluding other detail and then stressing some detail more than other detail. White's model is important for *The Valley* as a possible, alternative form of history.

Philosophers of history Nancy Partner,[33] Richard Vann[34] and Ewa Domanska[35] have taken up the cudgels for White's narrativism and Alun Munslow remains primary for an understanding of White's historical representation. Munslow proclaims 'at its most basic [level] White maintains [that] historical narrative cannot carry the reality of the past because its story form is not discovered, but imposed by the historian.'[36] Thus, according to Munslow, 'the genuine nature of history can only be understood when it is viewed not as an objectivised empiricist enterprise, but rather as a literary project which must self-reflexively take account of the imposition by historians of a particular narrative form on the past.'[37] Munslow concludes that White's challenge to narrative as a distinct form of historical understanding poses the

[32]Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe,* Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1973.
[33]Nancy Partner, 'Hayden White: The Form of the Content', *History and Theory*, 37(2), 1998, pp. 162 – 172; and Nancy Partner, 'Hayden White (and the Content and the Form and Everyone Else) at the AHA', *History and Theory*, 36(4), Theme Issue, 1997, pp. 102 – 110.
[34] Richard T Vann, 'The Reception of Hayden White', *History and Theory*, 37(2), 1998, pp. 143 – 161.
[35]Ewa Domanska, 'Hayden White: Beyond Irony', *History and Theory*, 37(2), 1998, pp. 173 – 181.
[36]Alun Munslow, 'Deconstructing History'; http://www.history.ac.uk/resources/e-seminars/munslow-paper.
[37]*Ibid*.

question most recently addressed by historian Robert Berkhofer, when he enquires whether historians re-tell the story of the past, or impose a story on it.[38]

However, there are criticisms of White's representationalism. Philosopher of history Eelco Runia argues that whilst White's theory of representation has been successful over a period of twenty years, 'by now it has lost much of its vigor and it lacks explanatory power when faced with recent phenomena such as memory, *lieux de mémoire*,[39] remembrance, and trauma.'[40] A way forward for 'representationalism' according to Runia, is to argue for the 'presence paradigm' which is the way the past is made present in the present and the notion that metonymy is a metaphor for discontinuity, or put another way, the entwining of continuity and discontinuity is exposed by metonymy as presence through the unconscious enactment of the past event.[41]

Leading scholar and philosopher of history, F R Ankersmit, appeals to Runia's notion of so-called 'parallel processes' in order to analyse this variant of historical representation.[42] These are described as enactments not as much as *in vitro*[43] representations but as *in vivo*[44] interactions.[45] It is suggested that this notion of 'parallel processes' ('the unintended ripple of subconscious processes')[46] is to be found in the re-enactment of aspects of Leipoldt's own life as expressed in the text through some of his characters in *The Valley* for instance the role of unconditional love in *The Mask* and the specific reader-responses to this.

Philosopher of history Jonas Grethlein explains the possibility of extending the field of historical meaning.[47] He argues for experience and narrative working together: 'Besides

[38]Robert F Berkhofer, *Beyond the Great Story: History as Text and Discourse*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1995, *in* Alun Munslow, 'Deconstructing History'; http://www.history.ac.uk/resources/e-seminars/munslow-paper.
[39]The phrase *lieux de mémoire* means "places" or "sites of memory". See Pierre Nora, *Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, ca. 2005. He is well-known for the theory that 'history becomes manipulated by memory to become something else and thus "facts" of history are mostly transferals of actual historic events into cultural memory which transforms the events of the past into copies of themselves that are used in order to describe and define the present.' See the following site also for a book summary: http://www.shvoong.com/humanities/history/5714-memory-history-les-lieux-memoire/.
[40]Eelco Runia, 'Presence', *History and Theory*, 45(1), p. 1.
[41]Ethan Kleinberg, 'Presence *in absentia*', *Storia della Storiografia*, 55, 2009, p. 53.
[42]F R Ankersmit, '"Presence" and Myth', *History and Theory*, 45(3), 2006, p. 328.
[43]In the mirror reflections.
[44]In real life situations.
[45]F R Ankersmit, '"Presence" and Myth', *History and Theory*, 45(3), 2006, p. 330.
[46]*Ibid*.
[47]Jonas Grethlein, 'Experientiality and "Narrative Reference," with thanks to Thucydides', *History and Theory*, 49(3), 2010, pp. 315 – 335.

representing and giving shape to experience, narratives are received in the form of (reception) experience.'[48] He states further: 'Through their temporal structure, narratives are crucial to letting us re-experience the past as well as to representing the experiences of historical agents.'[49] A way of being able to 'restore history's experientiality'[50] is through what is called 'side-shadowing'[51] and Grethlein uses the case of Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*, by way of illustration[52] explained as follows: 'Through "side-shadowing" narrative can challenge the tendency toward teleologies inherent in merely retrospective histories and can re-create the openness intrinsic to the past when it still was a present'[53] which Grethlein explains as follows, and appeals to historians to examine alternative forms of history:

> However, the "side-shadowing" devices used by Thucydides are fictional. To conceptualize the price and gain of "side-shadowing" in historiography, the paper advances the concept of a "narrative reference" (a concept analogous to Ricoeur's "metaphorical reference"). Introspection, speeches, and other "side-shadowing" devices sacrifice truth in a positivist sense, but permit a second-level reference, namely to history's experientiality. In a final step, the paper turns toward modern historians—most of whom are reluctant to use the means of fiction—to briefly survey their attempts at restoring the openness of the past.[54]

The point from Grethlein and the point from Morson that the text is 'a shifting set of fields of possibility' that 'helps to liberate us from the false certainties of dogmatism' and 'creates a healthy scepticism of present orthodoxies, and makes us aware that there are moral choices available to us', enables the historical fiction of C Louis Leipoldt to be examined for its historical meaning (as a possible, alternative form of history). In *Stormwrack*, for instance, the notion of experientiality can be felt through introspection and the speeches, in the dialogue. The calm and moderate voice of the English magistrate Storam (probably the privileged voice of Leipoldt) debates the situation of the possibility of war reaching the Valley. Even though at that stage the arena of war is very far away from Clanwilliam (who would ever have thought that war would reach such a remote area as Clanwilliam?[55]), it

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[48]Jonas Grethlein, 'Experientiality and "Narrative Reference," with thanks to Thucydides', *History and Theory*, 49(3), 2010, p. 315.
[49]*Ibid*.
[50]*Ibid*.
[51]Gary Saul Morson's work in his book *Narrative and Freedom, The Shadows of Time*, Yale University Press, 1994, uses this term to illustrate the possibilities for historical meaning by the way writers write and readers read texts. See chapter 2 for a more detailed discussion.
[52]Jonas Grethlein, 'Experientiality and "Narrative Reference," with thanks to Thucydides', *History and Theory*, 49(3), 2010, p. 315.
[53]*Ibid*.
[54]*Ibid*.
[55]See the extract from R R Langham-Carter's *Clanwilliam: the Town, the District, and St John's Church,* Diocesan College Press, Rondebosch, 1993, where he writes about the insurgence of the Boers into the Cape

changes when the Boer Commandos enter the region. The narrative dialogue in *Stormwrack* based on Leipoldt's own experience as a reporter during the South African War is an example of this 'narrative referencing', which restores the openness to the past, and takes the reader there as if he or she is experiencing the events at the time. Through 'side-shadowing' and an absence of prolepsis (back- and fore-shadowing) the open dialogue empowers the reader to experience the tension and emotions through the words of the characters.

Yet another pioneering philosopher of history is Paul Ricoeur whose statement that 'the world of fiction leads us to the heart of the real world of action'[56], is important to note. In his book *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences* he asks: 'Could we not say, in conclusion, that by opening us to what is different, history opens us to the possible, whereas fiction, by opening us to the unreal, leads us to what is essential in reality?'[57] Here again, getting to know the feelings and emotion of the characters in the Leipoldt text (in *Stormwrack*) can be important especially when the reader is trying to make sense of the decisions that average inhabitants are faced with and the pressure on them to decide who to support — their (fictitious) Queen Alexandrina Victoria (representing loyalty to the British Empire), or their blood relatives in the Boer Republics. The question remains whether standard history texts are as well-equipped as fictional texts such as *The Valley* to show these emotions.

There are also newer trends in the philosophy of history that need to be examined for this thesis, such as from theorists Aleida Assmann, Ann Rigney and Astrid Erll. Rather than a multi-disciplinary approach, they examine the importance of inter-disciplinary studies in the field of cultural memory. As memory research does not have a single standpoint but rather relies on dialogue among disciplines the intersections between memory and culture are uncovered. These views on cultural memory are important for this thesis in the way they may relate to *The Valley*.

Colony and the subsequent fighting between Boer and British forces in the Clanwilliam district, an unlikely arena for war: 'Clanwilliam seemed to be a long distance from the likely scenes of warfare and it must have come as a surprise when Boer commandos began entering the district.' (p. 29).

[56]Paul Ricoeur, *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences: Essays on Language, Action and Interpretation,* edited and translated by John B. Thompson, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981, reprinted 1982, p. 296.

[57]*Ibid*.

1.4.2 – A NUMBER OF SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORIOGRAPHIC WORKS AGAINST WHICH *THE VALLEY* CAN BE READ

Two works explaining the stratification of South African society — one by Timothy Keegan[58] and another by Robert Ross[59] — are important for this chapter and thesis. Keegan examines the shaping of South African society prior to the mineral age (up to the 1850s), which can provide a solid background for an understanding of the development of the Valley community during the first half of the nineteenth century. Ross traces the development of the 'White' population of the Cape Colony in the pre-industrial eighteenth century and also discusses the very complex topic of religion, central to an understanding of the mentality of Afrikaners.[60] The fact that certain groups of Afrikaners saw themselves as elect by God influenced their position and social behaviour in the District. In this light, it is interesting to see Leipoldt's own disdain for the 'relegie' (religion) when he refers to it as 'die prulvlag van Kalvinistiese verdoemnisloer.'[61] A reading from the relevant sections from Keegan and Ross can thus enable the reader to form a better understanding of the relations between the English and Afrikaans speakers at the time that the story of *The Valley* takes place.

In addition however, due cognisance should be taken of the nature of this relationship, between English- and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans at the time, namely that 'the uniting of the 'two great races' of Dutch and English-speaking South Africans was an ideal promoted by political lobbies, from both sides of the divide that had been caused by the South Africa War of 1899 – 1902 in the drive towards forming the Union in 1910.'[62] This statement presupposes that the relations might have seemed more cordial on the outside, or as Merrington puts, 'it remained largely a rhetorical sentiment among anglophile, cosmopolitan,

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[58]Timothy Keegan, *Colonial South Africa and the Origins of the Racial Order*, David Philip, Cape Town & Johannesburg, 1996. Of importance for a study of *The Valley* is the development of the gentrification and stratification of society in the areas beyond Cape Town such as Clanwilliam, as gradually these areas were populated by Dutch farming communities such as the fictitious families of *Gallows Gecko*, the Rekkers and the Gersters. Chapter Two entitled 'Dutch Beginnings', pp. 15 – 36, refers.

[59]Robert Ross, *Beyond the Pale, Essays on the History of Colonial South Africa*, Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1994.

[60]*Ibid*. See the article entitled 'Going Beyond the Pale: On the Roots of White Supremacy in South Africa' (with D van Arkel and G C Quispel) in Chapter Two: 'Racial Stratification and Ideologies', pp. 74 – 81, for an account of the development of religion at the time. Leipoldt saw the role of the Dutch-Reformed Church in South Africa as inculcating intolerance and inimical to culture: see C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, pp. 556 – 557.

[61]In a letter to Dr J du P Erlank (a.k.a. Eitemal) dated 18 January 1935, BC94 B14.174.1 (Jagger). (Translation: 'it's shoddy flag of Calvinist damnation lore.')

[62]Peter Merrington, 'C. Louis Leipoldt's "Valley trilogy" and Contested South African Nationalisms in the Early Twentieth century', *Current Writing*, 15(2), 2003, pp. 34.

empire-loyalist and more-or-less liberal white South Africans.'[63] The point in the previous sentence can be corroborated by the fact that in 1924 when the National Party ascended to power, the South African Party received a major blow, which reinforced what Merrington describes as 'the inherent divisions within South African white society and — further — to eclipse the pressing questions of political and social justice for black South Africans.'[64]

The view on race is expressed in *Gallows Gecko* by the liberal cleric and Rhenish missionary, Pastor Johann von Bergmann, (drawn from the character of his grandfather, 'type' 'Oupa Esselen')[65] in discussion with the character Everardus Nolte the newcomer to the Valley.[66] The voice of Leipoldt on the same topic comes across in his scientific work, *Bushveld Doctor* when he says 'I am of those that can see no specific distinctions in the human race and that recognize all mankind as belonging to one family, however diversified by colour, custom, or creed its various components may be.[67] Leipoldt's political liberalism can be further corroborated by the character in *The Mask*, the expatriate Pierre Mabuis III, recently returned to the Valley, the place where his ancestors were once prominent farmers. He finds himself in a polemical conversation with the young Nationalist and newly qualified medical doctor, Santa Vantloo, recently returned from her studies abroad. She and Mabuis debate the issue of the racial problem facing South Africa.'[68] The point of the statement above is corroborated in *Bushveld Doctor* where Leipoldt writes:

> The present tendency is to imagine that our native problem can be solved by what is known as segregation: which in practice means that the native should no-where compete with the white man but that the white man should, where convenient, make use of the native.[69]

These views of Leipoldt, on race and class, resonate with ideas from the writings of current historians such as Martin Legassick and Saul Dubow. According to Paul Rich, Legassick 'emphasized the role of class rather than ethnic divisions in white politics as an ideology of segregation began to be mobilized in defence of white settler power.'[70] According to Rich,

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[63]Peter Merrington, 'C. Louis Leipoldt's "Valley trilogy" and Contested South African Nationalisms in the Early Twentieth century', *Current Writing*, 15(2), 2003, pp. 34.
[64]*Ibid.*, pp. 35.
[65]BC 94 A5.6 (Jagger).
[66]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 38.
[67]C Louis Leipoldt, *Bushveld Doctor,* Jonathan Cape, London, 1937, p. 193.
[68]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 550.
[69]C Louis Leipoldt, *Bushveld Doctor*, p. 339.
[70]Martin Legassick, 'The Making of South African "Native Policy" 1903 – 1923: The Origins of Segregation', London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies (mimeo), 1972, quoted in Paul B Rich, *Hope and Despair – English-Speaking Intellectuals and South African Politics 1896 – 1976*, British Academic Press, London, New York, 1993, p. 13.

Dubow defined segregation 'more as an extension of Victorian fears of the "dangerous classes"'.[71] One can suggest that the character in *Gallows Gecko*, Pastor Von Bergmann's idea of race relates to Legassick's emphasis on class structure rather than making it just a racial question. From this we can see how it is possible to transcend barriers of race if given opportunities, over time. Everardus Nolte's restrictive ideas on race can follow the point by Dubow, about segregation as an extension of Victorian fears of the 'dangerous classes', seen in the following extract where Nolte is in discussion with Von Bergmann:

> 'But, Your Reverence ... Your Reverence will pardon me, but surely Your Reverence does not for a moment imply that we are no better than the Hottentots? Why, we White men are infinitely superior. They haven't got the brains, Your Reverence. They can never attain to our ... our civilisation, Your Reverence.'[72]

The repressive policies of race followed by the Hertzog government in the second half of the 1920s, was accompanied by the oppressive Mines and Works Act (Colour Bar Act) No 25 of 1926, reserving skilled work for whites only. In the same year, the government published its four Native Bills that were to start the process of ending the liberal Cape African franchise under the Native Administration Bill of 1927, which set up a separate legal system for the administration of African law, in return for seven white native representatives. These restrictive measures did not go unnoticed by Leipoldt as he remarked on their possible effect for South Africa, expressed through the voice of the character Pierre Mabuis III, about a future South Africa, in which there are restrictions on blacks.[73] His criticism of the National Party's segregationist ideology of the 1920s, especially the threat to the colour-blind franchise in the Cape, sharpened. A classic example of his satire is in his poetry, entitled 'Segregation.'[74] The poem accuses the policymakers, who speak in Christ's name, of being hypocrites (as in *The Mask*), who hide behind their masks − he refers to their 'harlot faith' and the poem mocks the 'new-made world, part white and part un-white …', satirizing the breeding of Afrikaners who themselves inevitably have mixed blood.[75]

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[71]Saul Dubow, *Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid in South Africa, 1919 - 36*, London and Basingstoke, The Macmillan Press, 1989, p. 24, quoted in Paul B. Rich, *Hope and Despair – English-Speaking Intellectuals and South African Politics 1896 – 1976*, British Academic Press, London, New York, 1993, p. 14.
[72]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 38.
[73]*Ibid.*, p. 671.
[74]C Louis Leipoldt, *Versamelde Gedigte* (ed. J C Kannemeyer), Tafelberg, Cape Town, 1980, in the anthology 'The Ballad of Dick King and Other Poems' (1949), 'Segregation', p. 438. [There are two versions of this poem in BC94 A6.79-80 (Jagger).]
[75]*Ibid*.

It was not only the topic of race that appealed to Leipoldt, but also that of the subject of genetics which we read of in his scientific views in *Bushveld Doctor*.[76] One of his theories was about the mixing of races that invigorates the stock such as in the harsh terrain of the Bushveld. The opposite side of the coin was the degeneration in families, and also in plants.[77] His work as a medical doctor took him to parts of the Bushveld where he was in a position to conduct studies in the field.[78] In *Bushveld Doctor* he makes certain interesting claims, for instance, that in Kenya, medical men have shown consensus that 'the child of Nordic parents brought up under Kenyan conditions shows deterioration.'[79] This is not so 'with first- and second-generation white children anywhere in South Africa'; but 'there seems to be evidence that later generations are affected, and the crux of the matter is whether or not the race can be perpetuated in Nordic integrity without constantly drawing upon new blood and new stamina for its regeneration.'[80]

One imagines Leipoldt's knowledge of topics such as degeneration and decadence date from his time at Guy's hospital in London where he qualified as a medical doctor but also from his field work as Medical Inspector of Schools in the Transvaal. Other factors might also account for this such as Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks* (1901) reflecting the topic of social standing and mobility[81] and the *fin-de-siècle* fiction reflecting moral ambiguity in the light of new fields such as psychology, anthropology, and biology. Further factors might also have influenced his thoughts such as social Darwinism, primitivism, the vote for women, workers' unionization and debates over aestheticism, decadence, and degeneration, all topics that came into the spotlight in areas of national identity, amid rapid social change.

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[76]C Louis Leipoldt, *Bushveld Doctor*, see Chapter XI entitled 'Black and White', pp. 185 – 201.
[77]*The Valley* has some reference to this topic of degeneration: 'We have had good farms, good stock, good men, and what have we left? Everything seems to degenerate, somehow. It's the same with my sowing.' (C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 317.); 'The good old families were dying out, degenerating, the third and fourth generations showing themselves much inferior, in initiative, in energy, and in ability, to their forebears.' (C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 305). Leipoldt links up his theory of genetics, between humans and plants; the following excerpt refers to the degeneration in plants, referring to Andrew Quakerley and his garden: 'It was like his perennials. His perennials were the bane of his life. He got them as seed from the best seedsmen in England and Germany, and the first season they were a delight to look upon, but the next [word missing in text, probably meant to be 'year' or 'season'] they failed miserably, running to root and stem, and lacking in foliage and flower.' (C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 306.)
[78]Leipoldt practised as Cape Town's first registered paediatrician, in 1925, having worked as a medical inspector of schools for the Transvaal Education Department from 1914 – 1923.
[79]C Louis Leipoldt, *Bushveld Doctor*, p. 57.
[80]*Ibid*.
[81]T Kontje, *The Cambridge Introduction to Thomas Mann,* p. 31.

On 2 September 1929 Leipoldt wrote to his close c*onfidante* F V Engelenburg to explain that he was busy writing a novel *á la* Mann's *Buddenbrooks* to describe the fortunes of two Cape families; the first (of the novels) appearing in *Die Huisgenoot*, but the rest of their adventures could not be printed there, as the church and politicians will take umbrage, thus he will be writing in English.[82] The topic of degeneration is present in all three novels, so it would be difficult to dismiss its importance − moral decadence features in Chapter 6 of *Gallows Gecko*[83] and *Stormwrack* shows a dark side, where there is moral exhaustion and degeneration in the fourth generation, and degradation[84] and in *The Mask*, the topic of moral degeneration is prevalent.[85]

Chapter III entitled 'Settlers' Children' in Leipoldt's scientific work, *Bushveld Doctor* (1937) discusses the topic of the degeneration of plants, and it might well be that the interest displayed by Leipoldt in the topic of degeneration emanated from his close studies in the field of botany. The following observations concerning plants were made by him: 'they lose their pristine vigour after the second year and their offspring cannot compare with seedlings or cuttings grown under similar conditions in Europe.'[86] From his own experimentation with *oxalis*, he observed that gradual deterioration set in over the course of many generations of growing, from the same parent strain.[87] And, amazingly similar views about degeneration are expressed about people, especially in third- and fourth-generation white children in South Africa; 'there are factors that tend to promote similar decay at work among them.'[88]

The topic of degradation and degeneration applies also to the political state of things as politicians re-arranged their stances, and a new political party emerged.[89] There is a discussion in *The Mask* to illustrate this, between the vociferous, new nationalist Santa and the wise Dr Buren, about issues such as patriotism and how the National Party justifies its stance; and Dr Buren shows how it is not right to justify one's views which are frankly too narrow, and these narrow views can be based on false assumptions – whatever the outcome,

[82]BC94 B10.14 (Jagger).
[83]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 47.
[84]*Ibid.*, p. 305.
[85]*Ibid.*, pp. 590 – 591.
[86]*Ibid.*
[87]C Louis Leipoldt, *Bushveld Doctor*, pp. 56 – 57.
[88]*Ibid.*, p. 57.
[89]The National Party was established in 1914.

they are intransigent and this intransigence will lead to further degeneration in relations, as families experience degeneration in their rank and file.[90]

In his closing chapter in *Bushveld Doctor*, Leipoldt expresses his concern that South Africa was following on the road to disaster because the politicians bent on a sectarian line were too complacent 'to go to the roots of the evils from which the country to-day suffers.'[91] He was referring here to deep-rooted problems of health risks in communities, particularly malaria and red-water; to the problem of a strong peasant community gravitating to the towns and cities (urbanization); and a potential problem in the rising generation of Europeans which lies in, according to his observations: 'more than half of the school-going population (being) physically defective'.[92]

Not only topics such as race and genetics, but also one closely linked to it, namely that of miscegenation, was of great interest to Leipoldt. The 1920s saw an increasing literary interest in this topic which might be explained by the 'mounting anxiety in white political circles over the possible threat to white racial "purity" through sexual "miscegenation" with black Africans.'[93] Sarah Gertrude Millin's novels of the 1920s, *Dark Water* (1921) and *God's Stepchildren* (1924) 'exemplify this preoccupation with inter-racial sexual liaisons and the emergence of a supposedly degenerate "half caste" progeny.'[94] *The Mask*, the third of the novels of *The Valley*, in fact, satirises the legislation against sex across the colour-bar promulgated as the Immorality Act of 1927. Leipoldt maintained that there was no likelihood of keeping people from having sexual relations when they live in close physical proximity to each other as in the remote parts of the Bushveld.[95] He asks that the subject of miscegenation be approached with tact, because of the strong colour prejudice that existed in his country where 'Intermarriage between white and non-white is everywhere deprecated; by law it has been made a criminal offence in the Transvaal.'[96] He writes:

> 'No human laws can stop intercourse between white and non-white where circumstances conduce towards such intercourse, as I have already said, and there is ample evidence to show that it prevails everywhere.'[97]

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[90] C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, pp. 592 – 593.
[91] C Louis Leipoldt, *Bushveld Doctor*, p. 342.
[92] *Ibid*.
[93] Paul B. Rich, *Hope and Despair – English-Speaking Intellectuals and South African Politics 1896 – 1976*, British Academic Press, London, New York, 1993, p. 25.
[94] *Ibid*.
[95] C Louis Leipoldt, *Bushveld Doctor*, p. 193.
[96] *Ibid*.
[97] *Ibid*.

The Dutch farming community in the Valley formed over centuries, from the early eighteenth century, into the nineteenth century. There are several theories from different historians who explain this stratification and gentrification of the District's community and society such as Keegan, Ross, Legassick and Dubow. A reading of Keegan and Ross explains the time-honoured traditions of the Dutch inhabitants who were the first European farmers to settle the district in the seventeenth century — these traditions were firmly established and therefore leaving them behind as the Voortrekkers did when they embarked on their inward journey to Natal, was a move closer to barbarism.

The views of Dubow and Legassick are important for a discussion of the topic of race. The government's repressive racial policies excluding blacks and the policies of racial hegemony in South African society are strong contributing factors to the escalation in sectarianism. Santa is the character in *The Mask* that reflects this attitude through her intransigence and support for Anglophobe nationalism. These are the views that Gustav Schoeman Preller, Leipoldt's rival from the North, propagated in his narrow ideology of nationalism.

Contrary to this, in *The Valley*, Leipoldt was hoping for a true South African nationalism, as expressed through the voice from one of his characters in *The Mask*: 'Once you honestly and frankly confess that our destinies are bound up, radically, with those of the Empire, by which I mean the group of communities concentrated round England and still true to the tradition in which they have been founded – once you do that, my dear, you will have every Englishman who thinks as I do a member of your party, prepared to work hand-in-hand with you.[98]

1.4.3 – CONTEXTUALIZING THE LITERATURE OF LEIPOLDT'S EARLY LIFE THAT IS APPLICABLE TO *THE VALLEY*

This section discusses some of the available literature on the history of Clanwilliam which can then be compared to the fiction in Leipoldt's *The Valley*. Local historian J J Muller's text discusses the settling of the area by the Dutch in the eighteenth century[99] while

[98]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, pp. 592 – 593.
[99]J J Muller, 'Die Ontstaan en Ontwikkeling van Clanwilliam' – Brosjure Opgestel in Opdrag van die Plaaslike van Riebeeck-Feeskomitee, 22 Maart 1952.

R R Langham-Carter is important for the background history to Clanwilliam's English[100] and Irish foundation: 'British folk first settled in the Olifants River Valley in 1820.'[101] Jan Disselsrivier as it was called then was proclaimed on 1 February 1808 and renamed Clanwilliam in 1814 but a great tragedy was the razing of its official buildings in a fire during the South African War in 1901. Unfortunately, this resulted in a large amount of historical material being lost to posterity.[102] The abovementioned two texts as well as a limited number of others are therefore exceptionally useful for establishing details of the history of Clanwilliam.

The Valley provides important detail about Clanwilliam, the Cederberg and its environs. The story of *The Valley* opens when the central character of the first novel *Gallows Gecko* arrived in the area to purchase a farm, which is fictitiously named *Knolkloof*, around the 1830s. A descendant of one of Clanwilliam's most distinguished families, Anne Paterson (nee Bergh), and her husband Robert and I, one Saturday morning of the last weekend of the month of April 2009, followed the descriptions in *The Valley*, and eventually came to the remnant of a dilapidated Cape Dutch house which fits the descriptions in the novel.[103] Readers are told that by the time Nolte came to stay in the District, several of the well-established farmers, such as the Rekkers, had been farming there since the eighteenth century.[104] Muller refers to the names of families who over the centuries have been closely associated with the history of Clanwilliam, and although Leipoldt cast some of them as characters in his novel, he assigned them fictitious names, such as the Reverend Mance-Bisley (probably drawn from the Reverend Hampden-Jones).[105]

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[100]One of the families that settled in the Valley is the Fryers, and they were specifically English, and not Irish, see pp. 25 – 28 in R R Langham-Carter, *Clanwilliam – the Town, the District, St John's Church*, Diocesan College Press, Rondebosch, 1993.

[101]R R Langham-Carter, *Clanwilliam – the Town, the District, St John's Church*, Diocesan College Press, Rondebosch, 1993, p. 3.

[102]J J Muller, 'Die Ontstaan en Ontwikkeling van Clanwilliam.' – Brosjure Opgestel in Opdrag van die Plaaslike van Riebeeck-Feeskomitee, 22 Maart 1952. On page 9, Muller describes the difficulties researching the local history of Clanwilliam and one deduces from this that the same would have applied to Leipoldt; the fire that razed the official buildings, including the library and Magistrate's Office on 11 August 1901, meant a great loss of documents and archives containing the town's rich history.

[103]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 7 describes the place in the Valley where Everardus Nolte settled.

[104]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*; on p. 9 we read of the well-established Rekker farm, *De Hoek*, which judging from Anne Paterson's (nee Bergh) descriptions, match those of the farm formerly owned by her forebears. The Berghs are today still prominent farmers in the District.

[105]See also the names of families in R R Langham-Carter, *Clanwilliam – the Town, the District, St John's Church*, Diocesan College Press, Rondebosch, 1993, pp. 25 – 28; as well as J J Muller, 'Die Ontstaan en Ontwikkeling van Clanwilliam' – Brosjure Opgestel in Opdrag van die Plaaslike van Riebeeck-Feeskomitee, 22 Maart 1952, p. 16.

Furthermore, Leipoldt's jottings show he had specific characters in mind when constructing his fiction[106] such as his paternal grandfather, his maternal grandfather (Pastor Johann Von Bergmann), his father (Pastor Uhlmann), and Andrew Quakerley (Charles Fryer), probably according to their characteristics, to suit the role they would assume in his fiction. His maternal grandfather is the political liberalist (like Leipoldt), and his own father is restrained and tolerant, and this is how he cast them. It is not sure whom Everardus Nolte was modeled on, but in Langham-Carter there is a specific reference to Henry Benjamin Shawe who owned a farm, and was a member of the Cape Legislative Assembly, and seems to be the kind of person who resembles the magnanimity of Nolte, although J H Brand was the other representative in the Cape Legislative Assembly. It would therefore be hard to determine precisely on whom Leipoldt based this character.[107]

Reference was made to Fryer, as the character of Quakerley. Leipoldt's jottings indicate that the character of Andrew Quakerley was drawn from a combination of two persons; one of Clanwilliam's prominent residents, Charles Montague-Fryer, and 'type Knobel's father' (Leipoldt's mother's descendants, including her grandfather, Baron Friedrich von Buchenröder).[108] What historian R R Langham-Carter writes about Charles Fryer, namely that he was buried in the St John's Anglican Church in 1901, matches the time of Quakerley's death in *The Valley*.[109] This period coincides with the invasion of the district by both Boer and British forces at the time of the South African War[110] and so the timing of the fighting that destroyed Quakerley's garden, more or less fits in with the chronology of *The Valley*. In Leipoldt's jottings one can see how he constructed the events according to the age of the character, for it to fit in with the timing of events.[111]

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[106]Genealogical tables and sketches are to be found in the jottings. BC94 A5.1 – A5.19 (Jagger).
[107] Further useful source material for the history of Clanwilliam is an article written by Andreas Bester which describes the early settlement of the area. See Andreas Bester, 'Clanwilliam hou sy Veldblomskou nou in die Historiese NG kerk', in 'Op die Voorgrond', *Die Burger*, 2 September 1995.
[108]BC94 A5.6 (Jagger). J C Kannemeyer in *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, pp. 19 *et seq,* covers aspects of the history of the Knobel family, including the descendants from Germany, the Buchenröders.
[109]R R Langham-Carter, *Clanwilliam – the Town, the District, St John's Church,* Diocesan College Press, Rondebosch, 1993, p. 40, refers to Charles Fryer, a resident of Clanwilliam, so he is a real person.
[110]Furthermore, details about the South African War in the Clanwilliam area are in Langham-Carter, pp. 29 – 31, where he refers to the presence of British military forces in Clanwilliam in 1901; more extensive details about the South African War in the region, and in Clanwilliam in particular, can be found in the addendum containing dates of the war in P L Scholtz's 'Die Historiese Ontwikkeling van die Onder-Olifants Rivier; 1660 – 1902', Departement Geskiedenis, UNISA, Januarie 1964.
[111]BC 94 A5.3; A5.8 (Jagger).

As for the actual fighting in the outskirts of the town during the war as we read in Leipoldt's fiction, this was certainly possible if one considers the size of the plots and gardens in Clanwilliam at the time, as these pieces of land stretched from Park Street right down to the Jan Dissels River, approximately 200 to 300 metres in length and about 50 metres wide. It is also the case that the British maintained a garrison there.[112] The fighting in the garden of one of the residents, Charles Fryer, does not lie outside of the bounds of possibility, and Leipoldt used this image for Chapter 40 of *Stormwrack* to show the fictitious character Andrew Quakerley, realizing 'what he has lost and is completely shattered by the tragedy that has overtaken the Valley'[113] and here we see a resemblance that the fiction has to the history (the garden destroyed in the fighting, is probably modeled on the real garden of Charles Fryer which Leipoldt describes in his article 'Clanwilliam: Herinneringe aan 'n Ou Dorpie', in *Die Huisgenoot*, 5 November 1926, and in the fiction in Chapter 3 of *Stormwrack*): 'Old Andrew stood speechless, almost breathless, before the first savage onslaught of the reality of all this wreck.'[114]

Reference has been made to the invasion of Clanwilliam by military forces, at the time of the South African War. The logistics of this can be explained in terms of the plans of the military, on both sides. The Boer Commando decided to prevent British supplies from the Atlantic Ocean reaching the forces stationed inland. British bases were set up in remote places such as Clanwilliam, in response to the Boer invasion. One of the ironies of the novel *Stormwrack* is to be found in a discussion between the characters that the war is too far away for it ever to reach the District. However, tragedy strikes the peaceful Valley, and a distant thought becomes reality; as if the fiction becomes history.

A work against which *Stormwrack* can be read for an understanding of the invasion of the Hantam district by the British forces and the response from the Boer Commandoes, is the unpublished doctoral thesis of P L Scholtz.[115] His study follows the social, economic and political development of the region and of particular importance is a chronology (time-line) of events of the South African War in the Clanwilliam district. In addition, important information about Clanwilliam at the time of the war may be obtained from Leipoldt's

[112]R R Langham-Carter, *Clanwilliam – the Town, the District, St John's Church,* Diocesan College Press, Rondebosch, 1993, p. 31.
[113]BC94 A7.6 (Jagger).
[114]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 490.
[115]P L Scholtz, 'Die Historiese Ontwikkeling van die Onder-Olifants Rivier; 1660 – 1902, Departement Geskiedenis', UNISA, Januarie 1964.

father's notebook in which he commented on certain of the actions of the British military (to which Leipoldt had access, as it eventually ended up in his possession).[116] The book review of *Stormwrack* by Chris van der Merwe entitled: 'Waarde van Leipoldt se roman is politieke insigte' in *Die Burger* of 20 Augustus 2007, devotes some discussion on the invasion into the Clanwilliam area and the town itself and its social impact, effects and implications. Van der Merwe lauds *Stormwrack* for the insights it shows about the political situation at the time, and comments on its relevance for us in South Africa today.

Stephen Gray's account of the way 'C. Louis Leipoldt absorbed living oral Afrikaans history and converted it into written Afrikaans documentation' is significant.[117] Afrikaans literator P C Schoonees describes the connection between Leipoldt's writing as a journalist and as a writer of literature, and this combination leads him (Schoonees) to conclude that Leipoldt's thorough knowledge of the social, political and ecclesiastical conditions of Clanwilliam at the beginning of the nineteenth century can never be exhausted[118] (implying it has huge value from a historical point of view). Leipoldt's journalism is an important factor to consider for *The Valley*, especially by the way it is written, to engage the reader in Leipoldt's causerie.[119] This point is made in view of Leipoldt's own recognition of the role of journalism in his work, although he leaves it to the reader to decide which is his strongest genre, drama, prose or poetry.[120] The implication nonetheless is that his journalistic abilities form a strong side to his writing, added to which is his great love for causerie[121] that discusses and argues polemical issues such as nationhood, universal suffrage and literature. Leipoldt loved literature from his earliest years, and began his writing career with a story being published in the *Boy's Own Paper* at nine.

Mention has already been made of the fire that razed the town in 1901. Leipoldt was greatly aggrieved by the loss of official documents and books as a result of the destruction of the

[116]BC94 C11.5 (Jagger).
[117]S Gray, 'Leipoldt's Valley Community: The Novelist as Archivist', *Social Dynamics*, 10(1), pp. 46 – 51, 1984, p. 46.
[118]P C Schoonees, 'Leipoldt as Prosaskrywer' (translation: 'Leipoldt as prosaist'), *Die Huisgenoot*, 6 December 1940, p. 19.
[119]Causerie are topics of discussion, that one engages with, in a typical social fashion. These topics make for good discussion, and encourage debate; they are current opinion pieces often the kind of which are read in newspapers.
[120]Dr P De V Pienaar in 'Jaarboek' van die Afrikaanse Skrywerskring', 1936, in an article entitled ''n Onderhoud met Leipoldt', in *Leipoldt in Beeld en Woord* (red. P J Nienaber), Perskor-Uitgewery, Johannesburg, 1980, p. 84.
[121]M P O Burgers, 'Leipoldt as Mens en Digter', in *Leipoldt in Beeld en Woord* (red. P J Nienaber), Perskor-Uitgewery, Johannesburg, 1980, p. 55.

library in Clanwilliam in this fire. It was in this very library that he 'devoured' Browning and Scott, two authors among many more important writers of the classics that Leipoldt read that greatly inspired him, particularly Scott's *Waverley* (Leipoldt's 'Quakerley'?). Taking this into account, one can almost say that the town's library (where he worked as a librarian in his matriculation year in 1897)[122], was, to some extent the *fons et origo* of *The Valley*.

In fact, it can be argued that a reason for writing the Afrikaans version of *Gallows Gecko*, *Galgsalmander,* was to capture the history of Clanwilliam, lost in the official documents in the fire.[123] According to a local historian W P L van Zyl, it is not clear whether the British or Boers set the buildings alight.[124] Mrs Leipoldt, mother of C Louis Leipoldt, however, seems to think it might have been the result of direct action by the Boers.[125] Apart from describing the fire, Mrs Leipoldt was aggrieved at the fact that martial law and censorship 'acts like an extinguisher on one's hearth, mind and soul, at least it does on mine, so one cannot write as one would like to.'[126] The following is a description of the fire, by her:

> I rushed into the back street and saw a flame up to the heavens in the direction of the court room exactly like the pictures one sees of the destruction of Sodom and not a smoke smouldering one but as if the whole part from earth to heaven was one big bonfire, with a fireworks display in the midst. We ran as fast as we could to the village the noise cracking, roaring, hissing; shouting sounded as if the Boers had come to set fire to the place and were fighting. It was awful.[127]

Further important background information on the history of Clanwilliam and its surroundings is D A Kotzé's book on the history of the area.[128] This work contains first-hand accounts of incidents in the South African War, which clearly show the tensions that existed between the local inhabitants and the British military. Details of these incidents corroborate the point that the tensions led to a deterioration of the relations between the English and Afrikaans-speaking elements of the Valley and the Village, a theme in *Stormwrack.*

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[122]D A Kotzé, 'Van Roodezand tot Gariep – Die 150-jarige Bestaan van die N.G. Gemeente Clanwilliam 1826 – 1976', Nasionale Boekdrukkery, Cape Town, 1981, p. 110.
[123]On 31 August 1901, Leipoldt's mother, Christina Leipoldt, wrote to Mrs Howard about the fire which broke out on 11 August 1901. BC94 C12.74 (Jagger).
[124]D A Kotzé, 'Van Roodezand tot Gariep – Die 150-jarige Bestaan van die N.G. Gemeente Clanwilliam 1826 – 1976', Nasionale Boekdrukkery, Cape Town, 1981, p. 101.
[125]BC94 C12.74 (Jagger).
[126]*Ibid.*
[127]*Ibid.*
[128]D A Kotzé, 'Van Roodezand tot Gariep – Die 150-jarige Bestaan van die N.G. Gemeente Clanwilliam 1826 – 1976', Nasionale Boekdrukkery, Cape Town, 1981.

What we also get from a reading of Kotzé is a different view of the person of C Louis Leipoldt. One of the contributors in this work, H W J Rheeder, explains how Mrs Nortier, the wife of Leipoldt's close friend Dr Le Fras Nortier[129], did not tolerate his strange habit of entering the kitchen of their home and lifting the casserole dishes to see what was cooking on the stove.[130] A further account is from a retired teacher of Clanwilliam, Mr Rossouw, who remarked on Leipoldt's lack of good manners.[131]

On the other hand, Leipoldt and Dr Nortier had a close friendship to the end of Leipoldt's life. Shortly before Leipoldt's death he happened to mention to a close friend of his, Lulu Bolus, that she should send his cremated ashes to Nortier, who would know what should be done. Leipoldt died on the 13 April 1947. South African industrialist Dr J G Van der Horst conducted the service, which was held in a natural spot on the Pakhuis Pass outside Clanwilliam, and thirteen people attended. Nortier was one of the speakers, and confessed he did not know what to say, until the thought of Keats[132] came to mind, who was buried in Rome, and the words:

> If you knew that you would be buried in so beautiful a spot,
> You could almost fall in love with death.[133]

The Valley can be read against the accounts referred to in this chapter to see the connections between the history of the place Leipoldt wrote about, his experiences as a boy, and his later impressions about Clanwilliam. These are contained in his autobiographical sketches entitled 'Jeugherinneringe'. Whilst there is certainly a great deal of overlapping history with Leipoldt's fictional work, *The Valley* nevertheless expresses something that standard histories generally do not, and that is the deep emotions of its characters, for instance, Andrew Quakerley when he sees his garden destroyed. In the synopsis to *Stormwrack*, Leipoldt describes how 'Andrew's loyalty and attachment to his ingrained English ideals are gradually sapped, and he finds himself more and more in sympathy with his neighbours.'[134] In this way, historical fiction can be 'truer' than formal history when it closely conveys the feelings and emotions experienced by the inhabitants of the Valley, as *Stormwrack* does.

[129]Nortier practiced as a doctor in Clanwilliam from 1916 to 1955, when he died.
[130]D A Kotzé, 'Van Roodezand tot Gariep – Die 150-jarige Bestaan van die N.G. Gemeente Clanwilliam 1826 – 1976', Nasionale Boekdrukkery, Cape Town, 1981, p. 111.
[131]*Ibid*.
[132]John Keats (1795 – 1821) and C Louis Leipoldt (1880 – 1947) qualified as medical doctors at Guy's Hospital, Chelsea, London.
[133]Notes from an interview by Morkel van Tonder, with Dr P Nortier, about C Louis Leipoldt, 20 April 1954. The interview was conducted on Dr Nortier's farm, 'Rondawel', outside Clanwilliam.
[134]BC94 A7.6 (Jagger).

Furthermore, as the historical novel falls under the aegis of cultural history in the inter-disciplinary field of cultural memory, the dialogue we encounter in *The Valley* paints a realistic picture of the circumstances that were developing in a microcosmic way in the District, the Valley and the Village, in the fiction in *The Valley* although it can be argued that Leipoldt had in mind these circumstances for a broader representation of South African history.

1.4.4 – CONTEXTUALIZING LITERATURE — SEMINAL LEIPOLDT AND OTHER TEXTS THAT HAVE A BEARING ON *THE VALLEY*

One of the themes in *The Valley* is the dilemma that many of the inhabitants of the Cape Colony were confronted with at the time of the South African War (1899 – 1902). The Leipoldts themselves were not freed from this predicament as the eldest son Johnny fought in the Republican artillery and Leipoldt's Uncle Ewald Esselen, his mother's brother, worked in the South African Republic at that time. Furthermore, the name Leipoldt being German placed undue pressure on the family during the war.

Literary historian Professor Wium van Zyl of the University of the Western Cape has conducted substantial research on Leipoldt's war text *Oom Gert Vertel,* a poem about the inaction of an aged farmer of the backveld.[135] Van Zyl's work editing letters penned by Leipoldt in the South Africa War for a pro-Boer Dutch readership, *Brieven uit de Kaap Kolonie*[136] and his article on *Oom Gert Vertel,* are important literary repositories for an understanding of Leipoldt as a dissident writer and for *The Valley*. The topic of Van Zyl's address took the form of a comparison between Leipoldt and the Dutch dissident writer Multatuli.[137] Furthermore, Van Zyl commented on the importance of *The Valley* in its full thrust and sweep.[138] One reflects on what Van Zyl said in the 'Introduction' to *Brieven uit de Kaap Kolonie* namely that to understand Leipoldt's later literary oeuvre (including *The Valley*) it is important to consider his earlier journalism.[139] Lord Coleridge's sketch of the

[135]W van Zyl, "'Oom Gert Vertel' en Multatuli", *Tydskrif vir Nederlands en Afrikaans*, 6(1), 1999, pp. 63 – 77.
[136]C Louis Leipoldt's *Hierdie Land van Leuens*: *'Brieven uit de Kaap Kolonie'* (ed. Wium van Zyl), Africana Uitgewers, Cape Town, 2002.
[137]Multatuli is the pseudonym of Eduard Douwes Dekker born in Amsterdam (1820 – 1887), who went to work in the East Indian Civil Service in 1838. He is well-known for his novel *Max Havelaar* written in 1859 and published in 1860. The novel is a critique of the way the local inhabitants were treated by their Dutch overlords in the Dutch East Indies at the time.
[138]Van Zyl kindly sent me the full transcript of his lecture.
[139]C Louis Leipoldt's *Hierdie Land van Leuens: 'Brieven uit de Kaap Kolonie'* (ed. Wium van Zyl), Africana Uitgewers, Cape Town, 2002, p. 18.

illegalities involved in martial law at the time, presented in a significant speech entitled 'The Illegality of Martial Law in Cape Colony' in the House of Lords in 1902, explaining that the Queen was 'justly beloved by her Dutch subjects in South Africa'[140] can be read against *Oom Gert Vertel* as well as two other works by Leipoldt, his novellas *De Rebel* (1900) and *The Rebel* (1904), which cover the same theme of changing sympathies.

A point that aggrieved Leipoldt was that the Republican military generals had the audacity to lead military campaigns into the Cape Colony during the South African War and if they were caught, would be spared the fate that befell Cape Afrikaner soldiers, viz., who could be arraigned on a charge of treason and face the 'empty chair'[141] or be hanged in public. This is a theme of *Stormwrack*, which Leipoldt claims he wrote as a pendant to Reitz's *Commando: A Boer Journal of the South African War* (written in 1903[142] when he was exiled in Madagascar) which gave merely the Republican side. This is a classic example of an oppositional text written against the 'official' history if one considers Reitz was serving in the Republican forces at the time.[143]

Important early works to be consulted for an understanding of Leipoldt's young life are the letters he wrote to his *confidante* Dr Harry Bolus which have been edited by Dr E M Sandler, a former medical practitioner in Cape Town who published them under the title of '*Dear Dr Bolus*.'[144] This correspondence is at the heart of an important topic, namely a possible alternative world-view as part of the Cape Loyalist-Union paradigm, seen for

[140]The speech delivered on 17 March 1902 entitled 'The Illegality of Martial Law in Cape Colony'(*sic*) in the House of Lords in Britain by the Right Honourable Lord Coleridge can be found at http://www.scribd.com/doc/20360443/1902-Illegality-of-Martial-Law-in-Cape-Colony.
When it is asserted by the magistrate Storam in *Stormwrack* that martial law is a 'legal fiction' (C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 375), it resonates with Coleridge's assertion on page 7 of 'The Illegality of Martial Law in Cape Colony' that the imposition of martial law in South Africa was a violation of the British Constitution. Monsignor Kolbe, who wrote the leader page of *The South African News* at the time Albert Cartwright was imprisoned, had strong views on the iniquitous actions of British military rule in South Africa during the time of the South African War. It might be that a young, impressionable Leipoldt was influenced by this. For further reading see Frederick Hale's 'A Catholic voice against British imperialism: F C Kolbe's opposition to the Second Anglo-Boer War' http://www.unisa.ac.za/default.asp?Cmd=ViewContent&ContentID=7374.
[141]A term of bitter irony signifying that the soldier would be shot by firing squad.
[142]D Reitz, 'Herinneringen van 1899 – 1902' written on Croxley paper in Madagascar in 1903, re-written as *Commando*, Faber & Faber, 1929.
[143]G J Calitz, 'Deneys Reitz (1882 – 1944): Krygsman, Avonturier en Politikus', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, Pretoria, 2008. http://upetd.up.ac.za/thesis/available/etd-05312009-205128/.
[144]C Louis Leipoldt, '*Dear Dr Bolus', Letters from Clanwilliam, London, New York & Europe written mainly during his medical education by C. Louis Leipoldt to Harry Bolus in Cape Town from 1897 to 1911*, edited with an introduction, notes and index by E M Sandler, published for the University of Cape Town by A.A. Balkema, 1979. The full bank of letters by Leipoldt is BC94 B1.1 – B1.94 (Jagger). Not all the letters have been used in Sandler's publication.

instance in a British affiliated national identity from which some of the *topoi* in *The Valley* emanate. Bolus was part of this loyal-union paradigm especially by the way he contributed to Cape Town's horticultural history. Botanical gardens such as Kirstenbosch in Cape Town served as a form of identity within the Empire, as did the Mountain Club, formed in Cape Town in 1891. The Botanical Society was formed in 1913 to realise the dream of the first incumbent of Bolus' chair in botany, for an African Peradinya at Kirstenbosch. Society membership rose steadily from the original 243 in 1913, to more than 1 000 in 1928 and near 2 000 by 1939, with members quickly converting their private gardens into 'Little Kirstenbosches', helped by the new garden's provision of free seed and horticultural advice to its subscribers.

The letters from Leipoldt to Bolus from the winter of 1908 – 1909[145] when Leipoldt sailed aboard the luxury steamboat of the blind American newspaper magnate, J D Pulitzer, to whom he acted as personal physician during the journey, provide an interesting archive from which Afrikaans novelist Karel Schoeman, drew inspiration for his book *Die Reisiger*.[146] Schoeman uses Leipoldt's presence aboard Pulitzer's yacht *Liberty* to give an interpretation of Leipoldt as a young man, without providing biographical detail, and thus purely a fictional-psychological account.[147] Afrikaans author Hennie Aucamp has written a commentary on Schoeman's book, entitled 'C Louis Leipoldt, 'n Fiktiewe Portret.'[148] Aucamp made the comment 'Die belangrikste faset van *Die Reisiger* is dat dit 'n psigologiese portret van C Louis Leipoldt bied - 'n portret wat nie wegskram van Leipoldt se vermeende homofiele verlangens nie'.[149] According to J C Kannemeyer, *Die Reisiger* even though a fictive account, is nevertheless a sensitive rendering of the image of the young Leipoldt, with the effective back-shadowing (terugspeel) on experiences from his youth in Clanwilliam.[150]

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[145]The northern hemisphere winter.

[146]Karel Schoeman, *Die Reisiger*, Human & Rousseau, Cape Town, 1980. The Slatow Collection in the Archives of the University of South Africa contains important vignettes of Leipoldt's appreciation of travel, especially through Italy, as a medical student, visiting hospitals which he worked in, along the way. The inscriptions on the post cards attest to an early development of a liking for aesthetical things, such as gormandising. The idea of the Grand Tour was very important in the formulation of a young person's world-view and the year 1908 when Leipoldt conducted such a tour greatly extended his cultural and aesthetical horizons and expanded his world-view.

[147]J C Kannemeyer, in footnote 83 of Chapter VII of *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, Tafelberg, Cape Town, 1980, p. 694, commenting on Karel Schoeman's *Die Reisiger*.

[148]Hennie Aucamp, 'C Louis Leipoldt, 'n Fiktiewe Portret', http://www.oulitnet.co.za/gay/aucamp08.asp.

[149]Hennie Aucamp, http://www.oulitnet.co.za/gay/aucamp08.asp. (Translation: 'The most important aspect of *Die Reisiger* is that a psychological picture is presented of C Louis Leipoldt, a picture that does not shy away from Leipoldt's alleged homophile tendencies.')

[150]J C Kannemeyer, in footnote 83 of Chapter VII of *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, Tafelberg, Cape Town, 1980, p. 694, commenting on Karel Schoeman's *Die Reisiger*.

The novel by Schoeman, Kannemeyer's observations and Aucamp's reference to Leipoldt's possible homophilia, are important in the context of the response by some to Leipoldt's sexual orientation, as the article in 'Perspektief' in *Rapport*, dated 28 August 2005 entitled 'Was hy of was hy nie?' written by Sonja Loots, explains. Here, Loots discusses a series of articles that appeared in the *South African Medical Journal* on the topic of Leipoldt's sexual orientation, for instance, one by R M Kaplan, a medical doctor formerly from South Africa, at the time of writing, living in Australia, who responded to an article by Dr J C (Kay) de Villiers, by suggesting no study of Leipoldt could ever be complete without some reference to his sexual orientation.[151] One could however argue that instead of trying to box or pigeon-hole Leipoldt, one should see his views on sexuality in the same broad perspective, for instance, as his political liberalism.

M P O Burgers raised an interesting point about Leipoldt's experiences of contacting older men in Cape Town, from his home town of Clanwillaim. He did this in order to obtain scientific information on rare plants which he discovered as a child in the Cederberg area. There is at least one plant named after him, the spiderhead, technically referred to as *Serruria Leipoldtii.*[152] Botany and writing were two strong interests Leipoldt pursued virtually his entire life, and as quite a lonely person in his youth, he found solace in the areas and environs of these floral kingdoms such as the Cederberg. His fascination with plants was induced by his father's interest in botany added to which as a young boy, with a flora-rich area his garden, he regularly ventured off into the wilds looking for specimen. Cape Town botanist Professor MacOwan, director of the Cape Town Botanical Garden and curator of the Cape government herbarium, never for a minute imagined the sender of the plant specimen received from Clanwilliam was that of a young boy. The eventual meeting of the two resulted in MacOwan taking great care over showing the enthusiast the technique of preserving and drying plants.

Chapter 1 of *Stormwrack* explains how the young Andrew Quakerley climbed the slopes of Devil's Peak in the company of renowned botanists.[153] This point might be autobiographical as in Leipoldt's own life he regularly met up with famous botanists such as Rudolph

[151]R M Kaplan, 'Louis Leipoldt', *South African Medical Journal,* 94, 2004, pp. 796 – 797.
[152]This is a rare Cederberg endemic plant, occurring in sandstone between 1000 and 1400m altitude.
[153]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 225.

Schlechter[154] and others, who left a deep impression on Leipoldt's mind. The role botany played in Leipoldt's life with several men part of this great outside adventure cannot be emphasized enough. The relationship with Dr Harry Bolus, introduced to him through Dr Peter McOwan, developed into a close mentor-mentee one, even though the division in age between the two was enormous. Leipoldt's close associations with men served as a way of conveying his feelings and sharing experiences as in his letters to Dr Bolus.[155] Other influences from men include a Mr Combrink and a Frenchman whose name we do not get to know.[156] The one taught him to memorize information and the other encouraged him in the art of writing.[157] It was remarkable however how the young boy associated so easily with older men. Needless to say, this extended his horizons across many areas, not least the field of botany which remained an indelible part of his world-view.

A further example of Leipoldt's world-view was Buddhism which provided him with a sense of tolerance and an appreciation for universal brotherhood. There are several comments about Leipoldt's Buddhism worth noting. Medical Doctor, E M Sandler has said that 'it would appear, from all accounts, that he (Leipoldt) had a strong leaning towards Eastern religions and it is said (but unconfirmed) that at registration at Guy's Medical School he indicated that his religion was Buddhism.'[158] Professor M M Walters's interesting monograph touches on Leipoldt's alleged Buddhism. [159] Leipoldt travelled to the Dutch East Indies as a ship's doctor on the cargo steamer *S S Ulysses* in 1912 while recuperating from an appendectomy and recorded the voyage of his experiences in a diary entitled *A visit to the East Indies*.[160] Subsequently, a cycle of poems called "Uit my Oosterse Dagboek" was published as part of

[154]Schlechter made a deep impression on Leipoldt, especially with his profound knowledge of German literature.
[155]See *'Dear Dr Bolus' C. Louis Leipoldt, Letters from Clanwilliam, London, New York & Europe written mainly during his medical education, by C. Louis Leipoldt to Harry Bolus in Cape Town from 1897 – 1911*, edited with an introduction, notes and index by E M Sandler, published for the University of Cape Town by A.A. Balkema, 1979. BC94 B1.1 to B1.94 (Jagger).
[156]C Louis Leipoldt, *Jeugherinneringe*, pp. 19 – 20, BC94 A7.21 (Jagger).
[157]The experiences Leipoldt had of meeting Mr Combrink and the Frenchman, is reflected in an article entitled 'Leipoldt — Outobiografiese Fragment', *Standpunte*, 5(2), pp. 82 – 84, also in *Jeugherinneringe* by C Louis Leipoldt.
[158]E M Sandler, 'C.Louis Leipoldt – Medical Student Extraordinary', Address at A J Orenstein Memorial Lecture, The Faculty of Health Sciences at the University of the Witwatersrand, 8 October 1980, (abridged), p. 14.
[159]M M Walters, 'C Louis Leipoldt 1880 – 1947' – Pamphlet published by the 'Foundation for Research and Development: Man and His Environment', undated, p. 15.
[160]BC94 A7.16 (Jagger). This is an unpublished manuscript written by Leipoldt subsequently supplied with possible chapter headings by Dr M P O Burgers, when lacking in the original. There are valuable insights from Leipoldt on a broad range of socio-economic and political points pertaining to Javanese society and therefore the manuscript lends itself to further study to compare Javanese and South African societies where they are similar/different.

the volume *Uit Drie Wêrelddele* in 1923 as well as a series of sixteen weekly articles published in *Die Huisgenoot* in 1931 and also a travel book entitled *Uit my Oosterse Dagboek* (1932).[161]

A number of texts and articles cover Leipoldt's experiences of the East. Professor Louise Viljoen of the University of Stellenbosch comments on Leipoldt's enthusiastic depiction of the Orient.[162] Afrikaans author Elsa Joubert's *Gordel van Smarag* is based on her experience of her travels following in the footsteps of C Louis Leipoldt in the East Indies.[163] Leipoldt's Buddhist tendencies could also have influenced the depiction of the woman's forgiving and unconditional love towards her hypocritical husband in *The Mask*. The hypocrisy of idolized politicians, who very often are nothing other than weaklings ready to be unmasked, is another theme in *The Mask*. It relates to the unmasking of individuals when people's true characters are revealed and they prove not to be what they are held up to be — idolized, hence Leipoldt's preferred title for the book, *Idols* (*Afgode* in Afrikaans). The topic of hypocrisy is taken further by Leipoldt to include situations we sometimes find ourselves in, and tend to resort to inaction (turn a blind eye) because of the way the situation suits us.[164] Inaction is also a theme in Leipoldt's war poetry, whereby some choose not to fight, even if their age might prevent it as in the case of the character Oom Gert.

Leipoldt's epistolary correspondence with one of his mentors Dr F V Engelenburg is an important repository of the intellectual thought of C Louis Leipoldt for the period 1924 – 1937; which includes the years *The Valley* (1929 – 1932) was being written.[165] Leipoldt was Engelenburg's junior by seventeen years and the two first met in 1914 when Engelenburg was already editor of *De Volkstem*.[166] The intellectual interaction between the two was

[161]C Louis Leipoldt, *Uit my Oosterse Dagboek.* ['From my Oriental Diary'], Nasionale Pers, Cape Town, 1932.
[162]L Viljoen, 'Leipoldt and the Orient: a Reading of C.L. Leipoldt's Travel Writing in the Context of Orientalist Discourse', University of Stellenbosch; an English version from L Viljoen, 'Leipoldt en die Ooste: Leipoldt se Reisbeskrywing *Uit my Oosterse Dagboek* en die Diskoers van die Oriëntalisme', *Stilet*, 8(2), 1996, pp. 53 – 71.
[163]Elsa Joubert, *Gordel van Smarag,* Tafelberg, Cape Town, 1997.
[164]This is referred to as 'defensive hypocrisy' (in C Louis Leipoldt, *Bushveld Doctor*, p. 80); see also the term 'dignified hypocrisy' which is used in *The Mask*, in *The Valley*, p. 596, which he defines as 'expert fence-riding'.
[165]This correspondence is housed in the National Archives and Records Service of South Africa, Head Office, Pretoria. Copies by J M H van Aardt of C L L's letters (1924 – 1937) to Dr Engelenburg made for Dr M P O Burgers from the originals in the Engelenburg Papers in the State Archives, Pretoria, are in BC94 B10.1 – 10.17 (Jagger).
[166] *De Volkstem* was the first Afrikaans-Dutch newspaper north of the Orange River appearing for the first time in Pretoria on 8 Augustus 1873 and thereafter every two weeks under the name De *Volksstem, Nieuws- en Advertentieblad*. The name changed officially on 1 January 1927 to *Die Volkstem*. It became the mouthpiece for General Smuts's United Party. Leipoldt worked on the editorial from 1923 – 1925.

instantaneous according to Burgers.[167] One of the many areas their interests overlapped was in the field of literature and both possessed a satirical sense of humour.[168] Yet it is ironic that Leipoldt should place such an amount of confidence in Engelenburg, a person also greatly admired by Gustav Preller, in a sense Leipoldt's rival from the north. The correspondence between Leipoldt and Engelenburg forms an important archive of Leipoldt's views on the status of South African literature at the time and the correspondence between these two can provide a valuable monograph on South African intellectual history of the time. On 2 September 1929 he wrote to Engelenburg to explain that he was busy writing a novel *á la* Mann's *Buddenbrooks* to describe the fortunes of two Cape families; the first (of the novels) appearing in *Die Huisgenoot*, but the rest of their adventures could not be printed there, as the church and politicians will take umbrage, thus he will be writing in English.[169]

E M Sandler's study 'C. Louis Leipoldt — Medical Student Extraordinary' has already been referred to.[170] It gives important insights into C Louis Leipoldt in a medical context as do the views of medical doctors who knew Leipoldt personally, such as J H Louw, J C de Villiers, P Shields and S S B Gilder. Important insights on Leipoldt are shared in their respective articles in the *South African Medical Journal* of 6 December 1980.[171] As medical practitioners who knew Leipoldt (Leipoldt himself was a medical doctor) their perspectives can be quite hard-hitting and this is important for the thesis, to see the different sides of the person. Louw's article entitled 'Leipoldt the Paediatrician' includes interesting biographical information about Leipoldt's chaotic bridge parties; it reveals furthermore that as a doctor in private practice he failed to earn a useful living because he hardly ever sent out accounts. It confirms that as far as Louw is concerned Leipoldt cannot be hailed as a great paediatrician.[172]

Mr Billy Muller, a resident of Cape Town, was a personal friend of Leipoldt. I interviewed Muller when he was 101 years old but still clear of mind.[173] Muller related many things

[167]M P O Burgers, 'Ou Briewe van Leipoldt Ontdek', *Die Huisgenoot*, 5 December 1955, p. 37.
[168]*Ibid*.
[169]BC94 B10.14 (Jagger).
[170]E M Sandler, 'C.Louis Leipoldt — Medical Student Extraordinary', Address at A J Orenstein Memorial Lecture, The Faculty of Health Sciences at the University of the Witwatersrand, 8 October 1980, (abridged).
[171]*South African Medical Journal*, 58(23), December 1980.
[172]J H Louw, 'Leipoldt the Paediatrician', *South African Medical Journal,* 58(23), December 1980, p. 920.
[173]On 24 September 2009, Billy's son, Dirk Muller (SC), at the time of Silwood Road, Rondebosch, took me to see his father at his home in Cape Town. The visit lasted approximately ninety minutes. Billy talked at length about his close association as a personal friend of C Louis Leipoldt. Needless to say, it was a rare and

including that Leipoldt was a prince of hearts in his home, that he enjoyed entertaining, that he was not particularly good at bridge, neither by any means at tennis. There is no claim from Leipoldt that he was necessarily good at any of these but mention of bridge and chess nevertheless features in his correspondence with friends whom he entertained at his home. The Van Zijls (Paul and Helm) came to play bridge and tennis on a regular basis and of course gourmandize with Leipoldt, who had the most bizarre palate. Two of his favourite dishes were octopus and snails, and he threatened to provide guests with a Chinese delicacy — baby white mice boiled in honey.[174]

1.4.5 – BIOGRAPHIES, WORKS AND STUDIES AGAINST WHICH *THE VALLEY* CAN BE READ

M P O Burgers's *C.L. Leipoldt, 'n Studie in Stof-keuse, -verwerking en –ontwikkeling*, includes an important study of the psychological aspect of some of Leipoldt's works.[175] Burgers's work is very important for a better understanding of Leipoldt's alleged Buddhist tendencies and sexual orientation, respectively. But Burgers criticizes Leipoldt for not making the chronicle of the Valley in *The Valley* come full circle, which is central to the idea behind the trilogy.[176] This is a fair comment but at the same time the way Leipoldt worked was quite haphazard and he was re-working material.

J C Kannemeyer's important and meticulous biography on Leipoldt is divided into sections. 'Deel 1' covers the time from birth in 1880 to the time Leipoldt left South Africa to work as a journalist for the pro-Boer paper, the *Manchester Guardian* in 1902. 'Deel II' covers the London period, from 1902 – 1914, including the trips abroad in 1908 to work in hospitals in Germany, Italy and Russia. During this time Leipoldt served as ship's doctor to J D Pulitzer for four months from October 1908 and he undertook a voyage to the Far East in 1912. 'Deel III' covers his work in the Transvaal[177] as a medical doctor working in schools from 1914 – 1923. The experiences gained from his work in the Bushveld led to the important

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fascinating experience. He told me that Leipoldt was quite useless at bridge, as well as at tennis, where he liked to stand at the net. The food served at dinner parties was nothing spectacular. But Leipoldt was a very good host and loved to have people visiting his home 'Arbury' in Kenilworth.

[174]J H Louw, 'Leipoldt the Paediatrician', *South African Medical Journal,* 58(23), December 1980, pp. 917 – 918.

[175]M P O Burgers, *C. L. Leipoldt, 'n Studie in Stof-keuse, -verwerking en -ontwikkeling*, Nasionale Boekhandel, Cape Town, 1960.

[176]*Ibid*., p. 131.

[177]Today known as Gauteng.

publication in 1937, of *Bushveld Doctor*. The final part is 'Deel IV', covering his second Cape Town period from 1925 until 1947 when he died. He was most prolific as a writer from the late twenties and early thirties, penning, among others, several novels and plays, including *Die Laaste Aand* (1930), *Die Donker Huis* (1931), *Afgode* (1931), *Die Kwaksalwer* (1931), *Die Bergtragedie* (1932), *Skoonheidstroos* (1932), *Die Rooi Rotte en ander Kortverhale* (1932), *Galgsalmander* (1932), *Die Moord op Muizenberg* (1932), *Die Dwergvroutjie* (1937), *Die Verbrande Lyk* (1934) and *Die Moord in die Bosveld* (1939). Historical works including *Die Groot Trek* (1938), *Die Hugenote* (1939) and *Jan van Riebeeck: die Grondlegger van 'n Blanke Suid-Afrika* (1938). Then there are a number of other topics, such as books on cookery, *Kos vir die Kenner* (1933) and *Polfyntjies vir die Proe* (published posthumously in 1963, from articles in *Die Huisgenoot* between 1942 – 1947), a travelogue, *Uit mij Oosterse Dagboek* (1932), the scientific study, *Bushveld Doctor* (1937) and a comprehensive cultural history, namely Chapter XXXII in Volume VIII of *The Cambridge History of the British Empire* (1936). It was during his second Cape Town period that he wrote the three novels that make up *The Valley* (1929 – 1932).

Kannemeyer's Leipoldt-biography won him the Helgaard Steyn award in 2000. Apart from Kannemeyer's biography on Leipoldt,[178] he published other works on Leipoldt, including *Uit die Skatkis van die Slampamperman: 'n Leipoldt-omnibus*, (1999) and *So Blomtuin-vol van Kleure: Leipoldt oor Clanwilliam* (1999) as well as a number of articles. The importance of J C Kannemeyer the biographer of Leipoldt also lies in his (Kannemeyer's) critical approach to textual studies. Kannemeyer has been described as one of 'the most erudite, authoritative, influential and productive littérateurs in the history of Afrikaans.'[179] Important from the view of research for this thesis is Kannemeyer's discussion about the three books making up the trilogy as well as the trilogy itself. Kannemeyer raised strong views about *The Valley,*[180] newly published at the time, in *Die Burger* of 17 December 2001 and these views are examined in Chapter 6 of this thesis. It is possible that Kannemeyer later on changed his mind about the actual value and quality of the trilogy, which was told to me by another student of the work of Leipoldt, Riaan Oppelt.[181] Several literary historians who have written

[178]J C Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, Tafelberg, Cape Town, 1999.
[179]For a biography of J C Kannemeyer see http://www.stellenboschwriters.com/kannemey.html.
[180]The title of Kannemeyer's article is 'Lywige roman-trilogie dra swaar aan mankemente.'
[181]Oppelt in an email to me dated 16 January 2012 said that Kannemeyer might have changed his mind about the literary value of *The Valley*: 'In a casual conversation I had with J C Kannemeyer two years ago, it almost seemed to me as if he may have been re-assessing the trilogy in his mind, but one never knows.'

about *The Valley,* however, are positive about its value and contribution to South African literary biography and Merrington as one of these strongly emphasizes the importance of reading and understanding it in its full thrust.

Merrington observes that *The Valley* was written 'when the white Union of South Africa experienced contestation between Anglophone and Dutch or Afrikaner political lobbies'.[182] This is an important point from which to try to understand *The Valley,* as one of its main themes is the changing relations between English and Afrikaans speakers in South African history during the period 1820 – 1930. Merrington discusses the fact that whereas Leipoldt has been received 'as a major figure within the Afrikaans literary canon', *The Valley* nevertheless reveals him 'as a dedicated liberal, squarely set against the isolationist policies of his Afrikaner peers.[183] Merrington's article, however, alerts one to the important Preller-Leipoldt polemic and debate. Out of all the articles covering *The Valley* Merrington's have proved by far the most comprehensive for an understanding of what Leipoldt wrote against: the Preller-Afrikaner-Voortrekker-based, heroic history – *volksgeskiedenis*, that dominated Afrikaner historiography for approximately 33 years, from 1905 to 1938 (and even beyond). The inspiration to study the Preller-Leipoldt debate/polemic stems directly from a reading of the Merrington's articles.[184]

Merrington has emphasized that *The Valley* must be seen in its full thrust by the way it discusses the basic themes and *topoi* that informs its logic such as the importance of deciding not to trek, the value of local, deep tradition, and for Leipoldt important themes such as degeneration. Just as the nationalists drew on a set of memory-based features, namely history, poetry, publications, enactments, buildings, monuments, all celebrating the Afrikaner past, to construct their Afrikaner nationalist *volksgeskiedenis*, so Leipoldt draws on material from the 1890s, into the 1920s, such as architecture, literature, husbandry, botany and scientific advancement. Merrington explains however, that Leipoldt was writing about a nostalgic past, of a possible South African identity, formed through Leipoldt's broad world-

[182]Peter Merrington, "C. Louis Leipoldt's 'Valley trilogy' and Contested South African Nationalisms in the Early Twentieth century", *Current Writing*, 15(2), 2003, pp. 32.
[183]*Ibid*.
[184]These texts are: Peter Merrington, 'Carrying the Torch: Dorothea Fairbridge and the Cape Loyalist Imagination', paper presented at the University of Pretoria, 2002, www.childlit.org.za/KonfBoerMerrington.html. Peter Merrington, 'C. Louis Leipoldt's "Valley trilogy" and Contested South African Nationalisms in the Early Twentieth century', *Current Writing*, 15(2), 2003; Peter Merrington, 'A Staggered Orientalism: The Cape-to-Cairo Imaginary', Poetics Today, 22(2), 2001, pp. 323-364.

view, but lamentably that this did not materialize because of the way the Nationalists established their ideology of race supremacy, and sectionalism. A study of the Preller-Leipoldt debate features in Chapters 3 to 5 of this thesis. In addition Merrington's views on the role of *The Valley* as South African fiction, is also used/explained elsewhere in this thesis.

Stephen Gray's work on marginal characters as major witnesses to their times, has included several studies on Leipoldt. One such study is the value of 'the related aspects of interpreting historical fiction as historical source material.'[185] Of significance in this paper is a point already referred to, namely how Leipoldt absorbed 'living oral Afrikaans history and converted it into written Afrikaans documentation.'[186] Gray worked on editing two of Leipoldt's novels; *Gallows Gecko* and *Stormwrack*. *Stormwrack* appeared in hard cover in edited form in the centenary year of the birth of Leipoldt (1980).[187] A paperback edition was published by Human & Rousseau in 2000. Gray explains the 'structural emendations' that he made to *Chameleon on the Gallows* (the name Gray gave to *Gallows Gecko*) for stylistic reasons, in the 'Introduction' to his edited version.[188] He explains *Chameleon on the Gallows* as an 'alternative version of history to the Trekker myth of white superiority'.[189] The voice of the character Everardus Nolte represents those who decided not to trek and who thus contributed significantly to the society where he lived (the district of the Cederberg). Everardus Nolte was worthy of admiration because he decided to stay behind and 'to fight for a bigger, better South Africa'.[190]

Riaan Oppelt has contributed a number of literary studies on Leipoldt's *The Valley*. One such study was presented in 2009 at the University of Stellenbosch, entitled 'Appreciation of

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[185]S Gray, 'Leipoldt's Valley Community: The Novelist as Archivist', *Social Dynamics*, 10(1), 1984, p. 46.
[186]*Ibid*. For the problem of oral to written memory see the review by Hans G Kippenberg, 'The Problem of Literacy in the History of religions', in *Numen*, Vol. XXXIX, Fasc. 1, June 1992, pp. 102 – 107. There are several articles that are reviewed, about the differences in oralcy and writing and the problem of memory, for instance, *Schrift und Gedächtnis : Beiträge zur Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation I* by Aleida Assmann, Jan Assmann & Christof Hardmeier, W Fink, Munich, 1983; *Kanon und Zensur. Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation II* by Aleida Assmann and Jan Assmann, W Fink, Munich, 1987; *Weisheit. Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation III* by Aleida Assmann. These volumes suggest a new era for the development in the study of religions, according to the reviewer Kippenberg, and that 'texts are forced to anticipate the reception of readers', which can point to a bigger role for reception ethics also in historical-fictional novels such as *The Valley*.
[187]C Louis Leipoldt, *Stormwrack* (ed. Stephen Gray), David Philip, Cape Town, 1980.
[188]C Louis Leipoldt, *Chameleon on the Gallows* (ed. Stephen Gray), Human and Rousseau, Cape Town, Pretoria, Johannesburg, 2000. See the 'Introduction' pp. 5 – 16.
[189]C Louis Leipoldt, *Chameleon on the Gallows* (ed. Stephen Gray), p. 12.
[190]*Ibid.*

Nature displaced by Organic Destruction in C. Louis Leipoldt's *Valley* Trilogy.' Oppelt refers to Leipoldt as a pioneer of Afrikaans drama, remembered for the:

> …ways in which he depicted nature in most of his works, with his reputation as a composer of romantic odes to the South African landscape and scenery possibly unchallenged in Afrikaans literature, which historically favours bonds between man and earth in most prose narratives, and poems...[191]

Discussing the novels under sub-headings, as follows, 'The uses of nature and the natural environment in the novel as a form of utopianism' (*Gallows Gecko*); 'Organic Destruction' (*Stormwrack*); and 'Social progress combined with environmental and moral "degeneration"' (*The Mask*), Oppelt examines each of the three novels together making up *The Valley* 'for its use of natural imagery' in serving Leipoldt's trajectory of growth and collapse and outlines his thesis as follows:

> The recent publication of Leipoldt's *Valley* trilogy, three novels written in English in the 1930s, but not published in his day, now reveals Leipoldt as an equally ardent 'nature scribe' in English-language South African literature. In the *Valley trilogy*, published in 2001, three novels, following each other chronologically, establish Leipoldt's commentary on how the unfolding of historical events in South Africa takes [*sic*] a negative impact on the South African landscape by way of using one particular setting, a Valley community in the Western Cape/Cape Colony, as a microcosm for viewing the contrast between the arrival of modernity and the gradual loss of natural scenery. By implication, Leipoldt's concept of modernity includes the growth of industry through the mining booms outside the Cape Colony, warfare between the two white sections of the Valley community, the generational seceding of language, nationalist political agitation and the formalizing of racial boundaries. Nature, in Leipoldt's employment, is the paper on which this tension is documented and while the overall historic sweep of the three novels, beginning in the 1840s and ending in the 1920s, is perhaps too ambitious for Leipoldt's many literary motifs, his thematic interest in natural scenery and its contribution to his sustained narrative emerges as purposeful and distinguished.[192]

Salomé Snyman has conducted studies on literature, to include a chapter on Leipoldt's *The Mask* in her doctoral dissertation and explains its historical importance:

> Leipoldt's novels therefore present an absorbing portrait of a period which deserves more attention for its historical interest alone. He also skilfully exploits the allegoric-referential possibilities of the small-town microcosm to comment on the country as a whole and to expose the discrepancies in South African society with regard to the actual/ideal dichotomy developed by Kearney in his work, *Representing Dissension*: *Riot*, *Rebellion and Resistance in the South African English Novel* (2003), by showing

[191]Riaan Oppelt, 'Appreciation of Nature displaced by Organic Destruction in C. Louis Leipoldt's *Valley* Trilogy.' The paper was delivered at the English Department of the University of Stellenbosch on 25 August, 2009, and attended by me.
[192]Riaan Oppelt, 'Appreciation of Nature displaced by Organic Destruction in C. Louis Leipoldt's *Valley* Trilogy.'

> how his ideal of a liberal, tolerant, compassionate society was debased to a divisive, intolerant society, driven by prejudice and resentment.[193]

Burgers, Kannemeyer, Merrington, Gray, Oppelt, Snyman and Van Der Merwe, have all somehow commented on the status of *The Valley*, some positively and in a few cases, negatively. Whatever the case, it does however seem that there is much literary benefit to be derived from reading *The Valley*, and that out of a reading of this work, a strong historical component emerges, such as the changes brought about in society because of degeneration, the use of a small-town microcosm to paint a bigger picture of the future of South Africa, changing national identities, an alternative version of South African history (the Great Trek myth), the contestation between English and Afrikaans ideology, and, not forgetting the invaluable role of the translation by Leipoldt of oralcy to the written text. Most of all, however, *The Valley* can be viewed as an oppositional text, to the dominant Afrikaner narrative of Gustav S Preller.

1.5 – CONCLUSION

This chapter has introduced *The Valley* of C Louis Leipoldt as a literary work of fiction that has the possibilities of exposing readers to an alternative history to the Preller project, and as an alternative form of history as a work of fiction, to standard histories. The development of historical events in South Africa in the 1920s began to disturb Leipoldt. He was certainly hoping for a South African national identity, above the emerging sectarian Nationalist one that was rising, which to a large extent was propagated by Preller. Preller's historiography is the summative, contrary emphasis at the end of the full sweep of *The Valley* in its fullest possible thrust. Leipoldt conducts this sustained debate that local, deep-rooted tradition, as part of the Western cultural development, is preferable to and more lasting than Preller's partisan, sectionalist, sectarian, racist-based history that idolizes the Voortrekker movement from the Cape and establishes an inclusive political ideology as a result. Thus Leipoldt boldly took on Preller's foundational myth and presented his own world-view based on a Cape-based, Unionist-loyalist paradigm that campaigned for universal brotherhood, as a lasting way forward for a country plagued by division. In this way he was also prophetic.

[193]Salome Snyman, "The Small-Town Novel in South African English literature (1910-1948)", unpublished D.Litt thesis, University of Pretoria, 2009.

Although the fiction Leipoldt wrote in *The Valley* took the form of prose inter-dispersed with dialogue, it might also be seen as the work of a journalist conveying the immediacy of the situation, as if writing up the lead-page in the morning journal. Take, for instance, the incident of the fire during the war that was responsible for the destruction of the books he used to love reading there, such as Browning, Scott and other classics. What of the way he felt about the lot of average inhabitants caught up in the cross-fire in the war between Kruger and Milner? And now more recently, he feels in the twenties in South African history that the hypocrisy of 'clever' politicians, promoting their cause through anti-English sentiment among other things, is taking the country down the narrow path of sectionalism. It might well be that Leipoldt was writing the fiction from the history of the great tragedy that befell a Cape Colonial town such as Clanwilliam, as an allegory for what he saw was coming.

As we are dealing in this study with history and fiction, the theory and methodology employed needs to examine *The Valley* against the background of a number of different (kinds of) theoretical texts and contextualizing literature. The first kind is obviously the purely theoretical kind, from the field of philosophy of history that covers the issue of historical representation and representationalism. For this *The Valley* was analysed in terms of Hayden White's theory of historical representation. As his theory seems to have lost its vigour when faced with phenomena such as memory and trauma, philosopher of history, Eelco Runia sees it necessary to posit a variation to White through the 'presence paradigm.' By this is meant 'the unrepresented way the past is present in the present.' The possibility of *The Valley* for this variation in the field of history was examined, especially where communities and descendants are faced with phenomena such as memory, remembrance and trauma.

F R Ankersmit's theory that presence together with myth can enhance the understanding of representation and his appeal to Runia's notion of 'parallel processes', was examined. The theory espoused by philosophers of history Jonas Grethlein and Paul Ricoeur, respectively, revealed it might be possible to extend the scope for access to the past, by a reading of Leipoldt's historical fiction. Grethlein's notion of 'side-shadowing', and Ricoeur's views of the intertwining of history and fiction, can serve as examples for this. Not least resulting from a study of the theories of these philosophers of history, is the fact that reader response and ethics, in the process, can be enhanced. In all these ways, the chances for the scope for historical knowledge to be expanded become more possible.

The second kind of text is the one that serves as historiographic background to the history that Leipoldt writes about. The works of historians such as Robert Ross, Timothy Keegan, Saul Dubow and Martin Legassick serve as suitable examples of this. This contextualizing literature can demonstrate that *The Valley* as a book corresponds to so much that occurred in South Africa at the time and that it is historically based. Leipoldt saw South African politics and culture changing, possibly heading for another catastrophic situation, another disaster, another *stormwrack*. These ideas were fuelled by the policies of the Hertzog administration from the mid-1920s, taking the nation on a course less inclusive and representative of the people in the country at the time. It took someone as astute as Leipoldt, which we can see from his fiction corroborated in his scientific work, to predict the gloomy future derived from the segregationist system that befell South African society and lasted for half a century.

This is followed by the contextualizing literature from Leipoldt's early life, particularly as it relates to Clanwilliam, the place of his birth. We therefore come to appreciate how the building blocks for *The Valley* as they are constructed, fit in. At the same time, we get a glimpse into the world of Leipoldt's fiction, to see just how much history there really is behind *The Valley* project. Added to these are other seminal texts, a knowledge of which provides a broader understanding of Leipoldt's fiction, such as the letters to Dr Bolus, Aucamp's fictitious account of the voyage on Pulitzer's yacht, Leipoldt's correspondence with Engelenburg, to name some. One can see the other side of Leipoldt, from this, and this provides a valuable counter view — rare insights into why *The Valley* was written.

Finally, we read about the views of others, on *The Valley*. J C Kannemeyer held the view that as a literary work, it was not worthy of publication as such (although he conceded it could be of value for students wishing to pursue further studies). Others such as Gray, Merrington, Van Zyl, Oppelt and Snyman see *The Valley* in a much more positive light, literary speaking, although each in his/her own way comment on the historical side of the novels as well. They recognise it for the way it gives a number of insights into Leipoldt, as well as the circumstances of the time he was writing about. But not least are the insights and views of Leipoldt himself, in *The Valley*, much of which has been corroborated from other works and from history. Above all, it is argued, reading *The Valley* can provide an understanding of the deep-seated emotions and sentiments that characterized the thinking of society at the time his novels are set, something which is not so easy to get from the reading of first-referenced history texts. Leipoldt was ahead of his time, but his thoughts did not just

fall from heaven like manna. They were the result of his own carefully thought-out theories such as on language, nationhood, race, degeneration and genetics, some of which he expressed in his fiction. It behoves us the readers to translate a knowledge of them into reality.

CHAPTER 2

AN ALTERNATIVE FORM OF HISTORY— RE-PRESENTATION IN 'THE VALLEY' TRILOGY, THE PAST IN THE PRESENT

2.1 – INTRODUCTION

> But, while the Leipoldt archives are intended to be major artefacts in our literature, for the historian it remains of interest that the haunting voices of our real past remain stored in them, ready for release in the always new present.[1] – Stephen Gray.

Chapter 1 introduced the topic that is covered by this thesis, to view *The Valley* as an alternative form of history, to standard histories, and, related to this, to view *The Valley* as a counter- or oppositional narrative to the Gustav Preller *volksgeskiedenis* developed over the course of the period 1905 to 1938 that emerged as the dominant Afrikaner-nationalist public history at the time. Leipoldt constructed his historical fiction, in a way that strikes a chord with the words of philosopher of history, Paul Ricoeur, when he says, 'by opening us to the unreal, [fiction] leads us to what is essential in reality.'[2]

Chapter 2 discusses a selection of works on the theory of history, to see to what extent *The Valley* might serve as an alternative form of history to the conventional first-referenced, retrospective historical work. Hayden White is a leading philosopher of history in the field of narrative history and thus it seems appropriate to begin with a study of his works. The works of other philosophers of history F R Ankersmit, Eelco Runia, Jonas Grethlein and Paul Ricoeur are examined as a further investigation for historical meaning in fictional history texts. White describes the historical work as 'a verbal structure in the form of a narrative prose discourse that purports to be a model, or icon, of past structures and processes in the interest of explaining what they were by representing them.'[3] In addition, the works of Auerbach, Frye, Burke, Gombrich and Goodman can be seen as part of the debate on historical representation as they 'have given rise to a general concept of the *fictional*

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[1]Stephen Gray, 'Leipoldt's Valley Community: The Novelist as Archivist', *Social Dynamics*, 10(1), 1984, p. 51.
[2]Paul Ricoeur, *Hermeneutics & the Human Sciences, Essays on Language, Action and Interpretation*, edited & translated by John B. Thompson, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, first published 1981, reprinted 1982, p. 296.
[3]Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1973, p. 2.

representation of reality, the horizon of which is sufficiently broad to encompass both the writing of history and fiction, whether the latter be literary, pictorial or plastic'.[4]

It can be argued that White's theory of representationalism does not cover re-presenting historical phenomena such as memory, remembrance and trauma. Topics for this that come to mind can include the effects on the South African War on society at the time, and more recently in South Africa's history, the testimonies before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Traumatic events in South Africa's past can present ruptures and discontinuities (distorted memories) and this in turn can affect how the history is represented. Eelco Runia's idea of 'presence' in history resulting from the notion of so-called 'parallel processes', provides an opportunity to re-create past experiences in the present. Whilst the prominent Dutch philosopher of history F R Ankersmit finds common ground with some of Runia's thoughts, he argues for presentism and myth (together) as a way of understanding the past. The classical scholar, Jonas Grethlein, combines the idea of narrativity with experientiality and the introduction of devices such as 'side-shadowing' to create meaning in literary texts. This chapter also looks at a combination of ideas from Paul Ricoeur, to create an understanding of the position of the historical work and the work of historical fiction, as in C Louis Leipoldt's *The Valley*.

As *The Valley* is narrative fiction (deconstructivist), the voices of serious criticism against postmodernism and deconstructivism need to be heard and a selection of history theorists in this field have been selected for this purpose, namely Eric Hobsbawm, Richard Evans *et al*. At the same time it is recognized that newer trends in the theory of the philosophy of history promoting aspects such as historical representation and the newer field in the theory of history, cultural memory, need to be examined, such as the theories of Astrid Erll, Anne Rigney and Aleida Assmann. An important notion for the thesis is Hobsbawm and Ranger's *The Invention of Tradtion*, which examines existing as well as new traditions, through a series of case studies. Leipoldt's *The Valley* emphasizes the value of existing, deep, local tradition rather than turning one's back on it for something new, such as racism, as subtly and almost

[4]Paul Ricoeur, *Hermeneutics & the Human Sciences, Essays on Language, Action and Interpretation*, edited & translated by John B. Thompson, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, first published 1981, reprinted 1982, p. 290.

subliminally propagated by Gustav Preller who constructed his Voortrekker narrative around this notion (thus inventing a new tradition).[5]

2.2 – HAYDEN WHITE'S THEORY OF HISTORICAL REPRESENTATION

Hayden White is particularly known for the way he analysed the literary structures of the most significant works of nineteenth- and twentieth-century European historians and philosophers, to come up with certain deductions about the status of historical texts, and from this, to come to certain conclusions about the nature of historical representation. A study of White's work, it is argued, can also throw light on the status of the historical-fictional texts as they share areas of common interest with history texts, such as the role of rhetoric, a development of historical consciousness, the narrative construct of the text, and figures of speech (tropes) – metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and irony. All of these play a role in organizing information into a larger whole (constructionism) which can mean that it might not necessarily just be the evidence that will determine a historian's perspective and interpretation. In this way historical texts can be seen as creative, narrative constructs and rhetorical devices (this from Vico), open to interpretation. Whilst there will be mild to serious voices of protest to White's method, he nevertheless remains an important part of the study of historical representation of the last forty years, even if it has only been to evoke a series of questions about historical writing.

White suggested that an objective form of historical writing was impossible and his great contribution to the field of the philosophy of history is that he dissembled the barriers between history, philosophy of history and historical representation. This notion of history that he defended as narrative, he termed 'metahistory' and asserted that modern history texts are not accurate representations of the past, because of the vague assumptions that are made

[5]One of the cultural media for propagating Preller's ideas of a national Afrikaner consciousness was film-making – he was personally involved in the making of *De Voortrekkers* in 1916. The Department of Native Affairs objected to the film on the basis it would mimic armed conflict (A787 Preller Collection, Volume 266, I W Schlesinger in a letter to Preller, 8 July 1916). However, Preller enjoyed a close association with the Prime Minister General Louis Botha (whom he refered to as *Oubaas*) who had taken a personal interest in the film and used his influence to have the project go ahead (certain Transvaal Resident Magistrates had protested). He wrote how the script he had written was so realistic the film had a kind of wizardry that made people imagine they were seeing the event unfold in front of their eyes, as it happened in 1838. (A787 Preller Collection, Volume 267, in a letter from Preller to Bodenstein, 22 January 1917).

by the authors in arranging, selecting, and interpreting events. He is best known for his classic work *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (1973).[6]

White specifically chose nineteenth century historians, philosophers and social theorists because as a medievalist scholar he was closer to them (in knowledge) than more modern historians. At the time of the nineteenth century, '"History" was considered to be a specific mode of existence, "historical consciousness" a distinctive mode of thought, and "historical knowledge" an autonomous domain in the spectrum of the human and physical sciences'.[7] The twentieth century saw a change come about in the status of history with modern thinkers casting doubts on 'the value of a specifically "historical" consciousness', according to White, 'stressing the fictive character of historical reconstructions, and challenged history's claims to a place among the sciences.'[8] And in the same way that doubts are cast on the status of history as a rigorous science, the status of history excludes it being a genuine art.[9] From this, White reaches the conclusion that 'in short, it is possible to view historical consciousness as a specifically Western prejudice by which the presumed superiority of modern, industrial society can be retroactively substantiated.'[10]

In this way, White comes up with his own analysis of the historical imagination of certain European nineteenth-century historians and philosophers of history, in order to throw new light on the current debate over the nature and function of historical knowledge. He does this on two levels of inquiry; firstly to examine the works of historians and then of philosophers of history, both from the same period (nineteenth century). Then he looks for the characteristics of different conceptions of the historical processes in the works of four historians (narrators); and then he aims to determine the possible theories which the philosophers used to justify historical thinking. White explains his method, as follows:

> My method, in short, is formalist. I will not try to decide whether a given historian's work is a better, or more correct, account of a specific set of events or segment of the historical process than some other historian's account of them; rather, I will seek to identify the structural components of those accounts.[11]

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[6]Hayden White, *Metahistory: the Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-century Europe*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1973, p. 1.
[7]*Ibid.*, p. 1.
[8]*Ibid.*, pp. 1 – 2.
[9]*Ibid.*, p. 2.
[10]*Ibid.*
[11]*Ibid*, pp. 3 – 4.

The selection of White is (historians) Michelet, Ranke, Tocqueville and Burckhardt and (philosophers of history) Hegel, Marx, Nietzsche and Croce. For White 'their status as possible models of historical representation or conceptualization' does not 'depend upon the nature of the "data" they used to support their generalizations or the theories they invoked to explain them.'[12] According to White, 'it depends rather upon the consistency, coherence and illuminative power of their respective visions of the historical field.'[13] Therefore as models of history they cannot be 'refuted' or their generalizations 'disconfirmed', 'either by appeal to new data that might be turned up in subsequent research or by the elaboration of a new theory for interpreting the sets of events that comprise their objects of representation or analysis.'[14] White explains further, referring to these historians and philosophers that: 'their status as models of historical narration and conceptualization depends, ultimately, on the pre-conceptual and specifically poetic nature of their perspectives on history and its processes.'[15]

White uses the ideas and thoughts as expressed above, 'as a justification of a formalist approach to the study of historical thinking in the nineteenth century.'[16] This, then, constitutes White's notion of formalism. However, if we consider the histories produced by the master historians of the nineteenth century, then we see radically different conceptions of 'what "the historical work" should consist of as formal verbal structures.'[17] These ideas are obviously much more thoroughly explained by White, but for the moment it is sufficient to conclude that the differences that the historical thinkers of the period have, might arise from a difference in historical imagination which can lead to different styles of historical thinking.[18]

White's model for historical texts as models of historical narration can be of significance to *The Valley* as it is in the form of historical narration which stays close to the main events that occurred in South African history for a period of hundred years — *Gallows Gecko* discusses the gradual settlement of Boer and British settlers from about 1820 to the time of representative government in the Cape Colony in 1845; *Stormwrack* discusses the way the

[12]Hayden White, *Metahistory: the Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-century Europe*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1973, p. 4.
[13]*Ibid.*, p. 4.
[14]*Ibid.*, p. 4.
[15]*Ibid.*, p. 4.
[16]*Ibid.*, p. 4.
[17]*Ibid.*, p. 4.
[18]*Ibid.,* p. 5.

South African War 'recoils as an invasion back into Cape territory'[19] and *The Mask* shows the community of 'the Valley' in its modern guise. History and historical fiction both use chronicle and story as their 'stock in trade' although postmodern fiction can jumble the time sequence ('past present future') whilst the historian arranges the events in the chronicle by organizing them all into a story through a 'process of happenings' (White refers to this as possessing a discernible beginning, middle and end).[20] Writing history, however, transforms the chronicle into story and is affected 'by the characterization of some events in the chronicle in terms of inaugural motifs, of others in terms of terminating motifs, and yet of others in terms of transitional motifs.'[21] This means that a given set of events has been 'motifically encoded.'[22] Historical stories therefore 'trace the sequences of events that lead from inaugurations to (provisional) terminations of social and cultural processes in a way that chronicles are not required to do.'[23]

The latter ideas can in some cases also be applicable to historical fictional texts, such as *The Valley,* written for serialization, and as such, contextualized for Leipoldt's readership. His work *Galgsalmander,* the forerunner to *Gallows Gecko*, was originally a bucolic comedy set in the Valley, that appeared in serialized form for in *Die Huisgenoot* from 30 August 1929 to 3 January 1930. Later, it was reworked into the more serious and far-reaching novel *Gallows Gecko*. But for the fictitious accounts to be binding, the version written for serialization would need to consist of a strong follow-able story to get the readers' interest.

However, there are some clear differences between history and fiction according to the White model. White's view is that 'the aim of the historian is to explain the past by "finding", "identifying", or "uncovering" the "stories" that lie buried in the chronicles; and that the difference between "history" and "fiction" resides in the fact that the historian "finds" his stories, whereas the fiction writer "invents" his.'[24] Historians' methodology therefore necessitates the connections between events 'which make of them elements in a follow-able story', to be distinguished from the structure of the entire set of events which make up the

[19]Stephen Gray, 'Leipoldt's Valley Community: The Novelist as Archivist', *Social Dynamics*, 10(1), 1984, p. 50.
[20]Hayden White, *Metahistory: the Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-century Europe*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1973, p. 5.
[21]*Ibid.*, p. 5.
[22]*Ibid.*, p. 6.
[23]*Ibid.*
[24]*Ibid.*, p. 6.

completed story; and this calls for a 'synoptic judgement of the relationship between a given story and other stories that might be "found", "identified" or "uncovered" in the chronicle.'[25]

But it is not as straightforward as it may seem and neither does the White model have to be adhered to for novelists working with historical fiction. After all, as artists, their imagination is a strong feature of their writing. Admittedly, White concedes that the distinctions he makes among chronicle, story and plot probably have more value for the analysis for historical works, than for works of literary fiction.[26] This is because unlike literary fictions, historical works 'are made up of events that exist outside the consciousness of the writer'[27] whereas 'the events reported in a novel can be invented in a way that they cannot be (or are not supposed to be) in a history.'[28]

It is therefore quite hard 'to distinguish between the chronicle of events and the story being told in literary fiction'[29] because, for instance, in Mann's *Buddenbrooks*, the 'story' being told is indistinguishable from the 'chronicle' of events 'reported in the work'.[30] In his synopsis to *Stormwrack*, Leipoldt refers to it as 'A Tale of the Valley'[31] thus admitting it is a story. In the last three lines of his synopsis of *The Mask* Leipoldt writes about the 'rounding off of the chronicle'[32] so here we have story but with a time-line. So, for Leipoldt it might be difficult to distinguish between the chronicle of events and the story — however, there is a definite sequence: Great Trek, the establishment of Parliament, the Jameson Raid, the South African War, the Pact government's policies — because the fiction and history are quite closely related. Like *Buddenbrooks, The Valley* as a whole might be categorized as ironic tragedy in terms of White's model. This might be explained by the way the degeneration of a previously strong society based on good tradition and values, gives way to sectarian interests, and degradation, in social relations.

In White's model of historical constructionism, after the chronicle-story, four sections follow. The first is the idea of emplotment as a way by which 'a sequence of events fashioned into a

[25]Hayden White, *Metahistory: the Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-century Europe*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1973, p. 7.
[26]*Ibid.*, p. 6.
[27]*Ibid.*
[28]*Ibid.*
[29]*Ibid.*
[30]*Ibid.*
[31]BC94 A7.8 (Jagger).
[32]*Ibid.*

story is gradually revealed to be a story of a particular kind.'[33] Basically put, this category involves a level of conceptualization whereby the historian emplots the narrative account of what happened. Taking his line from the Canadian literary critic Northrop Frye,[34] White identified at least four different modes of emplotment — romance, tragedy, comedy and satire and acknowledges that there might be others such as epic. The four nineteenth century writers studied by White each had their own mode of emplotment; Michelet cast his stories in the romantic mode; Ranke in the comic; Toqueville in the tragic; and Burckhardt in the satirical. White explains that each of these plot structures 'has its implications for the cognitive operations by which the historian seeks to "explain" what was "really happening" during the process of which it provides an image of its true form.'[35] These categories can be further explained – romance (good triumphs over evil); tragedy (a person resigns to the conditions of labour); comedy (temporary triumph over hardship or evil) and satire (a person is a captive of the world).[36] It is possible to explain the work more fully, by grafting the linguistic element (the choice of trope, whereby its own characteristic is going to determine the way pieces of information will be organized into the larger whole of the text) onto the notion of emplotment.[37] For instance, in *Gallows Gecko* you have ironic romance (things turn out differently to when they started, and all live happily ever after) and in *Stormwrack* ironic tragedy (the factors leading to catastrophe are slowly combining, without the characters knowing).

The second part of White's model is made up of the different arguments[38]; formist (classifying or identifying objects or events), mechanist (events belong to specific classes/phenomena), organicist (events belong to parts of a greater/larger process), and contextualist (the relations of events to another event of the same time period to explain it).[39] Here White looks at what is the purpose of it all; what does it add up to; what is the point of it all? A detailed account of these four arguments is given by White (pp. 11 – 21 in

[33]Hayden White, *Metahistory: the Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-century Europe*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1973, p. 7.
[34]Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1957.
[35]Hayden White, *Metahistory: the Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-century Europe*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1973, p. 11.
[36]Alex Kaufman explains these concepts in more depth in http://web.ics.purdue.edu/~comitatu/PDF/Misc/misc_hayden_white.pdf.
[37]Paul Ricoeur, *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences – Essays on Language, Action and Interpretation*, edited, translated and introduced by John B. Thompson, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981, reprinted 1982, p. 290.
[38]Hayden White, *Metahistory: the Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-century Europe*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1973, pp. 11 *et seq.*
[39]Alex Kaufman, http://web.ics.purdue.edu/~comitatu/documents/Theory/HaydenWhite.pdf.

Metahistory), and it is by no means an easy task to say how *The Valley* might fit into his model, especially as it is a trilogy, made up of different books. One possible way of applying the White model (in terms of explanation by formal argument), onto *The Valley*, is to look at combinations of arguments. In *The Valley*, for instance, it might be necessary first to classify or identify events; before revealing 'the relations of any specific event to other events of the same time period in order to explain it.'[40] But these explanations by formal argument nevertheless tell us more about what it all adds up to; what is the point of it all, and possibly Leipoldt is explaining that when you throw all these factors into the mix, this is what you get, degeneration, change as with the third and fourth generations, like in the case of Santa in *The Mask*, where the conditions in the Valley have altered.

The third category of White's theory consists of the different tropes used in language. This can be explained as 'the use of poetic language by historians to imagine and construct a particular history.'[41] These can also be referred to as rhetorical styles which White suggests are metaphor, synecdoche, metonymy and irony (tropes/imagery/literary devices).[42] It is possible for tropes to be employed in fiction to cloak historical meaning, a good example of which is explained in a reading of Mario Vargas Llosa's 'Novels Disguised as History: The Chronicles of the Birth of Peru.'[43] For instance, Llosa's 'history' might be used for comparing with the 'formal', Western *History of Peru* by William Hickling Prescott.[44] In the same way, in Leipoldt's *The Valley* these 'tropes permit the characterization of objects in different kinds of indirect, or figurative, discourse.'[45] For instance, any harsh criticism of certain politicians or the iniquitous policies of the Nationalists in the 1920s in South African history, is cloaked in the Leipoldt fiction, clear of any possible direct embarrassment or culpability, since he knew some of these politicians personally, and after all, he was a well-established author, well-known in a society of mostly the Afrikaans-speaking community but also in English circles, at the time.

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[40]Alex Kaufman, http://web.ics.purdue.edu/~comitatu/documents/Theory/HaydenWhite.pdf.
[41]Hayden White, *Metahistory: the Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-century Europe*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1973, p. 31 *et seq.*
[42]*Ibid.*
[43]A review of Llosa's work can be found on http://www.complete-review.com/reviews/vargas/writers.htm.
[44]William Hickling Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Peru*, 1847; Mario Vargas Llosa's lecture, 'Novels Disguised as History: The Chronicles of the Birth of Peru', was published in *A Writer's Reality*, edited and with an Introduction by Myron I Lichtblau, 1991, based on lectures delivered (in English) at Syracuse University in 1988.
[45]Hayden White, *Metahistory: the Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-century Europe*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1973, p. 31 and again p. 34.

In this sense, Leipoldt's writing is never objectively or empirically verifiable, yet it somehow comments on the reality of the situation, sometimes allegorically, or using the fiction to cloak reality. In the following passage we see Leipoldt take a swipe at the hypocrisy of politicians (who are thought to be clever/cunning and as such are worshipped as idols yet who mask their hypocrisy – hence the title of the book, *The Mask*, and also Leipoldt's preferred title, 'Idols') such as possibly even 'Slim Jannie' which was the nickname for General Smuts.[46] T J Haarhoff writes that Smuts 'did not appreciate the fresh genius of C. Louis Leipoldt, a member of his own party, and a candidate at one of his elections'.[47] A piece in *The Mask* demonstrates this aspect well, whereby there is real cleverness based on one's true wisdom, against a cleverness based on one's cunning and expedience (such as practised by hypocritical) politicians.[48]

For White, the narrative construct brings together the imaginary (historical imagination) and the real such as in *The Valley* blending fiction with historical events. There is the imaginary detail made up from names and places derived from Leipoldt's historical memory which can be traced back to real people as in his jottings[49] as well as his reference to places that actually exist, and in this context White is important: 'They (tropes) are especially useful for understanding the operations by which the contents of experience which resist description in unambiguous prose representations can be pre-figuratively grasped and prepared for conscious apprehension.'[50]

The fourth and final category in White's theory is the concept of ideology[51] and there are four categories that make up this section: anarchist, a belief in the necessity of structural transformations, abolishing society and replacing it with a community; radical, the reconstitution of society on a new basis; conservative, historical evolution as a progressive

[46]The notes in an interview with M P O Burgers reflect the view held by Leipoldt that Smuts possessed a diabetic temperament. Leipoldt makes the connection between Smuts and Leipoldt's mother who in Leipoldt's opinion was a bit crazy ('moeder altyd 'n bietjie mal'). These details are in BC94 E2.3 (Jagger).
[47]T J Haarhoff, *Smuts the Humanist*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1970, pp. 41 – 42. Leipoldt was nominated the South African Party candidate for Wonderboom South (SAP, the party led by J C Smuts). It lost the election in June 1924.
[48]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, pp. 596 – 597.
[49]BC 94 A5.1 – 5.9 (Jagger). These notebooks have not been dated and there is no order to the way they function, hence the term 'jottings'. But they contain a great deal of important information in the 'puzzle' of understanding detail about *The Valley*. Several of them are Leipoldt's medical journals/notebooks he used as far back as the time he was a doctor in London (1907 – 1914).
[50]Hayden White, *Metahistory: the Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-century Europe*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1973, p. 34.
[51]*Ibid.*, pp. 22 *et seq.*

elaboration basing itself on the current institutional structure; and lastly liberal, where people strive for a Utopian society.[52] The following excerpt from T J Haarhoff places Leipoldt in this liberal context:

> In the development of South Africanism, Leipoldt was more far-seeing than either the narrow Afrikaner Nationalist, or the single-cultured English South African. Even in this country people find it hard to understand the man of two languages and cultures.[53]

In this sense the central character in *Stormwrack* Andrew Quakerley (because of his excellent breeding) comes to learn great tolerance, and looks to understand the position of both English and Afrikaans speakers in South Africa at the time once he abandons his own English-based nationalism at first loyal to his ingrained English ideals. Writing in retrospect, in *The Mask*, about Andrew Quakerley and his garden, Leipoldt comments on this character: 'The Village still remembered that garden, as one remembers things of which legends speak, things not quite positively proved but so strongly stressed by tradition that belief in them was significant of a liberal toleration.'[54]

Although White has been criticized by some circles for his use of nineteenth century texts as examples of specific historiographic tropes, his approach to historical representation nevertheless widens the possibilities for constructing historical meaning and extends the scope of historiography. The subjective fiction of a writer such as Louis Leipoldt surely also qualifies for scrutiny under the White model as has been shown. As the historian does, so does the writer of fiction use history and the events in the chronicle which he/she somehow arranges into a hierarchy of significance in emplotting a story. In the case of *The Valley* there are three stories (in the novels) that make up the 'whole set of events considered a comprehensible process with a discernible beginning, middle and end', to apply White's words. The structure of the entire set of events that make up the completed story of *The Valley* is what we have in the fictional account of C Louis Leipoldt, which is the full thrust of the novels, informed by the Preller foundational, Afrikaner myth. There are differences between the methodologies with regards to the positivistic approach in referencing pursued by the historian, but the writer of historical fiction must also take historical development into account. But the writer of fiction can create her/his own new world and into it invent

[52]Alex Kaufman in http://web.ics.purdue.edu/~comitatu/documents/Theory/HaydenWhite.pdf.
[53] J J Haarhoff, *Smuts the Humanist*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1970, p. 89.
[54]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 608.

characters and places around the history as a form of allegory, as Dante Alighieri[55] does in his *Divine Comedy*. Leipoldt does this in *The Valley*. In his poem 'In die Konsentrasiekamp' (1901), Leipoldt prefaces his poem with Dante's words: 'O Pazienza, pazienza che tanto sostieni!' (Oh patience, patience, how much you endure!).[56] Leipoldt read Dante and, it seems, knew what it meant to write allegorically.

2.2.1 – WHITE'S THEORY ASSESSED

White questions the notion of objectivity and in this context Alan Munslow's views of him are important for this chapter: 'If by implication, history, like science, is now under challenge today, it is presumed to be partly because of the traumatic events of the twentieth century which have meant a loss of confidence in our ability to relate the past or, as Keith Jenkins describes it, "the general failure … of that experiment in social living which we call modernity"'.[57] As the traumatic events of the twentieth century, and particularly so after the war in Vietnam, and later, as Communism started to collapse in the Soviet Union, writers of historical theory began to question master-narratives and the status of historical knowledge and its ability to express 'truth' as scientific knowledge. So structuralism and historical writing were challenged especially by French philosophers of history like Michel Foucault who defined discourse in a new way and Jacques Derrida challenged rationality. The following words from University of Stellenbosch philosopher and academic, J J Degenaar, resonate strongly with this period: 'In this historical context facts are not simply given; they are rather discursive constructions created in a specific paradigm.'[58] To this Alun Munslow would explain that what we get from the deconstructive consciousness is that the past is never fixed, 'whether in terms of its epistemology, treatment of evidence, the construction of explanations or the precise nature of our explanatory narrative form.'[59]

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[55]C Louis Leipoldt, *Jeugherinneringe,* p. 4, refers to his love for Dante.
[56]C Louis Leipoldt, 'In die Konsentrasiekamp' in *Oom Gert Vertel en ander Gedigte*, with the Introduction by Johannes J Smith, HAUM, Cape Town, J H De Bussy, Pretoria, Johannesburg, 1911, pp. 35 – 36. These words are from Canto XXI of the Paradise of *The Divine Comedy* by Dante Alighieri.
[57]Alun Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, Routledge, London, pp. 14 – 15; the reference is to Keith Jenkins, *On 'what is History?' from Carr and Elton to Rorty and White,* Routledge, London, 1995, p. 6.
[58]J J Degenaar, in 'Historical Discourse as Fact-bound Fiction', in M C Doeser & J N Kraay (eds.), *"Facts and Values: Philosophical Reflections from Western and non-Western Perspectives",* Martinus Nijhoff, Dordrecht, Boston and Lancaster, 1986, p. 65.
[59]Alun Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 16.

Munslow further explains that 'as we deconstruct the past we deconstruct the history we write about'; and, 'as we deconstruct the past we inevitably deconstruct the discipline'.[60] Munslow suggests that a study of White's work 'does not stop us from studying the content of the past, what the past was about, but it casts such a study in a radically different light.'[61] And 'It opens up a new vision of how to treat the past at its most basic cultural level, that is, at the level of narrative.'[62] Thus: 'Because the character of historical interpretation resides in its narrative structure, historical knowledge is generated by the constant debates between narratives (interpretations) rather than the primeval, uninscripted and uncontextualized traces of the past.'[63]

White's formalism tells us that 'history is a process of continuous intertextual reinscription composed and conducted by the historian — it is primarily an act of literary creation.'[64] And because there is this intertextuality within our own social and political environment 'the past is never discovered in a world set aside from everyday life'[65] (Leipoldt was writing his historical fiction to convey immediacy for his readers, to relate to the past), and 'Alongside the tropically prefigured epistemic model of cultural formation provided by Michel Foucault, White's formalist theory of historical narrative offers a morphology for the study of the past.'[66] However, much criticism of White's arguments exist, for instance from classic historians who claim that the value of the historical work depends on 'hard archival research.'[67] Possibly one of the most powerful attacks on White comes from Carlo Ginzburg who holds White responsible for eliminating the research for truth as the main task of the historian; 'the debate about truth is the most important intellectual issue.'[68] Whilst Nancy Partner shows much appreciation for White, she nevertheless understands the historian's preference for 'authorial intention in favour of textual

[60]Alun Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p. 144.
[61]*Ibid.*, p. 145.
[62]*Ibid.*, p. 145.
[63]*Ibid.*, p. 161.
[64]*Ibid.*, p. 161.
[65]*Ibid.*, p. 162.
[66]*Ibid.*, p. 162.
[67]Georg G Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: from Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge*, University Press of New England, Hanover. NH, 1997, p. 140, in Paul Sutermeister, *Hayden White or History as Narrative: A Constructive Approach to Historiography, 'Scholarly Essay',* Graduate Institute of International Studies, Gene, 2004, in http://www.grin.com/en/e-book/109135/hayden-white-history-as-narrative-a-constructive-approach-to-historiography.
[68]Carlo Ginzburg, *History, Rhetoric and Proof,* University Press of New England, Hanover, NH, 1999, p. 49, in Paul Sutermeister, *Hayden White or History as Narrative: A Constructive Approach to Historiography, 'Scholarly Essay',* Graduate Institute of International Studies, Gene, 2004. http://www.grin.com/en/e-book/109135/hayden-white-history-as-narrative-a-constructive-approach-to-historiography.

intention.'[69] Even if not considered important in classic history establishments, one cannot deny that White's theory has widened the debate on how historical knowledge can be represented. As Richard T Vann has said, 'But nobody looking back at what was available to the "reflective historian" in 1973 can miss the great sea-change which White, more than anybody, has created.'[70] In a way Leipoldt is sketching the sea-change that was taking place in South African history by the way his historical consciousness is applied through historical imagination, in his fiction, with its sense of immediacy for the present, to read about the feelings and emotions of the inhabitants in the Valley at the time and identify with them, (as in *The Valley*).

2.3 – EELCO RUNIA

Whilst White's ideas in the field of historical representation, have undoubtedly challenged historians and philosophers of history, some such as philosopher of history Eelco Runia, argue that his theory lacks certain explanatory power for phenomena such as memory, *lieux de mémoire,* remembrance and trauma.[71] For Runia, according to Ethan Kleinberg, it might be that in such cases the debate about the construction of narratives about the past lost touch with the past itself.[72] Against White's theory of representationalism, is Runia's theory of historical reality (being in touch with reality) which he explains as travelling 'with historiography not as a paying passenger but as a stowaway', 'as what is absently and unintentionally present on the plane of time.'[73] In this respect, he introduces the idea or notion of metonymy as a 'metaphor for discontinuity, or, rather, for the entwinement of continuity and discontinuity.'[74] The background behind this is Runia's notion of 'parallel processes', a term[75] used in psychoanalysis, which he now employs for explaining how 'presence' can define absence in history, or the 'unrepresented way the past is present in the

[69]Nancy Partner, 'Hayden White: The Form of the Content', *History and Theory*, 37(2), 1998, p. 162. See also Nancy Partner, 'Hayden White (and the Content and the Form and Everyone Else) at the AHA', *History and Theory*, 36(4), Theme Issue, 1997, pp. 102 – 110. Partner confesses 'examining the impact and influence of his work on the historical discipline was an enlightening experience.' For a further appraisal of White, see Ewa Domanska, 'Hayden White: Beyond Irony', *History and Theory*, 37(2), 1998, pp. 173 – 181. Domaska is in favour of exploring the Collingwoodian idea of history as self-knowledge and knowledge about human nature.
[70]Richard T Vann, 'The Reception of Hayden White', *History and Theory*, 37(2), 1998, p. 161.
[71]Eelco Runia, 'Presence', *History and Theory*, 45(1), February 2006, p. 1.
[72]Ethan Kleinberg, 'Presence *in absentia*', *Storia della Storiografia*, 55, 2009, p. 53.
[73]Eelco Runia, 'Presence', *History and Theory*, 45(1), February 2006, p. 1.
[74]*Ibid*.
[75]This term involves the 'transhistorical' and will be explained in more depth in the following section, because Frank Ankersmit takes it up, and Frank Ankersmit comes into consideration in this chapter.

present'[76], by the way 'the presence of the past … does not reside primarily in the intended story or the manifest metaphorical content of the text, but in what story and text contain *in spite of* the intentions of the historian.[77]

Runia uses the example of the Scottish novelist Walter Scott to illustrate the problem of continuity and discontinuity by the way his character-hero Edward Waverley '…is transposed from the context of civilized England to find himself in a Scotland in which he is metonymically "out of place"' — a condition Scott called "romance".[78] Runia explains how 'Edward Waverley hits upon the history in the places he visits and the people he meets, and the bodily felt spatial relations make him realize that, for example, the abominations of a civil war are simultaneously very close and very far away.'[79] And Waverley finds that the deeds of violence he experiences in the civil war in Scotland in the mid-eighteenth century are not unfamiliar to the people who are exercising some sort of psychic memory (from similar events a century before).[80] In this way, Edward Waverley wanders through 'this present past.'[81] Here presence defines absence[82] and the reader can derive some knowledge of the past through reading what the historian/historical novelist is writing about. In this way Runia seeks 'to articulate one way that the past is literally present in the here and now by exploring the ways that historical accounts of past events parallel those very happenings.'[83]

The above account in *Waverley* is an example of what Runia means by what is 'absently and unintentionally present in the plane of time';[84] and 'what story and text contain *in spite of* the intentions of the historian.'[85] Here we see the notion of 'parallel processing'[86] work, 'as the

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[76]Eelco Runia, 'Presence', *History and Theory* 45(1), February 2006, p. 1.
[77]*Ibid.*
[78]*Ibid.* A point to consider is whether Leipoldt's Quakerley is a deliberate rendering of Scott's Waverley although this is speculation until proved. Whilst working in London, Leipoldt used to go for Christmas dinner to the Ford Sisters at Adel Grange, who were Quakers, much like Smuts was exposed to the Clark family of Quakers. As students, both Smuts and Leipoldt respectively met up with Quaker families during their studies. Quakers' rejection of violence might play a part in the name Andrew Quakerley, a peace-loving gentleman; Smuts was influenced by the Clark family in his policy of reconciliation when he returned to South Africa in 1906 after his meeting with Sir Henry Cambell-Bannerman.
[79]Eelco Runia, 'Presence', *History and Theory* 45(1), February 2006, p. 10.
[80]*Ibid.*
[81]*Ibid.*
[82]Ethan Kleinberg, 'Presence *in absentia*', *Storia della Storiografia*, 55, 2009, p. 52.
[83]*Ibid.*, p. 50.
[84]Eelco Runia, 'Presence', *History and Theory*, 45(1), February 2006, p. 1.
[85]*Ibid.*
[86]A term in psycho-analysis when the patient's psychological disorder is transferred onto the therapist, instead of the therapist recognizing and treating it, so that the information that reaches the psycholgist's supervisor is unintended.

embodiment of the entwining of continuity and discontinuity that is exposed by metonymy as 'presence.''[87] Whilst the discussion by Runia is meant to apply to historians and the way they work, it seems from the example of Walter Scott's novel, that his theory might be equally applied to historical novelists and possibly even to writers of historical fiction, such as C Louis Leipoldt in *The Valley*. This is so because of the way novelists such as Scott and Leipoldt, *inter alia*, employ their literary imagination whereby 'the problems of time have been transferred into, and treated as, problems of place.'[88] Scott likened his novels to 'journeys' and in his novel *Waverley* 'the landscape of Scotland is not just a scenic backdrop, but the dense, laden and multifarious presence of what happened in Scottish history between the mid-seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries.'[89]

In the same way, it can be argued, *The Valley* is not just a scenic backdrop with all its descriptions of nature and the Cederberg, but the 'dense, laden and multifarious presence of what happened.'[90] Leipoldt was writing allegorically about the possible effects that political circumstances would have on South Africa, from the war and the new disposition (the assumption of power by the nationalists) employing the landscape of the mind. Runia's theory of a metonymy as a 'presence in absence', what story and text contain in spite of the intentions of the historian/writer of historical fiction, can open up *The Valley* particularly the way Leipoldt translates time into place/space, to different possibilities for the way the readers will see it. In a similar way the work done in the field of remembering, by Astrid Erll, can throw further light on this complex area.

2.4 – ASTRID ERLL

From this perspective the article 'Re-writing as re-visioning – modes of representing the 'Indian Mutiny' in British novels, 1857 to 2000' is applicable to *The Valley*.[91] Her paper is based on the way social communities recall (memorial history) or remember, which 'effects changes in the shape and meaning of the past' the literary form being a specific form of remembering. For *The Valley*, Leipoldt's memory, through the characters (based on history), re-presents the past and this representation in his fiction, affects the changes in the shape and

[87]Ethan Kleinberg, 'Presence *in absentia*', *Storia della Storiografia*, 55, 2009, p. 52.
[88]Eelco Runia, 'Presence', *History and Theory,* 45(1), February 2006, p. 10.
[89]*Ibid*.
[90]*Ibid*.
[91]Astrid Erll, 'Re-writing as Re-visioning – Modes of Representing the 'Indian Nutiny' in British Novels, 1857 to 2000', *European Journal of English Studies*, 10(2), 2006, pp. 163 – 185.

the meaning of the past. It requires a strong reader-response and reader-ethics for this to happen. These ideas fall into the field of 'cultural memory' which can be used to describe complex ways for remembering, using different media, such as the fiction novel. Even if readers have no personal experience of Leipoldt's past by reading what he writes, they can be exposed to a 'product of accumulated exposure to a common reservoir of products, including … histories and novels.'[92] Readers can gauge their response to Leipoldt's fiction, to identify with the historical past, some agreeing and others not with his treatment of the characters and the way he positions them in the history.

Of further importance is Astrid Erll's article 'Traumatic pasts, literary afterlives, and transcultural memory: new directions of literary and media memory studies.'[93] As for the representation of memory in literature, and so-called 'traumatic pasts' (such as the South African War) Erll argues that literature can portray both individual and collective memory by coding it into the form of the narrative, and its dynamic relationship to the past (history) [as with *The Valley*.] The fictional versions of memory (Leipoldt's fictional novel) 'are characterized by their dynamic relationship to memory concepts of other symbol systems, such as … history … and they are shaped by them and shape them in turn; they may perpetuate old or anticipated new images of remembering and forgetting.'[94] These images can trigger off memories of other events as a reader response, whereby they (the readers) recognize or experience events such as apartheid, racial tension, or the degredation in society, depending upon the age of the reader, and his/her experiences and observations at a point in time in history, such as the current youth's perceptions/pessimism as an emotional manifestation towards the world's current (uncertain) condition.

2.5 – F R ANKERSMIT

Leading scholar in the field of the philosophy of history F R Ankersmit in a paper[95] published eight months after Runia's paper on 'presence' develops Runia's model, and so further opens up possibilities for gaining access to the past in history. Ankersmit argues that because the meaning of the term 'presence' is not fixed, and as long as 'it should maximally contribute to

[92]Astrid Erll & Ann Rigney. 'Literature and the Production of Cultural Memory', *European Journal of English Studies*, 10(2), 2006, p. 112.
[93]Astrid Erll, 'Traumatic Pasts, Literary Afterlives, and Transculrural Memory: new Directions of Literary and Media Memory Studies', *Journal of Aesthetics and Culture*, 3, 2011, p. 2.
[94]*Ibid.*
[95]F R Ankersmit, '"Presence" and Myth', *History and Theory,* 45(30), October 2006, p. 328.

our understanding of the humanities', he will use it by relating it to 'representation'.[96] This is followed by an explanation of the focus he places on 'a variant of representation in which the past is allowed to travel to the present as a kind of 'stowaway' (Runia), so that the past is literally 'present' in historical representation.'[97] Here Ankersmit diverges from Runia in the way he (Runia) holds onto 'the unrepresented way the past is present in the present.' Ankersmit 'appeals to Runia's notion of so-called "parallel processes" for his analysis of this variant of historical representation.'[98] And then he explains the objectifying of the past through what he calls myth. A further point to consider is that Runia's model is designed to give explanatory power when faced specifically with phenomena such as memory and trauma whilst Ankersmit is not necessarily appending this meaning in his definition of the term, 'presence'.

Ankersmit refers to a previous paper by Eelco Runia, entitled 'Spots of Time'[99] in which the notion of so-called 'parallel processes' comes up. To illustrate this notion, Ankersmit turns to Runia's discussion of the Srebrenica massacre in which 7,500 Muslims were slaughtered by the Serbs under the nose of a Dutch UN battalion (Dutchbat), in July 1995.[100] It is at this point that Ankersmit introduces his concept of myth which he concludes, is 'not in the traditional sense of the word, but understood rather as what a civilization, nation, or institution never succeeds in properly objectifying when thinking about itself and its past.'[101] So when the NIOD (Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies in the Netherlands) who investigated the incident, put out its report on what happened at the Srebrenica massacre, there was this notion of myth missing – yet the report failed to objectify when determining, what happened. The historians, according to Ankersmit, copied the way politicians work, instead of being true to their own methods as historians. To avoid something like this occurring, Ankersmit sees the notion of 'presence' (through the parallel process as described by Runia) and the concept of myth going together much like a picture and a frame (Meyer

[96]F R Ankersmit, '"Presence" and Myth', *History and Theory,* 45(30), October 2006, p. 328.
[97]*Ibid*.
[98]*Ibid*.
[99]Eelco Runia, "Spots of Time", *History and Theory*, 45(3), October 2006, p. 315, cited in F R Ankersmit, '"Presence" and Myth', *History and Theory*, 45(3), October 2006, p. 329.
[100]F R Ankersmit, '"Presence" and Myth', *History and Theory,* 45(3), October 2006, p. 335.
[101]*Ibid*.

Schapiro's argument[102]). The idea of presence (the stubborn persistence of the past) alone in history according to Ankersmit is therefore not sufficient.[103]

What Ankersmit is trying to move away from is the paradigm that has prevailed in the philosophy of history for a while, namely the notion of lingualism, which according to him, 'has become by now an obstacle to, rather than a promoter of, useful and fruitful insights'.[104] Against this though, he argues that the 'notion of "presence" may help us to enter a new phase in theoretical reflection about the humanities and to address a set of wholly new and fascinating questions.'[105] Furthermore, he argues, a knowledge of it (this notion of presence) may add to our understanding of how we represent the past, certainly no easy undertaking given the intricacies that accompany this field of investigation.[106] But it is not the notion of 'presence' alone that Ankersmit is fascinated by, but 'more specifically, of how basic myth really is to how we conceptualize the past.'[107] Furthermore, according to Ankersmit, myth should not be assigned to some primitive and ancient phase in the way we interact with the past, but it should exist 'also … at the vanishing point of all contemporary professionalized historical writing.'[108]

Myth and presence are explained like the picture and frame scenario in Shapiro's description where the picture and frame are one, even if the frame part is not reflecting nature (non-mimetic). It nevertheless contributes to the painting's meaning because it can enhance the image or do the opposite. With this example Ankersmit explains that we 'are ordinarily blind to the semantic role played by the picture in the frame; similarly, we tend to forget about the mythical framework enclosing historical representation.'[109] And if the frame were absent, we

[102]Meyer Schapiro, 'On some problems in the Semiotics of Visual Art: Field and Vehicle in Image-Signs', *Semiotica*, 1, 1969, p. 225, cited in F R Ankersmit, '"Presence" and Myth', *History and Theory*, 45(3), October 2006, p. 332.
[103]In Ankersmit's own words (p.334): 'In the NIOD Report the framework that ordinarily separates the past from its representation fell away, and myth could then freely invade the domain of representation. Myth now no longer merely *contributed* to historical meaning, it no longer was merely a framework *around* historical representation, but it *entered into the representation itself*. It did so by making the historians of the NIOD repeat the behavior of the responsible politicians, and in both cases this behaviour was inspired by a myth of what the Dutch and the Dutch nation fundamentally is like: decent, nice, cooperative, and without prejudice against Jews, Muslims, or whatever theological or racial denominations you may have. But, of course, the appalling indifference of Dutchbat to the fate of the Muslims of Srebrenica tells a quite different story. So – a myth it surely is!'
[104]F R Ankersmit, '"Presence" and Myth', *History and Theory,* 45(3), October 2006, p. 336.
[105]*Ibid.*, p. 331.
[106]*Ibid.*, p. 336.
[107]*Ibid.,* p. 336.
[108]*Ibid.,* p. 336.
[109]*Ibid.,* p. 333.

recognize it is normally present, and the same can be said for myth in history. When we leave out the frame (the myth), it is because we show the limit to the way we have succeeded in historicizing.[110] The problem for Ankersmit comes about when we historicize everything except the myth, which is, to repeat, as what is not objectified when thinking about a person's, nation's, institution's or civilization's own position in relation to its past. So, whereas in Runia's 'presence paradigm' we have the 'the un-represented way the past is present in the present' (because phenomena such as memory and trauma are difficult to re-present), and historical reality is there but as a stowaway (absently and unintentionally present on the plane of time – Runia), in Ankersmit 'the past is literally "present" in historical representation.'[111] This point enhances the notion of historical representation (compared to Runia) but does not place it back in the Hayden White camp.

In each of the three novels making up *The Valley*, a method Leipoldt adopts is to set up debates in the dialogue between characters in his fiction. These involve polemical topics such as the Great Trek, the language issue and the hypocritical role of politicians in society. Some examples are, in *Gallows Gecko,* between Everardus Nolte and Pastor Von Bergmann about race, between the moderates and loyalists over the topic of war coming to the Valley in *Stormwrack*, and between Santa and Mabuis over the question of nationhood, language and politics, in *The Mask*. In all three cases mentioned here, at the centre of the discussion are some of the very topics that caused the rift in the cordial relations that once existed between the two races, English and Afrikaans in South Africa. Leipoldt was correct in the way he objectified when commenting on the position of the nation and its past. At the time of the country's *post bella* periods Leipoldt was expecting more from the leaders in terms of steering the nation, but their policies seemed to him to be far more parochial than the universal qualities that he espoused, foremost being nationhood for all. Whilst it can be argued, of course, that Leipoldt was always somehow far from the action, it must nevertheless be said he understood what the nation needed to succeed in properly objectifying when thinking about itself and its past — a common, cultural, true South African nationalism (against the exclusive nationalism of Preller). By writing this in the way he did, the fiction in *The Valley* identified the nefarious path South Africa took in the ensuing years.

[110]F R Ankersmit, '"Presence" and Myth', in *History and Theory,* 45 (October 2006), p. 334.
[111]*Ibid.*, p. 329.

2.6 – JONAS GRETHLEIN

Another philosopher of history is Jonas Grethlein, from Heidelberg University (Runia and Ankersmit are from Groningen). Grethlein explains the re-emergence of experience the immediacy of which 'seems to offer the possibility of reaching beyond linguistic discourses.'[112] According to Grethlein, however, 'in their attempt to overcome the "linguistic turn", scholars such as Ankersmit, Gumbrecht, and Runia pit experience against narrative.'[113] Grethlein does not altogether go along with this, and instead argues that narrative is cast into experience, at the same time acknowledging the relation between the two as being complex.[114] Narratives represent and give experience their shape, and they are also 'received in the form of a (reception) experience.'[115] This invokes reader experience and reception ethics, an important dimension when reading Leipoldt's historical fiction.

For Grethlein, classical historian Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* serves as a good example of 'side-shadowing'[116] devices which restore history's experientiality. This side-shadowing narrative restores 'presentness' to the past through relying strongly on fictional elements[117] and thus can challenge the tendency toward teleologies inherent in merely retrospective histories and can re-create the openness intrinsic to the past when it still was a present.[118]

The term 'side-shadowing' derives from Gary Saul Morson. In a similar way to Morson who suggests that 'there is another way to read and construct texts', Leipoldt's 'intellectual pluralism' opens up possibilities for the reading of texts. According to Morson most narratives are developed through foreshadowing and "backshadowing" (foreshadowing ascribed after the fact), which tend to reduce the multiplicity of possibilities in each moment and advocates understanding the event in terms of 'what *else* might have happened' where 'time is not a line but a shifting set of fields of possibility.' Morson argues that this view of

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[112]Jonas Grethlein, 'Experientiality and "Narrative Reference," with thanks to Thucydides', *History and Theory,* 49(3), October 2010, p. 315.
[113]*Ibid*.
[114]*Ibid*.
[115]*Ibid*.
[116]'Attempts to re-create the presentness of the past in narrative.' See Jonas Grethlein, 'Experientiality and "Narrative Reference," with thanks to Thucydides', *History and Theory*, 49(3), October 2010, p. 323, in footnote no. 45, referring to Morson.
[117]Jonas Grethlein, 'Experientiality and "Narrative Reference," with thanks to Thucydides', *History and Theory*, 49(3), October 2010, p. 315.
[118]*Ibid*.

time and narrative encourages intellectual pluralism, helps to liberate us from the false certainties of dogmatism, creates a healthy skepticism of present orthodoxies, and makes us aware that there are moral choices available to us.[119]

An example of 'side-shadowing' is the Sicilian expedition.[120] The story is that in 415 BCE a decision is made whereby the Athenians decided to afford the Segestans with assistance in their conflict with Syracuse. To this effect they sent a large fleet to Sicily but the final defeat at Syracuse in 413 BCE is just as disappointing as it is devastating for the Athenians and weakens the latter. As Grethlein explains, 'the failure of a hubristic enterprise is a motif well-known from Herodotus's *Histories*'; and explains that a case has been made that Thucydides draws on 'the form of tragedy for his account of the Sicilian expedition.'[121] There is nevertheless a difference between the narrative technique in Herodotus's accounts for the event, and the way Thucydides writes. In Thucydides' narrative technique there is 'the virtual absence of prolepses' which means that unlike the way Herodotus in his *Histories* prepares the reader for what is going to come, 'Thucydides narrates his war year by year without foreshadowing.'[122] In this way the readers are following the text and the historical events from the perspective and experience of the characters, as explained by Grethlein:

> Instead, he closely reports on the expectations of the characters so as to make his readers follow the Sicilian expedition from the perspective of the characters.[123]

In Thucydides's account of the Sicilian expedition, the readers are privileged relative to the characters by being informed about events in both camps, the Sicilians and the Athenians, but he does not lead the readers with authorial comments or fore-shadowing of the disastrous ending, as Herodotus does in his text. In contradistinction to Herodotus, Thucydides forces his readers 'to weigh carefully the positions of the characters.'[124] It might be said that Leipoldt creates a position in his *The Valley*, especially through the dialogue, to engage in its irony, by creating an element of expectation, for instance, the tension that builds up as the

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[119] Gary Saul Morson, *Narrative and Freedom, The Shadows of Time*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1996.
[120] This is a miniature war within the Peloponnesian War.
[121] For further references see F M Cornford, *Thucydides Mythistoricus,* Routledge, London, 1907, in Jonas Grethlein, 'Experientiality and "Narrative Reference," with thanks to Thucydides', *History and Theory*, 49(1), October 2010, p. 324.
[122] Jonas Grethlein, 'Experientiality and "Narrative Reference," with thanks to Thucydides', *History and Theory*, 49(1), October 2010, pp. 324 – 325. For a more extensive interpretation of the Sicilian expedition from this perspective, see Jonas Grethlein, *The Greeks and Their Past: Poetry, Oratory and History in the Fifth Century BCE,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010, pp. 240 – 279.
[123] Jonas Grethlein, 'Experientiality and "Narrative Reference," with thanks to Thucydides', *History and Theory*, 49(1), October 2010, p. 325.
[124] *Ibid*.

(unlikely) war being waged in the republics, finally reaches the small, remote Village tucked away somewhere in the Cederberg environs.

The following excerpt from Grethlein explains the opening up of new possibilities for historical meaning, through the device called 'side-shadowing':

> Narrating always remains posterior to experiences. To the same degree that narratives transform experiences, they cannot reproduce their openness. Nevertheless, *The History of the Peloponnesian War* illustrates how far the art of narrative can go in "re-presenting" past action and especially its openness. The strategies of "side-shadowing" employed by Thucydides allow him to re-create the experientiality of history.[125]

Devices in the text such as introspection and speeches, as an attempt to restore openness to the past, take on a referential function at a second level (a second-order reference, not based on direct sources).[126] In this sense they are what Grethlein refers to as the concept of a 'narrative reference' in analogy with Paul Ricoeur's notion of 'metaphorical reference'. The sacrifice of literal truth 'permits a reference to and "re-presentation" of the openness of the past.'[127] The question remains how, if at all, it might be best to illustrate Grethlein's theory of 'side-shadowing' in Leipoldt's *The Valley*. Leipoldt creates a sense of expectation by the grand way he sketches the character Elias Vantloo in *The Mask*, but does so as a slam-dunk, because he later exposes his hypocrisy. As in Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks*, and Hardy's *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, moral degradation through inter-marriage and other factors, is a theme in Leipoldt's fiction, which evokes the idea of the degradation of society, to include political degeneration in South African history of the last half of the twentieth century (the weak link in Santa's breeding is the wily, expedient, morally corrupt Vantloo).

The reader can formulate his/her ideas from a reading of the Leipoldt text and in the process might well find in it an 'openness intrinsic to the past when it was still a present.'[128] He/she might even find what is there in spite of the text, or find a way to fill in the blank spaces. It is from Leipoldt's past experiences that he is making certain observations as he documents and records what happened, and at the same time, invents his fiction. In this way, Leipoldt creates a form of alternative history, different to the teleologies in retrospective history texts. By looking at the Leipoldt text against some of Grethlein's theory, one is making some

[125]Jonas Grethlein, 'Experientiality and "Narrative Reference," with thanks to Thucydides', *History and Theory*, 49(1), October 2010, p. 327.
[126]*Ibid.*, p. 328.
[127]*Ibid.*, p. 328.
[128]*Ibid.,* p. 315.

attempt to see if there is not perhaps another way to gain access to the past, as theorists White, Runia and Ankersmit have done. To them, add Grethlein's call as in the following excerpt:

> In a final step, the paper turns toward modern historians—most of whom are reluctant to use the means of fiction—to briefly survey their attempts at restoring the openness of the past.[129]

2.7 – PAUL RICOEUR

Philosopher of history Paul Ricoeur is especially important for the debate on historical theory, for a reading with Ankersmit and Runia, and against Grethlein, especially for his work on hermeneutics.[130] Of importance for this chapter is the following view, that human action is 'a potential mode of human existence which can be unfolded through the process of interpretation.'[131]

The following points are important in a study of Ricoeur's ideas, in the methodological debate about the understanding of the interpretation of action.[132] Aristotle explains that tragedy tries to imitate human action in a poetic way (we think here of Leipoldt's poetry) – the 'mythos' of tragedy (its fable and its plot), is the 'mimesis' (creative imitation) of human action.[133] Since as Ricoeur says '[W]e belong to history before telling stories or writing history'[134] the analysis of 'history as fiction and of fiction as mimesis', brings us to the proposition that 'the references of 'true history' (reference) and 'fictional history' (structure) 'cross upon the basic historicity of human experience.'[135]

Ricoeur's words that 'the world of fiction leads us to the heart of the real world of action'[136] are important in this thesis, to consider, as are the following in this extract:

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[129]Jonas Grethlein, 'Experientiality and "Narrative Reference," with thanks to Thucydides', *History and Theory*, 49(3), October 2010, p. 315.
[130]Paul Ricoeur, *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences: Essays on Language, Action and Interpretation*, edited, translated and introduced by John B. Thompson, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, First Published in 1981, reprinted 1982.
[131]*Ibid.*, p. 16.
[132]Wilhelm Dilthey, Max Weber and others initiated this idea in the context of the social sciences. Reference to them is in Paul Ricoeur, *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences*, page 15.
[133]In Paul Ricoeur, *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences*, p. 16.
[134]*Ibid.*, p. 294.
[135]*Ibid.*, pp. 293 – 294.
[136]*Ibid.*, p. 296.

> Could we not say, in conclusion, that by opening us to what is different, history opens us to the possible, whereas fiction, by opening us to the unreal, leads us to what is essential in reality?[137]

Ricoeur suggests that our ultimate interest in 'doing history' is to 'enlarge our sphere of communication'.[138] The statement by Paul Ricoeur that 'the "true" histories of the past uncover the buried potentialities of the present'[139] is another way of looking at Leipoldt's fiction, and can enhance the ideas put forward by White *et al*. about representation, presentism, myth, experience, narrative and action, in history, as we have been reading in the preceding pages. The ideas put forward by Ricoeur further open up for us possible ways to view history, not only by using the methodologies of positivism and first-referencing. This point is very obvious, based on what has been written thus far in this chapter, to provide support for *The Valley* to serve as a possible alternative account of the past.

2.8 - THE VOICES OF SERIOUS CRITICISM AGAINST THE POSTMODERNIST AND DECONSTRUCTIVIST PARADIGM

It is necessary to examine the voices of criticism against the deconstructionivist paradigm. Chris Lorenz argues that the task of philosophy of history is 'to elucidate the *practice* of history'; 'to stick to the analysis of the debates of *historians*'. For Lorenz, 'neither literary theory nor aesthetics can function as "models" for philosophy of history.'[140] The reason for this view, according to Lorenz, is because historians 'present reconstructions primarily in terms of factual adequacy.'[141] Lorenz further argues that the narrativism of the likes of White and Ankersmit can be viewed as an inversion of two brands of positivism, the first being an inversion of empiricism whereby narratives function as metaphors which do not possess a cognitive content, what he calls a 'picture view' of knowledge. This includes any non-cognitive aspects which are dependent on this picture theory of knowledge, and a picture theory of representation. According to Lorenz, 'most of the epistemological characteristics that White and Ankersmit attribute to historical narratives therefore share the problems of this

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[137]Paul Ricoeur, *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences*, p. 296.
[138]*Ibid.*, p. 295.
[139]Paul Ricoeur, see his essay on 'The Narrative Function ', in *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences*, p. 295. The ambiguity of the word 'history' which is rich in the French word *histoire*, is according to Ricoeur, no accident. 'Retelling the text of the past is part of the reality of the present – part, as Gadamer would say, of the 'effective-historical consciousness.'' This is in Paul Ricoeur, *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences*, p. 17.
[140]Chris Lorenz, 'Historical Knowledge and Historical Reality: A Plea for "Internal Realism"' in *History and Theory*, Vol 33 No 3, October, 1994, p. 297.
[141]*Ibid*.

picture theory.'[142] The second is that the theories of narrative explanation can be analyzed as inversions of positivist covering-law theory. Lorenz explains Ankersmit's brand of narrativism as the most radical 'because it posits an opposition between narrative and causal modes of comprehension while simultaneously eliminating causality from narrativist historical understanding.'[143] Therefore White and Ankersmit, in their expositions on narrativism, pre-suppose positivism when they claim that historical narratives have a metaphorical structure and therefore no truth-value. Their theories therefore are problematic for historians when reconciling the factual information/representations with the historical debate, when trying to find out what happened, and are thus problematic for standard historians conducting historical research. In this sense, Lorenz's is a critical voice against narrative history.

Georg G Iggers[144] examines the changes in ideas about the nature of history and historiography and identifies the assumptions on which historical research and writing have been based describing how in the *post bellum* period (World War II) it was the social sciences that transformed historiography. More recently however, in the last two decades the ideas of postmodernism forced historians to re-evaluate their subject. The contemporary discipline for Iggers is a move away from the macrohistorical approach toward microhistory, cultural history, and the history of everyday life where social sciences and their approaches assign a greater role to cultural factors and to the problems of globalization.

Thus, certain of the assumptions made by Iggers can be of interest to narrative history, such as that history portrays people who really existed and actions that really took place.[145] This completely excludes Leipoldt's *The Valley* if one looks at Iggers's statement *de facto*, although if one bears in mind that Leipoldt based his characters on actual types that he knew, then one could say that the characters are semi-real and that is as good as it gets. As for another assumption viz. that human actions mirror the intentions of the actors and it is a task of the historian to comprehend these intentions in order to construct a coherent historical story,[146] it can be argued that Leipoldt's fiction in *The Valley* does just that as it is based on historical events and sequence. However, it does reflect certain thinking by the writer that is

[142]Chris Lorenz, 'Can Histories Be True? Narrativism, Positivism, and the "MetaphoricalTurn"' *History and Theory*, Volume 37, Issue 3, October 1998, p. 309.
[143]*Ibid*.
[144]G G Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century, from Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge*, Hanover NH: Wesleyan University Press of New England, 1997.
[145]*Ibid.*, p. 3.
[146]*Ibid*.

not necessarily historical, such as moral and ethical factors, and as such, it can be argued the narrative veers away from strict, standard and traditional historical thinking. Iggers argues that the emphasis of postmodernism (on 'the impact of language, rhetoric, and symbolic behaviour'), whilst it needs to be taken seriously, 'lends itself more to literary criticism than history, with the more extreme "only language exists" position shared by a few historians.'[147]

Iggers furthermore challenges aspects of microhistory (one could portray Leipoldt's fictional *The Valley* as a micro-history of sorts), when it reduces history to anecdotal antiquarianism, romanticizes past cultures, and does not deal with the rapid change that the modern and contemporary world undergoes, and in connection with the last point, is incapable of dealing with politics.[148] However, Iggers acknowledges that micro-histories stress the discontinuities in history (Leipoldt's treatment of the effects on the South African War on the local community), deducing that no grand narrative is possible (for this), although he argues that microhistorians can 'operate with a largely negative evaluation of modernization' regarding the passing of the premodern communities they study, 'with a degree of nostalgia'[149] (Leipoldt's nostalgia for a rooted past).[150] These are some of the points of criticism against postmodern history, from Iggers, although there are some areas where the criticism is not as harsh as from Lorenz.

Another voice of criticism against postmodern history is from Eric Hobsbawm, who in an interview, described the cultural turn as an 'attempt to eliminate the social very largely from history' and the linguistic turn as 'a reflection of the provincialism of Great Britain.'[151] His work on Marxist history has led to overcoming divergence and fragmentation in history, which the convergence of history with the social sciences is now producing[152] and this has led to a general framework of the social sciences. Hobsbawm looked at history from the perspective of universal questions 'challenging positivism's narrow preoccupation with "scientism", the inappropriate transfer of methods from the natural to the social sciences', and then 'drawing history into a fruitful dialogue with the social sciences.'[153]

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[147]http://dannyreviews.com/h/Historiography.html.
[148]G G Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century, from Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge*, Hanover NH: Wesleyan University Press of New England, 1997, p. 113.
[149]*Ibid.*, p. 112.
[150]Peter Merrington, 'C. Louis Leipoldt's "Valley trilogy" and Contested South African Nationalisms in the Early Twentieth century', Current Writing, 15(2), 2003, p. 44.
[151]From the Interview Transcript – the interview took place at the interviewee's home, London, 17 June 2008, the interviewer being Danny Millum.
[152]Eric Hobsbawm, *On History*, Butler & Tanner, Ltd., London, 1997, pp. 66 – 67.
[153]http://anystreetcorner.blogspot.com/2005/01/hobsbawm-on-history.html.

As for history that is 'contingent, fragmented and relative' such as narrative or postmodern history, Hobsbawm sets himself against 'the postmodern obsession with language games.'[154] Thus when history is concerned with 'not what happened, but how it concerns the members of a particular group' and thus relativizes history, it moves away from 'total history' – 'not a "history of everything", but history as an indivisible web in which all human activities are interconnected'.[155] Looking at these points vis-à-vis Leipoldt's *The Valley*, as a form of historical fiction, constructed through narrative history, takes one closer to the history of a particular group, away from the totalizing history, although the values that Leipoldt espouses can be said to be universal in their application — being rooted in tradition and this as having value. However, this is more a moral point than historical, and so does not explain Hobsbawm's point about totalizing history, interconnectedness and history on a large scale.

Certainly one of the classic examples of a voice of criticism against postmodernism comes from Richard Evans, in his *In Defence of History*. Evans aims to defend a mainstream notion of history-writing against 'intellectual barbarians' namely 'the invading hordes of semioticians, post-structuralist, New Historicists, Foucauldians, Lacanians and the rest'.[156] Although Evans admits that more than one kind of postmodernism exists, ('different varieties'), he nevertheless explains what he does not enjoy about postmodernism generally, without engaging much about it.[157] For instance, the discussion on Foucault's account of history is not sustained in any way.[158] Evans calls for the historian's obligations towards primary sources and a 'return of scholarly humility'.[159] The above are some of the voices of criticism against deconstructivist history, and need to be seriously considered against the impact that postmodernism has had on the practical *métier* of historical research. The strongest argument against these critics may be that their policing of the disciplinary boundaries of history would have rendered a *The Valley* (not only as text but also as archive) off limits for historical investigation. As this thesis will hopefully illustrate, a moderate (and scholarly humble) deconstructionist historian's approach to the Valley Trilogy may render an appreciation for Leipoldt's project which augments and enhances that of scholars working directly from a literary theoretical background.

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[154]http://anystreetcorner.blogspot.com/2005/01/hobsbawm-on-history.html.
[155]*Ibid*.
[156]Richard Evans, *In Defence of History*, Granta, London, 1997, pp. 8 – 9.
[157]*Ibid.*, p. 205.
[158]*Ibid.*, pp. 195 – 196.
[159]*Ibid.*, p. 201.

2.9 – NEWER TRENDS IN THE THEORY OF HISTORY – ALEIDA ASSMANN, ANN RIGNEY AND ASTRID ERLL

There are newer trends in the theory of history promoting interest in aspects of historical representation, the social and cultural relevance of historical consciousness, and history and trauma. Examples of these theorists are Aleida Assman, Ann Rigny and Astrid Erll who adopt an inter-disciplinary approach in the intersections of memory and culture. Lionel Gossman describes cultural history as 'the history of the elusive past' which is 'shown to be specially imperfect …because of the special difficulties encountered by historians trying to represent a past that always extends beyond their grasp and because the forms and methods devised or borrowed to meet those difficulties — with varying degrees of success — always involve compromises.'[160] The following paragraphs will briefly examine aspects of each of the theories of Assmann, Rigney and Erll.

Since the 1990s Aleida Assmann has been focusing her research on cultural memory, remembering, and forgetting. Although her training is in English and Egyptology, her more recent work includes *The Long Shadow of the Past: Cultures of Memory and the Politics of History* (2006), showing how memory leads from an individual to a collective construction of the past. Her work examines the tensions between personal experience and official remembrance 'giving memory a common space' for expression.[161] For Assmann, remembrance in a country's history is when its citizens 'can meet and combine the individual, separate memories from their experience to form a common vision for the future.'[162] Here one might view remembrance in terms of Leipoldt's world-view and the *topoi* that make it up, in the loyalist-unionist paradigm, for a South African national identity.

A further notion that Assmann identifies in the field of memory is that it is highly selective and this of course includes what we choose to remember and forget, both actively and passively.[163] The two are distinguished as the past as present (in the institutions of active memory) and the past as past (in the institutions of passive memory).[164] It is this tension in

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[160]Lionell Gossman in his book review of Ann Rigney, *Imperfect Histories: The Elusive Past and the Legacy of Romantic Historicism*, Cornell University press, Ithaca, 2001, p. 479.
[161]https://www.goethe.de/ins/gb/lp/prj/mtg/men/tie/kul/en2873780.htm.
[162]*Ibid*.
[163]Aleida Assman, 'Canon and Archive' in Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (eds), *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* , in collaboration with Sara B Young, De Gruyter, Berlin & New York, 2008, p. 97.
[164]*Ibid.*, p. 98.

the institutions of active memory, between the past-ness of the past and its presence that is the important key 'to understanding the dynamics of cultural memory.'[165] The distinction is between the active memory (the showcased exhibits in the museum) referred to by Assmann as the canon, on the one hand, and on the other, the archive which is made up of the exhibits that are stored in the store-room of the museum.[166]

Assmann refers to Jakob Burckardt's division of former historical periods into 'messages' and 'traces', the former such as texts and monuments and the latter without address, and mistrusted the former as they were usually staged by those in power and in state institutions; but favoured the latter which countered the history propagated by the rulers.[167] The paradigm of Preller *versus* Leipoldt might serve as a good example for Burckardt's model, also proven by the fact that Preller's *volksgeskiedenis* had limited duration. On the other hand, the cultural memory that Leipoldt exercised contained a number of cultural messages 'that are addressed to posterity and intended for continuous repetition and re-use.'[168] This is the canon, the kind of cultural memory that endures forever, outlives generations and is thus independent of historical change − the kind one imagines that Leipoldt was hoping to inculcate in people's memories, and that would induce a national, South African consciousness albeit a highly idealistic one The archive on the other hand is defined by Assmann as 'a receptacle for documents that have fallen out of their framing institutions and can be reframed and interpreted in a new context.'[169] According to Assmann one needs to distinguish between political and historical archives, the difference being that whilst political archives can function as an important tool for power, 'historical archives store information which is no longer of immediate use' and thus now lies in the passive memory, an intermediate space, a *Zwischenspeicher*.[170]

The thoughts that Assmann outlines, referred to in the above few paragraphs, relate to both the historian and literary writers as both employ cultural memory, but she makes a distinction. Historians have to adjust their research and questions, according to the extension

[165] Aleida Assman, 'Canon and Archive' in Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (eds), *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* , in collaboration with Sara B Young, De Gruyter, Berlin & New York, 2008, p. 98.
[166] *Ibid*.
[167] *Ibid.*, pp. 98 – 99.
[168] *Ibid.*, p. 99.
[169] *Ibid.,* p. 103.
[170] *Ibid*.

and range of the archives whilst literary writers can take the liberty of filling in the gaps.[171] Thus, the literary writer can invent where there are gaps – but the gaps could also be the areas in memory caused by trauma, which then is not so much the filling of the gap, but the marking of it, as in Toni Morrison's writing, an example being her book, *Beloved*.[172] This gives to fiction a flexibility which is absent in other forms of remembrance, a notion that another philosopher of history, Ann Rigney, explores especially by the way writers can invent characters, design their stories and bring closure to events, which historians are not always able to do.[173]

Ann Rigney has published widely in the fields of historical and narrative theory and cultural memory studies, showing the importance of the move from memory sites to memory dynamics, which allows for the inclusion of the role of art and literature in the formation of collective memory. [174] She confesses however that 'more research needs to be done on the relation between memorability, aesthetic power, and cultural longevity' as far as the interest and durability of narrative texts are concerned although she cites Tolstoy's *War and Peace* (1865 – 1869) and Spielberg's *Schindler's List* (1993)[175] as examples of the durability of non-standard (history) texts that perpetuate the stories of the past. In her latest book Rigney describes how the writer of historical fiction, Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832), became an all-pervasive point of reference for cultural memory and collective identity in the nineteenth century, and why his work no longer has this role.[176] She discusses this point in the context of cultural remembrance and obsolescence in the age of mass media.

By doing this she is breaking new ground in memory studies and the study of literary reception by the way she examines 'the dynamics of cultural memory and the "social life" of

[171]Aleida Assman, 'Canon and Archive' in Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (eds), *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* , in collaboration with Sara B Young, De Gruyter, Berlin & New York, 2008, p. 106.
[172]*Ibid*.
[173]Ann Rigney, 'The Dynamics of Remembrance: Texts Between Monumentality and Morphing', in Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (eds), *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* , in collaboration with Sara B Young, De Gruyter, Berlin & New York, 2008, p. 347.
[174]Ann Rigney is best known for her book *Imperfect Histories: The Illusive Past and the Legacy of the Romantic Historicism,* Cornell University Press, 2001. See Lionell Gossman's book review in *The American Historical Review*, 108(2), April 2003, pp. 479 – 480. Gossman ends his review: 'As a study of a kind of cultural history focused on the "experience" of the past — and "experience" is a recurrent theme here — Rigney's book is a work of subtle analysis and broad historical awareness.' (p. 480).
[175]Ann Rigney, 'The Dynamics of Remembrance: Texts Between Monumentality and Morphing', in Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (eds), *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* , in collaboration with Sara B Young, De Gruyter, Berlin & New York, 2008, pp. 347 – 348.
[176]Ann Rigney, *The Afterlives of Walter Scott: Memory on the Move,* Oxford University Press, 2012.

literary texts across several generations and multiple media.'[177] She employs a wide range of examples to show how Scott's Waverley novels 'travelled into painting, the theatre, and material culture, as well as to the role of "Scott" as a memory site in the public sphere for a century after his death.'[178] The memory of Scott's work 'helped shape national and transnational identities up to World War One, and contributed to the emergence of the idea of an English-speaking world encompassing Scotland, the British Empire and the United States.'[179]

One might apply Rigney's example to the way Preller created a national consciousness through his characters and histories of the past, in his Afrikaner *volksgeskiedenis*, forging a 'potent alliance between memory, literature, and identity that was eminently suited to modernizing', and by the way he wrote up the histories of the Voortrekkers through his idealization of their history. Furthermore, Rigney explains that literature as with some of the other arts has a privileged voice and as such can carry out the role of the 'oppositional' memory, a 'counter-memorial' and thus a critical voice against hegemonic views of the past.[180] Here one might consider Leipoldt writing against the political history of the Nationalists in South African history of the 1920s. Furthermore, the novel can be seen as a memory site to cultural dynamics, whereby the emphasis is away from individual products to more cultural process such as counter-narratives, translations from other languages, adaptation to media and reception ethics. In this sense the cultural power of works 'can be located in the cultural activities it gives rise to, rather than what it is in itself.'[181]

Reference has already been made to Astrid Erll.[182] Her work has become increasingly important as the relationship between culture and memory has emerged as a key issue in interdisciplinary research. However, as Erll admits, the field is still new and 'it is part of the effort to consolidate memory studies into a more coherent discipline.'[183] At the same time it can be seen as 'a first step on the road towards a conceptual foundation for the kind of

[177]http://www.oup.com/us/catalog/general/subject/HistoryOther/CulturalHistory/?view=usa&ci=9780199644018.
[178]*Ibid.*
[179]*Ibid.*
[180]Ann Rigney, 'The Dynamics of Remembrance: Texts Between Monumentality and Morphing', in Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (eds), *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* , in collaboration with Sara B Young, De Gruyter, Berlin & New York, 2008, p. 348.
[181]*Ibid.*, p. 349.
[182]Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (eds), *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* , in collaboration with Sara B Young, De Gruyter, Berlin & New York, 2008.
[183]*Ibid.*, p. 1.

memory studies which assumes a decidedly cultural and social perspective.'[184] But the field of cultural memory is not without its challenges. One of these potential challenges can arise when memory is transferred from the individual and individual psychology, to the level of the collective, social or national, which in turn, can lead to the creation of myth — going from 'individual acts of remembering in a social context to group memory to national memory with its "invented traditions."'[185] An example of such an invented tradition can be found in the way Isabel Hofmeyr explains Gustav Preller's myth-making through the use of film to evoke national feeling, especially as he saw it as personal wizardry,[186] to influence his audience.

The Invention of Tradition[187] by Eric Hobsbawm[188] (in spite of his scepticism towards the postmodernist "language games') and Terence Ranger can also be useful for examining the way traditions are invented although they make the distinction between tradition and invention. So one might see what Gustav Preller does to generate an Afrikaner consciousness around folk festivals as at Monument Kopje outside Pretoria, with the laying of the foundation stone of the Voortrekker Monument in 1938, more as the invention of an Afrikaner foundational myth by comparison to Leipoldt's notion of local deep tradition and the value of being rooted, which goes back much further in South African history to the time it evolved in the early Dutch farming communities that were established in the Cederberg area in the middle of the eighteenth century. Far from Iggers's suspected 'incapability to deal with politics', Leipoldt's focus on the everyday at microlevel is very much a political act.

2.10 - CONCLUSION

Leipoldt's historical fiction as in *The Valley* is a considerable project that covers approximately one hundred years of South African history, of a small town and its people. Yet the microcosmic story of the Village and the Valley can be applied allegorically for the broader story of South Africa; the issues are there — the Great Trek, the 1820 settlers,

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[184]Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (eds), *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* , in collaboration with Sara B Young, De Gruyter, Berlin & New York, 2008, p. 2.
[185]*Ibid*.
[186]Isabel Hofmeyr, 'Popularizing History: Gustav Preller', in Journal of African History, 29, 1988, p. 525.
[187]Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Ppress, Cambridge, 1983.
[188]Hobsbawm died on Friday 5 October 2012 — see Modris Eksteins's article/obituary on him at http://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/books-and-media/my-favourite-marxist-remembering-eric-hobsbawm/article4591534/ Eksteins is professor emeritus of history at the University of Toronto.

slavery, the status of the coloured people, the South African War, the *post bellum* period in South Africa, the racial question, National Party policy of the 1920s … the list is endless. As a work of fiction it makes sense to read it against works of philosophers of history, for instance, White, Runia, Ankersmit, Grethlein and Ricoeur. In addition Assmann, Rigney, and Erll greatly assist us to make sense of Leipoldt's *The Valley* as a cultural process, which only appeared in published form 69 years after completion of the manuscript.

White's theory reveals *The Valley* in the way Mann's *Buddenbrooks*[189] is ironic tragedy. It is ironic because of its subtle undertones of degeneration, degradation and decadence that begin to erode the once established society, after the second generation — therefore, this is not at first apparent. As the political circumstances in South Africa began to unfold, and the prospects for a national South African cultural identity grew dim, Leipoldt became progressively more distressed. This 'new wave'-political climate emerged from the ranks of young nationalists represented in *The Mask* through the character of Santa. White's theory is significant for the philosophy of history because of the way it greatly broadens the field of historical representation.

A study of White was followed by a look at Eelco Runia's theory of 'presence' and the notion of 'parallel processes' taken as a paradigm, from the field of psycho-analysis. What is 'absently and unintentionally present in the plane of time';[190] and 'what story and text contain *in spite of* the intentions of the historian'[191] are seen in the notion of parallel processing 'as the embodiment of the entwining of continuity and discontinuity that is exposed by metonymy as 'presence.''[192] Runia's example from literary fiction of Sir Walter Scott makes the past, present in the present.

Ankersmit's notion of 'presence and myth' can reveal the difference in the way politicians act, to historians, by identifying what a civilization, nation, or institution never succeeds in properly objectifying when thinking about itself and its past.[193] Leipoldt analyses human agency and action from his own experiences of how people behave, as opposed to how they make out to behave (he is critical of their hypocrisy). Such examples can be found in

[189]In the year that *Buddenbrooks* won the Nobel Prize for Literature (1929) Leipoldt was writing his trilogy.
[190]Eelco Runia, 'Presence', *History and Theory*, 45(1), February 2006, p. 1.
[191]*Ibid*.
[192]Ethan Kleinberg, 'Presence *in absentia*', in *Storia della Storiografia*, 55, 2009, p. 52.
[193]F R Ankersmit, '"Presence" and Myth', *History and Theory*, 45(3), October 2006, p. 335.

Gallows Gecko, (the loss of the good things about tradition), *Stormwrack* (the inequalities of martial law) and *The Mask* (the false pretences of people who are idolized).

The Valley can be read against Grethlein's notion of 'side-shadowing' to be found in the dialogue as a form of second-order reference (a referential function at a second level) as fictive speeches not based on direct sources.[194] The dialogue in Leipoldt's *The Mask* is a particularly good example of this, based on Leipoldt's own experiences of the past and the ingenious way he evokes the reader's response through the tense dialogue between the magistrate and Quakerley as the prospect of civil war becomes more of a reality for the District (*Stormwrack*).

Paul Ricoeur's point about understanding in the interpretation of action[195] enables narratives to make a referential claim, as *The Valley* does to a number of topics and therefore its historical references and its structure 'cross upon the basic historicity of human experience.'[196] Leipoldt's fictional prose unfolds as the way he relates the past uncovering the buried potentialities of the present[197] and ties up narrativity and historicity in the way a journalist is writing up the *acta diurna* (daily news).

The serious voices of criticism against narrative/postmodernist/deconstructivist history need to be heard such as those of Lorenz and Evans. The ideas of Hobsbawm *et al*. in the construction of identity and national identity need to be incorporated into the debate, to appreciate two kinds of tradition, the old, local, deep-rooted kind which Leipoldt sees as virtuous and that has value as in the Western European kind; as opposed to the narrower, newer *volks*-identity constructed under the aegis of Afrikaner nationalist Gustav Preller.

The argument can therefore be made that *The Valley* in terms of the selection of theoretical works made here serves as an alternative form to standard histories, and also as, in its full force, as an alternative, oppositional and counter-history to the one-sided, conservative history of Gustav S Preller.

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[194]Jonas Grethlein, *History and Theory*, 49(3), October 2010, p. 329.
[195]Paul Ricoeur, *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences*, page 15.
[196]*Ibid.*, p. 294.
[197]*Ibid.*, p. 16.

CHAPTER 3

THE GUSTAV S PRELLER-C LOUIS LEIPOLDT POLEMIC – THE HEDGEHOG AND THE FOX[1]

Chapter 2 analysed a selection of theoretical works by pioneering thinkers, leading scholars and other authors, against which *The Valley* as a work of narrative fiction could be read. A selection of writers of theory from 'standard' works was made. Newer trends in the theory of history were discussed. And voices of criticism against the deconstructivist paradigm were heard. Against these works, it was seen if historical fiction is fully-enough equipped to provide an alternative (reading of the) past. Put another way, the question is asked whether the profession of history can benefit from the inspiration offered by the work of writers of fiction, such as C Louis Leipoldt's *The Valley* trilogy.

Chapter 3 examines C Louis Leipoldt's *The Valley* trilogy as a set of fictional novels, in their full thrust, as contestation against Preller's romanticised, idealized and popularized *volksgeskiedenis* made up of a set of wide-ranging history-as-heritage media, to include enactments, film, the theatre, literature and history, although his predominant medium was his carefully researched historical accounts of the Voortrekkers. This *volksgeskiedenis* was the prevailing public narrative dominating South African history for the first forty years or so of the twentieth century. This public history-construct, covering a period of *circa* 100 years — the time of the start of the Great Trek in 1838 till the commemoration of it a century later culminating in the *Voortrekkereeufees*[2] of 1938 — was the tireless efforts of Gustav S Preller. Not only was he responsible for writing histories of the Afrikaners' heroic age as in the Great Trek, but also some on the South African War, gradually building a national consciousness of the Afrikaner from it.

Against this is Leipoldt's cosmopolitan world-view in *The Valley* trilogy, covering virtually the same period as Preller (from after the Second British Occupation at the Cape around 1820, until the time of the Hertzog administration of the 1930s) drawing from a specific loyal-unionist paradigm, voiced through some of his characters in his novels. Whilst Preller

[1]Terms assigned as a result of the story by Aesop in which the fox outwits the hedgehog.
[2]The *Voortrekkereeufees* (Voortrekker Festival) celebrated the one hundredth year of events that resulted in the so-called 'Great Trek'. According to the historian P H Kapp this festival had a considerable effect on the life of the Afrikaner because it gave an affective side to the Afrikaner, for the idea of commemorating a festival – P H Kapp, *Die Afrikaner en sy Kultuur*, Deel III 'Ons Volkfeeste', beskryf deur P H Kapp, Tafelberg-Uitgewers, Kaapstad, 1975, p. 91.

lauded the exiled Voortrekkers as they ventured into the interior of South Africa and conquered new lands, Leipoldt single-handedly took him on arguing the values of local tradition but was unable to sustain it (the argument) when it was eclipsed by this nationalist historiography. In this way it is possible to refer to a Preller-Leipoldt polemic/dialectic.

3.1 — BACKGROUND TO THE GREAT TREK

When the first Dutch colonists came to South Africa in 1652, followed by French and German immigrants in the seventeenth century, it was to affect South African history in a significant way. Later, in the first half of the nineteenth century, a movement known as the Great Trek emerged, whereby colonists moved out of the British sphere in the Cape, inland, to a lifestyle established by these frontier farmers.[3] Several years of struggle against challenging obstacles finally resulted in the founding of the South African Republic in 1852 whereby Afrikaners had reached their goal of personal freedom, from which they would create a state of national freedom.

C Louis Leipoldt felt that the Voortrekkers 'chose to abandon (the) wider moral and intellectual horizons of the Western European nineteenth century.'[4] Instead of remaining behind and facing the challenges that society-at-the-time posed, Afrikaner residents in the eastern and north-eastern areas of the Colony left its borders in the form of self-imposed exile, between the years 1834 to 1838.[5] These Afrikaanders[6] were unable to reconcile themselves with the British de-nationalization and Anglicization policies at the Cape at the time of this administration.[7] Before the advent of the British to the Cape, the Afrikaanders had their own civil and political structures based on Calvinist-religious views.

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[3]F A Van Jaarsveld & G D Scholtz, editors, *Die Republiek Van Suid-Afrika*, Vootrekkerpers, Johannesburg, 1966, p. 35.
[4]P Merrington, 'C Louis Leipoldt's "Valley Trilogy" and Contested South African Nationalisms in the Early Twentieth Century', *Current Writing,* 15(2), 2003, p. 36.
[5]F A Van Jaarsveld & G D Scholtz, editors, *Die Republiek Van Suid-Afrika*, Vootrekkerpers, Johannesburg, 1966, p. 37.
[6]This term is how the Dutch-Afrikaners referred to themselves at that stage in their history. For this, see F A Van Jaarsveld & G D Scholtz, editors, *Die Republiek Van Suid-Afrika*, Vootrekkerpers, Johannesburg, 1966, p. 35.
[7]*Ibid.*

These structures were established along with their individualism as well as a sense of equality among each other and a desire for independence and a democratic proclivity.[8] In addition, military and civil structures were well-established for their security especially as the pastoral lifestyle required farmers to be far away from the towns. The commando system (*kommandostelsel*) served a civil as well as a military purpose, while the system of magistracies (*landdrosts*) and country courts (*heemrade*) served a legal purpose, and in the political field a council (*Politieke Raad*) was in place.[9] Gradually, however, as the British administration encroached on their freedom, these structures changed. For instance, the *landdrost* and *heemrade* were abolished in 1828, followed by the abolition of the commando system in 1833.[10] To add insult to injury, English replaced Dutch as the official language in the period between 1822 and 1827.[11] Leipoldt writing in *The Valley* refers to the 'complaining burghers who had trekked beyond the great river to find in the no-man's-land beyond a refuge where they could be safe from the exactions of a government they disliked.'[12]

The Afrikaanders's new lives on the frontier brought with it a change in language, character and outlook on life[13] and they became more cohesive and developed a common identity around the idea of a common *volk* (a people).[14] And so gradually a homogeneous group of people developed, whose symbols lay in the Bible, horse and ox wagon, residing in a landscape known as the *veld* and acquiring the name 'boer' (farmer) and as a whole, 'Boerevolk.' It is around this event, the Great Trek, amongst others, but predominantly so, that the Afrikaans historian Gustav Preller creates his public history. Against the Preller narrative, Leipoldt laments the fact that former residents of the Cape, abandoned local tradition and Western ideas, only for it to be replaced by a bucolic, heavily religious, racist, Calvinist-Afrikaner society in the north. It is this event known as the Great Trek that was at

[8]F A Van Jaarsveld & G D Scholtz, editors, *Die Republiek Van Suid-Afrika*, Vootrekkerpers, Johannesburg, 1966, p. 35.
[9]*Ibid.*, p. 36.
[10]*Ibid*., p. 36.
[11]*Ibid*., p. 36.
[12]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 8.
[13]F A Van Jaarsveld & G D Scholtz, editors, *Die Republiek Van Suid-Afrika*, Vootrekkerpers, Johannesburg, 1966, p. 35.
[14]*Ibid*.

the centre of South African historiography for a considerable period of time,[15] propagated by Gustav Preller, which informs the entire logic of Leipoldt's *The Valley*.

3.2 — GUSTAV SCHOEMAN PRELLER (1875 – 1943)[16]

J G Calitz in his biography of Deneys Reitz made the statement that the personality of the individual and the problems/issues of his/her time make a good biography.[17] This point can be equally important when examining the development of the historical consciousness of Gustav Preller to see how it in turn, translated into the development of an Afrikaner-nationalist identity. Preller's father Robert Clunie Logie Preller had established himself in the district of Pretoria in 1861 on the farm Klipdrift near Hammanskraal. He married Stephina, the daughter of the prominent Voortrekker leader Commandant Stephanus Schoeman, who resided on the corner of Mark and Boom Streets in Pretoria, on his estate called 'Klein Schoemansdal' and it was here that the young Gustav was born on 4 October 1875.[18] Gustav was thus descended directly from one of the Voortrekker families which might well have played a significant role in the intense interest he showed in Voortrekker history, reflected in his historical writings, which contributed in no small way to the building of an Afrikaner national consciousness.

According to the *Natal Mercury* of 3 May 1860, Gustav's father Robert had not been satisfied with the British management in Natal where he was living at the time, and this precipitated him to move to the Transvaal in 1861.[19] Three years later, when Gustav was three, his father decided to sell his farm in the district of Pretoria and purchased a farm approximately 38 km south of Standerton.[20] After a short period living here, the family moved again, to the farm Rietspruit north of Standerton, this time close enough to the town so that the Preller children

[15]A N Pelzer emphasizes the point made earlier, that the Great Trek as an event is important to both Boers and the British and at the time sets out the period in which historical writing about the event appeared. See A N Pelzer, 'Die Belangrikste Geskrifte Oor Die Groot Trek', in *Jaarboek van die Afrikaanse Skrywerskring*, XIV, 1949, p. 3.
[16]For a full biography refer to the *Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordeboek*, Deel I, Hoofredakteur W J de Kock, Nasionale Boekhandel Bpk., Kaapstad, 1968. The biographical notes are by J S Du Plessis and run from pp.673 – 677. Preller died on his farm Pelindaba on 6 October 1943.
[17]G J Calitz, 'Deneys Reitz (1882 – 1944): Krygsman, Avonturier en Politikus', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, Pretoria, 2008, p. 3.
[18]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 3.
[19]*Ibid.*, p. 14.
[20]*Ibid.*, p. 20.

could be within easy travelling distance of school.[21] Historian P J du Plessis describes Gustav as a gifted child, whose colourful school career unfortunately came to an end when he was fifteen years old, because the school closed in October 1890, which meant Gustav had to go out to look for work.[22] His father was not in favour of Gustav going to university in Stellenbosch, as judging by an article in one of the conservative journals of the time, the spirit that reigned there was against Afrikanerdom.[23] It was to Afrikanerdom that Gustav would devote his life, as will be shown in the ensuing paragraphs of this chapter and the next.

Hardly a month out of school, on 3 November 1890, Preller found work at a general dealer's store, Paddon and Block, in the Standerton area, and compensated this boring work with a great deal of reading English classics.[24] It is possible that such a great amount of reading instilled in him an interest in the heroic deeds of the novels' protagonists, and, one wonders if this did not inspire him, later, to write his Afrikaans classics such as his *Piet Retief*.[25] It was Gustav Preller who immortalized the Voortrekker hero and leader, Piet Retief, more than any other. This is by far Preller's most important work and more will be said about *Piet Retief* by Gustav Preller elsewhere in this and the ensuing chapter.

The importance of Preller as a writer of Voortrekker history is reflected in a letter dated 14 October 1940 from the Afrikaans poet D J Opperman, to Preller inquiring about the sources that Preller had consulted. The answer that Preller gave led Opperman to believe Preller was the inaugural Afrikaner historian as well as a prominent Afrikaner literary critic.[26] As early as 1893 Preller was already reading Dutch literature, including Van Deyssel [27] and it is probably reading such as this that enabled Preller to engage thus. An example is when Preller exhorted Afrikaans historian J H H de Waal instead of using jaded, scaled-back words that cannot proceed any further, rather to use more gifted, rounded and whole words as in the style of the Dutch writer Van Deyssel — words neatly lined-up like a team of broad-

[21]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, pp. 20 – 21.
[22]*Ibid.,* pp. 21 *et seq*.
[23]*Ibid.*, p. 25.
[24]*Ibid.*, pp. 25 – 26.
[25]*Ibid.*, pp. 27. Gustav S Preller, *Piet Retief, Lewensgeskiedenis van die Grote Voortrekker*, J L Van Schaik, Pretoria, 1917 (this is the 9th edition, the first being in serialized form in *De Volkstem*, 1907).
[26]D J Opperman, 'Preller en sy Studiebronne', *Standpunte*, 7(2), 1952, p. 117.
[27]Lodewijk van Deyssel was the pseudonym of Karel Joan Lodewijk Alberdingk Thijm (1864 - 1952), a Dutch novelist, prose-poet and literary critic and a leading member of the 'Tachtigers.'

shouldered, patriotic oxen, together heaving, to 'trek' his thoughts and convey them.[28] From the above example of the way Preller employed the Afrikaans language, and from such an early stage, it can be seen how he used images to propagate his ideas of trekking. It might even be said that he used the language to promote a sense of northern-ward movement, away from the Cape, to conquer new lands, as the trekkers did.

In Chapter I entitled 'Agtergrond Van Die Voortrek'[29] written in Dutch in his biography of *Andries Pretorius*[30] Preller explains Chief Justic John G Kotze's view that the trekkers are the true fore-runners and founders of South Africa's civilization and advancement.[31] This view is in opposition to the unthinkable, opposing view held by Judge Watermeyer that the migratory spirit was the curse of South Africa.[32] But for Dr D F Malan, had there been no Great Trek, no Afrikaner nation would have emerged.[33] In Malan's view, 'men zocht persoonlike vryheid, de grondslag van nationale vryheid.'[34] Whilst the pro-trekker Preller agrees that there are numerous, obvious reasons given for the Great Trek, he believes that the unconscious will to trek, ranks first in the line-up of factors.[35] Peaceful existence (*rus*) is what the Voortrekkers desired. Neither did the reason for trekking, according to Preller, lie in the individual will, but rather, as in the Tolstoyan view that it is the intuition of a nation, the will of the masses, which provides the direction for the great events that follow out of this.[36]

The move by the Preller family in 1891 from Standerton to Pretoria provided the curious young Gustav with the opportunity of living in a modern and aesthetic city, which in no small way impressed him.[37] Here there were so many outlets for the curiosity of a young person thirsty for knowledge. For instance, having the library at his doorstep meant he now had access to important classics such as Tolstoy and was able to visit important exhibitions that the city offered, such as on geology. He paid regular visits to the museum's exhibit of the Retief-Dingaan Treaty, and saw first-hand the diary of Louis Trichardt, on which the brown, bespattered blood stains from the bludgeoning of Retrief acted as a source of stimulus which

[28]D J Opperman, 'Preller en sy Studiebronne', *Standpunte*, 7(2), 1952, p. 118.
[29] [Translation: 'background to the Great Trek'].
[30]Gustav Preller, *Andries Pretorius*, (no details of publisher), 1937, pp. 1 – 11.
[31]*Ibid.*, p. 1.
[32]*Ibid.*, p. 1.
[33]*Ibid.*, p. 1.
[34]*Ibid.*, p. 1. [Translation: 'men seek personal freedom as the foundation for national freedom.]
[35]Gustav Preller, *Andries Pretorius*, (no details of publisher), 1937, p. 2.
[36]*Ibid.*, 1937, p. 2.
[37]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, pp. 28 *et seq.*

further developed his historical and political consciousness.[38] These sources of stimuli were to give him the inspiration to pursue studies on Voortrekker history, and to become an undisputed expert in the field. Successful examinations as a translator in Dutch and English afforded an infinite number of opportunities for extensive reading and study.

Learning German gave him access to Nietzsche, which helped form his religious outlook (or lack thereof) — D J Opperman explains Preller's early meeting with Nietzsche, in fact, before 1900.[39] The city's library, on his doorstep, was an extensive one, possessing a wide range of interesting reading material.[40] It was in Pretoria at the time he met the Afrikaans writer and poet Jan F Celliers and also the eccentric F V Engelenburg who in his official capacity as one of the library's directors had been responsible for importing thousands of volumes of English works from abroad, for the library. Of importance for Preller was the way the Dutch 'Tagtigers' made Dutch accessible through a rejuvenating cure.[41] This obviously influenced Preller by the way he would embrace the use of Afrikaans as a language of a nation, making it accessible to a broad range of speakers and readers, as opposed to the stiff Dutch of the church and classroom. It was through the medium of Afrikaans that Preller promoted Afrikaans nationalism.

With rapid strides Preller devoured books on many subjects, became interested in acting, took up writing articles for submission to the newspapers, and writing in general – Preller blossomed in humanist-based activities, at the same time writing up mining reports for the local newspapers.[42] After entering the law firm of James Berrangé as a clerk it soon became evident he was not cut out for this work, possibly also to do with the difficulties surrounding the entrance qualifications, and subsequently took up a position as a clerk in the Department of Mines. Preller's upward mobility in the Department was assured as it was evident this person was diligent and proficient in his work.

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[38]Sir George Cory, G S Preller, W Blommaert, 'Die Retief-Dingaan-Ooreenkoms' (Annale van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch, B(1), May 1924, p. 52. The authenticity of the signatures of the treaty is a topic of a debate between Cory and Preller. Preller's theory is that the original was removed from the Republican archives by the British during the war (the South African War). For this point, see p. 54 of 'Die Retief-Dingaan-Ooreenkoms'.
[39]D J Opperman, 'Preller en sy Studiebronne', *Standpunte*, 7(2), 1952, p. 118.
[40]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 33.
[41]D J Opperman, 'Preller en sy Studiebronne', *Standpunte*, 7(2), 1952, p. 118.
[42]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, pp. 33 *et seq.*

Once he felt he was sufficiently established, he was ready to settle down and on 13 April 1898 he married (Hannie) Johanna Pretorius.[43] The fact that he had chosen this person as his partner in marriage is important for the Preller story. Gustav was a regular visitor at the home of the Pretorius family where the son Lood was a close friend. Lood's sister Johanna appealed to him and it was she whom he married. The father of siblings Lood and Johanna, Henning, was the commandant in the state artillery, and the eldest son of M W (MW) Pretorius (1822 – 1864), not to be confused with the president of the Transvaal with the same name.

MW's wife, Debora was the daughter of Piet Retief,[44] the assassinated Vootrekker hero, whom Preller was to immortalize in Afrikaner history. Furthermore, Johanna's great-great-grand uncle was Andries Pretorius (one of the initial Voortrekkers who left the precincts of the Colony in 1838), apparently the Boers' choice to replace the slain Retief and the one who mustered together a party to avenge Retief's death.[45] Preller's history of the Voortrekkers beginning with the publication of his work *Piet Retief* (1906) and ending in 1838 in the year of the Afrikaner folk celebrations to commemorate the Great Trek, with the publication of *Andries Pretorius* (1938) brings full circle his life's work, although he continued after this date to campaign for the cause he set his mind on. Is it not ironic that albeit indirectly, through marriage, Preller had some connection with both Retief and Pretorius, and that his own progeny, would one day be carriers of their blood?

But more importantly however, is the way political circumstances towards the end of the nineteenth century, would contribute further to the development of Preller's historical and political consciousness. Out of this came a canon of Afrikaans historical literature reflecting the deeds of the Voortrekkers and their leaders as they engaged in the struggle against British imperialism and as a nation in exile. Preller immortalized them as the ones who against adversity and holding onto their ideology would one day see their actions lead to the creation of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

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[43]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 40.
[44]*Ibid.*, p. 37.
[45]The University of South Africa holds the W A Kleynhans Papers in which are contained the speeches on the Voortrekkers, made by Mrs Preller, during her life, as well as important correspondence about Voortrekker history.

Whilst one can safely assume that the aforementioned detail in some way or other would have an impact on the development of Preller's political consciousness, for instance, his contact with members of the family of Piet Retief, and his own descent from a Voortrekker family, to name some of the factors, one imagines that there would have to be much more direct and powerful reasons impacting on his mind for him to have produced a canon of Afrikaner historiography that became a national, fully-fledged, public history.

3.3 — GUSTAV PRELLER THE HISTORIAN

J R Malan presents an interesting view of Preller as the writer of historical works. Preller never called himself a historian but one who loved history.[46] His interest in history grew from the period he lived in.[47] He saw it his mission to salvage any historical source or relic for the Afrikaner's posterity, and in the foreword to his seventh edition of his work *Piet Retrief,* admonished those who failed to do the same.[48] Malan sketches a very specific kind of approach to history, held by Preller. To Preller 'die geskiedenis van ons volk is nie 'n reeks kafferonluste of 'n opeenvolging van belangrike insidente nie.'[49] Rather, Preller sees history as an unending number of expressions of the will.[50] For him the intuition of the whole nation (of Afrikaners?) determines the direction in which great events of the world follow on from each other.[51] This gives historical writing a kind of sanctity (*heilige erfenis*) which is expressed as if it were the voice of a king or God's voice.[52] With this view of the task destined before him, Preller held onto the firm belief in the future of his people, a form of manifest destiny.[53] Much of Preller's views as expressed in the above lines are to be found in his writings, for instance *Historiese Opstelle* and his historical works are re-worked from diaries, whilst his two biographies, *Piet Retief* (1906) and *Andries Pretorius* (1937), according to Malan, remain his *magna opera*.[54] Malan describes the way Preller heralds these two Voortrekkers, in his highly romanticised biographies, respectively, into the heroic

[46]J R Malan, 'Preller as Kunstenaar met verwysing na sy Mensbeelding, Verhaalkuns, Taal en Styl', MA Dissretation, 1924, p. 1.
[47]*Ibid.*, p. 1.
[48]*Ibid.*, p. 1.
[49]*Ibid.*, p. 1. [Translation: 'the history of our nation is not a series of kaffir unrests or a range of important incidents.']
[50]J R Malan, 'Preller as Kunstenaar met verwysing na sy Mensbeelding, Verhaalkuns, Taal en Styl', MA Dissretation, 1924, p. 1.
[51]*Ibid.*, p. 1.
[52]*Ibid.*, p. 1.
[53]*Ibid.*, p. 1.
[54]*Ibid.*, p. 2.

age of Afrikanerdom. It is as Malan implies, writing of Preller, that he works as an artist in the way he sketches the lives of Retief and Pretorius, two Voortrekker leaders greatly admired by Preller for their venturesome spirit, and by the way they dealt with the dangers they faced.

One who writes authoritatively about Preller's role in the historical writing of the Great Trek is J S Du Plessis, in his MA Thesis entitled 'Dr Gustav Preller as Historikus van die Groot Trek.'[55] An important chapter is the discussion of the *ante*-Preller historiography of the Great Trek.[56] The point made by Du Plessis is that prior to Preller, the historiography was un-national (*onnasionaal*), and so it is largely due to Preller that it (the historiography) took on a nationalistic proportion. Du Plessis historicizes the way Preller saw his work as one destined to uplift the Afrikaner people after the ill-fate that had befallen them, from the South African War – a *volksbeweging* (national movement) reflecting the will of the masses, duly organized by the talented leaders, not necessarily initiated by them.[57] The remainder of the thesis deals with important topics such as Preller's monograph of works on the Great Trek (Chapter IV); how Preller saw his role as a writer of history and how one can learn from history, much here taken from *Historiese Opstelle* (Ch V), Preller's role as a writer (Ch VI) and finally some concluding remarks. One such remark is that one should see Preller's part in Afrikaner historical writing at the stage that Afrikaner historiography was in its infant stages. Ironically, whilst he views his role as guardian of the sources, Preller seldom visited the archives. Furthermore, he gave a side to the Great Trek history no-one else had done till then, namely that the Voortrekkers faced great strife from the 'barbarians.'[58]

Whilst Preller's predominant medium to promote Afrikaner nationalism, as an accomplished journalist, was undoubtedly the written word, and more specifically, history and historical writing, he promoted Afrikaans culture and language to do so. Much of what Preller proceeded to write, was born out of his great love of writing up the history of the Voortrekkers. *De Volkstem* of 13 December 1905 reported how Preller began his historical writing by manifesting a number of original documents and sources in his newspaper columns, out of which grew his first history, viz., that of *Piet Retief* (1906).

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[55] J S Du Plessis, 'Dr Gustav Preller as Historikus Van die Groot Trek' University of South Africa, 1949.
[56] *Ibid.*, pp. 1 – 15.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 39.
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 129.

For Preller, great interest lay in the accumulation of primary documents. For instance, he was most upset when a diary from the period 1839 – 1842, as a result of a family dispute, resulted in lost opportunities of securing it for the archives.[59] He lamented that letters (allegedly) in Retief's hand were stolen from the Pretoria archives, and that the biographical details about Retief's early life are scarce.[60] According to P J du Plessis, all four provinces' archives were not well positioned to supply archival sources on the Great Trek.[61] Not only did Preller attempt as far as possible to do primary research, he also had the benefit of existing historiography by writers and historians such as H J Hofstede, S J du Toit, C N J du Plessis, J A Roorda-Smit, F Lion-Cachet, J H Huttingh and J A Wormse[62] even though these works are by no means complete and have their own discrepancies as far as histories of the Great Trek are concerned.

When at the beginning of the Second Language Movement in 1905 Preller set out to write his history of Piet Retief, he had no training as a historian. He had however prepared himself, through reading up on the subject of the philosophy of history, such as works by Leopold Von Ranke, Aristotle, Marcus Aurelius, Francis Bacon, Auguste Comte, Thomas Huxley, John Locke, J S Mill, Montaigne and C Kegan's *The Thoughts of Blaise Pascal* (London, 1895).[63] Du Plessis emphasizes the role of the Romantics that exercised an influence on Preller, and cites a range of writers accessible at the time to him, such as Leckey, Motley, Gibbon, Walter Scott and the Dutch writer Lennep.[64] Reading these works led to a feeling and appreciation for these writers and according to Du Plessis led to similarities in approach between these the Romantics and Preller's *Piet Retief*. Above all, however, the role that the Romantics play in the writing up of history would lie, according to Du Plessis (referring to David Levin's *History as Romantic Art*, Stanford, California, 1959, p. 7), in an interesting story, with a grand theme, such as the rise of a nation, the thirst for freedom and the taming of a new land.[65] These characteristics Preller saw in the history of the Voortrekker and put his own knowledge and imagination to good use, to construct his own histories of them.

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[59]Gustav S Preller, *Piet Retief*, (9th edition), J L Van Schaik, Pretoria, 1917, p. vii – xii.
[60]*Ibid.*
[61]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943, D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 134.
[62]*Ibid.*, pp. 132 – 133.
[63]*Ibid.*, pp. 135 – 136.
[64]*Ibid.*, pp. 137 – 138.
[65]*Ibid.*, p. 138.

It is even suggested that the model held up for Preller's hero Piet Retief in his quest to establish a nation in the face of British imperialism and dominance was John Lothrop Motley's William the Silent in his *opus magnum*, the *History of the United Netherlands* − the hero 'William the Silent' acts in full force against the might of the Spanish.[66] One could make a comparison here with the way Leipoldt appreciated Multatuli's activist writing against the treatment of the local inhabitants of Java by the Dutch. The common theme is the use of historical writing and prose to protest against opposing forces such as British imperialism, in the case of Preller, and Dutch hegemony in the case of Multatuli and Leipoldt respectively. As the historical Afrikaner-hero protests against British domination over his people, echoing John Lothrop Motley's Prince William's stance against the Spanish in the Netherlands, Preller projects from the present into the glorious past of the Afrikaner.[67] Thus, Retief leads his party into freedom, far from the British border, to found a new Fatherland, reminiscent of an age even further back, one immortalized in Latin hexameter by the Latin poet Virgil in his *Aeneid* when amid great strife the hero-prince Aeneas founds the city of Rome and its people: *tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem.*[68] Such are the exigencies of Preller's lofty historical prose.

Afrikaans literary critic Rob Antonissen refers to Preller's work of elegant prose coming from the Second Language Movement (1905 – 1925) and says of it that it is the first in a series of respectable/venerable historiographic publications with which he would establish his authority as a *cognoscente* of the Great Trek period and the Second War of Independence (the South African War).[69] Antonissen describes the way Preller's visionary and psychological historical writing evokes the inner lives of the past, allowing these lives to be captured in the present, and reconstructs closely investigated historical realities so as to give form to the Afrikaner's destiny.[70] Antonissen refers specifically to the careful spirit with which Preller conducts his research, to his profound knowledge and imagination, his sharp eye capturing the essence of human life and events through the assemblage of facts, and building up a fixed synthesis, as in his definitive *Piet Retief* (1905) text, and his great biography of *Andries*

[66]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943, D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 138.
[67]*Ibid.*, p. 139.
[68]So much strife it was to establish the Roman 'volk'.
[69]R Antonissen, 'Die Afrikaanse letterkunde van 1906 tot 1966', in *Perspektief en Profiel – 'n Geskiedenis van die Afrikaanse Letterkunde*, edited by P J Nienaber, Perskor, Johannesburg, 1982, p. 41.
[70]*Ibid*.

Pretorius (1938).[71] His style, except when it is the fluent journalist writing, tends towards a natural-dramatic quality, and has a feel for the art of the expressive, plastic, impressionistic, delicate/sensitive even though this might at times lead to some ornamental and ostentatious writing.[72] On the other hand when the need arises he is able to chronicle the detail as in his war diary, *Ons parool* (1938).[73] But there are other views on Preller's ability as a historian, which will be discussed elsewhere in this thesis.

In a way, Preller's position as a historian has something in common with the following point from philosopher of history Isaiah Berlin when he says: 'Capacity for understanding people's characters, knowledge of ways in which they are likely to react to one another, ability to 'enter into' their motives, their principles, the movement of their thoughts and feelings – these are the talents that are indispensable to historians ... '[74] Preller certainly seemed to display an element of this understanding as he constructed his narratives of the past, celebrating the lives of his Voortrekker antecedents. But albeit in fiction, it can be argued that C Louis Leipoldt in *The Valley* showed similar trends in the way he constructed his characters, in each of the three novels making up the trilogy, he himself showing his characters to understand the history they were engaging with. It is these characters that Peter Merrington suggests are 'running directly counter to Preller' as:

> Leipoldt's sympathetic characters in his trilogy (that) argue that the Transvalers, the burgers of the erstwhile Transvaal Republic in the north (and equally the burgers of the Orange Free State Republic), are a negative force behind the divisive and racist nationalism of the 1930s precisely because they elected to leave the British-ruled Cape Colony a century before, and in doing so chose (according to Leipoldt's argument) to abandon wider moral and intellectual horizons of the Western European nineteenth century.[75]

By contrast, in Preller's historiography those who elected to leave are the heroes, and he immortalizes them in his historical writing through a very concentrated, purposeful, inscription of them into the past, and into the Afrikaner's political consciousness, in a 'volksgeskiedenis' that dominated South African history until at least the Great Trek celebrations of 1938. According to Afrikaans literary historian Dr P C Schoonees one would

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[71]R Antonissen, 'Die Afrikaanse letterkunde van 1906 tot 1966', in *Perspektief en Profiel – 'n Geskiedenis van die Afrikaanse Letterkunde*, edited by P J Nienaber, Perskor, Johannesburg, 1982, p. 41
[72]*Ibid.*
[73]*Ibid.*
[74]Isaiah Berlin, *Concepts and Categories – Philosophical Essays*, Pimlico, London, 1999.
[75]P Merrington, 'C Louis Leipoldt's "Valley Trilogy" and Contested South African Nationalisms in the Early Twentieth Century', *Current Writing,* 15(2), 2003, p. 36.

have to look hard to find the equal of Preller as far as being the *cognoscente* of the *Voortrek* (the movement of the Voortrekkers) and its people.[76] It therefore comes as no surprise when for the erection of the Voortrekker Monument inaugurated in the ceremony on 16 December 1949 (which for Preller was posthumous), Gustav Preller was a member of the original 1938 committee of experts 'to ensure that the frieze should give a complete and faithful picture of the important events connected with the Great Trek.'[77] His efforts were clearly towards 'the gradual development towards national independence spread over a period of more than a century.'[78] The reasons for Preller doing this, is explored elsewhere in this chapter.

The following are a number of works that come from Preller's historical pen, showing just how extensive his oeuvre is.[79] Amongst the publications that appear under his name, are *Laat't ons toch Ernst Wezen* (1905); *Piet Retief* (1906) (it sold 14,000 copies in ten years); *Baanbrekers* (1915) published later as *Oorlogsoormag*; *Kaptein Hindon* (1916); *Dagboek van Louis Trigardt* (1917); *Vootrekkermense I – IV* (1918 – 1925) and *V – VI* (1938); *Generaal Botha* (1920), later published as *Historiese Opstelle*; *Oorlogsoormag en ander sketse en verhale* (1923); *Vootrekker-wetgewing,* which were the notes from the Natal Parliament of 1839 – 1845 (1924); *Historiese Opstelle* (1925); *Sketse en Opstelle* (1928); *Die Grobler-Moord* (1930); *Ons Goud-Roman* (1935); *Daglemier in Suid-Afrika* (1937); *Andries Pretorius* (1938); *Scheepers se Dagboek* (1938); *Ons Parool* (1938); not mentioning the works he co-wrote with Dr Engelenburg, C J Langenhoven and his translated works; and not forgetting he was from 1902 – 1903 the editor of *Land en Volk*[80]*;* writing for *The Moon*, *De Pers*, and eventually editor of *De Volkstem*, and editor of *Ons Vaderland* which became known as *Die Vaderland*, a full-time career in journalism spanning almost forty years.[81]

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[76]P C Schoonees, *Die Prosa van die Tweede Afrikaanse Beweging*, Drukkerij en Uitgeverij J H De Bussy, Pretoria, 1939, p. 518.
[77]The Official Guide to 'The Voortrekker Monument', compiled and published by the Board of Control; of the Voortrekker Monument, P O Box 1595, Pretoria (undated).
[78]*Ibid.*, p. 14.
[79]A full biography is by W M Toerien 'Gustav Schoeman Preller (1875 – 1943): 'n Bibliografie' *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe*, Pretoria, 1975, p. 279.
[80]A787 Preller Volume 74, pp. 191 *et seq*. contains the personal correspondence Preller received whilst working as editor on Eugène Marais's newspaper *Land en Volk* – he was editor between 1902 – 03. These documents are of high archival value as they contain important information about the South African War but mostly from the perspective of soldiers 'on the ground' although there are some letters from persons in high command for instance the correspondence from Maj-Genl Smith-Dorian for whom it was 'especially painful to have to burn farms and destroy property …' (letter dated 7 November 1900). Whilst in the position of editor of *Land en Volk*, Preller called for readers to write in about the war and the intention from him was probably to end up publishing an account of the war, which he never managed to achieve on the scale he did for the history of the Voortrekkers.
[81]B J Liebenberg in 'Gustav Preller as historikus', *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe*, Pretoria, 1975, pp. 243 – 244, catalogues Preller into works on the Great Trek, the South African War, and then a general category.

3.4 — CONCLUSION

Gustav Preller is a significant figure in Afrikaner history-writing which forms an important and fundamental part of the Great Trek historiography, particularly in his biographies of the leading lights in Voortrekker history but also the important archival sources of this period of history. But his writings also include important studies on the South African War, such as Preller's unpublished war diary currently held in the Preller Collection in the State Archives in Pretoria.[82] This diary illustrates the importance of the war, for Preller the individual. The sum total of the Preller historiography however, is the historical-social national foundational myth that he constructs from a wide set of symbols and writing which he developed into a full-fledged folk narrative, folk history. It is this set that informs the entire logic, rationale and narrative strategy of C Louis Leipoldt's *The Valley* whose full force is to argue the value of being rooted, of local deep tradition, over and against the idea of leaving the old Colony and abandoning roots, values and tradition. It was this narrative of Preller that was the leading narrative for an entire nation, starting just after the South African War and culminating in the Voortrekker Festival in 1938 which Preller was directly involved in, as the Chairman of the Organizing Committee for the re-enactment of the trekkings.[83] By this time Preller's writings on the Great Trek were well-known among his compatriots and throughout Afrikanerdom, and the schools were using his works as texts.[84] In this regard, the following words from P J du Plessis are significant:

> As kenner en historikus van die Groot Trek hou die jaar 1938 vir Preller besondere betekenis in. In hierdie jaar vind die eeufees van die Groot Trek plaas. Oor die jare heen het Preller se geskiedeniswerke en bronnepublikasies onder sy landgenote bekend geraak. Op skool het baie kinders daarmee kennis gemaak en 'n jonger geslag word groot in 'n aura van Romantiese en Afrikanersentriese interpretasie van die land se geskiedenis. Preller se naam en die geskiedenis van die Groot Trek word willekeurig met mekaar verbind.[85]

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[82] A787 Preller Volume 61.
[83] P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 462.
[84] *Ibid.*
[85] *Ibid.*, p. 459. [Translation: As *cognoscente* and historian of the Great Trek the year 1938 was a very meaningful one for Preller. This is the year the commemoration of the Great Trek took place. Over the years, Preller's historical writing and publications of the sources (of the Great Trek) inspired his compatriots. Many students at school became acquainted with his works and a younger generation was raised in an aura of Romantic and Afrikaner-centric interpretations of the country's history. Preller's name and the history of the Great Trek become inextricably intertwined.]

Included in the 1938 festival programme was a play especially written by Preller for the occasion, entitled 'Haar Afskeid' (Her Farewell), based on the poignant moment in the life of one of the Vootrekker leaders, Andries Pretorius, as destiny called for him to trek northwards to lend support to the other trekkers, in the face of his dying wife.[86] This event had moved Preller so much that he wrote the piece. Finally, it can be said that the effect of the Voortrekker commemoration, the proceedings in which Preller played a significant and in fact leading role, cannot be underestimated as regards the way it gave impetus to the ensuing ten years in the Afrikaners' history, leading to their victory in the 1948 elections.[87] His contribution to Afrikaner cultural history was so profound that one of Afrikaans's greatest poets, N P Van Wyk Louw, assigns to Preller the position of initiator of the theory of a national aesthetics, for Afrikaans literature.[88] It is this public history of the time that Leipoldt sometimes as an insider, but mostly as an eccentric (ex-centre) takes on with his own argument, and his own alternative, in *The Valley*.

An important point to consider, in closing this section, is that Preller remained interested in history till the end of his life. He received the appointment of State Historian in 1936, a post he filled until his death in 1943, and during that time, as in the period of his working life prior to that, he worked tirelessly to obtain important documents in the Afrikaner's history, of which the Preller Collection contains the correspondence between him and donors of these documents – the nature of these documents relate mostly to the history of the Voortrekkers as well as the South African War.[89] Correspondence between Preller and the State Archivist J H Breytenbach attests to the enthusiasm with which Preller worked to add items to the Archive at the Union Building, as seen in letters between the two.[90] The post as National Historical Researcher/State Historian is acknowledged in a letter from the

[86]In the festival programme entitled "Voortrekkereeufees: Broederstroom, Pelindaba en omgewing vir 12 Desember 1938", pp. 2 – 4.
[87]Dr H F Verwoerd, at the ATKV Congress, quoted in *Die Taalgenoot*, September 1963 by A P J van Rensburg, 'Monumentaal die Bouwerke', p. 115, in P J du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943, D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 464.
[88]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 469.
[89]A787 Preller, Volume 130; pp 31 – 4; 35; 36 – 7; a letter dated 24 July 1853 allegedly describes the last days of M W Pretorius, pp 45 – 7; p. 48, *et seq*. See also Volume 193 for substantial detail on correspondence that relates to the history of the Voortrekkers, for instance, an original letter dated 1866 in the hand of Charl (Carl) Cilliers.
[90]A787 Preller, Volume 130, p 85, a letter from J H Breytenbach dated 22 March 1941, to Preller, relates to the history of General Erasmus.

Secretary of the Interior J H de Wet, dated 25 October 1941, who requested further details about Preller's position, for the purposes of submitting budgets for the State Finances.[91]

In a letter from his farm where he lived in retirement he wrote to J H de Wet on 29 October 1941 stating he was busy compiling a register of historical papers for the Archives, to be placed with material already sent by him.[92] Further correspondence between Preller and the State Archives in Pretoria followed, in which the donations of rare material on the South African War, was acknowledged.[93] Neither were his services limited to the furtherance of the construction of archives, an activity he campaigned for and tirelessly worked for, but he remained in demand for his historical sketches and writings, to the end, as can be seen from correspondence held in the Preller collection, for instance, a letter to him from *Die Vaderland* dated 9 October 1942, requesting a short history of the discovery of gold.[94] On 17 October 1942, Preller received a request from the South African Broadcasting Corporation to conduct a series of conversations on the customs of the past, specifically about Boer cultural practices, on which he was an undoubted expert.[95] Such was his standing in Afrikaner history.

3. 5 – C LOUIS LEIPOLDT

The following extract about the influence of environment on a writer is important in this context and for this chapter, especially for the possible connection between the years of Leipoldt's youth and his writings of 1929 – 1932:

> Environment in relation to its influence on the mind is not only interesting from a purely psychological point of view: it is equally instructive to the literary student who wishes to know the forces which moulded the thought, the impressions which stamped themselves indelibly on the memory of the master, and the associations which modified or broadened his views or cramped and stultified his methods of expression.[96]

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[91] A787 Preller, Volume 130, p 92, a letter from the Secretary of the Interior to Preller.
[92] A787 Preller, Volume 130, p 93, a letter from Preller to J H De Wet.
[93] A787 Preller, Volume 130, p 108, in a letter dated 4 May 1942 from Preller to the Archives, and a letter in acknowledgement from the Archivist to Preller, dated 26 May 1942.
[94] A787 Preller, Volume 130, p 119, a letter dated 9 October 1942 from W van Heerden of *Die Vaderland*.
[95] A787 Preller, Volume 130, p 120, a letter dated 17 October 1942, to Dr Preller.
[96] "John Keats, medical student", *Westminster Review*, April 1907, quoted in J C Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt 'n Lewensverhaal,* Tafelberg, Cape Town, 1999, on the unnumbered page preceding the table of contents.
For a work on literary biography see A C Pelser's 'Die Literêre Biografie, 'n Terreinverkenning' in http://upetd.up.ac.za/thesis/available/etd-08272002-142815/unrestricted/dissertation.pdf.

Christian Frederik[97] Louis Leipoldt was the fourth and third surviving child of Christian Friedrich Leipoldt (born in Wupperthal on 4 October 1844) and Anna Meta Christina (née Esselen), born in Worcester on 29 March 1848. He was born in Worcester on 29 December 1880 at the house of the Reverend Louis François (Franz) Esselen, his maternal grandfather. Louisa Frances Carolina (Issa), born on 20 September 1875 five years older than Leipoldt, and two sons Johann Gottlieb (Johnny) born on 2 August 1877, older by three years, and Charles William, who died a few days old, on 15 May 1879, were born in Sumatra where Leipoldt's mother and father were missionaries at the time. Leipoldt was born Christian Frederik Louis (his second name is spelt differently to his father's second name) and after him the fourth surviving child, Catharina Wilhelmina (Katie) was born on 14 March 1888 in Clanwilliam. Leipoldt's earliest youth experiences were the first four years of his life he spent under the careful guidance and influence of his grandfather at the Rhenish mission house in Worcester, Cape Colony.[98] Leipoldt remarks that his grandfather, Oupa Esselen, 'was 'n groot pedagoog, gekonfyt in die skool van Herbart[99], en het deur aanhaling en voorbeeld in alles vir ons iets gelewer wat ons belangstelling boeiend gemaak en gehou het.'[100] The processing of Leipoldt's youth experiences cannot omit the profound effect Esselen had on Leipoldt's earliest years, which Leipoldt himself confesses was even greater than that of his parents.[101] This he attributes to his grandfather's remarkable personality.[102] From an early age, his grandfather taught the grandchildren experiments such as placing seeds in cotton wool, and then showing them the roots as they grew, under a magnifying

[97]Leipoldt's second name is the same as his father's but spelt slightly differently; his father was baptized Christian Friedrich Leipoldt, and his son, Christian Frederik Louis Leipoldt. The reference for this is J C Kannemeyer, pp. 731 – 732.
[98]Today this region is known as the Western Cape.
[99]Herbart saw the teacher's essential task as identifying the existing interests of the student and relating them to the great store of human experience and culture in order to help the student become part of civilized life. He also held that the ultimate goal of education was the building of ethical character rather than the acquisition of knowledge. From: http://faculty.mdc.edu/jmcnair/Joe29pages/herbart.htm.
[100]C Louis Leipoldt, 'Jeugherinneringe', p. 2. This article appeared in *Die Huisgenoot* of 9 May 1947. BC94 A7.21 (Jagger).
[Translation: '… a great pedagogue, well-versed in the school of Herbart, (who) retained our interest by providing us with practical examples of everything we did.'] The reference is to Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776 – 1841) who was a German philosopher and psychologist and the founder of pedagogy as an academic discipline. Further information on Herbart and Herbartism can be found at http://www.nwlink.com /~donclark/hrd/history/herbart.html. In *The Valley* Leipoldt writes the name of Pastor Johann von Bergmann with two 'n's in both his name and surname, possibly following the trend from Mann's *Buddenbrooks*. It is however not outside of the bounds of possibility to consider that it might be because of the way Leipoldt associates Von Bergmann with his grandfather, and with Johann Friedrich Herbart. Incidentally, Herbart studied directly under Fichte, to whom Leipoldt makes reference in *The Valley* (p. 38).
[101]C Louis Leipoldt, 'Jeugherinneringe', p. 1. This article appeared in *Die Huisgenoot* of 9 May 1947. BC94 A7.21 (Jagger).
[102]*Ibid*.

glass. These early experiences appealed to the curious mind of Leipoldt, and influenced his great love for botany that subsequently developed.

The Leipoldts moved to Clanwilliam in 1884 where his father took up the post of minister of the Dutch Reformed Church. As a loner, Leipoldt's avid interest in botany grew now that he found himself surrounded by the natural surroundings and floral kingdom of the Cederberg. He clearly recalls playing in the bushveld to the right of the house where the Leipoldts lived in Clanwilliam. This bushveld he termed a wonderful paradise in which he was able to travel, as he says, 'myle ver in die veld gestap, byna elke dag, om plante te versamel, wat soms, veral in die somer as dit bra warm was, vir my goed moeg gemaak het.'[103] The experience of travelling across the Olifantsrivierkloof to Cape Town with his family in 1886 remains strong in Leipoldt's memory, as he explains 'hoe ons by die eerste uitspanning groot ruikers geurige wit jasmyn gepluk het' and that 'ek glo dat daardie reis my die eerste aangeprikkel het tot n [sic] belangstelling in die botaniek wat later my geliefkoosde stokpertjie [sic] sou word.'[104] The great love Leipoldt had for botany stems from his early years in the Cederberg, and from meeting important botanists such as Rudolph Schlechter and later, Charles MacOwan.

Having completed his civil service examinations in 1897, it was time for Leipoldt to leave his home town of Clanwilliam and look for work in Cape Town. He did not have much trouble finding employment although his first appointment, as a correspondent for *De Kolonist*, lasted only a short while. He was dismissed from the staff in September 1899 as a result of a fiery article he had written.[105] Soon after, with the help of friends and associates, he was appointed as a junior reporter to the pro-Boer newspaper *The South African News* (1899). It was whilst in the employ of this newspaper that he experienced the South African War first-hand, which he refers to as a conflagration.[106] Until then, the closest he had come to experiencing anything resembling a (political) conflagration, was as a boy living in his parents' home in Clanwilliam. The role of botany is important for the middle of the trilogy,

[103]C Louis Leipoldt, 'Jeugherinneringe', p. 11. [Translation: '(I) walked miles and miles in the veld, pactically every day, to collect plants, which sometimes, especially in the summer when extremely hot, caused me to become very weary.'] BC94 A7.21 (Jagger).
[104]C Louis Leipoldt, 'Jeugherinneringe', p. 9. [Translation: '…how at the first stop we picked large bunches of scented white jasmine' and that 'I believe it was that excursion that provided me with an interest in botany which was later to become my most cherished hobby.'] BC94 A7.21 (Jagger).
[105]J C Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, p. 111.
[106]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 267.

Stormwrack, where the character Andrew Quakerley tends to his well-defined garden. This image represents a delicately balanced belief in order and beauty. Once the garden is destroyed, so is the mutual understanding between the elements that make up the Valley community.

The second of the youth experiences impacting on Leipoldt's writing of 1929 – 1932, is from the influence that Leipoldt's father C F (Christian) Leipoldt, had on his son and the great admiration Leipoldt had for his father is autobiographically portrayed in *The Valley,* in the person of Pastor Uhlmann, 'an exponent and not an apostle of the dogma that he preached.'[107] Pastor Uhlmann's cosmopolitan spirit is compared to the less open-minded views of his counterpart Andrew Quakerley entrenched in his English ideals:

> Both tradition and training, added to his natural disposition that made him averse from obtruding himself and inclined to the peaceful calm of a student's life, had made him far more cosmopolitan than he realized himself to be, and had dulled in him even that dim spark of nationalism that still flickered in Andrew Quakerley's soul.[108]

Leipoldt's affinity for Eastern philosophy and religion influenced his liberal outlook which played a role in his political liberalism. In a letter to Leipoldt's friend Dr W J du P Erlank *alias* Eitemal, the Afrikaans poet, playwright and writer of prose, Leipoldt confesses: 'My belangstelling in Oosterse sake – filosofie, godsdiens ens – dagteken glo van my geboorte, want ofskoon ek hierso gebore is, is ek in Sumatra, op Prou-Sorat gemaak.'[109] M M Walters, a former professor in Afrikaans-Nederlands at the University of Cape Town, wrote of Leipoldt: 'Aan die een kant het jy die seun uit 'n familie met 'n sendeling-tradisie wat geslagte oud is, die pastorie-seun uit 'n konserwatiewe Afrikaanse platteland; aan die ander kant het jy die Boedhis wat die Christelike leerstellinge verwerp en saans plegtig "punjaar

[107]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 337.
[108]*Ibid*., p. 337.
[109]C Louis Leipoldt, in a letter to Dr Erlank, dated 18 January 1935, BC94 B14.174.1 (Jagger). It is technically speaking not possible for Leipoldt to have been 'made' in Sumatra, unless of course he means spiritually. This is so because the Leipoldts arrived in South Africa from the East on 10 November 1879 and Leipoldt was born on 28 December 1880 which exceeds the nine month gestation period for humans. Leipoldt might have been talking spiritually or imaginatively and thinking his soul was formed there, a possible manifestation that relates to his Buddhist tendencies. His parents retuned to South Africa for reasons pertaining to Christina's health. Their third child Charles William born on Sumatra died there after a few days, on 5 May 1879. This latter tragedy was instrumental in the decision to return to South Africa so Christina could be with her parents. [Translation: 'My interest in Eastern matters – philosophy, religion etc. – dates, seemingly, from my birth, since whilst I was born here, I was made [conceived?] in Prou-Sorat, Sumatra.']

maak" voor ete.'[110] As already mentioned in Chapter 1, Leipoldt had a strong leaning towards Eastern religions and may on occasion have indicated his religion as Buddhism'.[111]

Reading Junghuhn's travel descriptions of Java and Sumatra[112] and the descriptions of the Islam and Buddhist systems ('uitwydings oor die Islam en Bhoeddistiese stelsels')[113] expanded the young Leipoldt's horizons in this field.[114] These Eastern systems provided fertile ground for comparisons to Christendom, and according to Leipoldt, his father had no reservation to discuss these with him.[115] A project that will certainly be of value for gaining some understanding of Leipoldt's deeper insights into the East will be the editing of his unpublished manuscript entitled "Visit to the East Indies" (1912).[116]

Leipoldt's mother, a highly cultured person, for her own moral reasons, thought it unfit for her children to attend the local school and thus forbade them to do so.[117] The result was that

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[110]M M Walters, 'C Louis Leipoldt 1880 – 1947', 'Foundation for Research and Development: Man and Environment, Die invloed van die Omgewing op die Kunstenaar', p. 15. [Translation: 'On the one hand you have the boy from a family steeped in an age-old missionary tradition, the boy from the rectory coming from a conservative Afrikaans countryside; on the other hand you have the Buddhist who eschews the Christian dogma and in the evenings religiously brews punjaar before dinner.']

[111]E M Sandler, 'C.Louis Leipoldt — Medical Student Extraordinary', the address at A J Orenstein Memorial Lecture, The Faculty of Health Sciences at the University of the Witwatersrand, October 8, 1980 (abridged) p. 14. This reference was made earlier and is repeated here.

[112]Friedrich Junghuhn & C G Nees von Esenbeck, *Topographische und naturwissenschaftliche Reise durch Java,* Emil Baensch, Magdenburg; A. Baedeker, Rotterdam & J. Müller, Amsterdam, 1845. In Leipoldt's jottings in BC94 A5.9 (Jagger) there are quotes from Junghuhn, and notes on him, in Leipoldt's own hand.
See also Jan Sihar Aritonang, 'The Encounter of the Batak People with Rheinische Missions-Gesellschaft in the Field of Education (1861 – 1940), a Historical-Theological Enquiry', dissertation for the degree of Doctor, University of Utrecht, 15 June 2000, for information on mission life in Java. Leipoldt's mother and father worked among the Bata(k) people and were fluent in their language.

[113]C Louis Leipoldt, in a letter to Dr Erlank, dated 18 January 1935. BC94 B14.174.1 (Jagger).
[Translation: 'expositions on Islam and Buddhist systems.'] See Ch X entitled 'Mirakelland van Oerwoud en Vulkaan' in J C Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, Tafelberg, Cape Town, 1999. This chapter deals with Leipoldt's perceptions on places he visited on his 1912 visit to the Dutch East Indies.

[114]C Louis Leipoldt, in a letter to Dr Erlank, dated 18 January 1935. BC94 B14.174.1 (Jagger).

[115]*Ibid*.

[116]BC94 A7.16 (Jagger). The manuscript (with the first page missing) is entitled 'Visit to the East Indies' with some chapter headings supplied by Dr M P O Burgers. Leipoldt reworked the English manuscript into Afrikaans as *Uit my Oosterse Dagboek* (Nasionale Pers, Cape Town, 1932). There is a great deal that is of importance in this manuscript for a better understanding of the differences of the way the Dutch systems worked in the East Indies, versus South Africa; for instance the topic of race relations; the way the local inhabitants of East India had no say in the affairs of their country much like the National Party conducted its political policies at the exclusion of the majority of the local inhabitants of South Africa; a comparison between the Javanese and the Malays; the role of women in society and the garden at Buitenzorg. Leipoldt's jottings in BC94 A5.9 (Jagger) describe details of the garden at Buitenzorg, which he must have had in mind as background information for his manuscript, 'Visit to the East Indies'.

[117]Leipoldt did not like his mother, yet she was responsible for a great deal of missionary work in her district. See the poignant letter her husband C F Leipoldt sent to his congregation at the occasion of her death on 2 December 1903, outlining the projects in philanthropy she conducted during her lifetime. This is in the Slotow Collection in the Archives of the University of South Africa.

the library in the 'pastorie'[118] in Clanwilliam, which possessed an eclectic range of books ranging from theology to literature, became a kind of classroom for the young Leipoldt. There he learnt about the rudiments of botany and zoology by 'devouring' these books. It is safe to suggest however that his fascination with the subject of botany grew even more as he learnt to classify flowers and plants.[119] At age eight Leipoldt was permitted to visit the town's library with its vast collection of: 'pragtig ingebinde stelle Engelse klassieke, die werke van Scott, George Eliot, Jane Austen, Maria Edgeworth…. feitlik die hele lange ry van Engelse skrywers…'[120] By his admission, the dialogue in Scott's *Heart of Midlothian* left a lasting impression on Leipoldt.[121] It can be argued that Scott's lengthy and descriptive sentences might well have been an influence on Leipoldt's own style of writing, in *The Valley*. There are overlapping themes in *The Valley* of Leipoldt with Scott's work, for instance, an interest shown in what Leipoldt terms 'average inhabitants.'[122]

Leipoldt the writer cannot be seen outside of this fascination with reading from an early age.[123] The young Leipoldt was a gifted child writing a play at age eight and winning a writing competition run by *Boys Own Paper* at age eleven. At fourteen, pieces of his writing on a range of topics were appearing in the *Cape Times*. Leipoldt somehow liked to think of himself as the 'Louis' in Robert Louis Stevenson although his middle name derives from his maternal grandfather. Leipoldt and Stevenson nevertheless have a great amount in common, not least their ability to construct historical fiction, for instance, Stevenson's *Kidnapped* published in 1886, and before that, *Treasure Island* in 1881 – 1882 in *Boy's Own Paper.*[124] The Leipoldt household received subscribed copies of *Boys' Own Paper*[125] so it is possible the young Louis, or Christie as he was known, came across Stevenson's work at an early age. A further point worthy of noting is Walter Scott's great influence as a writer on Robert Louis

[118]Equivalent to the rectory, the place where the minister of religion and his family lived, whilst attached to the congregation he served.
[119]C Louis Leipoldt, 'Jeugherinneringe', pp. 5 & 11. BC94 A7.21 (Jagger).
[120]C Louis Leipoldt, 'Jeugherinneringe', p. 12. BC94 A7.21 (Jagger). [Translation: 'beautifully bound sets of English classics, the works of Scott, George Eliot, Jane Austen, Maria Edgeworth … practically the whole long row of English writers.']
[121]C Louis Leipoldt, 'Jeugherinneringe', p. 12. BC94 A7.21 (Jagger).
[122]Leipoldt specifically uses the term 'average inhabitants' in his jottings. BC 94 A5.6 (Jagger). A further similarity between Scott and Leipoldt is in Scott's *Waverley* where the aristocratic protagonist Edward Waverley, (Andrew Quakerley in *The Valley*?) finds himself in the middle of a civil war in a country that he is unfamiliar with. Other themes in common surfacing in both *The Valley* and *Waverley* are the role of tolerance in society, and the traditions of the past.
[123]Very much the same is said of the great Italian Romantic poet and philologist Giacomo Leopardi (1798 – 1837) whose family library was extensive, to cover a wide range of subjects.
[124]http://books.google.co.za/books?id=lKw8yzQLTvEC&pg=PA22&lpg=PA22&dq=The+boys'+own+paper.
[125]J C Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, p. 73.

Stevenson. As previously mentioned, Leipoldt greatly admired Scott's *Heart of Midlothian*. Leipoldt explains his attraction to Scott from a young age, and liked the uncomplicated dialogue and the imaginary in Scott, especially by the way the novels affected his feelings.[126]

The fact Leipoldt loved the English, Dutch and German classics, is clear from a letter dated 18 January 1935, to Erlank.[127] In the letter he names the authors he has read and they span different languages to include Latin, Italian, Dutch, English, German and French. It is doubtful, however, whether Leipoldt actually had much proficiency in languages such as French and Italian although according to E M Sandler he read works in these languages.[128] Professor S S B Gilder of the University of Cape Town Medical School, whilst acknowledging Leipoldt as an accomplished linguist, thought him to be 'not really perfect in any one language', with his Afrikaans and English coming under fire from time to time.[129] This comment should, however, be seen more in terms of the way Leipoldt might have translated technical work. It is nevertheless unlikely he had a good command of written Italian and French although he was taught Latin by his father, and liked to quote from this language. Being incredibly proficient as he was in two languages is already probably enough.

In 1936 Leipoldt placed a letter written in Latin in the editorial of the *South African Medical Journal* [130] and saw no reason why it should be translated; such was his arrogance, according to S S B Gilder.[131] He liked quoting Latin, Italian and French in his texts as in *The Valley* as well as (especially French) in his correspondence with his colleague F V Engelenburg. I asked a mother tongue Dutch speaker Mr Piet Westra, the former Director of the South African Library, the publisher of the 'Brieven' edited by Wium van Zyl, about the standard of Leipoldt's Dutch and the response was that it is certainly adequate. The English writers that Leipoldt loved reading included Browning, Keats and Milton; and the Dutch writers Vondel, de Genestet and Perk. Leipoldt was a strong opponent of the Afrikaans poet C J Langenhoven, who fought for Afrikaans as a national language, against Dutch; Leipoldt's

[126]C Louis Leipoldt, Jeugherinneringe, p. 12. BC 94 A7.21 (Jagger).
[127]BC94 B14.174.1 (Jagger). Chapter 7 of *The Mask* emphasizes the importance, through the voice of his character Mabuis III, the importance of this international literature.
[128]E M Sandler, from his Address at A J Orenstein Memorial Lecture, 8 October 1980, entitled 'C Louis Leipoldt – Medical Student Extraordinary.'
[129]S S B Gilder, 'Leipoldt the Editor', *South African Medical Journal*, 6 December 1980, pp. 927 – 928.
[130]*Ibid*.
[131]*Ibid*., p. 928.

great love for Dutch literature is evidenced by the fact he greatly lamented the change to Afrikaans from Dutch, as one of South Africa's two official languages, which took place on 8 May 1925.[132] The voice of Leipoldt is most probably reflected through the character Mabuis III who announces the importance of Dutch and Dutch literature, in Chapter 7 of *The Mask*.

It was once said, since the Esselens are restless people (this is Leipoldt's mother's side of the family), and therefore to settle their souls, they needed to have two different jobs.[133] Whilst one might see this as said in jest, it seems that Leipoldt considered this statement in the most serious light, seen by the way he actually ended up pursuing two careers, the one as a journalist and the other, as a medical doctor. Journalism however remained his first love, and Leipoldt's great contribution in this field spans most of his working life; from the time he joined *De Kolonist* as a junior reporter in 1898 at the age of eighteen and soon thereafter, joining the staff of *The South African News*. He continued writing for periodicals, magazines and newspapers, including *Die Huisgenoot* for his entire adult life, and was the inaugural editor of the *South African Medical Journal* (1926 – 1944).

In addition to his post on the staff of *The South African News* at this time, Leipoldt was appointed as the war correspondent to foreign journals including the *Manchester Guardian* and *Het Nieuws van den Dag*, a pro-Boer Dutch newspaper. One of his briefs was to report on the trials of rebels in the special circuit courts at Dordrecht, Barkly East, Cradock, Middelburg, Burgersdorp and Somerset East. Leipoldt's biographer, J C Kannemeyer, comments as follows:

> Met sy werk as snelskrywer en verslaggewer het Leipoldt nou die geleentheid gehad om eerstehandse kennis van die oorlog in die republieke en die uitwerking van krygswet in die Kolonie in te win en om streke te besoek waar hy nooit tevore was nie.[134]

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[132]The event is explained in the following site: http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/afrikaans-becomes-official-language-union-south-africa; 'On 8 May 1925, the Official Languages of the Union Act No 8 of 1925 was passed at a joint sitting of the House of Assembly and the Senate. By this Act, Dutch was replaced by Afrikaans. Both Afrikaans and English enjoyed equal status and rights. For further detail of the position of C Louis Leipoldt versus C J Langenhoven, see Riaan Oppelt's MA entitled 'The valley trilogy: a reading of C. Louis Leipoldt's English-language fiction circa 1925-1935' submitted to the University of the Western Cape in 2007.

[133]J C Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, p. 458.

[134]J C Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, p. 118. [Translation: 'Working as a stenographer and reporter Leipoldt now had the opportunity to acquire first-hand knowledge of the war in the republic and to ascertain the effect of martial law in the Colony and to visit regions where he had never been before.']

Whilst reporting from areas such as Dordrecht and Barkly East, he witnessed first-hand the detrimental effect of the proclamation of martial law in 1899 on the local backveld farmers which he describes as (a period in South African history) with 'the difficulties of the position at a time when there was practically civil war in the Cape Colony.'[135] He explains that a possible reason for them turning to rebellion was to protect their possessions.[136] It was these experiences and views that led him to pen his poem *Oom Gert Vertel* in 1902 (published in 1911), important as a war text as well as for gaining some insights to Leipoldt's sentiments about the war at the time. Leipoldt once explained that out of all his critics, the Dutch poet Albert Verwey was the only person to recognise his poem as not only an *ad hoc* plea, but the voice of a young man's deep indignation at unjust treatment and downright injustice, wherever and by whomever.[137] It is this sense of fairness and openness that played a role in shaping Leipoldt's political-liberal world-view. The early teaching from his grandfather and the instruction he received and the influence from the father, had a direct effect on this liberalism in Leipoldt's soul.

3.6 — C LOUIS LEIPOLDT'S *THE VALLEY*, HISTORY IN FICTION?

Jeanne Reames, Martin Professor of History at University of Nebraska, Omaha, specializing in the history of Ancient Greece and Macedonia, Alexander the Great and the history of the Early Church describes two types of historical fiction (not separate genre categories), which she explains as between *fiction* and *allegory*.[138] For Reames, historical fiction is never really about who any given historical figure was, but rather the quality of the research as well as how effectively the author draws the reader into the world of the story.[139] Historical *allegory*, however, succeeds or fails by the strength of the symbolic hermeneutic between the past and the present.[140] For Reames one of the best examples of historical allegory is Indo-Irishman Aubrey Menen's wickedly funny *A Conspiracy of Women* — 'whilst the book is about the final years of Alexander's reign, his time in India, and the mass weddings that followed … it

[135] BC94 A7.6 (Jagger).
[136]For an excellent account of British policy in South Africa at the time see G H le May's *British Supremacy in South Africa, 1899 – 1907,* Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1965. In many instances farmers in the north eastern districts of the Cape Colony such as Aliwal North and Dortrecht were led to believe they were subjects of the Republic (Free State).
[137]In J M H Viljoen, *'n Joernalis Vertel*, Nasionale Boekhandel Beperk, Kaapstad, Bloemfontein, Johannesburg, 1953, p. 189.
[138]http://myweb.unomaha.edu/~mreames/Beyond_Renault/writing_historical_fiction.html.
[139]*Ibid*.
[140]*Ibid*.

is really about the *British* in India and the clash of an imperialistic nation with a traditional one. It holds up a mirror so we can see ourselves more clearly.'[141]

It can be argued that both these two types of historical fiction are present in *The Valley*. For instance, the first of the trilogy, *Gallows Gecko*, draws on the historical, and draws the reader into the world of the story; whereas, *Stormwrack*, whilst it does this, is allegorical for the destruction of the once cordial relations between the Afrikaners and English-speaking residents of the Valley. The destruction of Andrew Quakerley's garden serves as a suitable example of how Leipoldt uses allegory. *The Mask* does the same, by showing the gradual decline in relations between the two elements/sections, as growing sectarian interests gain ascendancy, and suggesting what lies in store for the future of South Africa.

Whereas the previous section on Preller examined him from a perspective of historical writing, this section looks at Leipoldt's historical fiction as in *The Valley*. *The Valley* trilogy covers a historical sweep of approximately 100 years, covering the exact same period that Preller's Afrikaner historiography covers, viz., from about the 1830s to the 1930s. Yet Leipoldt also lies somewhere within the Afrikaans canon of literature, mainly as an Afrikaans poet, for his first anthology appearing in the *post bellum* period in Afrikaans as *Oom Gert Vertel en Ander Gedigte* (1911), which gave him the status as a volksdigter[142] in the 'Driemanskap' with Jan F Celliers and S D du Toit (Totius).[143] *Oom Gert Vertel* has been extensively analysed not least by literary critics Hein Viljoen[144] and Wium Van Zyl.[145] The poem shares the important theme of changing emotions, feelings, sympathies and allegiances held by Afrikaans Cape Colonials at the difficult time of the South African War, with Leipoldt's novel, *Stormwrack*. From his writing of *The Valley*, Leipoldt is viewed differently to the way Afrikaners would have seen him – then they saw him as this great *volksdigter*, but now that he had written his 'English' novels, he comes across as a liberal. Because of these two views of Leipoldt, one should therefore not lose sight of what Peter Merrington says: 'Leipoldt is a complex figure who fits partially into both these camps.'[146]

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[141]http://myweb.unomaha.edu/~mreames/Beyond_Renault/writing_historical_fiction.html.
[142]The poet reflecting the sentiments of the people.
[143]*Nom de guerre* of S J du Toit.
[144]H Viljoen, 'What Oom Gert does not tell: Silences and Resonances of C Louis Leipoldt's "Oom Gert vertel"', *Literator*, 20(3), 1999; Viljoen, H, 'Op soek na Leipoldt se oom Gert — 'n studie in historiese resonasies', *LitNet Akademies*, 7(3), 2010.
[145]W van Zyl, '"Oom Gert Vertel" en Multatuli', *Tydskrif vir Nederlands en Afrikaans*, 6(1), 1999.
[146]P Merrington, 'C Louis Leipoldt's "Valley Trilogy" and Contested South African Nationalisms in the Early Twentieth Century', *Current Writing*, 15(2), 2003, p. 32.

Not surprisingly, when Leipoldt tried his hand at producing, like Preller, histories in Afrikaans (among them *Jan Van Riebeeck (1936),*[147] *Die Groot Trek*[148] and *Die Hugenote*[149]) not one of them received a flattering review. *Die Groot Trek* was reviewed by South African historian P H S van Zyl who criticizes the history for its brevity, lack of imagination, and inaccuracies.[150] Leipoldt's poetry anthology *Dingaansdag* (1920) according to Dr G Dekker Emeritus Professor of Afrikaans literature at Potchefstroom University writing in 1958 was a disappointment for the reasons he gives. But what is important to note for this thesis, is that Leipoldt meant this anthology to take the form of an epic, related to the Great Trek, but failed to perpetuate his original idea with the result that it is neither an epic nor does it deal with that period.[151] Rob Antonissen agrees that Leipoldt's original intention with *Dingaansdag* was the epic-lyric work of the Great Trek, but Leipoldt was unable to sustain his verse in this mould due to his liberalism.[152] This point might be used to show that Leipoldt's world-view was too broad and universal to limit his writing to the kind that Preller was inclined, reflecting parochialism.

When Leipoldt the contrarian and maverick then takes on the *volksgeskiedenis* of Preller, he chooses fiction as his medium. The role of fiction here is not a random but a very specific decision and this requires some explanation. One of the proponents of this mode of writing was Dorothea Fairbridge, another, Gertrude Millin. The National Society for the Preservation of Objects of Historic Interest and Natural Beauty is the first in a series of cultural bodies 'to preserve and protect relics of South Africa's past', founded on 18 February 1905, even before the establishment of Union.[153] The members consisted of 'a number of persons imbued with a real interest in the preservation of places and objects of historical interest and natural beauty' including 'the old houses, trees and avenues, and wild flowers, all

[147]This book was reviewed by historian D W Krüger in *Ons Eie Boeke*, July-September, 1938.
[148]C Louis Leipoldt, *Die Groot Trek*, Nasionale Pers Bpk., Kaapstad, Bloemfontein en Port Elizabeth, 1938.
[149]C Louis Leipoldt, *Die Hugenote,* Nasionale Pers Bpk., Kaapstad, Bloemfontein en Port Elizabeth, 1939.
[149] P H S van Zyl's review appeared in *Brandwag* on 29 December 1938 and appeared in *C Louis Leipoldt, Eensame Veelsydige*, edited by P J Nienaber, Afrikaanse Pers Boekhandel, Johannesburg, 1948.
[150]P H S van Zyl's review appeared in *Die Vaderland*, on 3 September, 1938 and appeared in *C Louis Leipoldt, Eensame Veelsydige*, edited by P J Nienaber, Afrikaanse Pers Boekhandel, Johannesburg, 1948.
[151]G Dekker, *Afrikaanse Literatuurgeskiedenis*, 10th edition, Nasou Beperk, Kaapstad, Bloemfontein, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, Pietrmaritzburg, 1958.
[152]Rob Antonissen, 'Die Afrikaanse Letterkunde van 1906 tot 1966', in *Perspektief en Profiel* edited by P J Nienaber, Perskor, 1982.
[153]http://www.artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/style_det.php?styleid=386.

of which were then fast being destroyed'[154] as were works of art being destroyed. Among the members of this society was Dorothea Fairbridge, the daughter of a Cape Town attorney, Charles Fairbridge, and also close associates of Leipoldt, namely his benefactor the botanist Dr Harry Bolus and a close associate, Monsignor Kolbe.[155]

The idea was to provide 'the people of South Africa with a sense of nationhood through the preservation and enjoyment of their national heritage as a prelude to a vision of Union which consequently followed in 1910.'[156] One of the media used by Fairbridge in her work was fiction, alongside history, aesthetics and Africana.[157] The fiction of the day according to Merrington refracted 'the preoccupation in the early twentieth century with the passing of an old order, the effects of burgeoning modernisation in England and in the colonies or dominions.'[158] This heritage discourse, discussed in an extended study by Merrington, applies to what Fairbridge and her associates were doing, to construct a 'sense of public heritage for the new nation and state of the union of South Africa'.[159]

In the same way that Fairbridge attempts to construct her liberal heritage discourse (using history, fiction, aesthetics and Africana) in *post-bellum* South Africa, from a Cape and South African 'loyalist' point of view[160] albeit from an opposite ideology, so does Preller, using the same period, the *post-bellum* situation, to create a conservative Afrikaner consciousness in the mind of the Afrikaners. He uses the romanticised past incorporating the lives and stories of Voortrekker leaders such as Piet Retief and Andries Pretorius, but also film enactments, plays, poetry, and the construction of heritage buildings such as the Voortrekker Monument.

And Leipoldt in *The Valley* is using similar *topoi* to Fairbridge, in the Unionist-Loyalist liberal Cape-based paradigm, to write against Preller's conservatism. Leipoldt's *The Valley* in its full thrust takes on the Preller narrative but does not succeed in the end. Lamentably, Leipoldt is not able to sustain his project as *The Mask* (the third in the trilogy) shows, because the Preller story eclipses the liberalist lobby when the Hertzog's National Party ascends to political power.

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[154]http://www.artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/style_det.php?styleid=386.
[155]*Ibid*.
[156]*Ibid.*
[157]Peter Merrington, 'Carrying the Torch: Dorothea Fairbridge and the Cape Loyalist Imagination', Paper presented at the University of Pretoria, 2002.
[158]*Ibid*.
[159]*Ibid*.
[160]*Ibid*.

3.7 — CONCLUSION

It is clear when reading the above that one sees Leipoldt's own youth and other experiences emerge in his writings. He is a complex figure and therefore it is not easy to place him in a pigeon hole. But what seems clear from a study of his life and writings is that he is not a typical Afrikaner although his earliest writings are Afrikaans poetry. The reason for this is that the devastating effect of the South African War left an impression on him and a move rather towards the spirit of restoration than restitution. The influence from his missionary background accounts for this, as does the strong influence of the Quakers in England, on him. Some of the factors discussed in this chapter thus far account for Leipoldt's world-view which is counter and oppositional to the parochial, Afrikaner stance, so strongly manifested in his counterpart Gustav S Preller, whom Leipoldt saw as a 'Jaap', his very own pejorative way of denouncing anyone antagonistic to cultural pluralism.

3.8 — THE PRELLER-LEIPOLDT 'FEUD'

It is appropriate at this stage to say something about Preller and Leipoldt's relationship. Leipoldt became acquainted with Preller, his senior by five years, and like himself an autodidact, in Pretoria whilst Preller was assistant editor of *De Volkstem*.[161] On an occasion when Leipoldt was a guest to dinner at the Prellers' home in Pretoria, in the presence of another invited guest, the Afrikaans poet Jan F Celliers, Mrs Preller placed finger bowls on the table which Leipoldt proceeded to stack and remove from the table and announced that it was not the done thing to use them.[162] It would be conjecture to say this incident sparked off what was to become a future, strained relationship between Leipoldt and Preller, since the future break in relations was ideologically-based. However, the tension began with a situation whereby Leipoldt was appointed to the staff of the pro-South African Party newspaper, *De Volkstem,* at the insistence of General Smuts, as an appeasement towards Leipoldt (who had opposed the appointment of J H Hofmeyr as Administrator of the Transvaal, a post Leipoldt thought should have gone to him).

[161] A journal sympathetic towards the South African Party.
[162] In an interview between Mrs Johanna Preller and Monica Breed, on 19 October 1963, Sentrale Klankargief, SABC, Johannesburg, cited in J C Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, footnote 16, p. 708.

In addition, Smuts thought that Leipoldt would be good in that position as a counterpoise to Langenhoven at *Die Burger*, the National Party mouthpiece of the Cape. Leipoldt was appointed at the maximum salary of 1,400 Pounds. But Preller had been employed at *De Volkstem* since 1903, and now suddenly Leipoldt comes in at a higher salary. Furthermore, such an act could even place Preller's upward mobility in the organization in jeopardy and he must have seen Leipoldt as a threat. Furthermore, Preller was to learn in June 1924 that he was the only one on the staff whose salary had not been increased.[163] It is not hard to believe that from these incidents, a strained relationship between Preller and Leipoldt could arise hence the letter of mild protest from Preller to Engelenburg, that Leipoldt was appointed at a salary higher than Preller.[164]

Matters came to a head when *De Volkstem*, with Preller succeeding as editor after F V Engelenburg had resigned for health reasons in September 1924, published an article which attacked H S Scott, a member of staff at the Transvaal Department of Education. Leipoldt had worked under Scott when he was Medical Inspector of Schools and had formed a sound opinion of him and was therefore disturbed to read the article.[165] He found Preller unsympathetic towards the Scott situation and this aggravated existing, strained relations between Preller and Leipoldt, which he described in his diary in which he referred to the unsavoury handling of the Scott situation.[166]

J C Kannemeyer suggests that over and above possible personal clashes between Leipoldt and Preller, Preller might have been guarding his own position with the newspaper.[167] According to Kannemeyer, Preller informed Leipoldt on 10 February 1925 that his services were no longer required at the newspaper[168] whilst P S du Plessis indicates that it was Leipoldt who thought it best to leave the services of *De Volkstem.*[169] The former is the correct version and proof of this lies in the Minutes of the 67th Meeting of the Direction of *De Volkstem,* held on Tuesday 12 May 1925 at 4.30 pm in Pretoria where reference is made

[163]J C Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, footnote 16, p. 485.
[164]A787 Preller, Volume 207, pp. 159 – 160, a letter from Preller to Engelenburg.
[165]Leipoldt wrote in an article in the newspaper on 12 November 1924 that there was 'No worse example of racialism' – 51/16/1 Preller Collection, University of Stellenbosch Archives.
[166]BC 94 A4.14 (Jagger).
[167]J C Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, footnote 16, p. 486.
[168]J C Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, footnote 16, p. 486.
[169]This is referred to in the WAK: Louis Esselen (SA Biografiese woordeboek, II, pp. 225 – 227); also in the University of Stellenbosch G S Preller Collection, Band 51/7/1: Notule van die 67ste direksievergadering dd. 12.5.1925, cited in P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 350.

to the dismissal ('ontslag') — the way it was handled was questioned by one of the newly appointed Directors to *De Volkstem*, Mr Louis Esselen, chief secretary of the South African Party, and a *confidante* of Smuts, who happened to be one of Leipoldt's close relatives from his mother's side.[170] Esselen was placed in that position specifically to check for any possible ideological shift from Preller that might affect the newspaper's sales.[171] There had already been signs that Preller was sympathetic towards the nationalists, and his preference for segregation.[172] The fear that the board of *De Volkstem* had is corroborated by the fact Preller was hoping for a post with the Nationalists in Cape Town.[173] The implication of the questioning by Esselen, points to possible heavy-handedness by Preller, in the way he handled the Leipoldt dismissal, and one can assume as a close relative of Leipoldt, Esselen was unhappy with the situation.

Preller wrote in *De Volkstem* of 28 August 1925 that he felt it his duty to support his nation above all else, and for him, Hertzog was the one ensuring the future of the nation, because he was steering it away from British imperialism.[174] Three years before, in 1921, he was contemplating going over to the Nationalist journal, *Ons Vaderland.* Preller once explained his decision not to stand as Member of Parliament for the South African Party in the constituency of Standerton.[175] There might have been misgivings already then, surfacing about his true allegiance although he conveniently said he did not want to compromise his position as a journalist.[176] Further proof of Preller's misgivings is reflected in his view that if the English and Afrikaans speaking elements could not work together, to Preller it meant an end to while civilization in South Africa.[177]

Preller had all along remained loyal to Botha but after Botha's death, although he remained a member of the South African Party (SAP), he started developing leanings towards the

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[170] 51/7/1 in The Preller Collection, University of Stellenbosch Archives — 'Die Heer Esselen vraagt of de Korrespondentie inzake 't ontslag van de Heer Dr. C. L. Leipoldt, door de Sekretaris is gevoerd, in welk geval hy inzage daarvan verzoekt. – Mededeling wordt gedaan dat deze saak door de Editeur is behandeld.' [Translation: Mr Esselen asked whether the correspondence regarding the dismissal of Dr C L Leipoldt was conducted through the Secretary in which case he requested to see it – word has it however that this case was handeled by the Editor.']
[171] P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 350.
[172] *Ibid*.
[173] *Ibid*.
[174] *Ibid.*, p. 352.
[175] *Ibid.*, pp. 254 – 255.
[176] *Ibid*.
[177] *De Volkstem*, 28 August 1925.

National Party. The outcome of the 1924 election was for him the last straw when the South African Party and the Loyal-Unionists got together, and this he could not tolerate as they appeared to be the enemy of Afrikaans.[178] And on top of it all there was the incident whereby C Louis Leipoldt was appointed to the editorial of *De Volkstem* at a salary considerably higher than Preller's. In addition there had been a series of meetings by the Directorate of *De Volkstem*, about Preller's allegiances towards the newspaper.[179]

In 1925 as a result of serious misgivings about the policy of the South African Party, Preller left the services of *De Volkstem* to take up the position of editor of *Die Vaderland,* a newspaper sympathetic to the National Party.[180] Leipold jotted down in his diary how his relations with Preller were strained and how profoundly anti-English he was, and that he was 'Jaap-ish', a term Leipoldt used to designate ultra-conservative Afrikaners.[181] It appears Preller and Leipoldt never had contact again, although Preller approached Leipoldt in 1928 for three articles, but Leipoldt declined for political reasons.[182] On 17 April 1925 Leipoldt left to take up residence in Cape Town.

It should be mentioned that the Esselens were staunch missionaries, and grew up in a liberal home and that the character of Pastor Von Bergmann in the first of the novels, *Gallows* Gecko in *The Valley* trilogy, is based on Louis Esselen's father, Leipoldt's maternal grandfather, The Reverend Francois Esselen. It is Pastor Von Bergmann who is one of Leipoldt's spokespersons on universal brotherhood. As early as 1914 it was already picked up that Preller was out of place in the South African Party, from circumstances around the First World War between Britain and Germany. Cape liberal and Cabinet Minister of Native Affairs Henry Burton, a close friend of Leipoldt, protested over Article 137 of the South Africa Act of 1909 in which it said Dutch was one of the official languages, and not Afrikaans as Preller was obviously promoting.[183] Burton's protests did not end with the language issue, but proceeded to include a criticism of Preller's racial views.[184] C Louis Leipoldt and Advocate Henry Burton were close friends having met at Dordrecht in the

[178]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 347.
[179]51/3/2 in The Preller Collection, University of Stellenbosch Archives, 11 May to 13 May 1925.
[180]J C Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, pp. 487.
[181]BC 94 A4.15 (Jagger).
[182]BC 94 A4.17 (Jagger).
[183]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 271.
[184]*Ibid.*, p. 273.

prison during the South African War when Burton was acting for the Cape rebels and Leipoldt a court reporter.

In a letter from Sara Gertrude Millin she writes to *inter alia* Dr Gustav Preller on 16 March 1927, naming him as a potential member of the PEN Club at whose insistence for its establishment was none other than John Galsworthy the author of the much admired work by Leipoldt *The Forsyte Saga*.[185] Leipoldt must have shirked at the name of Preller put forward, as Galsworthy's intention was for South African writers between North and South to co-operate and not to be left wanting in terms of the country's position in the world as to the importance for South African literature.[186] It is possible that the visit from Galsworthy inspired Leipoldt to write *The Valley*, and write against Preller.

3.9 – LEIPOLDT AND ENGELENBURG

When Leipoldt was requested to write a eulogy on Preller at the time of his death in 1943, Leipoldt agreed to this, albeit hesitantly at first. Leipoldt as a true professional paid tribute in a way that gave Preller credit, as one of the first interpreters of Afrikaans cultural life, in addition to which in Leipoldt's opinion, Preller would take up a lasting place as a writer of prose. Leipoldt referred to Preller's strong belief in the future of his people and language and also to his bold eagerness ('voortvarendheid'), which took him beyond the bounds that many would set for the meticulous historian ('wat hom gelei het buite die perke wat menigeen sal stel vir die noukeurige geskiedkundige.')[187] In this rather euphemistic way, Leipoldt is referring to the romantic way of Preller, well-known for his hyperbole when representing the past. Leipoldt went further to say that Preller was a 'getroue vertolker van sy stamgenote' (faithful interpreter of his clansmen), a 'kranige voorvegter vir die belange van sy taal' (bold campaigner for the interests of his language), and Leipoldt regarded himself as a colleague journalist and appreciated the work Preller did for Afrikaans culture.[188]

It is uncanny that both Preller and Leipoldt greatly admired the driving force behind *De Volkstem*. Leipoldt's close relationship with Engelenburg goes back to 1914 when they

[185]A787 (The Preller Collection), Volume 243, p 2 - 4; the letter is photocopied, from Millin to Preller, dated 16 March 1927.
[186]*Ibid*.
[187]C Louis Leipoldt' eulogy at the time of Gustav Schoeman Preller's death on 6 October 1943, for Piet Meyer's programme on Cape Town radio, in J C Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, pp. 487.
[188]*Ibid*.

first met. *De Volkstem* was a newspaper sympathetic to the South African Party of Jan Smuts, the same party which Preller belonged to. The intellectual attraction was instantaneous between Leipoldt and Engelenburg, according to Burgers.[189] One of the areas where their many interests overlapped was in the field of literature; and both possessed a satirical sense of humour.[190] In 1923 the opportunity arose for Dr Engelenburg to appoint Leipoldt as assistant editor of *De Volkstem*. As already mentioned, J C Smuts, at the time Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, requested Engelenburg to make the offer to Leipoldt.[191] Riaan Oppelt explains this: 'In the early 1920s, in response to the National Party-affiliated CJ Langenhoven being granted a column ('Stille Waters') in the Cape daily 'Die Burger', 'Die Volkstem' gave Leipoldt his own column, called 'Diwagasies van Oom Gert' … but 'while promoting the SAP Leipoldt's articles and pieces reflected his broader interests rather than merely being party-oriented propaganda (arguably, Langenhoven's column could be exonerated in similar terms).[192]

Leipoldt and Engelenburg worked closely together until in 1924 when the editorship changed, with Gustav Preller taking over the reins. As the previous paragraphs show, Preller and Leipoldt did not see eye to eye and Leipoldt was consequently dismissed. An important archive for the purposes of this chapter is J H M van Aardt's discovery in the Archives in Pretoria of a bank of spontaneously written letters from Leipoldt to Engelenburg.[193] The contents of the letters point to some of the important topics and interests embraced by Leipoldt, one of which was the current status of South African literature, a topic dear to Leipoldt's heart. In a letter of 2 April 1928, Leipoldt told Engelenburg how much he enjoyed his biography of Botha.[194] He praised him again in a letter of 10 May 1928 adding that no existing Afrikaans literature comes close to Engelenburg's book.[195]

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[189]M P O Burgers, 'Ou Briewe van Leipoldt Ontdek', *Die Huisgenoot*, 5 December 1955, p. 37.
[190]*Ibid*.
[191]J C Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, p. 464.
[192]Riaan Oppelt, 'The valley trilogy: a reading of C. Loius Leipoldt's English-language fiction circa 1925-1935', MA submitted to the University of the Western Cape in 2007. Oppelt acknowledges J C Kannemeyer for certain of the information, in J C Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, p. 465.
[193]Volumes 7 & 14 of the Engelenburg Collection; A140, Transvaal Archives Depot, Pretoria (TAD). Copies of the correspondence from Leipoldt to Dr Engelenburg were made by J M H van Aardt for M P O Burgers from the originals in the Engelenburg Papers in the State Archives in Pretoria. BC94 B10.14 (Jagger).
[194]The reference is to F V Engelenburg, *Genl Louis Botha*, J L Van Schaik, Pretoria, 1928. BC94 B10.14 (Jagger).
[195]BC94 B10.14 (Jagger).

A topic Leipoldt shared with Engelenburg was the debates surrounding the status of Dutch, a language greatly loved by Leipoldt. In a letter dated 29 May 1928, Leipoldt reacted to the sheer chauvinism he noted coming from some quarters. Leipoldt, in his own opinion, does not suffer from the despicable arrogance-inferiority complex which is nothing other than fully and perfectly seen in the Afrikaner and in him alone.[196] In the same letter Leipoldt follows with a tirade against C J Langenhoven (the protagonist of the move to replace Dutch with Afrikaans) and against his poor attempt to translate Gray's 'Elegy' into Afrikaans. Such an attempt, in Leipoldt's opinion, is an example of how poorly Langenhoven understands English, not to mention the poorly written dedication in Latin which is so poor that it would cause a church father's hair to stand on end, higher than our karoo outcrops (karoheuweltjie). And to top it all Langenhoven has the audacity to publish it all as if it is something for him and us to be proud of.[197]

M P O Burgers describes how comments such as these from Leipoldt tend to leave some people with the impression that Leipoldt implied that because Afrikaans was weak the country's literature was wanting and poor.[198] But Burgers corrects this by saying that Leipoldt's criticism was just as much applicable to both groups, English and Afrikaans.[199] Whilst sometimes he seemed to gun for the Afrikaners, Leipoldt was nevertheless concerned about South Africa's progress, hence a remark to Engelenburg about whether South Africa would be the appropriate place for his adopted son's future studies, or whether it would be better for him to go overseas.[200]

In a letter dated 2 September 1929 to Engelenburg, Leipoldt said he felt what needed to be said in Afrikaans could no longer be written in Afrikaans, and therefore from the following year he would be writing in English.[201] And writing to Engelenburg on 10 September 1929, he says how he wants to start writing for money and that he now has an added responsibility, a child, and the English publishers pay a lot, lot ('baie, baie') better.[202] Thus we see Leipoldt

[196]BC94 B10.14 (Jagger).
[197]*Ibid*.
[198]M P O Burgers, 'Ou Briewe van Leipoldt Ontdek', *Die Huisgenoot*, 5 December 1955, p. 39.
[199]*Ibid*.
[200]BC94 10.14 (Jagger).
[201]*Ibid.*
[202]BC94 10.14 (Jagger) J C Kannemeyer, in *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, pp. 592 *et seq*., describes the situation about Leipoldt's 'adopted' children, and those that lived in as boarders in his house in Kenilworth, purchased in 1927. Initially, he took in three lodgers one of whom Reggie Waugh, had come with him from Pretoria. Two others joined the Leipoldt household, Peter Schrooder and Ken Goldswain. Gradually, more boys were added.

at the time finding it restrictive to write in Afrikaans about some of the topics he wanted to cover; and secondly, he needed to earn money to supplement his income. He had been used to a sizable income from his previous very handsomely rewarded position on the staff of *De Volkstem*, added to which he now had a full-time household to maintain and a child to raise.

This is different from the Leipoldt who once wrote 'Ek sing van die wind' in which he ends by saying that whilst he sings about aspects of Nature, he never sings about money.[203] His income for 1930 shows he was now earning less than when writing for *De Volkstem* (£1,400 p.a.), in 1923 – 1925. His diary of 1930[204] shows expenses of £514 on an income of £1,540 of which £500 came from writing. The balance of income was from his medical practice and his income from teaching at the Cape Town University Medical School. He might also have had in mind the fact that Reitz's *Commando* was selling well; a book as he had in mind (*The Valley*), might be a suitable, and much-needed supplement to his income.

Leipoldt lamented that in South Africa, certain of the classics were virtually nonexistent[205] and as he was German-speaking he could read German fluently. He recognized the excellent value of Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks* (1903) with its sweeping story of the history of a family that suffered from the process of society's degeneration. *Buddenbrooks* is a forerunner to John Galsworthy's trilogy, *The Forsyte Saga.*[206] One can see from Leipoldt's jottings how he attempted to lay out his geanealogical table for *The Valley*, as one imagines Mann might have done for *Buddenbrooks* and Galsworthy for *The Forsyte Saga*. Leipoldt in fact wrote to Engelenburg to say he had begun a novel à la

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In 1928, Leipoldt travelled on a student tour to Britain, and it was his intention whilst there to try to adopt a child, which he did, and who came back with him to be his legally adopted son, Jeffrey Barnett Leipoldt. Jeff as he was known (his nickname was Guggug) was born on 28 June 1921 in Reading. He was seven at the time of the adoption. Another boy was taken in by Leipoldt (not adopted), namely Peter Shields, who went on to qualify as a medical doctor and for many years practiced in Plumstead, Cape Town. Peter came to the Leipoldt household at age fourteen in 1932. At all times, there were a number of lodgers in Arbury, which had five bedrooms on the first floor. Needless to say, the costs of running the establishment were not small, hence the fact Leipoldt needed to write to supplement his income.

[203]For a transcript of the poem in Afrikaans, the following site can be consulted: http://www.ee.sun.ac.za/~lochner/blerkas/woorde/057.txt

[204]BC94 A4.19 (Jagger).

[205]In J C Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, p. 480.

[206]In J C Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, p. 480. Galsworthy's trilogy is made up of *The Man of Property* (1906); *In Chancery* (1920); *To Let* (1921).

Mann's *Buddenbrooks* about the chronicle of two Cape families.[207] Thus, Leipoldt had before him an example of a generation novel as in Mann and a trilogy as in Galsworthy, with the theme of a dying society (morally) and degeneration, from *Buddenbrooks*. The social and political situation evident to him in South African history at the time probably provided him with some sort of idea for foraging in Mann and Galsworthy territory.

The works of Galsworthy and Leipoldt respectively, engage in causerie; the following excerpt from the 'Introduction' to Galsworthy's *The Forsyte Saga*, can almost be applicable to *The Valley* (especially when we are looking at the common spaces of history and fiction): 'the artist's *son et lumiere* (sun and light), the tragedy, comedy and irony of life observed and transmuted into the highlights and shadows of fiction.'[208] The following excerpt from the 'Introduction' is equally as apt for *The Valley* as it is for Galsworthy:

> His own books are as firmly part of the society and ways of his own country as the carved mahogany furniture, the dark- green velvet upholstery, and the saddle of mutton traditionally set on Forsyte dinner tables, his view of the dying society which he describes is as affectionate and sensible of its charm as it is ironic.[209]

Antagonists of the double standard of justice, Galsworthy and Leipoldt, dramatists at heart, chart the courses of successive generations and the rise of a new social structure 'that became so inevitably and visibly irreparable fissures.'[210] There are also similarities between *The Valley* and Mann's *Buddenbrooks,* both transition novels,[211] for instance, suggesting how families degenerate because of poor decisions taken by members of the family, in marriage. *The Mask* shows this point when the wily town's attorney, Elias Vantloo, enriches himself through transport-riding for the British – he is clearly not of the right stock for marrying into the aristocratic Rekker family, of whom his wife Maria Vantloo, was a member. Both novels, Leipoldt's and Mann's, chart decline, economic, physical and spiritual, as true happiness comes under threat, and as time-honoured qualities such as tolerance, respect and tradition, are fast disappearing, because of the inter-marriages by members of lower class-structures, into the upper middle-class echelons of society.[212]

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[207]BC94 10.14 (Jagger).
[208]In the Introduction to John Galsworthy, *The Forsyte Saga*, Heinemann/Octopus, London, 1967.
[209]*Ibid.*
[210]*Ibid.*, 1967.
[211]Passing from one era to another.
[212]Leipoldt discusses degeneration on p. 861 of *The Cambridge History of the British Empire VIII*, Chapter XXXII, 'Cultural Development'.

Some of the letters from Leipoldt to Engelenburg exchange very clear set ideas about literature or mention important literary texts, such as Louis Coperus's *Iksander*[213], Ibsen and Baudelaire. In these letters Leipoldt gives the impression that for South Africa's cultural development, there is room for a strong and vibrant literature. The endearing friendship between Engelenburg and Leipoldt must therefore be seen in context of this, and contributing to Leipoldt's writing of *The Valley*. Engelenburg with a profound knowledge of literature, served as a source of inspiration for Leipoldt, considerably younger than him, and one who could keep things in perspective for Leipoldt. It is quite amazing when you come to think of it, how Leipoldt confesses to Engelenburg that he wants to write a novel *a la* Mann. *The Valley* is born out of the circumstances outlined above together with the other factors already explained. From this we are then fortunate to have *The Valley*, as an alternative form of South African history; covering a period in South Africa's history that might well have been lost had it not been for the imaginative historical narrative from one of South Africa's leading writers at the time, and the inspiration from a senior member of the South African literary scene, Dr F V Engelenburg.

3.10 — CONCLUSION

It can be argued that the lives of Gustav Preller and C Louis Leipoldt were very different. P J du Plessis has even gone so far as to compare the two in the hedgehog-fox scenario, the former the hedgehog. Preller's life's experiences led him into the direction of writing his histories of the Voortrekker, a great passion and his life's work, seen in published works such as *Piet Retief* and *Andries Pretorius*, respectively. Through Preller's work he was able to construct a *volksgeskiedenis* that became the dominant narrative of the first forty years of the twentieth century. Its contents are conservative, reflective of the Afrikaner nationalist ideas he had. C Louis Leipoldt's cosmopolitan world-view, on the other hand, opened up to a much broader representation, to include a South African national identity. Ironically, both enjoyed a close friendship with F V Engelenburg, as well as personal contact through him with important South African dignitaries at the time, notably Louis Botha and J C Smuts, respectively. However, as matters degressed politically it became more apparent to Leipoldt that it would be difficult to perpetuate close relations albeit working or of a personal nature with G S Preller. The two moved apart in 1925 after working for a short while for

[213]A novel of fiction based on the story of Alexander the Great.

De Volkstem. One can go so far as calling this the Preller-Leipoldt fued, which was precipitated by the Leipoldt-Preller dialectic/debate/polemic. Once Preller moved across to *Die Vaderland* many supporters wished him well, the correspondence of which is avaliable in the Preller Collection of the University of Stellenbosch.[214] It was then that Leipoldt returned to Cape Town, where he settled down and wrote prolifically amongst which was *The Valley*, a set of novels oppositional to 'Jaaps'.

[214]See a letter of congratulations from none other than Jacobus Hendrik Pierneef from Holland, the well-known South African colourist artist, dated 28 October 1925 (51/6/58).

CHAPTER 4

GUSTAV PRELLER'S CONSTRUCTION OF A PUBLIC HISTORY BETWEEN 1905 AND 1938 — THE SUMMATIVE, CONTRARY EVIDENCE TO THE VALLEY:

4.1 – INTRODUCTION

Chapter 3 looked at aspects of the lives of Gustav Preller and C Louis Leipoldt, respectively, and the way certain of their youthful experiences were processed in their writing. It also looked at Preller's role as a writer of history, and Leipoldt's role in fiction. Preller's was a more popularized and romatic-type of history than standard history, whilst Leipoldt constructed his fiction for specific reasons. Preller propagated a public history through cleverly employing a set of media such as film, enactments, acting, the promotion of writing Afrikaans literature, promoting the medium of Afrikaans as a language, and, above all, his flamboyant historical writing. It was against this set that C Louis Leipoldt wrote his fictional novels in *The Valley*, in its full thrust. The fact that Preller's writing eclipsed Leipoldt's desired South African nationalism, his own nationalism being a contestation of it, is heard through the voices of Leipoldt's characters, who lament the loss of lasting values of being rooted, in local, deep tradition.

Chapter 4 examines the actual material in Gustav S Preller's v*olksgeskiedenis,* a fully-fledged national, public history. As a means of facilitating an understanding of the dialectic between Preller and Leipoldt, the so-called Van Der Stel controversy is examined as a model to show how a burgher (citizen) public history (that taken up by Tas and Huising) elicited a response from loyal-unionists Leibbrandt and Fairbridge, in the form of their counter or contra-history to the then existing public history.

4.2 – THE VAN DER STEL CONTROVERSY – A LITTLE-KNOWN INSTANCE OF THE WRITING-UP OF A PUBLIC HISTORY AND THE COUNTER TO IT

Possibly one of the less-known events in South African history, illustrating a fully-fledged public history, subsequently challenged by historians in counter-historiography, is the controversy at the time, surrounding Governor Willem Adriaan van der Stel, the son of Simon van der Stel. Willem Adriaan first arrived at the Cape on 23 January 1699 to take over the administration from his father. His role at the Cape as Governor in the late

seventeenth and early eighteenth century was a significant one, but did not occur without its controversy. This controversy was initiated when several free burghers at the Cape challenged the governor's monopolistic actions, by writing a letter of protest to the Dutch authorities, explaining what they believed to be irregularities, although it is alleged the original document "The Diary of Adam Tas" has been lost.[1] Adam Tas (1668-1722) was an early Dutch free-burgher who was a prominent farmer from the Stellenbosch district and is best known for the part he played in the free burgher conflicts with Governor Willem Adriaan van der Stel, concerning the corruption of Company officials and their misuse of trading monopolies. This diary, the work of an engaging and genial man, describes the comfortable life of the emerging Cape 'gentry' and the drama leading up to the arrest of Tas as the ringleader of the malcontents – although, as diaries go, it is very anecdotal.

An edition of Tas's diary was published by the South African Library in 1914, edited by Leo Fouché. The mark of Fouché's volume is his spirited defence of Tas's complaints against Governor Adriaan Van Der Stel. Fouché's has become an historical document in itself and in its own right, of the public history of the Cape in the early eighteenth century. It was revised by A J Böeseken and published in 1970 as *Dagboek van Adam Tas, 1705 – 1706*.[2] For the purpose of this chapter, it is worth noting that the Willem Adriaan van der Stel polemic is one about national history, written up by journalists, leading to heatedly contrary historiographies. It gave rise to an extensive albeit short-lived alternative public-historical view on South Africa's past and the nation's then-contemporary public identities. This point will be further explained in the ensuing paragraphs.

Of significance, however, is that the controversy may act as a paradigm for the unfolding of the Preller-Leipoldt polemic in the way that in *The Valley* Leipoldt was using his Western roots as his literary substance, to argue for the value of accumulated local tradition and being rooted, as opposed to the idea propagated by Gustav Preller, that trekking was imbued in the soul ('*trekker siel*') of those Afrikaners out of which the nation was forged. [3]

[1]L Fouche, *Dagboek van Adam Tas*, 1705 – 1706, edited by Leo Fouché, with an English Translation by A C Paterson, Longmans, Green and Co., 1914, xxxi.
[2]*Dagboek van Adam Tas, 1705 – 1706*, edited by Leo Fouché and revised by A J Böeseken, Cape Town, Van Riebeeck Society, 1970.
[3]G Preller, *Andries Pretorius*, 1937, pp. 1 – 11.

Leipoldt elevated the topics of tolerance and respect for tradition which form the ethos of *The Valley*, into a sustained metaphorical tropology, using symbols such as husbandry, botany and horticulture, to construct his idea of a South African society.[4] This metaphorical tropology takes the form of motifs such as the cultivation of a garden (as in Andrew Quakerley's garden in *Stormwrack*), as a form of class identification in the Cape-loyalist, liberal paradigm as well as in clubs, societies and vernacular architecture. They (the topics) reflect Leipoldt's nostalgia for an organic past of forgiving and forgetting the South African War, and embracing a broader South African nationalism. These topics are much more desirable as human values than the world of social modernisation. Therefore he demonstrates how his world-view runs counter to race-based sectionalism which was an ideology that developed in the north of South Africa, fuelled by the likes of Gustav Preller.

As the free burghers wrest their present historical situation from the VOC of which Van der Stel is the representative, so Preller wrests himself from the British influence in South Africa, to construct a narrative which becomes the national public history of the first forty-or-so years of the twentieth century in South Africa. At the same time a public history such as he wrote, sets itself up as one against which oppositional voices are heard.

By 1705, the land at the Cape was owned by twenty Company officials, which established a monopoly in the sale of wine, meat, fish and wheat, causing one Henning Huising a resident at the Cape at the time, to lose his meat contract. Adam Tas, a well-educated Stellenbosch burger drew up a petition on behalf of Huising, which was signed by some 63 burghers of the 550 that were resident at the Cape at the time, half of the signatories being French.[5] The petition, against the dictatorial actions of Adriaan van der Stel and the corrupt VOC administration at the Cape, held that the VOC's officials were abusing the company's trading monopoly. The fact that 31 French Huguenots signed the petition was "a matter of some concern for the VOC, as Holland was at the time at war with France and they therefore became fearful that French settler dissatisfaction might develop into spying with foreign ships calling at the Cape harbour."[6] Against this Willem Adriaan van der Stel organised a counter-petition, which included signatories from Asiatics, free blacks, in addition to which some names were added without the knowledge of these persons, and also, the landdrost by a show

[4]P Merrington, 'C Louis Leipoldt's 'Valley Trilogy' and Contested South African Nationalisms in the Early Twentieth Century', *Current Writing,* 'Text and Perception in Southern Africa', 15(2), 2003, p. 32.
[5]Eric A Walker, *A History of South Africa*, Longmans, Green and Co Ltd., 1928, p. 67.
[6]Source: http://sahistory.org.za/people/adam-tas.

of arms collected other signatures resulting in a document that in the end bore the names of 240 free men out of the 550.[7]

The situation at the Cape became tense, with Tas and others imprisoned for their actions against the Governor. One of the outcomes was that Dutch officials at the Cape were subsequently forbidden to own property or trade on the Cape market, and insisted that they surrender their land.[8] Tas was eventually released and Van der Stel recalled to Holland departing from the Cape in April 1708. No doubt the outcome was a resounding victory for the burghers. The far-reaching effects of the Tas controversy are fully described by Eric Walker on p 69 of his *History of South Africa* published in 1928.[9]

Van der Stel was eventually dismissed from the services of the VOC, after a fair trial.[10] However, there are alternative views on the event, especially that the Van der Stels had left an important and rich legacy. Whilst it is mostly agreed that his rule at the Cape was authoritarian and not without irregularities, a counter view of his tenure presents him as one who engaged in important activities for the benefit of the region, such as in agriculture and horticulture. In this aspect, he is presented as a man of great vision and imagination.[11] One such view praising Van der Stel for his great achievements is the historian Dorothea Fairbridge who in her book entitled *A History of South Africa*, reports that according to some who knew him, Van der Stel was a kind person of a very gentle nature.[12] In fact on 3 March 1706 Adam Tas withdrew the charges that he had made against Van der Stel.[13]

Whilst the events of early eighteenth century Cape history as entered by Tas in his diary, reflecting the flavour of the day, are 'brief moments' in its history, their effects are far-reaching as much in what happened in history as much as the effects it had on historical writing. One can look to the Cape historian Dorothea Fairbridge, the daughter of the Cape Victorian attorney and Member of Parliament Charles Fairbridge, to see just how significant these events became. A remarkable relationship unfolded between the neighbour of Charles, the Reverend H C V Leibbrandt, who was the first Cape Colonial Archivist and his daughter

[7]L Fouche, *Het Dagboek van Adam Tas 1705-1706*, Longmans, Green and Co., London and New York, p. 215.
[8]http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/willem-adriaan-van-der-stel.
[9]Eric A Walker, A History of South Africa, Longmans, Green and Co Ltd., 1928, p. 69.
[10]*Ibid*.
[11]http://tia-mysoa.blogspot.com/2011/09/south-african-free-burghers-not-free.html.
[12]Dorothea Fairbridge, *A History of South Africa,* Oxford University Press, London and New York, 1918, p. 84.
[13]*Ibid*.

Dorothea. In fact, he is considered to be her mentor.[14] Just as Fouché believed W A van der Stel had been justly impeached for his monopolizing actions at the Cape in the early eighteenth century, so did the historian George McCall Theal. However, Leibbrandt took it upon himself to redeem Van der Stel's name and it was exactly this point that Fairbridge took up and from which she constructed her narrative on Cape history and architecture.[15]

She in fact presented Van der Stel as a martyr, a nation-builder, comparable to Cecil John Rhodes and Alfred Milner who, like Van der Stel, had for some or other reasons fallen out of public and political favour.[16] And it is exactly this point that is relevant for a study of the Leipoldt-Preller polemic. Fairbridge was acquainted with Rhodes and Milner, the imperial cause, and supported Van der Stel, against the burghers who worked for a South African independence for whom the stance of the eighteenth-century free burghers in contesting Van der Stel's privileges was exemplary of modern political rights.'[17] So, when one refers to the Leipoldt-Preller Polemic, it can be consoling to know there is already such a model of a history, in opposition to an existing public history, and that the likes of Leibbrant, Fairbridge, Leipoldt and others are brave in their initiatives to take it on. A further point can be made namely that the members of the Cape burgher society who took on the officials at the Cape, became increasingly estranged and began moving inland with their cattle, better known as the trekboers of eighteenth century South Africa. Their inland movement gradually consolidated as economic, strategic and other factors created a solidarity by them against the British authority at the Cape, out of which the Voortrekker movement grew, which was exactly the phenomenon much celebrated in Gustav Preller's 'history' against which Leipoldt writes his fiction.

4.3 – THE PRELLER-LEIPOLDT POLEMIC — MATERIAL IN THEIR RELEVANT WORKS, RESPECTIVELY

The Afrikaner Nationalist establishment of which Gustav Preller was an important part drew on a wide range of modes and genres to propagate its own formative national historiography and identity-formation. These media were in the form of the building-up of the Afrikaner language to stand alongside English, as a conduit for propagating important literature, but

[14]Mike Leiven, The Imperial adventure story and critiques of Empire, p. 8 of 13, in http://www.unisa.ac.za/Default.asa?Cmd=ViewContent&ContentID=6722 dated 2 December 2009.
[15]*Ibid*.
[16]*Ibid*.
[17]*Ibid*.

also took many different forms. The Afrikaanse Taalgenootskap was formed in 1905[18], a literary canon amplified by the written works of Gustav Preller notably his classic, *Piet Retief,* Afrikaans hymns such as the publication of *Drie Liederen* in 1908, the founding of the Afrikaans-Hollands Toneelvereniging in 1907, Hamlet's speeches translated into Afrikaans by Preller, the literary magazine *Die Brandwag* (*The Watchman*) established in 1910, enactments of the Great Trek both in film and in the open in 1916, and not least, the construction of the Voortrekker Monument of which the foundation stone was laid in 1938. Preller played a direct role in each of these and other activities, and therefore contributed in no small way to national identity-formation, especially from his historical works, which helped construct a *volksgeskiedenis* to arouse the consciousness of the Afrikaner. The principal way he did this was through the memorialisation of Voortrekker heroes, especially Piet Retief and Andries Pretorius.

Leipoldt had the following to say about Preller's works: 'Already in 1907 Gustaf S Preller had published his *Piet Retief*, and the publication of this biography of the murdered Voortrekker may be regarded as one of the landmarks in the history of the language. Preller has since added to his reputation as a literary artist by the publication of several other contributions to the literature.'[19] One notes Leipoldt's description of Preller as a literary artist, and against this, is Leipoldt's own fiction in *Galgsalmander/Chameleon on the Gallows/Gallows Gecko* written 'with loving care' about 'the early Valley days — which were, after all, the days of his childhood stories and of his own experience of the local history of Clanwilliam — he was also writing of a South Africa that could have come into being.'[20]
A further point made by Gray is crucial for an understanding of writing *The Valley*:

> Although in tone it (*Chameleon on the Gallows*) remains buoyantly comic and celebratory of bourgeois rural virtues, it still ends, like *Stormwrack*, on a rather ominous threshold of opening choices — representative and then responsible government loom, as does the Crimean War. The whole community is left poised at a crossroads, invited to choose between unity and incorporation of dissidence into a greater society, or sectionalism and ultimately civil war. In *Stormwrack* we see that it

[18]A787 Preller Collection, Volume 107, pp. 2 – 199. Correspondence relating to this topic dates between 1905 – 13, in this Volume.
[19]C Louis Leipoldt in Newton, A P & E A Nenians (eds.) & E A Walker (advisor in South Africa,), *The Cambridge History of the British Empire VIII, South Africa, Rhodesia and the Protectorates*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1936, p. 867.
[20]C Louis Leipoldt, *Chameleon on the Gallows*, edited by Stephen Gray, Human & Rousseau, Cape Town, Pretoria, Johannesburg, 2000, p. 16.

> has the latter chosen for it, as the whole nineteenth-century fabric of what Leipoldt thought of as 'civilisation' and 'culture' is torn apart. [21]

Leipoldt writing in his own publication *Die Groot Trek* (Nasionale Pers, 1938) referring to several books containing the reminiscences of the Voortrekkers, also refers to Preller's book *Voortrekkermense* and says that Preller does justice to the Vootrekkers.[22] At the same time in *Die Groot Trek* Leipoldt writes that the hero Piet Retief deserves a place in our history, as ''n Afrikaner waarop ons trots kan wees.'[23] There is an appraisal by C Louis Leipoldt in Chapter XIII entitled 'Dingaan's Day' in his scientific work *Bushveld Doctor* in which he draws on historians such as Sir George Cory in his *Rise of South Africa Volume IV*, to explain the significance of the day that commemorates the Battle of Blood River that took place on Sunday 16 December 1838, and explains that 'the anniversary of that day is celebrated as a public holiday in accordance with the vow taken by the Boers that if God granted them the victory, that day should in perpetuity be consecrated to the honour of God.'[24]

But Leipoldt clearly shows an inkling of his dislike for a partisan, sectionalist approach when he describes Dingaan's Day as 'a danger that the patriotism for which it pleads, and strives to inculcate, may be of the narrow kind that engenders hatred and animosity towards those whose culture and tradition are not its own' and continues, by saying that 'that danger was very apparent when the day was used for political propaganda at a time when party feeling ran high in the Transvaal and the ranks were divided into Botha and anti-Botha folk.[25] This Voortrekker history was the kind that Preller celebrated whom Leipoldt describes as 'buite die perke wat menigeen sal stel vir die noukeurige geskiedkundige.' Preller wrote more about 'die gees van die tydperk' (the spirit of the age)[26] than as a historian. Historian B J Liebenberg's conclusions about the status of Preller as a historian are damning, showing his 'histories' to be inaccurate, exceptionally subjective and filled with fantasy; on the positive side, however, Preller was productive, wrote with a sense of reverence about the Afrikaners' history, and expanded the knowledge about early Afrikaner history.[27] D W Krüger's older appraisal of Preller the historian (geskiedskrywer) is more flattering than

[21]C Louis Leipoldt, *Chameleon on the Gallows*, edited by Stephen Gray, Human & Rousseau, Cape Town, Pretoria, Johannesburg, 2000, pp. 15 – 16.
[22]C Louis Leipoldt, *Die Groot Trek,* Nasionale Pers, Kaapstad, Bloemfontein, Port Elizabeth, 1938, p. 111.
[23]*Ibid.*, p. 108.
[24]C Louis *Leipoldt, Bushveld Doctor*, p. 224.
[25]*Ibid*.
[26]P C Schooneess, *Die Prosa van die Tweede Afrikaanse Beweging*, Drukkeij en Uitgeverij J H De Bussy, Pretoria, 1939, p. 519.
[27]B J Liebenberg, 'Gustav Preller as historikus', *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe*, Pretoria, 1975, p. 250.

Liebenberg's, and this comes across because Preller is seen as a pioneer in the field of scientific history (writing using sources) and because of his early biographies of the Voortrekker leaders.[28] From these views one can deduce that the value of Preller's writing appears to be more from his literary artistry than for his historical accuracy.

4.4 – *THE VALLEY* (IN ITS FULL THRUST) AS A FORM OF ALTERNATIVE HISTORICAL WRITING IN THE PRELLER-LEIPOLDT POLEMIC

Two aspects important for an understanding as to why C Louis Leipoldt wrote *The Valley* need to be shown. The first is to identify the metonymic detail of the fiction which evolved from Leipoldt's deep emotional roots in the Clanwilliam district, which is the literary substance of Leipoldt's sense of tradition. The set of *topoi* for this (categories of relationships) are then elevated into a sustained metaphorical tropology for the way Leipoldt envisaged the future for a cultural South Africa. This tropology lies in the idea of husbandry, gardening and botany, which all form a class identification from a Cape-liberal perspective. From the outset, in *Gallows Gecko*, an anti-Trek sentiment prevails through the voices of Leipoldt's characters such as the magistrate who regards it a stupid thing for residents to trek into the interior, away from the Cape — 'to follow those fools who've left the boundaries of the Colony' as opposed to the excellent decision 'to buy land … to farm', '… and make good at it …'[29] (in the Cape). The character Everardus Nolte instead of trekking inland confronts the problems he faces. The done thing according to the wise cleric Pastor Von Bergmann, a character in *Gallows Gecko*, is to stay and fight for your rights, and not 'throw up the guide rope'[30] as doing so would mean losing one's tradition, and this would cause future generations 'to degenerate unless we guard what we have.'[31]

And the children of those folk who trekked 'are even more behind than they are in the valley' and will be led to think that 'just because they're white, they'll be all right in the future.'[32] Unfortunately, according to Von Bergmann, the stupid decision made by parents, impact later on their children, and their children, with the result that those who are the stupid ones evade

[28]D W Krüger, 'G S Preller as Geskiedskrywer', *Koers*, Deel XI, No. 6, Junie 1944, pp. 194 – 198.
[29]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 2.
[30]*Ibid.*, p. 39.
[31]*Ibid.*, p. 39.
[32]*Ibid.*, pp. 39 – 40.

the effects, causing the ill to be the lot of the fourth and fifth generation as the bible says.[33] One of the woes that befalls the future generations is the idea that some groups consider themselves to be 'inherently superior as a race', which 'inevitably bring(s) its own punishment in our children's shame when, in the future, they compare themselves with other white children from the homeland.[34] According to Von Bergmann (implying) those folk who trekked north into an isolated white enclave of existence, 'think only of their prestige as white men, of their boasted civilisation — and think of blacks as inferior'[35] and do not believe as Von Bergmann does that 'in time (blacks) gain the same prestige and make the same civilisation, or a better one even' than the civilization of whites.[36] Von Bergmann was a proponent of universal brotherhood, very much the belief of the missionaries who never believed that 'one race is superior to another.' The missionaries believed only issues of environment, opportunity and economics caused a difference between the two.[37] Von Bergmann is clearly saying that if the trekkers had remained behind, that would have been a braver stance than trekking, although trekking also meant being brave. However the former requires more bravery.[38]

The same anti-Trek sentiment expressed by Von Bergmann in *Gallows Gecko*, can be found in the second of the three novels, *Stormwrack*. This is borne out in an intense discussion between Mr Chisholm the assistant magistrate at the Village (recognisable as Clanwilliam) and Mr Sablonnierre a very eccentric farmer of the district who in conversation with Chisolm, explains the poor decision by the men who 'left this Colony years ago to found new states beyond the government's marches' and who 'represent the majority in the north'[39], referring to the *voortrekkers* who trekked to go north, from the Cape Colony. They left behind local tradition based on respect, to take up a new 'tradition' of 'freedom, licence, grieved resentment, justifiable jibbing against authority'.[40] This tradition the northerner Afrikaners in the Transvaal took up, is the tradition 'the majority here (in the Cape) have always resisted.'[41] According to Chisholm, 'there's no difference between the English- and the Dutch-speaking colonist here (in the Cape), but there's a profound difference between the

[33] C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 40.
[34] *Ibid.*
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 39 – 40.
[37] *Ibid.*
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 40.
[39] *Ibid.,* p. 325.
[40] *Ibid.*
[41] *Ibid.*

colonist here and the *voortrekker* (meaning the Afrikaans Transvalers).[42] To Chisolm, the Afrikaner in the Transvaal is 'an individualist, an intolerant individualist at that' although, by admission, in the Cape, we 'give too little attention to the individual.'[43]

Against the characteristic of 'pluck' demonstrated by the sacrosanct forefather *vootrekkers* who left the Cape and ventured north, which (pluck) according to the assistant magistrate is essentially an animal instinct, Leipoldt positions a characteristic he greatly admires, namely that of tolerance,[44] so perfectly demonstrated by his father who in the face of criticism and censure from the elders in the church community, nevertheless showed the utmost restraint.[45] 'Even if it isn't, you need not swear at it,' remarked his wife placidly. 'But he is right, my dear. I said so when I heard that we had given in all along the line to the north. There they view these things differently. They have no tradition; they have no real sense of obligation, for they have no background ...' In the third of the novels, *The Mask*, the same argument is perpetuated by Leipoldt, that of the value of local tradition and having a good 'background' as opposed to the north who 'view these things differently' and 'have no tradition; they have no real sense of obligation, for they have no background ...'

In Chapter 24 of *The Mask*, in a conversation between Santa the nationalist and her Aunt Gertrude, and with her uncle Jerry present, members of one of the 'aristocratic' families of the Valley, she declares the efforts of the trekkers noble challenging her aunt's assertion that they had no 'background' — how could this be when they had all that history of the Great Trek behind them, 'all that struggle for existence!' From there the conversation turns to the question of race, announcing that people fear blacks and believe they will crush the whites and this Aunt Gertrude puts down to the fact that this is the 'northern' view. A much more open stance on race is to believe that one day 'sometime, some day, they may become our equals. Why shouldn't they? After all, they're human beings just like us and they have just the same rights, and should have the same chances as we have.'[46]

The excerpts just quoted can be seen in the light of Peter Merrington's view that the three novels constitute 'a sustained polemic against orthodox Afrikaner nationalist

[42]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 325.
[43]*Ibid.*
[44]*Ibid.*
[45]*Ibid.*, p. 370.
[46]*Ibid.*, p. 647.

views.'[47] In *Gallows Gecko*, the central idea is the 'abdication of responsibility' as 'an interpretation of the "Great Trek"', against the character *Gallows Gecko* (Amadeus Tereg who changes his name to Everardus Nolte) who chose against trekking and consolidating his position and future in the Valley where he took to farming — therefore, Nolte did not contribute to 'a divisive nationalism rooted in grievance rather than in constructive engagement.'[48] In the same way, the two other novels making up *The Valley* trilogy each contains its own 'sustained polemic against orthodox Afrikaner nationalist views' — *Stormwrack* by the way it shows the South African War as a product of the actions of the northerners in their dealings prior to the outbreak of war with the British military authorities, as well as in the way the northern Republicans swept up the rebels to fight.[49] And in *The Mask*, the 'sustained polemic against orthodox Afrikaner nationalist views' manifests itself in 'the emergence of nationalist policies in the 1920s.'[50] Thus, in the Leipoldt text, in its full thrust, in all three novels, we see how the great attributes of local tradition and tolerance are held up as values for those who know it, such as the fictional Gersters and Rekkers of the Valley, who (short of making a generalized comment) follow the traditions of the South (the Cape) as opposed to the individualist, sporadic, sentiments expressed by those in the North, perfectly illustrated by Santa, the 'new' nationalist.[51] In addition, the exclusive racial policies practised by the Herztogites from the 1920s are part of Leipoldt's attack against political bigotry. This liberalism is heard through certain of the voices in the three texts, all sympathetic voices, to Leipoldt's sentiments about race: Pastor Von Bergmann in *Gallows Gecko*, the magistrate Storam in *Stormwrack*, and Aunt Gertrude in *The Mask*.

4.5 – PRELLER, THE CAMPAIGNER FOR THE MEDIUM OF AFRIKAANS

Essential to the construction of an Afrikaner nationalist identity after the South African War, was to build a language, as in the motto 'ons gaan 'n taal maak.'[52] Whilst it can be said that the ascendancy to power in Britain of the Liberal Party in 1905 promoted South African liberalism it also had a direct effect on the promotion of Afrikaans, once Alfred Milner had

[47]P Merrington, 'C Louis Leipoldt's 'Valley Trilogy' and Contested South African Nationalisms in the Early Twentieth Century', *Current Writing,* 'Text and Perception in Southern Africa', 15(2), 2003, p. 37.
[48]*Ibid*.
[49]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p.379.
[50]P Merrington, 'C Louis Leipoldt's 'Valley Trilogy' and Contested South African Nationalisms in the Early Twentieth Century', *Current Writing,* 'Text and Perception in Southern Africa', 15(2), 2003, p. 37.
[51]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 646.
[52][Translation: 'we will build a language.']

left South Africa. From this year onwards, Gustav Preller was to play a strong, leading role in the spiritual and cultural mobilization of the *Afrikanervolk*.[53] Gradually, in the cities, Afrikaans had the opportunity of rising up as a spoken and written language alongside English.[54] Preller had come out of the South African War a patriot and one who stood for the self-respect of the Afrikaner, and would become a great campaigner for the Afrikaans language in the ensuing years, for his people.[55] Preller together with other colleagues who were journalists, from the North, are possibly the subject of the following words critical of Afrikaans as opposed to Dutch from *The Mask*: 'Nowadays one can only express one's soul in Afrikaans. Formerly we expressed it in good Dutch and some of the Afrikaans we now use was reckoned fit only for the kitchen. But of course it's heresy to say so.'[56]

The debate on Dutch versus Afrikaans is extensively covered by Sandra Scott Swart in the chapter entitled 'An aspect of the roles of Eugène Marais and Gustav Preller in the Second Language Movement, c.1905 – 1927' in her doctoral thesis on Marais.[57] Scott explains the attempts by Langenhoven to replace Dutch with Afrikaans, but she goes on to explain Preller together with Eugène Marais making an about turn on the stance they had taken as young men at the start of the Second Language Movement. One recalls how in 1905 they publicly campaigned to entrench Afrikaans, and now in 1927, they were coming to regret that stance.[58] The learning of Afrikaans and an antipathy towards Dutch brought anglicisms into the language.[59] The whole question of how Preller and Marais envisaged the roles of Afrikaans and Dutch is a complex one, veering off into the direction of a debate around syntax, but also enmeshed in the debate about the difference between 'Cape and Transvaal patois.'[60]

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[53]P J Du Plessis, *Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller 1875 – 1943*, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 112. [Translation: Afrikaner nation.]
[54]*Ibid.*, p. 114.
[55]*Ibid.*, p. 115.
[56]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Mask*, p. 644.
[57]S S Swart, 'A "Ware Afrikaner" – an Examination of the Role of Eugène Marais (1871–1936) in the Making of Afrikaner Identity', University of Oxford, 2001, pp. 80 *et seq*.
[58]*Ibid.*, p. 97.
[59]*Ibid.*, p. 96.
[60]S S Swart, 'A "Ware Afrikaner" – an Examination of the Role of Eugène Marais (1871–1936) in the Making of Afrikaner Identity', University of Oxford, 2001, pp. 97 *et seq*. This is a complex issue and it is not necessary to get involved in the finer detail. The main part of this argument is the campaign for the use of the imperfect tense. This was deemed necessary in view of writing about the past, which any established language required as part of its syntax.

By the end of the nineteenth century, as far as getting Afrikaners to write Afrikaans, the First Language Movement had lost ground and was kept alive by a few enthusiasts. Educated Afrikaners preferred using English to High Dutch as a written language, and certainly not Afrikaans. But the South African War changed this, especially when Milner and his administration attempted to anglicise Afrikaners.[61] There was not enough cultural capital on the side of the British to establish a policy for this, especially not after the disastrous impact the war had had on Anglo-Afrikaner relations. According to D W Krüger, 'there was no such policy, and that lack, combined with the memory of the hated internment camps, helped give birth to the Second Language Movement.'[62] In a letter dated 15 July 1914 by J F du Toit, he wrote that 'the Second Afrikaans Language Movement differed from the First by being directly involved with politics from its inception.'[63] According to Ian Hexham, 'the Second Language Movement arose out of the defeat of the Boer republics and the attempt by the British authorities to anglicise Afrikaners. It was part of a general defensive reaction aimed at preserving Afrikaner values and traditions from destruction by a conquering power.'[64] According to T R H Davenport, Milner's actions of trying to weaken the culture of the Afrikaners, 'simply created a cultural and political reaction which in time would threaten to destroy everything he had worked for.'[65] According to provincial reports, parents objected to their children learning Dutch as they needed to be proficient in English when leaving school, to get employment.[66]

It is for this reason that visionaries such as Gustav Preller realized that, according to Hexham, 'if any trace of their Dutch origins were to be preserved in South Africa it would be through creating a new written language which gave respectability to the everyday speech of the

[61]Ian Hexham, *The Irony of Apartheid: The Struggle for National Independence of Afrikaner Calvinism against British Imperialism*, The Edwin Mellen Press, New York & Toronto, 1981, p. 128.
[62]D W Krüger, *The Making of a Nation*, London, 1969, pp. 20 – 21, in Ian Hexham, *The Irony of Apartheid: The Struggle for National Independence of Afrikaner Calvinism against British Imperialism*, The Edwin Mellen Press, New York & Toronto, 1981, p. 128.
[63]A letter from J D Du Toit (Totius), dated 15 July 1914, in the J D Du Toit Papers, in Ian Hexham, *The Irony of Apartheid: The Struggle for National Independence of Afrikaner Calvinism against British Imperialism*, The Edwin Mellen Press, New York & Toronto, 1981, p. 128.
[64]Ian Hexham, *The Irony of Apartheid: The Struggle for National Independence of Afrikaner Calvinism against British Imperialism*, The Edwin Mellen Press, New York & Toronto, 1981, p. 128.
[65]T R H Davenport, 'The Afrikaner Bond', Oxford, 1966, pp. 252 – 253, in Ian Hexham, *The Irony of Apartheid: The Struggle for National Independence of Afrikaner Calvinism against British Imperialism*, The Edwin Mellen Press, New York & Toronto, 1981, pp. 128 – 129.
[66](TED) Transvaal Education Department Report, 1909, p. 99; (CED) Cape Education Department Annual Report, 1917, p. 16.

people.'[67] Advocates such as Preller opposed the views of the Taalbond (Language Union), formed in 1890, and revived in 1903 to promote a simplified form of Dutch.[68] The practice at the time was that English was propagated as the official language, Dutch was the *status quo* written but not spoken language, Afrikaans the spoken language of the Afrikaner, and somewhat looked down upon as a written language. According to reports from the Transvaal and Cape Education Departments, respectively, 'given a choice between Dutch and English, most Afrikaners, or so the proponents of Afrikaans believed, would choose English.'[69] They could learn Dutch at home, but should not forfeit the chance of learning English at school.

The Preller story goes even further than the above paragraphs attest to. On 6 March 1905 Jan Hendrik ('Onze Jan') Hofmeyr, a leading Taalbond figure and prominent Cape politician, delivered an interesting speech to the Stellenbosch Literary Society entitled 'Is't ons ernst?'[70] The reason for the speech was to warn of the possible dangers of anglicisation and he asked whether the Afrikaner was serious about Dutch being taught in the schools or whether they were content to let language equality be a mere fiction.[71] The speech was published in a pamphlet for Afrikaners to remember their Dutch heritage.[72] Gustav Preller working at *De Volkstem*, wrote an article in reponse, entitled 'Laat't ons toch ernst wezen. Gedachten over de aanvaarding ener Afrikaanse schrijftaal.'[73] This became known as the Second Language Movement's manifesto.[74] As Hexham says, 'Preller replied in a series of editorials which carefully marshalled the arguments in favour of Afrikaans against Dutch.'[75] Apart from stating that actually Dutch was not the language that existed in the nation's soul, from a practical view, Preller stated that Afrikaners were writing a mixture of Dutch, Afrikaans and

[67]Ian Hexham, *The Irony of Apartheid: The Struggle for National Independence of Afrikaner Calvinism against British Imperialism*, The Edwin Mellen Press, New York & Toronto, 1981, p. 129.
[68]*Ibid*.
[69]TED report, 1915, p. 39; CED report, 1917, p.16, in Ian Hexham, *The Irony of Apartheid: The Struggle for National Independence of Afrikaner Calvinism against British Imperialism*, The Edwin Mellen Press, New York & Toronto, 1981, p. 129.
[70]Translation: 'Are we in earnest?' The Gustav Preller School in Discovery adopted Preller's strap phrase 'Dis Ons Erns' as its logo/motto – see the 'Mrs J C Preller Papers' in the W A Kleynhans Private Papers in the UNISA Arcives, that discusses the establishing of the school bearing the name of Gustav Preller, especially the correspondence from the headmaster Mr Boshoff, dated 18 May 1956.
[71]S S Swart, 'A "Ware Afrikaner" – an Examination of the Role of Eugène Marais (1871–1936) in the Making of Afrikaner Identity', University of Oxford, 2001, p. 91.
[72]Ian Hexham, *The Irony of Apartheid: The Struggle for National Independence of Afrikaner Calvinism against British Imperialism*, The Edwin Mellen Press, New York & Toronto, 1981, p. 130.
[73]Translation: 'Do let us be in earnest. Thoughts on the acceptance of an Afrikaans written language.'
[74]G Dekker, *Afrikaanse Literatuurgeskiedenis*, Nasionale Pers, Kaapstad, Bloemfontein en Pretoria, 1935, p. 40.
[75]Ian Hexham, *The Irony of Apartheid: The Struggle for National Independence of Afrikaner Calvinism against British Imperialism*, The Edwin Mellen Press, New York & Toronto, 1981, p. 130.

English.[76] The excuse was that Dutch grammar was difficult, even to the effect that from the pulpit one was not hearing pure Dutch.[77]

The efforts of amongst others Preller led to the formation of the Afrikaanse Taalgenootskap (ATG) on 13 December 1905 (Afrikaans Language Movement) and support for it came even as far as from Holland.[78] This association was not hostile towards Dutch but rather saw it as Preller suggested, Afrikaans being more than Dutch, as Afrikaans plus Dutch ('Afrikaans is meer as Nederlands, dis Afrikaans plus Nederlands!')[79] In the final analysis Preller proposed that in order to avoid the supremacy of English, Afrikaans should continue to be spoken, and that it should be written, and that Dutch should be better learnt, and that both Dutch and Afrikaans should be read.[80] An excellent example of written Afrikaans, according to Preller was Marais's poem 'Winternag'.

Whilst Preller's campaign for Afrikaans was a practical one at the time, he never advocated the replacement of Dutch, but saw that ''n grondige kennis van Nederlands Afrikaans alleen tot voordeel kan wees.'[81] Where Leipoldt however would disagree would be with protagonists of Afrikaans is if they insist upon the slogan that 'the language is wholly the people'.[82] This for Leipoldt would be tantamount to the politicization of Afrikaans and this is what he would be against. If Afrikaans is to be on an equal with English it would have to rival the latter in its cultural appeal, according to Leipoldt.[83] Leipoldt writing in 1936 however warned about Afrikaans that 'at present it stands in a favoured position because it is the visible sign of Afrikaans culture, the expression of the Afrikaans-national ideals of half the white population of the Union.[84]

Writing in *De Volksstem* of 18 August 1905, against the antagonists of Afrikaans, Preller published a poem in Afrikaans, translated into English as 'Is Afrikaans your Mother tongue?'

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[76]G Dekker, *Afrikaanse Literatuurgeskiedenis*, Nasionale Pers, Kaapstad, Bloemfontein en Pretoria, 1935, p. 41.
[77]*Ibid*.
[78]For details on the establishment of Afrikaans and the 'Afrikaanse Taalgenootskap' see A787 The Preller Collection, Volume 113, pp. 1 – 149 and pp 830 – 1026.
[79]G Dekker, *Afrikaanse Literatuurgeskiedenis*, Nasionale Pers, Kaapstad, Bloemfontein en Pretoria, 1935, p. 42.
[80]*Ibid.*, p. 41.
[81]*Ibid.*, p. 43. (translation – 'a well-grounded knowledge of Dutch will only be advantageous for Afrikaans.')
[82]C Louis Leipoldt in Newton, A P & E A Nenians (eds.) & E A Walker (advisor in South Africa,), *The Cambridge History of the British Empire VIII, South Africa, Rhodesia and the Protectorates*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1936, p. 860.
[83]*Ibid*.
[84]*Ibid*.

in which the sentiment was expressed that Afrikaans would evolve as it became more written, by writing and composing. In the immediately ensuing years, the Afrikaner Literary Movement was established, in 1908, with the publication of important collections of war poetry by Jan F E Celliers, and J D du Toit (Totius). The South African Academy for Language, Literature and Arts[85] was established in Bloemfontein in 1909 in which Preller had a leading role (as one of the founders) and on 31 May 1910 the magazine *Die Brandwag* appeared for the first time with the editors Gustav Preller and Dr W M R Malherbe. This magazine continued to appear until 1922. Afrikaans was recognized as a language to be used in schools in 1914; in 1916 the Dutch Reformed Church recognized the use of Afrikaans followed one year later by the Reformed Church. The 'Afrikaans Wordlist and Spelling Rules'[86] was produced in 1918, and in 1925 Afrikaans was declared one of the two official languages of the Union of South Africa, followed in 1933 by the publication of the Bible in Afrikaans.

4.6 – PRELLER'S MATERIAL – HIS PUBLISHED HISTORY *PIET RETIEF*

With the completion of the Voortrekker Monument in 1949 it is to be expected much would be published on the history of the Voortrekkers. Furthermore, the timing of the completion of the monument came at an important time for the Afrikaner with the advent to power of the National Party. One who wrote a great deal about the important documents and writings about the Great Trek, was Professor A N Pelzer. According to Pelzer there are two important works written by Gustav Preller, which cover Great Trek history, *Piet Retief* (1907) and the *Dagboek van Louis Trichardt* (1917).[87] Pelzer says that the work of Preller on the Great Trek had such an important effect on Great Trek historiography that it is safe to call it the 'period of Preller'.[88] Between 1905 and 1938 after which Preller concentrated more on the South African War, Preller was responsible for no less than ten important works on the Great Trek.[89]

[85]Die Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns.
[86]Afrikaans Woordelys en Spelreëls.
[87]A N Pelser, 'Die Belangrikste Geskrifte oor die Groot Trek', *Jaarboek van die Afrikaanse Skrywerkring*, Nommer XIV, 1949, p. 3.
[88]*Ibid*.
[89]*Ibid*.

Preller's published works on the Great Trek has been mentioned in previous chapters. According to Pelser, it was Preller who was the first to accumulate and preserve important source-documents about the Great Trek, and have them archived.[90] For Pelser, the *Dagboek van Louis Trigardt* (1917) contains not only valuable documents *per se*, but the introduction by Preller and the accompanying footnotes, make it doubly important.[91] However, Pelser continues, Preller is sometimes guilty of a lack of thorough research, inaccuracies (criticisms echoed by Liebenberg) and in his last biography, viz. that on *Andries Pretorius*, lacks inspiration.[92] This is not the case with Preller's first work, *Piet Retief*, according to Pelser.[93]

These shortcomings, however, when reading what Pelser has to say about writers of the biography of the Voortrekker leaders, do not lie only with Preller as there are others that suffer from the same shortcomings.[94] Added to this is the view from T H le Roux that *Piet Retief* is usually considered Preller's best work, as a work of historical value, but the same cannot be said of it in terms of its use of language.[95] This point might be explained because Afrikaans at that stage was in its infant stage, and antiquated Dutch as well as foreign words dominated it. Referring to Preller, Le Roux comments — 'but in spite of this he rendered lasting services as a writer of Afrikaans.'[96]

Preller was not only pre-occupied with raising the status of Afrikaans as a language, but also with raising the status of Afrikaner history, as he believed he did by writing up the histories of the Voortrekkers. Pride of place for him in this field was the history of the Voortrekker leader, Piet Retief, particularly the dramatic turn of events that led to his death in 1838. But more than any other motivation for Preller at this stage was the negative image of the Afrikaner in the eyes of British-South African historiography, especially as from this view South Africa was seen as an unimportant appendage and furthermore, as he wrote on page 106 of his work *Piet Retief*, the history of the Great Trek was dragged through the mud to make room for the lessons that an English history could provide, especially from the example

[90]A N Pelser, 'Die Belangrikste Geskrifte oor die Groot Trek', *Jaarboek van die Afrikaanse Skrywerkring*, Nommer XIV, 1949, p. 5.
[91]*Ibid.*, p. 7.
[92]*Ibid.*
[93]*Ibid.*
[94]*Ibid.*
[95]T H Le Roux, 'Die Afrikaans van Gustav Preller', *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetensskappe*, (6) (1), Maart, 1966, p. 232.
[96]*Ibid.*

of Cecil John Rhodes. Against the English histories of South Africa, Preller felt he was at a disadvantage, also writing in the medium of Afrikaans.[97]

According to Du Plessis the choice by Preller of *Piet Retief* fits in with his temperament. He wanted the character of Piet Retief to act as an ideal for the Afrikaner and to invoke knowledge of his (the Afrikaner's) history and wanted to inculcate a historical conscience.[98] The writing up of such a history, and the use of Afrikaans are therefore two aspects in symbiosis, and would create a national culture.[99] Above all, according to Du Plessis, it is Preller's vision and idealism that put him above any in the sense of creating this national spirit.[100]

J J Oberholster saw the two areas of material that Preller worked with, viz. the Great Trek and the South African War, as two moments in the history of the Afrikaner which represented a quest for freedom without confine.[101] According to Preller, the object of the Great Trek was to achieve freedom from the oppressor, and no-where were human sacrifice and perseverance, suffering and heroism better displayed than by the Voortrekkers in their bid to achieve their goal.[102] Oberholster argues that Preller is totally absorbed by this quest for freedom and takes refuge in it, almost losing himself in it.[103] F A van Jaarsveld argues that projecting his shortcomings and the problems of his own time onto the Great Trek and especially onto Piet Retief, makes his biography *Piet Retief* a publication that is actually more about Preller's own time than about the past.[104] Preller confessed that politics constituted his life as a journalist, but that historical writing was his life.[105]

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[97]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 133.
[98]*Ibid.*, p. 134.
[99]*Ibid*.
[100]*Ibid*.
[101]J J Oberholster, 'Die neerslag van die Romantiek op ons geskiedskrywing – Gustav S Preller', Inaugural address at the University of the Orange Free State, 6 May, 1965, p. 15.
[102]G S Preller, *Piet Retief*, p. 148.
[103]J J Oberholster, 'Die neerslag van die Romantiek op ons geskiedskrywing – Gustav S Preller', Inaugural address at the University of the Orange Free State, 6 May, 1965, p. 15.
[104]F J Van Jaarsveld, *Lewende Verlede*, Pretoria, 1961, p. 87.
[105]J S Du Plessis, Dr Gustav Preller as Historikus van Die Groot Trek, Unpublished treatise, Potchefstroom University, 1945, p. 32.

Oberholtser explains that the emotional aspect found in Romantic historians is also evident in Preller.[106] According to Oberholster, just as the Western European Romantic historians reverted to the Middle Ages as the period of independent nationalism, so Preller reverted to the high-romantic periods in the Afrikaner's history, namely the Great Trek and the South African War.[107] About the Great Trek Preller writes as follows:

> Daar is heldemoed verrig, van onsterflike roem; alleenstaande dade van moed, so mooi as die geskiedenis van enige ander nasie oplewer, ten uitvoer gelê in die opwelling van die nobelste gevoelens waarmee ooit 'n mens besiel word …[108]

Dr P C Schoonees claims we are to be indebted to Preller for the way he has been responsible for curating many texts on Voortrekker history, which had it not been for him, would have been lost.[109] Schoonees explains that Afrikaner cultural history would be the poorer without the colourful sketches of the traditions and behaviour, and without these spellbinding accounts from witnesses who saw how the Voortrekker descendants struggled against Nature and the 'wilde Kafferstamme' (unbridled black tribes), all action-packed with exciting episodes in history.[110]

Furthermore, according to Schoonees, the way Preller represents the historical accounts of the Voortrekkers is fertile ground for future South African writers of Romantic history.[111] Lastly, Schoonees explains that Preller's example put others to work, with the result that a great deal of historical detail has been written and captured, whipping up great interest in the Afrikaner nation's past.[112] For Oberholster, Preller's emotional side initiated in his historical writing was achieved through a vivid reconstruction of the past, by paying special attention to the picturesque detail and the historical colour.[113] He captivates the reader through his

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[106]J J Oberholster, 'Die neerslag van die Romantiek op ons geskiedskrywing – Gustav S Preller', Inaugural address at the University of the Orange Free State, 6 May, 1965, p. 15.
[107]J J Oberholster, 'Die neerslag van die Romantiek op ons geskiedskrywing – Gustav S Preller', Inaugural address at the University of the Orange Free State, 6 May, 1965, p. 15.
[108]G S Preller, *Piet Retief*, p. 270. [Translation: 'Great deeds were carried out; deeds of incalculable glory, deeds by some, with inconceivable courage. On a level with the attractive history of any other nation, these deeds are carried out with an expression of loyalty that will appeal to anyone.].
[109]P C Schoonees, *Die Prosa van die Tweede Afrikaanse Beweging*, HAUM, Cape Town, 1939, p. 518. See for instance *Vootrekkermense I, II, III and IV* (1918 – 1925); and *Vootrekkermense V* and *VI* (1938) which contain important source documents and personal recollections by Voortrekkers and their descendants, which Preller amongst others was responsible for collecting and having archived. The second of these volumes contains invaluable material on the recollections of Karl Trichardt, the memoir of Anna Steenkamp-Retief (Piet Retief's niece) and the diary of the clergyman accompanying the Voortrek, Erasmus Smit.
[110]P C Schoonees, *Die Prosa van die Tweede Afrikaanse Beweging*, HAUM, Cape Town, 1939, p. 518.
[111]*Ibid*.
[112]*Ibid*.
[113]J J Oberholster, 'Die neerslag van die Romantiek op ons geskiedskrywing – Gustav S Preller', Inaugural address at the University of the Orange Free State, 6 May, 1965, p. 16.

glowing accounts and lyrical lamentations, as in the way he describes the tragic death of the hero Retief, when he reveals how thousands of pairs of feet beat in tune with the wild war cry, approaching, getting wilder as Dingaan's improvisation spurs them on. Soon the awakened earth droned beneath the feet of the crouching Boers.[114]

So when Preller writes about the moment when the Voortrekkers arrived on the apex of the Drakensberg range in Natal, he uses the opportunity to describe the expansive landscape that lay at their feet.[115] P J du Plessis explains that the Romantic (historian) needs to reconstruct the events so that they become alive on the page,[116] and Preller's description of the dance-scene of the Zulus, at the time they were receiving their Afrikaner (Boer) guests, serves as a suitable example of this.[117] The image Preller creates of Retief is that of a majestic, powerful leader,[118] against the thuggish Dingaan, pictured as a barbarian.[119] According to Oberholster, the hero acts as an agent for the masses and he acts on behalf of the will of the people.[120]

Preller sees Retief as the martyr who dies in this light at the hands of the Zulus bearing their weapons.[121] According to Du Plessis, Preller's biography of Piet Retief follows a representativeness in his writing, rather than abstraction, in order to build the history around the person or hero of flesh and blood as is the case with Motley's history of the Dutch Republic and the way William of Orange is represented.[122] Preller's descriptions of the attack by the Zulu on the Retief party do not withhold the bloody details which the scene reflects both in its location but also in the way the landscape is shown to be bloody, and the Zulus are shown to be barbaric.[123] Du Plessis describes how Preller's *Piet Retief* acts as a rainbow after a long drought, and how for the first time a meaningful image of the Great Trek appears, as seen through the eyes of the Afrikaner. Whereas the South African War had brought discontinuity in the Afrikaners' history, *Piet Retief* restores the continuity in their

[114]G S Preller, *Piet Retief*, p. 273.
[115]*Ibid.*, p. 39.
[116]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 139.
[117]G S Preller, *Piet Retief*, pp. 98 – 99.
[118]*Ibid.*, p. 6.
[119]*Ibid.*, p. 78.
[120]J J Oberholster, 'Die neerslag van die Romantiek op ons geskiedskrywing – Gustav Preller', Inaugural address at the University of the Orange Free State, 6 May, 1965, p. 16.
[121]G S Preller, *Piet Retief*, p. 102.
[122]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 143.
[123]G S Preller, *Piet Retief*, pp. 57 and 105 – 106.

history and future as a nation, within the Empire.[124] Du Plessis describes the way Preller created a feeling for the past rather than just an objective view of it, and he does this because he feels personally involved and cannot help but idealize Retief.[125]

Considered in Hayden White's terminology, Preller was indeed a romantic historian, using metaphor as his trope of preference, portraying the victory of good over evil, in line with his ideological project: to change the position of the Afrikaner in the imperial hegemony of his day.[126]

The following observations are incredibly important to understand how Preller raised the level of the Afrikaner awareness of their past. Several reviews acknowledged that Preller's Piet Retief revealed information not known before[127] — here Du Plessis's words are important: 'Van besondere betekenis egter is die invloed van die werke op die vorming van die nasionale bewussyn by die Afrikanervolk.' (Of considerable importance however is the influence of the works on the formation of the national consciousness of the Afrikaner nation).[128] The Great Trek comes alive in a *post-bellum* spirit by the way Preller goes a step further than the pure chronicle of the at-the-time histories of the event, although there are criticisms of Preller's work.[129] Few however deny the value of Preller's *Piet Retief* for the way it contributed to the development of a national spirit.

4.7 – OTHER PRELLER MATERIAL USED TO PROMOTE AN AFRIKANER HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Preller's contribution in historical writing to the building of an Afrikaner national consciousness is not the only medium that he worked in, although he did do so in this medium on a large scale. He also, however, put himself forward as a critic and his work in this field further built his construction of a national consciousness. The year 1906 was to be an important one for the newspaper where Preller worked, *De Volkstem*, as politically,

[124]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 143 – 144.
[125]*Ibid*.
[126]K Jenkins, *On What is History? From Carr and Elton to Rorty and White,* Routledge, London, 1995, pp. 150 – 162.
[127]A787 Preller, Volume 113; undated cuttings, *Hogeveld Herald, De Nieuwe Tijd, Ons Land* inter alia. The debate over Afrikaans and its standing alongside Dutch and Englis is also contained in this Volume.
[128]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 144.
[129]*Ibid.*, pp. 144 – 145.

matters between Boer and Brit in the Transvaal were becoming more tense as voting constituencies for parliamentary membership were being contested.[130] Preller was to use the newspaper to propagate his own ideas around a white person's South Africa, for example in an article dated 17 February 1906. A way in which he worked was to promote the Afrikaans language as a literary language in a serious light with a specific direction in mind, viz. not according to the whims of individuals but against the background of the established norms of the old world of literature and art, and as an intellectual mark or gauge according to the norms and requirements of the nation.[131] Furthermore, the correct use of language, Preller felt, was essential as was choosing the appropriate words for their intonations.[132] But whilst it can be said that Preller might not have possessed what literary critics such as N P Van Wyk Louw would later set as the standard for the elevated writing of Afrikaans, he nevertheless made a concerted effort to introduce some ideas about the standardization of Afrikaans literature, although there might not have been sufficient literary precedent at the time when he was writing in *De Volkstem* of 1906.

In the same year, 1906, the Cape Afrikaners established the Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuur Vereeniging (ATKV) (Afrikaans language and cultural society) with the Afrikaanse Taalgenootskap already in the Transvaal (today, Gauteng) since 1905, which further stimulated growth and debates around the status of Afrikaans as a language in South Africa. As South African politics entered the arena with the establishment of self-government for the Transvaal in 1906, Preller as the sub-editor of *De Volkstem* came to the realization that Afrikaners would have to take up their place in the Empire but without in any way being swamped by it and that culturally Afrikaans-speakers would have to come to recognize that their competition lay with English speakers.[133]

In 1907 Louis Botha and his *Het Volk* emerged victorious in the Transvaal. Although Preller was loyal to Botha's party and accepted its policy of reconciliation, he never lost sight of the Afrikaner's own path which he felt would need to take a strong cultural direction, especially to forge its own culture. As urbanization increased he feared more and more people would take pleasure in attending variety shows, the bioscope and sports matches, which were a

[130]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 145.
[131]G S Preller, *Eerstelinge*, p. 16.
[132]*Ibid.*, p. 23.
[133]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 158.

strong feature of the schools.[134] Afrikaans therefore required its own culture to include theatre and music, and he embarked on a campaign to advance these media. One way of promoting the aspect of Afrikaans culture was through reviews of programmes.[135]

But more than anything he saw the necessity to elevate Afrikaans music to a height equal to that of other nations, by reflecting the own qualities of it as a nation.[136] He expressed his thoughts for the performing arts, of which there was a dearth in Afrikaans, in *De Volkstem* of September 1908. He wanted these to reflect South Africa's own, unique position. To this end he was responsible for founding the Afrikaans-Hollandse Toneelvereniging (1907), which was to establish and strengthen a national Afrikaans-Dutch theatre with the purpose of promoting the Afrikaans language and the education of a nation.[137] The Afrikaans production of *Ou' Daniel*, written by Harm Oost, was produced by Preller himself portraying the Voortrekker (Daniel) in a naturalistic setting of the 'poor white' emerging after the South African War, but nevertheless depicting him as a human being, instead of just as a patriot.[138]

Preller felt strongly about the way the performing arts would stir Afrikaners' emotions, arranging for productions to be staged also in the towns, and making still further efforts such as with the production of Euripedes's *Medea*, in which he took the part of Kreon the king.[139] The *Rand Daily Mail* of 15 August 1907 lauded Preller's translation into South African Dutch, of Hamlet's soliloquy. Therefore, from Preller's efforts a great deal to elevate Afrikaans as a language, also in the performing arts, was achieved. However, he would have to wage a difficult war with the conservative Afrikaner religious organizations, for instance the Gereformeerde congregation of Pretoria, over the status of the performing arts.

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[134]A787 G S Preller Collection, Band 259, *Drama and Moraal*, pp. 45 – 47.
[135]A787 Preller, Volume 258, contains programmes and articles reflecting music concerts as well as commentary on the role of national music, for instance on pp.99 et seq. ., as well as music programme dated 4 August 1906 p. 174) Included is Preller's 'Ou Daniel' a play he wrote – the programme is on p. 178. On p. 192 is the programme for *Medea* translated by Preller who also took the role of King Kreon.
[136]A787 Preller, Volume 258, Konsep van "Gedagtes oor 'n Nasionale Toonkuns", pp. *81 et seq*.
[137]A787 Preller, Volume 259, Circular letter of the AHTV dated 23 October 1907.
[138]Johan Van Wyk, 'Nationalist Ideology and Social Concerns', a paper delivered between 6 – 10 February 1990, at a History Workshop at the University of the Witwatersrand, entitled 'Structure and Experience in the making of Apartheid'.
[139]A787 G S Preller Collection, Band 258, Programme dated 30 September 1907.

4.8 –THE YEARS 1908 TO 1915; IMPORTANT YEARS FOR THE AFRIKANER[140]

The year 1908 saw the appearance of Preller's third (amplified) edition of *Piet Retief*. It was to be a year for further opportunities to build an Afrikaner national consciousness. Preller promoted fine arts in addition to having had a strong influence in the performing arts and music. But there were pressing matters and issues that had to be dealt with in journalism. And it is at this time that Preller felt the backwardness of the Afrikaner compared to the English speaker in South Africa. This point is especially important as South Africa approached unification — what would the future status of Afrikaners be; how would they come out of this? Preller wrote to General Botha about the prospective status of the Afrikaner[141] and these views were also expressed in the Loyalist publication *The State*, in which he set out the advantages for the Afrikaner to be derived from unification.[142] In fact, with the establishment of the the Zuid-Afrikaanse Akademie voor Taal, Letteren en Kunst on 1 and 2 July 1909, Preller emphasized that such an organization whould not limit itself to the question of just language and literature but that it should include art in its broadest sense (the Calvinist view of performing arts would never be freed from the question of art). His position at the Academy as one of the thirty members elected to the body was a testimony to his great efforts for the promotion of the Afrikaans language.

Preller was instrumental in inaugurating the launch in 1909 of the Afrikaner's first home magazine, *Die Brandwag*, along the lines of the popular American kind, to exhort Afrikaners to read their language.[143] The one that Preller had in mind would have to serve the Afrikaner nation in matters historical, literary, educational and scientific.[144] As already mentioned, Preller shared the editorship with Dr W M R Malherbe. The inaugural copy appeared on the day South Africa became a Union, 31 May 1910. The front page bore a typical Preller motif namely a Boer sentinel observing the interior. Several leading writes such as Jan F E Celliers and Joubert Reitz contributed articles, as did Preller – on Leo Tolstoy (1 December 1910).

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[140]For a very thorough account/appraisal of Preller's work as a journalist see W Van Heerden, 'Preller die Joernalis', in *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe*, Pretoria, 1975, pp. 265 – 278.
[141]A787 Preller, Volume 202, p. 50, Preller to Botha, 18 November 1908.
[142]A787 Preller, Volume 196, p. 216, letter from Kerr to Preller, 23 February 1909, p.216.
[143]P J Du Plessis, *Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller 1875 – 1943*, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 183.
[144]*Ibid.*, p. 184.

4.8.1 — THE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRIKANER POLITICS – 1910 - 1914

Hertzog's 'De Wildt' speech delivered on 7 December 1912 is an important milestone in South African history, as Hertzog identified the widening gap in Afrikanerdom — South Africans and not Imperialists should be in the government.[145] The context of this is that anyone not 'truly South African' could not be part of the South African government, alluding to someone such as Sir Thomas Smartt, leader of the Unionist Party, who in the first instance had declared himself to be an Imperialist, and then, a South African.[146] Any association with the idea of Imperialism, for Herzog, would only be acceptable if it was in the interest of and secondary to South Africa.[147]

The year 1912 was a crisis year for Louis Botha and a time when he required an ally in the press, and who better than Gustav Preller. According to Du Plessis he took Preller into his confidence.[148] Such was the standing at that time already, of Gustav Preller. On 7 June 1912 Botha addressed a letter to Preller, discussing the Hull-Sauer incident, whereby Botha took in Sauer as a cabinet minister after the resignation of Hull.[149] Preller wrote back showing Botha loyalty, which he did all along and which he retained to the end of Botha's life, and even beyond that.[150] Gradually a close relationship unfolded between Botha and Preller and Botha relied on Preller for support in *De Volkstem*, especially when it came to possible dissidence among those who believed Botha might have had too close a leaning towards the Imperialists. It can be said that Preller was a true lieutenant of Botha.

On the other hand there was the anti-imperialist Hertzog who saw things differently to Botha. The pressure this placed on Botha and Hertzog's relationship eventually became too great with the result that Botha dissolved the cabinet on 12 December 1912. These events were to be significant for Afrikanerdom. Preller writing in *De Volkstem* of 20 December 1912 commented on the work Hertzog had done towards creating an Afrikaner national spirit and although he stayed loyal to Botha, there must have been stirrings in his own mind about his future allegiances, as is discussed elsewhere in this thesis.

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[145]Report on J B M Hertzog's speech at De Wilt in *The Star*, 7 December, 1912.
[146]*Ibid*.
[147]*Ibid*.
[148]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 201.
[149]A787 Preller, Volume 202, p. 79, Botha to Preller, 7 June 1912.
[150]A787 Preller, Volume 202, pp. 82 – 85, Preller to Botha, 13 June 1912.

In the meantime, however, he felt it was his task to promote the idea that the Afrikaner was politically more resistant than his English counterpart and that his/her (the Afrikaner's) cultural growth had to be ensured.[151] This point is further supported by the fact that Preller shared his views with Botha on the question of the national interests of South Africa above that of the Empire.[152] Examples of the poor image that Afrikaners have been given are evident in Preller's writing in *De Zuid-Afrikaan* — he criticised the deprecating way English writers portayed Dutch South Africa, for instance, John Barrow and David Livingstone[153] and protested against Rider Haggard's English heroes and the fact that the vagabonds were Afrikaners, and Boer and brutes were synonyms.[154]

The effect/impact of national symbols such as the significance of the historic 16th December (Dingaan's Day) of 1913, for reminding Afrikaners of their destiny[155] remained important for Preller as can be seen from his writings on the following day (17 December 1913), appealing to Afrikaners to display a sense of South African patriotism.[156] The ensuing year, 1914, saw the stirring up of a nationalist fervour when Jopie Fourie died by firing squad. Writing in *De Volkstem* of 22 January 1915, Preller made the comparison of the imprisonment of the rebels and said it was unfair when one considers the length they had to serve by comparison to Jameson and his men, almost twenty years before, after the infamous anti-Republican Jameson Raid.[157] The anti-German propaganda in the English press distressed Preller calling up images of the way the British behaved in South Africa in the period 1899 to 1902.[158] Preller's pro-German views expressed in *De Volkstem* were responsible for a protest march

[151]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 213.
[152]A787 G S Prellerversameling, Band 89, Preller to Botha, *circa* November 1912 – March 1913.
[153]G S Preller writing in *De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 10 July, 1913.
[154]*Ibid*.
[155]A787 Preller Volume 147 contains correspondence and cuttings from pamphlets and newspapers featuring notes and programmes about the festival. Of special interest for this thesis is the letter written by Preller whilst editor of *Die Vaderland*, published in *Die Burger* of 18 December 1925 (this is after his dismissal from *De Volkstem*) in which he attacked General Smuts for not retaining the decorum around Dingaan's Day (special celebrations were destined for every five years), the day that commemorates the Voortrekker's pact with God, established at the Battle of Blood River on 16 December 1838. Reference is made to the Unionists whom Smuts had a pact with, as opposition, having lost the 1924 election to the national Party and Labour – it was at this point that Preller abandoned his strong ties with the South African Party, where he had shown strong loyalty to Botha who he referred to as 'Oubaas'.
[156] A787 Preller in Volume 147 pp. 383 *et seq* contains thoughts by Preller around the meaning of Dingaansdag, as part of the tradition of the Afrikaner, grounded in the history of the Voortrekkers and their pledge of 16 December 1838.
[157]G S Preller writing in *De Volkstem* of 22 January 1915.
[158]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 249.

on the offices of *De Volkstem*, but with minimal damage to the building.[159] The end of the Rebellion on 10 December 1914, however, was not to bring an end to the division that was emerging in South African Afrikaner society. And the impending South West African Campaign would further widen such divisions.

However, although Preller might not have altogether agreed with Botha and Smuts's handling of affairs as far as the Rebellion and the war in South West Africa were concerned, he nevertheless remained loyal to them and to the South African Party of which *De Volkstem* continued to reflect the policies. Writing to his father, Preller wrestled with the idea of possibly resigning his post as deputy editor of *De Volkstem*.[160] As an anti-extremist, his great passion for calm and a middle course, however, was to remain his guiding principle for some time to come, in the interests of cultural unity for the sake of the Afrikaner. As he had expressed himself earlier, a calm see provided the best atmosphere in which endeavour for the promotion of culture, could occur.[161] The nucleus of cultural development was through the correct use of language and the production of literature to which the political side was secondary, as the way forward for the formation of nationalism.[162] But this view was not to withstand developments in South African political history when the National Party was formed in 1914.

4.8.2 — A POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS SUPPORTED BY CULTURAL MANIFESTATIONS — 1917 – 1924.

No better example of inculcating the *fons et origo* of a national spirit could be found than the first and subsequent nine editions of *Piet Retief*. A short monogram by T H le Roux covers the development of all the editions, the first 'edition' having appeared in serialised form in *De Volkstem* in 1906.[163] The ninth edition appeared in 1917 and this was important as a text with correct spelling according to the new spelling rules as laid down by the SA Akademie as approved in the Spelreëls of 1915.[164]

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[159]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 249.
[160]A787 Preller Volume 237, Preller writing to his father on 28 August 1915.
[161]G S Preller in *De Volkstem*, 24 January, 1913.
[162]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 262.
[163]T H Le Roux, 'Die Afrikaans van Gustav Preller', *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetensskappe*, (6) (1), Maart, 1966, p. 235.
[164]*Ibid*.

Overall, however, through the gradual publication of so many texts with the same title, amplified and added to over a period of approximately fifteen years, Preller helped to mould the Afrikaans language in no small way.[165] But all the same, caution needs to be excercised when speaking of Preller's *Piet Retief* — there are so many editions, that they differ one from another as far as the use of language is concerned. Afrikaners, however, found the publication, *Piet Retief*, a valuable monument for the period of the coming of age of their nation and not only this but it has taken up a valuable place in Afrikaner literature.[166] Preller writing in the ninth edition of *Piet Retief*, said that although Retief's trek was short-lived he and he alone planted the idea in the children of South Africa of an independent Afrikaner nation.[167]

What Preller writes further is of immense importance when he says, whilst most others considered the land and themselves as a large and passive appendage of one or other European empire (Dutch and English?), Retief was the first to bring to light the nascent Afrikaner's nationality, when he dared to consider South Africa as his fatherland.[168] In ensuing paragraphs on pp. 279 and 280, Preller speculates what might have happened if Retief decided not to trek. The trekking for Retief is synonymous with the forging of an Afrikaner nation. The ninth edition of *Piet Retief* published in 1917 is clear on this. Retief's vision, the open spaces that lay ahead, the grievances against the British at the Cape are instances clearly written about by Preller.

Further books written by Preller are important in the building of an Afrikaner national consciousness for the period 1915 – 1925, the year in which Preller eventually decided to leave *De Volkstem*, which has already been explained. *Kaptein Hindon* (1916) is based on the war memoirs of John Oliver Hindon, known as Captain Jack Hindon of the Hindon Scouts, or Dynamite Jack, for his attacks during the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) against British supply and troop trains.[169] Hindon was a friend of Preller's, but after the war suffered from a severe neurological disorder. Hindon had aided the Boers in the Jameson Raid of 1895, and in the South African War, serving with distinction in the Middelburg Commando.

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[165]T H Le Roux, 'Die Afrikaans van Gustav Preller', *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetensskappe*, (6) (1), Maart, 1966, p. 232.
[166]P C Schoonees, *Die Prosa van die Tweede Afrikaanse Beweging*, HAUM, Cape Town, 1939, p. 521.
[167]G S Preller, *Piet Retief*, 9th edition, p. 279.
[168]*Ibid*.
[169]http://jackhindonscouts.blogspot.com/2008/12/kaptein-hindon.html.

Preller's fictionalized biography was 'sold to raise funds for his friend and comrade in arms during the Anglo-Boer War.'[170] But it is thought that Preller changed a great deal from the original manuscript and even possibly destroyed the original (in English) 'that covered his experiences in the South African War, impressions on early Afrikaner nationalism and perceptions of the time he was living in'[171] and gave a plausible reason for not publishing it, as the First World War had changed the face of the world and the South African War had been re-written as a footnote in history, and so what Hindon had to say no longer mattered.[172] Preller's account aggrandizes the actions of Hindon as a fighter for the Boers, an account which can be followed in an article by Dudley Aitken, the curator at the South African National Museum of Military History.[173] Once again we see Preller interested in the stories of heroes, so as to inculcate their actions for Afrikanerdom in their minds, as he did with the image of Piet Retief.

Preller published a brochure containing a reprint of several articles that appeared in *Die Brandwag*. This is known as *Baanbrekers* (1915) reprinted as *Oorlogsmag* (1923). One of the accounts which further fuelled a national Afrikaner spirit is the murder in September 1854 of Hermanus Potgieter, the younger brother of the Voortrekker leader Andries Hendrik Potgieter, and his entire entourage consisting of fourteen men, women and children at 'Moordkoppie'. Much conjecture exists as to the reason for the murder, but, it resulted in reprisals which have become known in euro-centric terms as the siege at Makapaansgat, resulting in a great many members of the Kekana dying in the cave of hunger and thirst and the death by suicide of the leader Mokopane. The initial idea was to use dynamite to blow open the cave after which it was blocked. The son of Hendrik Potgieter, Piet Potgieter, part of the reprisal operations, was fatally wounded whilst engaged in reconnoitring operations. Paul Kruger, later to become President of the South African Republic, retrieved the dead corpse of Potgieter from the entrance to the cave in life-threatening conditions, and this event is commemorated in bronze relief on the Kruger memorial in Church Square in Pretoria. Also involved in the reprisal was the grandfather of Gustav Preller, Stephanus Schoeman, who took as his third wife the widow of Piet Potgieter, who died in the reprisal vindicating the death of his uncle. Although there is some controversy over the way Preller represented

[170] http://jackhindonscouts.blogspot.com/2008/12/kaptein-hindon.html.
[171] *Ibid*.
[172] *Ibid*.
[173] D W Aitken, 'Guerrilla Warfare, October 1900 - May 1902: Boer attacks on the Pretoria-Delagoa Bay Railway Line', *Military History Journal*, Vol 11 No 6 - December 2000.

the account (because of links with the descendants), Preller nevertheless used the history to aggrandize the heroic event of some of the early Voortrekker leaders for his readers.[174]

Gustav Preller and C J Langenhoven jointly published *Twee Geskiedkundige Opstelle* (1919), of which Preller's contribution re-appeared as *Historiese Opstelle* (1925). The topics in the latter contain some gems such as the account of Eugène Marais, a very close friend of Preller's, whose work he used to uplift the Afrikaner's idea of national identity. Marais would easily rank as one of Afrikaans's more complex literary figures, and in the essay Preller shares rare insights into the person of Marais[175] whose poem 'Winternag' he says shows that Afrikaans ranks as a language that can express feelings as well as any other language can.[176] Preller was responsible in 1925 for publishing Marais's first edition of poetry.[177] Whilst some of the essays such as *Frederik die Grote*, are from a historical perspective, others relate to personal reminiscences or source material such as *Ons Militêre Tradisie* which provides a historical account of the rise of the artillery corps of the Orang Free State and the Transvaal.[178] Nienaber attributes to Preller the status of being the father of Afrikaans's first romantic prose.[179] In these essays as elsewhere in Preller's writing, the writer is cleverly inculcating a consciousness of a national awareness in the mind of the reader. Similarly with the publication of *Oorlogsmag en ander Sketse en Verhale* (1923), he evokes the pain and suffering from the time of the South African War,[180] in which Preller also plays on the emotions of the reader to create an awareness of the rich Afrikaner past.

4.9 – 1925 to 1929

Preller worked at *Land en Volk* for a year or so (1902) after which he moved across to *De Volkstem* where he stayed until 1925. His departure from the editorial of *De Volkstem* to *Die Vaderland* in 1925 was politically motivated and warrants some explanation. On 17 August 1925 at the home of Smuts, Preller's fate at *De Volkstem* was sealed due to misgivings about Preller's ideological stance, which over the years changed from his being a

[174]An account by Richard Searle, Nellmapiusrylaan 42, Irene, 0062, Tel (012) 667-6360, 9 August, 2004.
[175]P C Schoonees, *Die Prosa van die Tweede Afrikaanse Beweging*, HAUM, Cape Town, 1939, p. 524.
[176]P J Nienaber, in *Perspektief en Profiel:'n geskiedenis van die Afrikaanse Letterkunde*, Afrikaanse Pers Boekhandel, Johannesburg, 1951, p. 42.
[177]*Ibid*.
[178]P C Schoonees, *Die Prosa van die Tweede Afrikaanse Beweging*, HAUM, Cape Town, 1939, p. 524.
[179]P J Nienaber, in *Perspektief en Profiel: 'n geskiedenis van die Afrikaanse Letterkunde*, Afrikaanse Pers Boekhandel, Johannesburg, 1951, p. 42.
[180]P C Schoonees, *Die Prosa van die Tweede Afrikaanse Beweging*, HAUM, Cape Town, 1939, p. 524.

Botha-man to his being a Hertzog-man. Looking back, in an article he wrote in *De Volkstem* of 28 August 1928, Preller set out his views along the lines that one had first to choose one's allegiance to one's country, then the party. Heretofore Preller had remained loyal to the party of Botha and Smuts, the South African Party, and was disdainful of Afrikaners splitting the ranks such as Hertzog had done (as this jeopardized the need for Afrikaner solidarity against English politics in South Africa). The 1924 election changed that for Preller. In the article entitled 'Eers die Vaderland, dan die Party' (Fatherland first, then Party), he explained that he had worked his life long as a journalist, and he expressed his view that he thought *De Volkstem* was the mouthpiece through which he could promote the national ideal.[181] But this seemed no longer to be so and consequently should he continue in his position at *De Volkstem* he would be unfaithful to himself and his past.[182] One of his main gripes was that in his view the Unionist Party was dominating the South African Party.[183] For Preller the South African Party he once knew had changed and it seemd that the current government (now the National party) in his opinion was operating in an empathetic way, for the benefit of the country and people.[184]

In the same article he now turned to Hertzog and lauded him for his foresight when he indicated that imperialism would come to destroy a true South African patriotism, not that he in any way wanted to see the close co-operation between English and Afrikaans speakers disappear — it was essential for the future existence of white South Africa.[185] Being offered the post of editor of *Ons Vaderland,* the mouthpiece of the National Party[186] he found it hard to decline it. Preller had two ideas, firstly that Hertzog was the possible unifier of the Afrikaners; and secondly, that the two elements (English and Afrikaans) could be equal and united under a common South African nationalism, and that the republican ideal should not be allowed to become the bone of contention at this stage.[187] This was the way Preller saw it.

One of his immediate tasks was to convert *Ons Vaderland* to a daily which he managed to do when it appeared on 16 February 1929, as such. He also managed to attempt to defend his

[181]A787 Preller, Volume 196, p. 72, see Preller's own description of this, in his hand.
[182]G S Preller writing in *De Volkstem*, 28 August, 1925.
[183]*Ibid*.
[184]*Ibid*.
[185]*Ibid*.
[186]A787 Preller, Volume 242, p. 221, Dan P van der Merwe writing to Preller, on 5 December 1925.
[187]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 355.

position for the retaining of the teaching of Dutch in the schools, which led to a fiery debate between him and C J Langenhoven, the campaigner for Afrikaans. Some might see Preller's campaign to retain the teaching of Dutch in the schools as a contradiction of his stance taken in 1905 to promote Afrikaans, but to take such a position is to argue out of context. What Preller was doing in 1905 was to raise the level of spoken and written Afrikaans and also to ensure an easier application rather than the rather Dutch.[188] He was adamant to establish basic rules for the writing of Afrikaans, and used his position in *Ons Vaderland* to promote it alongside his own representations for it. However, for the year 1929, there were impending issues that required his undivided attention, in the interests of promoting nationalism, especially at a time when grave issues such as the position of the 'poor whites' were a reality, in the face of a much stronger English-speaking South African community. These were some of the issues that the National Party could concentrate on, for its campaign ahead of the 1929 general election.

4.10 – PRELLER'S IDEOLOGY – 1929 ONWARDS

There can be little doubt judging by what has been written on Preller's cultural contributions, for instance his romatic renditions of the history of the Voortrekkers, that a great contribution was made by him in the 1920s and before, towards forming a national identity among Afrikaners. If one accepts that racial purity, Calvinism and language are three important areas for the Afrikaner's existence and survival as a Caucasian people on a continent inhabited mostly by a Negroid people, then the work of Preller as a contribution for the establishment of an Afrikaner national consciousness, must be seen as important.

In the process of achieving his ideal Preller worked in the paradigm called a *Volkstum*.[189] Writing in *Ons Vaderland* on 28 October 1927, he was questioning why eugenics was not a means to ensure the future survival of the Afrikaner. He even went so far as to advocate moral, mental and physical qualifications for marriage so as to prevent the white race from degenerating.[190] On 4 July 1929 writing in *Die Vaderland* he reminded his readers how the

[188]G S Preller writing in *Ons Vaderland* of 5 July, 1927.
[189]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 394.
[190]*Ibid.,* pp. 395-396.

forefathers of the Afrikaners had warned against racial mixing. One can even venture to say that there were very many Afrikaners who thought that way.[191]

On 3 December 1930 Professor Dr R W Wilcocks in a laudation honoured Gustav Schoeman Preller on behalf of Stellenbosch University for the work he did for Afrikaner nationalism, recognizing the beginning of his life on 4 October 1875 with Voortrekker blood in his veins.[192] His youth was spent closely observing and associating with the events of the South African Republic of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, said Wilcocks.[193] His work as a journalist began in 1902 when he joined the editorial of *Land en Volk*, followed in 1903 by the position as sub-editor of *De Volkstem*, a post he occupied until 1924 when he was appointed editor of the same journal.[194] Wilcocks lauded Preller for the central position he played in the cultural development of the Afrikaans nation being an outstanding figure in the Second Language Movement as well as for the fact he was a leading light in the Afrikaans Language Movement of the north, as illustrated by the robust debates he engaged in, campaigning for Afrikaans in the press.[195] He was lauded for broadening the use of Afrikaans as in the establishment of the Afrikaanse Taalgenootskap in Pretoria in 1905 as well as for his role in starting the magazine *Die Brandwag* in 1910, responsible for educating the Afrikaner in the home.[196]

Whilst the latter are the efforts of the language propagandist, he worked as a critic and was also responsible for the production of literature in Afrikaans and was an inaugural member of the South African Academy.[197] The entire scope and ambit of his written oeuvre was then mentioned by Wilcocks and singled out were his definitive works accompanied by commentaries, such as his *magnum opus*, *Piet Retief*.[198] Wilcocks ended the laudation by recognizing Preller as a leading historian of the period known as the Great Trek, the period of history that one might call the Heroic Age in the history of the Afrikaner.[199]

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[191]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 402.
[192]A787 Preller Collection, Volume 238, p. 59.
[193]*Ibid*.
[194]*Ibid*.
[195]*Ibid*.
[196]*Ibid*., p. 60.
[197]*Ibid*.
[198]*Ibid*.
[199]*Ibid*.

In the ensuing years, Preller campaigned to have the State Archives augment its collection of sources on South Africa's early history, not least for it to take over his great collection of letters, documents and books, laboriously collected since 1902.[200] Preller continued to campaign for national unity among Afrikaners, for instance by referring to the way the church in Scotland enabled the Scottish national character to survive.[201] One of Preller's great passions remained writing up the history of the Afrikaner. And one of his great contributions in *Die Vaderland* was a series of articles discussing the 'poor white problem.'[202] The potential problem of the poor white question was that it could cause the degeneration of the Afrikaner if not dealt with. He pleaded for the Church to refrain from its theological dogma and to assist the poor whites; and with the government to re-establish the urbanized poor, in the country-side.[203] Furthermore, national socialism by the way it could serve the needs of the Afrikaner people, appealed to Preller, especially after the appearance of the work of Oswald Spengler, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*.[204]

After retiring from *Die Vaderland* at the age of sixty in 1935, Preller devoted his time to writing. The following works appeared from the time Preller retired in 1935 till the time of his death in 1943; *Ons Goud Roman: die Marais-dagboek (1849-1865),* Pretoria, 1935; *Daglemier in Suid-Afrika; Oorsig van die Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika van die Vroegste tye tot 1881,* Pretoria, Wallachs' Beperk, 1937; *Andries Pretorius - Lewensbeskrywing van die Voortrekker Kommandant-Generaal,* Die Afrikaanse Pers Beperk, Johannesburg, 1938; *Scheepers se dagboek en die Stryd in Kaapland, 1 Oktober 1901 - 18 Januarie 1902,* Kaapstad, 1938; *Ons Parool: Dae uit die Dagboek van 'n Krygsgevangene*, Kaapstad, 1938; *Ou-Pretoria: Sakelike Verhaal van die Stad se Voortrekkerperiode,* Pretoria, 1938; *Geskiedenis van die Krugerstandbeeld,* Pretoria, 1939; *Voortrekkers van Suid-Wes,* Kaapstad, 1941; *Talana: die Drie Generaalsslag by Dundee, met Lewensskets van Genl. Daniel Erasmus,* Kaapstad, 1942; *Lobengula: the Tragedy of a Matabele king,* Johannesburg, 1963 (posthumously).

Furthermore, in 1938 Preller was directly involved with the planning of the aesthetical construction of the Voortrekker Monument and the reliefs that would be exhibited.

[200]A787 G S Preller Collection, Bands 1- 282.
[201]A787 G S Preller Collection, Band 245, 'Die viand in ons poorte', 1932, pp. 142 – 143.
[202]A787 G S Preller Collection, Band 245, typed concepts of the series of articles, 1932, pp. 99 *et seq*.
[203]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 421.
[204]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 421.

Remarkable was the way Preller encouraged younger Afrikaners, such as Peter Kirchhoff, Laurika Postma, Fanie Kruger and Hennie Potgieter, to be involved in the building and construction of the monument.[205] Preller, as part of the Historical Committee, gave advice on the dress of the Voortrekkers[206], the appearance of the Zulus and topography, amongst other matters.[207]

Preller's undying endeavour to resurrect pride in Afrikanerdom through his writings and other media, contributed to realizing the Afrikaner ideal — it is directly through his groundwork that it came to fruition.

A number of typed-up pages in one of the volumes of the Preller Collection in the National Archives in Pretoria reflect some interesting detail about Preller's changing political persuasion. In this volume are some of his thoughts (ten typed-up pages) about the state of the world and democracy and the imperialist-democratic government system as he called it (implying the South African government's propinquity to the British Commonwealth?)[208] There is reference to the 'Nuwe Orde'[209] (the New Order) and one imagines this to be a reference to national-socialism or a form of social democracy. He looked back over the previous 35 years and declared that not much has happened. His tirade was against the electioneering with all the promises in the world, while the poor white problem continued to exist.[210] He referred to the Orange Free State government system of national-socialism and then criticized the fact that the British system of government had been allowed to prevail.[211] And then he explained why, according to him, it had been necessary in spirit to divide white from black for the future existence of South Africa, referring to what he termed our first and free constitution of 1837; followed by the 33 Articles at Potchefstroom in 1844, proclaiming no bastards may dwell in any Afrikaner councils and serve on committees; and then further in 1858 when the constitution of the Transvaal had proclaimed no black to be equal in the nation, in Church and State.[212] He then culpated the Jewish-English democracy in practice

[205]O J O Ferreira, *Die Geskiedenis van die Sentrale Volksmonument Komitee*, p. 141.
[206]A787 Preller, Volume 210 pp. 108 *et seq* are notes describing the mode of dress of some of the Voortrekkers particularly their dress between the years 1835 – 1840. Included are the patterns for the kappie (the hat worn by the ladies, as protection from the sun.
[207]PV94 E G Jansen Collection, file 1/57/1/2: SVK Minutes, 1936 – 1948, Meeting of 4 September, 1937.
[208]A 787, Preller, Volume 130, p. 181.
[209]*Ibid*.
[210]*Ibid*.
[211]*Ibid*., p. 184.
[212]A 787, Preller,Volume 130, p. 184.

since 1902 as well as English missionaries, who had implemented their policies, against which Afrikaners had been too weak to stand up.[213]

Then followed an attack on the existence of black living areas surrounding white residential areas, and a suggestion that the Voortrekkers' system could be called national-socialist.[214] Then followed a sharp attack on the Jewish-Bristish mining conspirators and the importation of black mine-workers, and he sketched the poor white situation.[215] A system of socialism existed, according to him, yet as a conundrum policy-makers did not refer to this term.[216] Neither did the Cape Afrikaners evade his caustic tongue as they were possibly seen as too liberal in terms of racial policy, in the quest to keep black and white separate and preserve (the Afrikaner's) Aryan blood.[217] A register of titles of Preller's books donated to the University of Potchefstroon by his widow, which occupied thirteen folios of titles, included a selection of books on race and the black question. These topics certainly occupied Preller's mind and defined the road he walked in his career and until the end of his days. These radical-conservative views were in sharp contrast to those of the political-liberal C Louis Leipoldt, hence the existence of what was referred to as the Leipoldt-Preller polemic/dialectic.

4.11 – THE FINAL STAGE IN CONSTRUCTING A VOLKSGESKIEDENIS: ANDRIES PRETORIUS AND THE FESTIVAL OF THE GREAT TREK OF 1938.

Preller's writing career did not end when he retired from full-time journalism in 1935, at the age of sixty. Two years later in 1937 he published *Andries Pretorius* (what Huizinga refers to as 'perfumed' history – Liebenberg)[218] written on his farm al Pelindaba.[219] From when he wrote his first 'edition' of *Piet Retief*, in 1906, until 1937, a period of 31 years, much had happened in Afrikaner history, as well as in his own mind. Eric Walker's single-volume history of the Great Trek had become available in 1934.[220] *Andries Pretorius* was a *magnum opus* consisting of five hundred pages covering the period 1838 to 1853, from Pretorius's

[213]A 787, Preller,Volume 130, p. 184.
[214]*Ibid.*, p. 185.
[215]*Ibid.*, pp. 185 – 6.
[216]*Ibid.*, p. 185.
[217]*Ibid.*, p. 187.
[218]B J Liebenberg'Gustav Preller as historikus', in *Tydskrif vir Wetenskap en Kuns,* Pretoria, 1975, p. 249.
[219]Prof H B Thom thinks this is Preller's best work but then Thom's view is from an Afrikaner-nationalist perspective – see H B Thom, 'Dr Gustav Preller: 1875 – 1943' in *Tydskrif vir Wetenskap en Kuns*, 5 (2), 1945, p. 94. Thom praises Preller for emphasizing the future of South Africa as a white person's country, an ideology extrapolated from *Andries Pretorius*, according to Thom.
[220]E A Walker, *The Great Trek*, A & C Black Ltd, London, 1934.

arrival in Natal until his death. Whilst from some quarters the work was favourably received, others, such as Liebenberg, criticized it for its failure as a biography.[221] The work accentuated the Germanic quest for freedom and other Germanic characteristics.[222] In the work Preller has propgated his own racial views, seen through Pretorius — Preller does this in his writings, projecting his views on the historical persona, or *vice versa*[223]. Added to this is the way Preller views history, as a theory that history is Tolstoyan, which means that the unconscious will of the masses prevails over the actions of leaders.[224]

He coupled his thoughts on this point with his argument that the Voortrekkers had an urge to move, as nomads through the countryside until they came to their place of rest, peace, and where they could live on the land in freedom.[225] Furthermore, as a group, argued Preller, the will to trek lay in the Afrikaner's Germanic blood, which, in Preller's estimation was almost hundred per cent of which sixty per cent was German.[226] He furthermore explained the will to trek in terms of the historical urge to move, linking the Voortrekker movements up with the oldest treks, such as during Nordic times, even describing the wagon laagers in terms of the Goths in their great round encampment of wagons, which he took from T Hodgkin's *Italy and its Invaders*.[227] He even described the trekkers and their similarities in religious practices, with ancient biblical times.[228] A year after the appearance of *Andries Pretorius*,[229] Preller was hard at work as Chairman of the Organizing Committee of the Voortrekker Monument. He and his wife Hannie were personally involved as Hannie's grandmother, the daughter of Piet Retief, lived on the same farm they now owned.[230] Hannie was one of the persons chosen to lay the foundation stone of the Monument. One of the pieces written for enactment was by Preller, who re-constructed the moment Andries Pretorius left behind his dying wife, to trek.[231] The highlight of the Vootrekker Festival of 16 December 1938 was when the trekking parties from the different parts of the country assembled, symbolizing the

[221]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 451.
[222]G S Preller, in 'Agtergrond van die Voortrek' in *Andries Pretorius*, pp. 1 – 11.
[223]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, pp. 448 *et seq*.
[224]G S Preller, in 'Agtergrond van die Voortrek' in *Andries Pretorius*, p. 1.
[225]*Ibid.*, pp. 1 – 11.
[226]*Ibid.*, p. 4. See J A Heese, *Die herkoms van die Afrikaner, 1657 – 1867*, Kaapstad, A A Balkema, 1971 for detail of the composition of the Afrikaner.
[227]G S Preller, in 'Agtergrond van die Voortrek' in *Andries Pretorius*, p. 9.
[228]*Ibid.*, p. 11.
[229]See a review of his book by Gurney Lawrence, in A787 Preller, Volume 272, p. 97.
[230]P J Du Plessis, 'Die Lewe en Werk van Gustav Preller – 1875 – 1943', D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, October 1988, p. 462.
[231]'Haar Afskeid' by G S Preller.

great efforts of so many who played significant roles in the building of an Afrikaner nation, which from 1938 onwards became even more momentous as the milestone year, 1948, for Afrikaner nationalism approached.[232] Preller's role as the Romantic historian, propagansist and much more, was not insignificant in the achievement of Afrikaner domination.

4.12 — PRELLER IN VOORTREKKER HISTORIOGRAPHY; ISABEL HOFMEYR *ET AL.*

In an article Isabel Hofmeyr discusses several of the points that have been raised, about the historian Gustav Preller, specifically the way he used a combination of personal experience and popular memory. The above paragraphs making up Chapter 4 of this thesis showed this in many diffrent ways. Hofmeyr's field is constructed nationalisms, and the way Preller constructed his nationalism is certainly fertile ground for such a study. Hofmeyr sees Preller as a popular historian, who was responsible 'for shaping many of the key myths of Afrikaner nationalism.'[233] The best example to illustrate the point made by Hofmeyr is the story of the Great Trek, and Preller's interpretation of it. Hofmeyr then states (referring to the Great Trek) that: 'It is Preller's written visual version of this social movement that has been the dominant one for the last seven decades.'[234] As was shown in the previous paragraphs in this chapter, the media that Preller used ranged from books, newspapers, magazines, films, drama and enactments.[235] An example of his involvement in enactments was his leading role in the 1916 film *De Voortrekkers*, the script of which Preller wrote and the trekker costumes of which he designed.[236] Again, with the re-enactments of the Voortrekker movements on the occasion of the Voortrekker Festival of 1938, Preller's role was pivotal in the planning of the festivities. Hofmeyr in her article explores the way Preller popularized his work.

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[232]The National Party came into power in that year.
[233]Isabel Hofmeyer, 'Popularizing History: The Case of Gustav Preller' in *Journal of African History*, 29, 1988, p. 535.
[234]*Ibid*.
[235]A 787 Preller Volume 259 pp. 52 *et seq* contains Preller's outlines for 'Drama en Moraal' (Drama and Ethics) in which he outlines the importance of the role of drama/acting to inspire nationalism. Chapter II discusses the morals of acting from the perspective of the Gereformeerde Kerk (the Reformed Church). See also the article written by Preller in *Die Volkstem*, dated 20 June 1934 (on p. 143) dealing with the question of art and Calvinism.
[236]A787 Preller Volume 270 especially pp. 45 *et seq*. See also A787 Preller, Volumes 266 and 270 for substantial documentation on the Vootrekker film in which Genl Botha, who Preller had a close association with, showed interest in. The term of endearment Preller has for Botha was 'Oubaas'. This information has been taken from Isabel Hofmeyr, 'Popularizing History: The Case of Gustav Preller', *Journal of African History*, 29, 1988 p. 521.

For Hofmeyr, the way Preller went to work on this topic was how people recalled the past and more importantly 'how one could get them to 'enact' this memory in their own lives.'[237] Much like Leipoldt did according to Stephen Gray, Preller, according to Hofmeyr, 'relied heavily on oral history' and then furthermore, 'he familiarized himself with popular forms of both oral and written storytelling which in turn inform his work.'[238] For Preller the enactments such as filming the history, and performing it on stage, were important for creating national history. Furthermore, according to Hofmeyr, a tactic Preller followed was to explore and 'colonize' 'the institutions of popular leisure which he then remoulded in his nationalist enterprises.'[239] The preceding pages in Chapter 4 showed the ways Preller employed his writing to romanticize the position of the Voortrekkers, who went out in search of personal freedom to achieve national freedom. Hofmeyr shows Preller more as one who popularized this history, to become the dominant Afrikaner history of that period.

The potential work on Preller is enormous, as Hofmeyr says, especially 'for those interested in the cultural fabrication of nationalisms.[240] Whereas Leipoldt's literary substance in *The Valley* lies in the *topoi* that surround the virtue of being deeply rooted in local tradition, which is elevated into a tropology (fictional text from oralcy), Preller constructs his romantic 'history' around historical characters, elevated into a national *volksgeskiedenis*, based on stories and myths of the past. One wonders just how far Preller's romatic histories lie from Leipoldt's fictional accounts, of an overlapping period in South African history (1830s – 1930s). Leipoldt lived for 67 years; Preller for 68. The dates of Leipoldt's texts that eventually ended in The *Valley* text range from 1902 – 1932, a period of thirty years; Preller's accounts that make up the *volksgeskiedenis* range from *circa* 1905 – 1938, a period of 33 years. Yet the two were diametrically apart as far as cultural and ideological views were concerned.

4.13 — CONCLUSION

This chapter examined the material in Gustav S Preller's v*olksgeskiedenis,* a fully-fledged national, public history which almost single-handedly was constructed by him, made up of

[237]Isabel Hofmeyr, 'Popularizing History: The Case of Gustav Preller' in *Journal of African History*, 29, 1988, p. 535.
[238]*Ibid*.
[239]*Ibid*.
[240]*Ibid.,* p. 522.

his special form of popularized, highly-romanticized, historical writing as well as other media such as film, pictures and enactments, to propogate such a history. Preller's material was what Leipoldt countered in the form of his oppositional, fictional account in *The Valley*, drawing his *topoi* from a culturally-rich Western tradition. As a means of facilitating an understanding of the opposition/polemic dialectic between Preller and Leipoldt, the so-called Van der Stel controversy was examined as a model to show how a burgher (citizen) public history albeit short-lived (that of Tas and Huising) brought about a response from writers in opposition to it, such as the counter-history constructed in the loyalist-unionist paradigm embraced by Leibbrandt and Fairbridge.

CHAPTER 5

C LOUIS LEIPOLDT'S LITERARY SUBSTANCE IN THE VALLEY — *AN ALTERNATIVE HISTORIOGRAPHY*

> Pretoria[1] is in spirit and essence merely a magnified village, intensely sensitive to criticism, with sensitiveness of a patriarch out of touch with youth and innovation.
> — C Louis Leipoldt writing in *Bushveld Doctor* in 1937.

Chapter 4 discussed the full set of material Gustav S Preller employed in his work from 1902, such as portraying the Voortrekkers in film, writing up the history of the Voortrekkers, his role in establishing basic literary standards for Afrikaans, his contribution to Afrikaans journalism, theatre, and literature, setting up bodies for the promotion of Afrikaans, founding literary and household magazines, and the work he did for the Voortrekker Monument in 1938 – all making up a fully-fleged public heritage-history. Throughout this period of thirty-six years and more, Preller's aim was to develop a historical consciousness for Afrikaners, to build a national spirit by almost subliminally exhorting a response from the soul of the Afrikaner, in the direction of this national spirit. Preller's contribution to the development of an Afrikaner national consciousness through a *volksgeskiedenis*, was considerable.

In Chapter 5, we read how C Louis Leipoldt processed his own life experiences, through his sense of the value of accumulated, local and deep tradition, to write against Preller's *volksgeskiedenis*-construct. Whilst Preller was building a conservative *Volk* consciousness, Leipoldt's English language fiction as in *Gallows Gecko* romanticized the land as a way of patrician settlement in the newly-fledged nation after the establishment of Union. Yet Preller also extolled the virtues of the land, but did so for its vastness and openness (reasons contrary to Leipoldt) which the Voortrekkers came to inhabit, in their conquest. For Preller, the Afrikaners sought peace and security to establish a new country, by seeking personal freedom, which would gradually, but eventually, lead to national freedom. Leipoldt was writing against the racial prejudice of Preller, who felt the necessity for a *Volkstum*, for the future survival of a small number of Caucasians in the face of a majority of Negroid people at the tip of the African continent. Not only the notion of deep-rooted tradition, but also a cosmopolitan mind-set appealed to Leipoldt, formed from his Germanic background, and also

[1]Tshwane.

from the way he had travelled extensively in his peregrinations across the entire globe, visiting the United States, living in the United Kingdom (for fourteen years), visiting Eastern and Western Europe and the Far East. Yet, he was the boy from Clanwilliam, where he lived from 1884 to 1897. This is the place where the three novels making up *The Valley* trilogy are set. In fact, the roots (tradition) from Clanwilliam and surrounds gave rise to the metonymic detail of the three fictional novels which (the metonymic detail) forms the literary substance of Leipoldt's sense of accumulated tradition — the set of *topoi* (traditional material) making up this detail is transferred into a metaphorical tropology, the fiction of his novels making up Leipoldt's idea of South African liberal society. This tropology is in motifs such as in the image of the (fictional) well-tended garden in *Stormwrack* —which has in it practical and aesthetical benefit — and becomes a means of class identification, and a focus and image for a liberally emerging South Africa, in contra-distinction to Preller's exclusive idea of a *Volkstum* and public history. Furthermore, it is argued that a liberal spirit gives Leipoldt the material to contest emergent chauvinist nationalism although this topic would require further study and application.

Some have argued, however, that no study of Leipoldt can be complete without his alternative world-view on sexuality. One way of looking at this would be to link this open stance on this topic to his liberal views on race (and an emergent view in Britain from Havelock Ellis). Furthermore, Leipoldt's connection to a Buddhist world-view in opposition to what he believed was the narrow-mindedness and restrictions of Calvinism seems a valid one to explore and this might be taken up further in terms of psycho-sexual analysis. However, for the purposes of this thesis it is proposed to examine Leipoldt's sexuality in the sense already explained, namely as part of his broad world-view, and as a manifestation of universal, unconditional love (a theme in *The Mask*.)

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Whilst the three books (*Gallows Gecko*, *Stormwrack* and *The Mask*) of *The Valley* are 'closely related books', each 'complete in itself' they should nevertheless be read in their full force, as a 'sustained … project' of the 'historical sweep from the 1830s to the 1920s' and because they conduct 'an intense debate on the meaning of liberalism and national sentiment within Leipoldt's contemporary and highly contentious political milieu in the Union of South

Africa between the two world wars.'[2] In this way the narrative strategy of *The Valley* is to engage with the fundamental historiography of the Great Trek. It takes on Preller's foundational myth propagated in his public history made up of a full set of *topoi*, from his Romantic historical writing, journalism, enactments, monuments and memoirs that justify the Voortrekker movement of the 1830s finally establishing itself in Afrikaner independence in the 1850s. Against Preller's sense of tradition, is the Leipoldt argument that it is better to remain and concentrate on the values and benefits accrued in the effluxion of time, to be found in local, deep-rooted, accumulated tradition which is the sustained metaphor for Western civilization to be found in literature and civil society open to all South Africans.

5.2 – THE EMPLOYMENT OF FICTION IN *THE VALLEY*

The role of fiction in novels such as *The Valley* is there for a very specific reason. This sense of tradition can be traced to the social thought of Olive Schreiner, 'renouncing the imperial romance ... and inaugurating an indigenous tradition of liberal realism'[3] and as 'being clearly marked by the affinity between the novel as it developed in nineteenth-century Britain and a liberal outlook, with its emphasis on interiority and choice, grounded in a paradoxical conception of the individual as embedded in socio-historical context yet essentially free of social determinants.'[4] South African literary historian and poet Stephen Gray explains Leipoldt's choice of fiction over history, because he was an artist, and he wished to place more stress on social documentation rather than on individuated life-stories, more on community values than on private aesthetics.[5] The following from Gray about *The Valley* project is worth noting:

> 'This strain (using fiction) was familiar and even popular enough from writers like Anthony Trollope and George Gissing, and in the Edwardian period, of which Leipoldt is very much a product, writers of the materialist school, like H.G. Wells and Arnold Bennett, had developed the novel as a vehicle for conveying broad social scenes acted on by the impact of historical change. Leipoldt could co-opt the form more or less unchanged, knowing that it allowed him the undifferentiated all-inclusiveness to carry the cargo of as wide a local history as possible. The social novel was sufficiently rag-bag a form to contain more or less all the material that came to hand indiscriminately. Leipoldt had experience of history-writing and biography, but for these purposes chose

[2]Peter Merrington, 'C Louis Leipoldt's 'Valley Trilogy' and Contested South African Nationalisms in the Twentieth Century', *Current Writing*, 15(2), October 2003, p. 34.
[3]*The Cambridge History of South African Literature*, edited by David Attwell and Derek Arrtidge, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2012, p. 479.
[4]*Ibid*.
[5]Stephen Gray, 'Leipoldt's Valley Community: The Novelist as Archivist', *Social Dynamics*, 10(1), 1984, p. 47.

> fiction above history because, according to the conventions of his times, fiction was felt to be more able to transmit the living testimony and the impetus of history than the more selective, "pure, correct official printed" version.'[6]

Gray's explanation is one among several explanations for Leipoldt's choice of fiction (these are discussed in the thesis). This 'undifferentiated all-inclusiveness', as Gray puts it, writing in favour of a unitary state and true universal suffrage[7] stands against the narrow, exclusive historiography of the Great Trek that Preller constructed over a period of approximately 33 years (1905 – 1938), covering *circa* hundred years of Afrikaner history. One can argue that Leipoldt's narrative construction for *The Valley* beginning in 1902 at the time of writing his *Oom Gert Vertel*, up to 1932 when the Valley project was completed, more-or-less covered the same time of physical writing as Preller, and the same period that was being written about: 1830s to 1930s. When one considers this it might be thought of as quite an uncanny thing but upon deeper reflection, it is not actually coincidental.

As *The Valley* has the value and virtue of tradition as one of its main if not central themes, several questions could well be asked such as what importance it holds in this context, why does it recur as a theme, what is its role/status in the text, and what is its political or social constituency? To this end, the *The Invention of Tradition* edited by Eric J Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger is a valuable text that throws light on the movement in historical-cultural-heritage studies of the 1980s. It would be possible to study this text in the light of the questions about tradition, asked above. How for instance did this sense of tradition that Leipoldt speaks of, emerge? A possible suggestion is that it could be found in the explanation of the gentrification of South African society of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as explained earlier in the thesis by historians such as Robert Ross.[8] Furthermore, as Hugh Tevor-Roper in Hobsbawm and Ranger explained the tradition of Highland Scotland, one could do the same and analyse how the invention of tradition in the Cape, particularly the 'highland' Cape of the Cederberg, arose.[9] Hard as might be to prove, one could nevertheless explain the gentrification of the Cape at that time as evolving out of the

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[6]Stephen Gray, 'Leipoldt's Valley Community: The Novelist as Archivist', *Social Dynamics*, 10(1), 1984, p. 47.
[7]In Stephen Gray's Introduction to C Louis Leipoldt's *Chameleon on the Gallows,* edited by Stephen Gray, p. 12.
[8]R Ross, *Beyond the Pale, essays on the History of Colonial South Africa*, Witwatersrand University Press, 1993, pp. 48 – 49.
[9]H Trevor-Roper in the essay 'The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland', pp. 15 *et seq*. in *The Invention of Tradition* edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983.

time of colonial slavery.[10] In the same way that a gentrification occurred in the Cape, the north experienced its own gentrification process for instance, against African tenantries, in the form of white, capitalist agriculture.[11] The counterpoise of Cape *versus* northern gentrification is what this study is about, because the one group derived out of the other (the exiled Voortrekkers moved away from the Cape frontier) and Leipoldt is saying the sectarian *animus* of the north is the death-knell of a Western-based culture in South Africa.

Other important writers dealing with the role of fiction in South African literature and literary history are Stephen Gray, J M Coetzee and André Brink.[12] A work that discusses the problem of fiction writing in South African literary history is Michael Cawood Green in his *Novel Histories*.[13] Green's approach however takes a postmodernist turn, clear by what he says about fiction: 'Fiction, no less than the writing of history, or, for that matter, the constructing of nations, becomes a historicizing form when it so operates upon its material – no longer bound to a particular temporal location, but open to the past, present, and future.'[14] Yet Green 'works hard at avoiding the rather vague areas of agreement that tend to characterise current theoretical debates concerning the plurality, constructedness, positionality, and contingency of literature and history.'[15]

Referring to Michael Cawood Green however should not in any way be seen as propagating a postmodernist turn for a theoretical explanation of *The Valley*; on the contrary, as Peter Merrington says, it (*The Valley*) is 'a significant moment in the revision of South African literary history, reflecting an alternative fictionalisation of social thought' and this 'moment' has its place in time (a temporal location) at the end of the full thrust of the three novels, when the prophetic voice of Leipoldt cautions that the politics of the 1920s and 1930s in South African history would result in divisive trends.

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[10]R Ross, *Beyond the Pale, essays on the History of Colonial South Africa*, Witwatersrand University Press, 1993, p. 48.
[11]*Ibid*.
[12]See also another work that discusses the postmodernist novel, André Brink's *The Novel – Language and Narrative from Cervantes to Calvino*, University of Cape Town Press, Cape Town, 1998.
[13]M Green, *Novel Histories: Past, Present and Future in South African Fiction*, Witwatersrand Press, Johannesburg, 1997.
[14]Michael Green, 'Social History, Literary History, and Historical Fiction in South Africa', *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 12:2 (1999), p. 130.
[15]http://www.michaelcawoodgreen.com/index_files/Page2314.htm.

A further possible explanation for the choice of fiction as a medium for Leipoldt's ideas lies in the timing of its writing. Leipoldt wrote *The Valley* towards the end of the 1920s which was a very significant year in the development of segregation in South Africa. Hertzog introduced the so-called Hertzog Bills in 1926, to eject Africans from the political system. The Mines and Works Amendments Act (Colour Bar Act) No 25 of 1926 replaced the Mines and Works Act of 1911, enforcing the colour bar in the mining industry, thus restricting the opportunities for blacks, and limiting them to the more menial, physical labour-based categories of work. The Immorality Act No 5 of 1927 forbade extra-marital carnal intercourse between whites and Africans. Leipoldt admitted that miscegenation was a subject to be approached with infinite tact, as it relates to colour prejudice and this is very strong in South Africa; and although interracial marriage between white and non-white (*sic*) is deprecated in South Africa and is a criminal offence, he nevertheless admits it is an inevitable thing.[16] It is possible Leipoldt created the character of the adulterer Elias Vantloo, to enter into extra-marital sexual liaisons with the coloured maid, in *The Mask* so as to parody the actions of anyone thinking they could prevent a person from having such relations when the propinquity of the situation conduces to it.

A further reason for Leipoldt possibly choosing fiction as a medium to portray historical events can be found by investigating his close acquaintance with the Roman Catholic cleric, Frederick Charles Kolbe (1854 – 1936), who converted to Catholicism.[17] Leipoldt was a young reporter working in Cape Town at the time he met Dr Kolbe (in 1898) who was responsible every Wednesday and Friday, for the leader for *The South African News.* As the South African War progressed it was becoming increasingly dangerous for pro-Boers to pen articles about the British, which might have resulted in Kolbe resorted to the use of allusion and analogy and satirical writing to protect the newspaper. On one occasion when writing his article Kolbe used the story of *Alice through the Looking-glass*, who saw everything in

[16]C Louis Leipoldt in *Bushveld Doctor*, p. 193.
[17]Kolbe must have inspired some of Leipoldt's thoughts as a dissident writer, which is the topic (that of a dissident writer) of parts of Chapter 3 of this thesis. See 'Contribution to a bibliography of Frederick Charles Kolbe (1854-1936)' by Joseph Patrick Nolan, University of Cape Town, School of Librarianship, 1957.
See also Frederick Hale, 'A Catholic Voice against British Imperialism: F C Kolbe's Opposition to the Second Anglo-Boer War', http://www.unisa.ac.za/default.asp?Cmd=ViewContent&ContentID=7374&P_ForPrint=1.
See also F C Kolbe, *Up the Slopes of Mount Sion, or, A Progress from Puritanism to Catholicism*, Benziger, New York, 1924. See Rev F C Kolbe's pamphlet entitled 'The National Crisis' published in 1915 by Wallach's Ltd, Pretoria, in A787 Preller Collection, Volume 258, 24 *et seq*. See how Hans Freyer expressed his doubts publicly but not explicitly, through the use of allusion and analogy, about how in his view the National Socialists in Germany had overcome the egoism he had attributed to bourgeois society – in Jerry Z Muller, *The Other God that Failed – Hans Freyer and the Deradicalization of German Conservatism*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1987, p. 6.

'Topsy-turvy Land', when the British Constitution no longer applied in the Cape Colony.[18] Kolbe used the medium of satire to criticize the government for imposing martial law, which restricted freedom.[19] One wonders whether, when writing in *Stormwrack* that martial law is the 'negation of law'[20] and creating the character of the magistrate Storam who refers to martial law as a 'legal fiction'[21] Leipoldt did not have something of Kolbe in mind, whose writing he admired[22] and to whom he deferred with great respect.

Professor Wium van Zyl has likened Leipoldt to the Dutch dissident writer, Multatuli, because of his role in fighting injustice through the pen.[23] This sense of injustice surfaces in *Songs of the Veld* (published in Britain in 1902 and republished by Cederberg Publishers under the editorship of Marthinus van Bart) which contains poems voicing protest against the South African War.[24] One of the poems in this publication entitled 'The Executions in Cape Colony' under the pseudonym 'F.W.B.' is attributed to C Louis Leipoldt. Furthermore, there is a similarity between the novels of Leipoldt (*The Valley*) and Multatuli (*Max Havelaar* — 1862)[25] as both work with the idea put forward by the South American writer Mario Vargas Llosa that novels can be used to disguise history.[26]

Added to this is the point made earlier that Leipoldt might have written *The Valley* to add to the paucity of available South African literature, and in response to the appeal by Galsworthy, referred to earlier. He might well have been writing his novels as a form of protest against the narrower Afrikaans literature he deemed poor especially in his opinion, coming from the likes of Langenhoven (and one imagines he might also have had Preller in mind). Good examples of literature that he was aware of included works by Galsworthy, Mann and

[18]In J C Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, p. 138.
[19]J C Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, pp. 138 – 139.
[20]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 375.
[21]*Ibid*.
[22]J C Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, p. 138.
[23]Wium van Zyl, 'Leipoldt as Rebel.' A paper presented in April 2011 at the Cederberg Festival in Clanwilliam.
[24]*Songs of the Veld and Other Poems*, edited by and with the Introduction by Marthinus van Bart, Cederberg Publishers, Cape Town, 2008; the book was first published by New Age Press in 1902.
[25]Multatuli (*alias* Eduard Douwes Dekker), *Max Havelaar: Or the Coffee Auctions of the Dutch Trading Company,* published in Holland in 1860. The book explains the efforts of the protagonist Max Havelaar who campaigns against a corrupt government system in Java; in a similar way, Leipoldt opposes the British military system (martial law) in South Africa during the South African War, and the attitude of the British authorities towards the two republics.
[26]For further reading on this topic see D Vela, 'Terror Through the Eyes of Latin American Novelists', *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice*, 18, pp. 7 – 15.
http://www.shoreline.edu/seanrody/Terror%20Through%20the%20Eyes%20of%20Latin%20American%20Novelists.pdf.

Coperus; and South Africa required its own canon of good literature. Furthermore, by using fiction, Leipoldt was able to express himself more freely, especially in the face of regressing freedom in South African society as a result of the racial and other restrictive policies of the Nationalists.

5.3 – THE LITERARY SUBSTANCE OF *THE VALLEY*

It has been stated that to understand the full logic of *The Valley* in its full sweep and thrust it must be read in its entirety. Leipoldt's meticulously kept and precise pocket diaries provide important detail about *The Valley* project that he undertook between 1928 and 1932.[27] The period from 1927 onwards at his home 'Arbury' in Kenilworth, coincided for Leipoldt with one of the most productive periods of his life as a writer.

This Chapter will examine the specific examples and *topoi* that Leipoldt employed as his literary substance that makes up *The Valley*. All three novels contain characters which are sympathetic to Leipoldt's view of tradition and who openly express themselves on this issue. The root of this view on tradition held by Leipoldt lies in his own world-view, stemming from his incredibly humanist-based upbringing under the tutorship of his father and mother, both highly refined individuals, who loved music, literature and culture. Leipoldt's youth was spent avidly reading classic texts in several languages, to include the predominant Dutch, English and other authors. The input from his father, who trained as a missionary and was educated in several fields, such as philosophy and theology, was incalculable. The opportunities to extend his knowledge through reading books in the house and town's library, prepared Leipoldt for this humanist-based education.

His own life experiences as a young adolescent from the time he was twenty-two years old when he left for London to take up studies in medicine, and the subsequent twelve years studying and working there as well as travelling to different places in Europe and the Far East, further forged this cosmopolitan view. His love for studying broad views on theology to include Buddhist systems, as opposed to the narrow Calvinism which was the predominant theological-ideology prevalent among Afrikaners in South Africa at the time, further expanded his horizons. Leipoldt's incredibly wide range of experiences as a journalist from

[27]BC94; A4.17 (1928) through to A4.22 (1933) (Jagger).

age eighteen seeing for himself the tensions in the Cape Colony from the rise of Imperialism and its eventual effect on the two white elements in South Africa at the time, also broadened his views and together with the missionary morals acquired from his home— although he was not particularly zealous about them — provided him with a balanced, inclusive stance on nationalisms and race.

The comments in the last paragraph require historicization. Much of Leipoldt's work is seen as part of the Afrikaans literary canon, especially for his poetry on the South African War, written at a time the Afrikaner was without much literary history as the Second Language Movement had not yet taken effect. One of South Africa's leading poets at the time of Leipoldt's death in 1947 N P Van Wyk Louw, wrote of him in *Die Burger* on Monday 14 April of that year:

> In the days of our greatest distress Leipoldt was the heart of the Afrikaans nation. That was during the time after 1900 when it seemed that our people were finally humiliated and past redemption, when it seemed as if we would disappear from the league of nations without leaving a word of what we could be. Then Leipoldt spoke, gave words to our grief, and allowed this beloved Afrikaans world of ours to shine with love which had grown over hundreds of years. Each tiny flower, each tiny animal of our veld he named as if it would be for the last time. This is the Leipoldt we know best. After him we as a nation may still perish, but it would not be wordless.

According to cultural journalist Marthinus van Bart, Leipoldt was a meticulous and ethical newspaperman who made the miscarriage and perversion of justice practiced by the British authorities in the form of the rule of law (martial law) in South Africa, known the world over.[28] Writing in *De Volkstem*[29] of 20 January 1914, the Afrikaans Romantic historian Gustav Preller referred to Leipoldt's poetry as a fine example of (Afrikaner) national literature. But, as already mentioned, Leipoldt himself said of his early war poetry that the only person who understood *Oom Gert Vertel* was the Dutch poet Albert Verwey, who saw his words as nothing other than an interpretation of a young person's deep indignation for unjust action and downright injustice, wherever and by whoever.[30]

J C Kannemeyr, Leipoldt's biographer, saw his poetry as having a 'wider spiritual horizon'

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[28]*Songs of the Veld and Other Poems*, edited by and with the Introduction by Marthinus van Bart, Cederberg Publishers, Cape Town, 2008; the book was first published by New Age Press in 1902, lxxvii.
[29]Preller was assistant editor of *De Volksstem*, late *De Volkstem*, and later, *Die Volkstem*, from 1903 – 1924 and editor from 1924 – 5.
[30]C Louis Leipoldt, *Eerste Skoffies*, 1933.

than his contemporaries'.[31] Whilst it would be wrong to try to disregard Leipoldt's sentiments expressed in his works at the time, about the Afrikaner and his plight, the reference above from Kannemeyer and especially the one from Verwey, show that Leipoldt's views were universal in their application, when it came to the practice of injustice, as in the case of events in South Africa at the time of the South African War and its aftermath. So, when considering Louis Leipoldt as one of the 'Driemanskap' (with Celliers and Totius, and together with Eugène Marais, writing the first serious Afrikaans literary poetry in the early decades of the Twentieth Century, their clear national(ist) thrust as part of the Tweede Afrikaanse Taalbeweging, celebrating the universal effects of nature but also extolling the virtues of forgiveness after the South African War), Leipoldt should be viewed in the light of the preceding paragraphs, as not partisan to any specific nationalistic cause.

Central to *The Valley* is Leipoldt's view of Afrikaner history with its parochial concept of race and language. Thus it can be said that *The Valley* is written against the views held by some of Leipoldt's colleagues and contemporary poets and writers such as Gustav S Preller and C J Langenhoven. As explained in the previous chapter, Gustav S Preller was responsible for constructing a public history for the newly formed Union of South Africa, through his writings from 1905 to 1938, and he employed the Afrikaans language to do so. Although there are differences between the way Preller and Langenhoven saw the role of language, respectively, language was nevertheless viewed as a powerful tool and means of building a national consciousness, and sometimes it was a test of patriotism, for instance, as explained through the voice of the English rector in *The Mask*.[32]

An anti-trek sentiment is felt in the voices of several of the characters in *The Valley* as they lament the departure from the Cape Colony, of their compatriots thus abandoning Western European thought and culture. Chapter 6 in *Gallows Gecko* reflects this in the conversation between Everardus Nolte and Pastor Johann Von Bergmann, the wise cleric, modelled on Leipoldt's grandfather: 'I gravely question the propriety of their going', argued Von Bergmann, followed by his statement that there was no just cause for trekking, even though there might have been cause for 'grievance and complaint.'[33] In this light, according to Von Bergmann, 'it would've been better and more courageous for them (the trekkers) to have

[31]J C Kannemeyer, *A History of Afrikaans Literature*, Elaine Ridge (translation), Shuter and Shooter, Pietrmaritzburg, 1993.
[32]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 644.
[33]*Ibid*., p. 44.

remained and fought with us to get salvation. It's easy enough to fly from temptation, but a true man fights against it.'[34] He continues by emphasizing there was much to do at home, rather than go trekking, and by staying one could build up one's own independence against the British administration: 'That time is coming. Already we have some say, and if the hotheads will only work and have patience, we'll get along much better than by trekking and complaining.'[35]

In *Stormwrack*, the second of the trilogy, the conversation is between the English rector and Andrew Quakerley. The rector explains the division that exists between the Transvaal north and the Cape south: 'so long as there remains in the north an administration that is definitely antagonistic to England, there'll always be something of that feeling, rector. I confess that the attitude the Transvaal has lately adopted fills me with misgiving.'[36] Then there is the direct reference to those who trekked, 'who were dissatisfied here and who deliberately separated themselves from our traditions and adopted their own, which are in many respects not such that all of us can subscribe to them.'[37] Those in the north gave up 'substance for shadows.'[38]

And in *The Mask*, one can argue much the same, viz., the south anti-trek view *versus* the north pro-trek view. Ironically, the character in the novel, the nationalist-inspired Santa takes the Preller line, when she says: 'With all that history of the Great Trek – all that struggle for existence!' against the view from her Aunt Gertrude, from one of the traditional (fictitious) landed gentry families of the Cederberg, who answers: 'It's facing facts and dealing with them, and making up your mind to do what is right and proper even though it goes against the grain. And they never did that. I always thought less of them than most folk do because they trekked and didn't stay behind and fight out their own salvation as our own people did.'[39] Against this is the Preller debate (in Santa's words): 'I honour them for it … they didn't intend to have their souls stifled, and so they went out into the wilderness and made good there.'[40]

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[34]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 44.
[35]*Ibid.*
[36]*Ibid.*, p. 280.
[37]*Ibid.*, p. 280.
[38]*Ibid.*, p. 280.
[39]*Ibid.*, p. 646.
[40]*Ibid.,* p. 646.

The perspective of being rooted in local, deep tradition is directly related to the anti-trek idea and informs the entire trilogy. Whereas Preller lauds the Voortrekkers for their decision to trek, in order to realize their desire for personal and national independence and thus establish their own traditions such as the north-based view of the use of the Afrikaans language, Leipoldt would argue that in fact there is no real tradition for the nation as a whole from these Afrikaner nationalist moves. If anything, Preller's idea of tradition (for Leipoldt) develops into a one-sided, partisan, exclusive, sectionalist, sectarian nationalism, exactly what needs to be avoided if there is to be progress for all in the Union of South Africa. As opposed to Preller's conservatism is Leipoldt's idea in *Gallows Gecko* that the kind of tradition to be found in family dynasties, exist in various forms, for instance, in the way families marry, the congenial relations between English and Afrikaans-Dutch, progress of blacks and scientific patterns in genetics, to name some.

In fact, literary historian Peter Merrington argues that whilst many of the *topoi* such as chivalry, aristocratic families, classical education, tolerance, latitudinarian attitudes, courtesy, high-bred tradition, and more, point to fantasies that are more in the memory than part of Leipoldt's authorial framework — all 'a nostalgia for a perceived gracious past' — through one of the characters Maria Vantloo, as part of her memory, is a summation of the author's views.[41] There are so many examples to cite illustrating the views on tradition, through certain characters in Leipoldt's novels and these are dealt with *seriatim* in the three texts starting with *Gallows Gecko*.

5.4 - *GALLOWS GECKO*

Before looking at the concept that Leipoldt employs as a central *topos* for *Gallows Gecko*, it is appropriate to view the book in its historical setting. M P O Burgers conceded that it was the intention of Leipoldt to re-work *Gallows Gecko* (from *Galgsalmander*), so that it could become part of the eventual trilogy, *The Valley*.[42] In this regard it is appropriate to view Stephen Gray's explanation of the 'the three-phase model of colonial history', the structure in which *The Valley* was set up, of which *Galgsalmander* is the first 'phase':

[41]Peter Merrington, "C. Louis Leipoldt's 'Valley trilogy' and Contested South African Nationalisms in the Early Twentieth century", *Current Writing*, 15(2), 2003, pp. 42 – 43.
[42]M P O Burgers, 'C. L. Leipoldt, 'n Studie in Stof-keuse, -verwerking en -ontwikkeling', p. 146.

> *Galgsalmander*, a bucolic comedy set in the Valley, serialized in *Die Huisgenoot* from 30 August, 1929 to 3 January 1930. This was reworked into a more serious and far-reaching novel (*Gallows Gecko*). Settlement by Boer and British, agricultural development up to representative government (1835 – 1845).[43]

According to Gray, Leipoldt used the material he gathered for his Afrikaans novel, through oral history, for 'the construction and composition of a sequence of four historical novels dealing with analogous material in English'.[44] Gray has compiled an important paper about the value of 'the related aspects of interpreting historical fiction as historical source material.'[45] Leipoldt uses the fiction from 'living oral history … converted … into written Afrikaans documentation.'[46] *The Valley* is a good example of this as the fiction in it is limited to a very specific and demarcated area reflecting 'one coherent South African community'; and because many of its actual historical records were destroyed by accident.[47] Researching from these fictional sources, the researcher working in such an area will have to note that she/he will be working with sources which are not 'of the more routine scientific nature.'[48]

In *Gallows Gecko* Leipoldt reported on the state of South Africa's cultural and constitutional development at the time and the transition to a period of liberalism with the establishment of the Cape Parliament in 1853, a start in the process towards 'a common ideal of self-independence' as we gather from the following excerpt:

> The book describes conditions in the Cape Colony at the beginning of the reign of Queen Victoria. It deals more especially with the Dutch speaking element in the population, but gives a glimpse of the relations, amicable and neighbourly, that existed between them and their English speaking fellow settlers. It shows the Valley at peace, developing in a way that promises to lead, ultimately, to national unity and the realization of a common ideal of self-independence.[49]

The way in which Leipoldt constructed his historical fictional narrative in *Galgsalmander,* traces the gradual cultural and political 'growth' of a resident of the Valley whose arrival

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[43]Stephen Gray, 'Leipoldt's Valley Community: The Novelist as Archivist', *Social Dynamics*, 10(1), 1984, p. 50.
[44]*Ibid.*, p. 46.
[45]*Ibid.*
[46]*Ibid.*
[47]Stephen Gray, 'Leipoldt's Valley Community: The Novelist as Archivist', *Social Dynamics*, 10(1), 1984, p. 46. The fire that destroyed the official documents in Clanwilliam, razed government offices housing important documentation about Clanwilliam (1901).
[48]Stephen Gray, 'Leipoldt's Valley Community: The Novelist as Archivist', *Social Dynamics*, 10(1), 1984, p. 46.
[49]BC94 A7.5 (Jagger).

there around 1840, after slavery had been abolished, is rendered as mysterious. He is Amadeus Tereg, a civil servant working in the Cape Colony in the early nineteenth century, and on a single occasion he acted as an executioner to earn extra money. Ashamed of his past, he decides to go somewhere with his family where he could be *incognito* and eventually changes his name to Everardus Nolte. He carefully selects a place on the other side of the mountain ranges, close to the Village, which is the place recognizable as Clanwilliam, the town along the Olifants River where Leipoldt himself grew up.

Thus, when writing *Galgsalmander*, Leipoldt could base the types on, and draw the characters in his novel from, his recollections of the past and characters of the past he either knew or knew of. In this respect it is true when M P O Burgers said that the community featured in *Galgsalmander* was sketched more or less from the memories from Leipoldt's childhood as 'aspects of interpreting historical fiction as historical source material', and the process of shifting from 'oralcy to literacy.'[50] Leipoldt is thus a classic example of the scribe of oral tales; as a recorder of near-forgotten stories and a cultural archivist.[51] The following meticulous English translation by Stephen Gray explains this further (a rather lengthy passage is necessary):

> As a child, Clanwilliam's child, I heard at third-hand how Clanwilliam came into being. Above the floodgate, there were a few Coloured families, among whom still survived a few old ones, either descendants of slaves or who had been slaves themselves. One I can remember now perfectly well; she had a gaunt, thin, impressive build and always called to my mind the Witch of Doré's drawing. She had been a slave, together with old Karools, whom I believe still lives in Saron, and for hours on end she could tell us what happened in the old days. Half blind in the one eye, she could still see reasonably well with the other; but even more, and for a child much more important, she could squint with her good eye in a way that her face took on an expression of aloof mysteriousness. And what didn't we just hear from her. All the stories of how Clanwilliam came into being, the history of Coenrad Fiet, which I briefly told in "Dinsdagaand", the adventures of the first inhabitants of Roodezand and Patrysberg; the legends about One-eye and Foot-eye and the diamond-crowned serpent that lived in the hippo pools at the bottom of the gardens.
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> Oral transmission, as Dieulafoy said, is the best material for making history. The best we possess is founded in tradition. And so tradition — the tradition which is now half forgotten and threadbare — is more reliable and better than the recorded history of Clanwilliam. We don't know too much of that pure, correct official printed history, either. Many items have become lost; many others were burnt when the public offices burnt down in 1902. In my years as a child the old people still knew the tradition.

[50]Stephen Gray, 'Leipoldt's Valley Community: The Novelist as Archivist', *Social Dynamics*, 10(1), 1984, p. 46.
[51]*Ibid.*, p. 47.

> They used to tell us how Fiet murdered the cattle-dealers, right where the Augsburg orphanage stands today; how old 'miesies' — in those days we never talked of 'madam', it was always 'miesies' — how 'miesies' so and so thrust her slaves into the baking oven … '[52]

Yet *Gallows Gecko* does not just rely on oralcy but has with it some of Leipoldt's own research, for instance, his interest in the Swanepoel murder case.[53] Thus, it is possible that Leipoldt draws his character Amadeus Tereg from a real person, who on a single occasion acted as a hangman. Leipoldt's jottings give some indication of a family tree for the writing of *Gallows Gecko*, but the extent to which this is based on historical data is difficult to say.[54] From what can be established in these jottings, however, is that a certain Amadeus Tereg was born in 1808, and Magriet de Lerch in 1808, which might be a link to real people, on which these two characters in *Gallow Gecko* are based (and Magriet is the name of Amadeus's spouse, in the fiction). According to Leipoldt's genealogical table the couple married in 1829. Stephen Gray therefore gives the time frame of *Gallows Gecko* from 1835 – 1845. Given that Tereg's wife inherited a fortune from one of her relatives, and that Tereg tried to evade the ignominy he has been caused from acting as a hangman, it is possible that he and his family would have ventured to the Valley around about this time (1835), and therefore the fiction seems to be synchronic with the facts.

Tereg (who changes his name to Everardus Nolte) is well-received by the local community and acquires a humanist-based education in etiquette, outlook and human rights from the more well-established members of the Valley, such as Martin Rekker and Uncle Dorie, as well as the wise cleric, Pastor Johann von Bergmann. He ends up serving the Valley community by becoming the District's first representative in the newly established Cape Parliament in 1853 shaking off his ignominious past in the process. The story of *Galgsalmander* ends when the eccentric schoolmaster Pierre Mabuis (nicknamed Tins) reforms and marries a widow with a dowry, and goes on honeymoon to a place that is recognizable as Cape Town. Interestingly enough however, as Stephen Gray shows, Leipoldt

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[52]C Louis Leipoldt, 'Clanwilliam: herinneringe aan 'n Ou Dorpie', *Die Huisgenoot*, 5 November 1926. I am indebted to Stephen Gray for the translation which is from page 47 in his article, 'Leipoldt's Valley Community: The Novelist as Archivist', *Social Dynamics*, 10(1), 1984. The fire was 1901 not 1902.
[53]M P O Burgers, *C. L. Leipoldt, 'n Studie in Stof-keuse, -verwerking en -ontwikkeling*, p. 146. There is extensive reference in Burgers, to Swanepoel.
[54]BC 94 A5.8 (Jagger).

felt he could have done more with the story of Everardus Nolte in the novel at the time.[55] Leipldt probably got bored with writing it.

Gallows Gecko includes insightful social and political commentary as well as more autobiographical detail than its Afrikaans version, *Galgsalmander*.[56] Gray explains that between the time of writing *Galgsalmander* and *Gallows Gecko,* Leipoldt's insights changed because he was researching his article for the *Cambridge History of the British Empire.*[57] As a result of the research required for such a project, and in the cross-over from writing in English to Afrikaans, Leipoldt developed 'a theory of the social evolution of South Africa' expressed as follows by Gray:

> "The Valley trilogy" turns into a virtually step by step illustration of the theory; *Chameleon on the Gallows* is where this process begins in all its sombre, sweeping detail. As Leipoldt crosses from Afrikaans into English his sensibility really profoundly changes.[58]

Furthermore, as 'scribe of its oral tales, as the recorder of its near-forgotten traditional history and, in effect, as its cultural archivist'[59] and working as an artist, Leipoldt could place 'the stress more on social documentation than on individuated life-stories, more on community values than on private aesthetics'.[60] Whilst a novel of fiction, *Gallows Gecko* nevertheless has the status of being a combination of things – causerie, a collection of ligatures about issues that affect us to this day in South Africa's complex history, issues such as race, health, class, convention, culture and politics. In this sense, Leipoldt's fiction can become very useful for an understanding of South African history of the time.

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[55]Stephen Gray in the 'Introduction' to C Louis Leipoldt's, *Chameleon on the Gallows*, (ed Stephen Gray), Human & Rousseau, Cape Town, Pretoria, Johannesburg, 2000.
[56]M P O Burgers, 'C. L. Leipoldt, 'n Studie in Stof-keuse, -verwerking en -ontwikkeling', p. 149.
[57]*The Cambridge History of the British Empire VIII*, Chapter XXXII, 'Cultural Development' (General Editors A P Newton & E A Benians), (Advisor in South Africa, E A Walker), 'South Africa, Rhodesia and the Protectorates', Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1936, pp. 844 – 873. See the entry by Leipoldt in his diary of 22 November 1929 in BC94 A4.18 – he writes: 'Started my art. for Walker History is a damned nuisance'. (*sic*) The dates in his diary for 1929 reflect the time he started and when he ended with this project: on 16 November 1929 he thought out his scheme; on 22 November he started writing; by 9 December he had completed writing (and said: 'jolly glad for it was boring me stiff'); and on 15 December he had completed the final re-write of what he calls his 'article on Cultural development for Walker history' (the renowned historian E A Walker being the person Leipoldt refers to).
[58]Stephen Gray in his 'Introduction' to C Louis Leipoldt, *Chameleon on the Gallows*, Human & Rousseau, Cape Town, Pretoria, Johannesburg, 2000, pp. 10 – 11.
[59]Stephen Gray, 'Leipoldt's Valley Community: The Novelist as Archivist', *Social Dynamics*, 10(1), 1984, p. 47.
[60]*Ibid.*

Chapter 1 of *Gallows Gecko* introduces an idyllic landscape with high-bounding hills 'rising four thousand feet above the flatlands that stretch to the sea.' This is a landscape of the mind of Leipoldt, but also physical, geographic places 'that were landmarks for the old Portuguese navigators'.[61] By writing these lines, Leipoldt traces the history of the place to one of the earliest engagements when Western Europeans ventured into South African waters. In his poem ''n Voorspel vir 'n Afrikaanse heldedig' Leipoldt celebrates Vasco Da Gama and Bortholomeu Dias, as a sea-giant and admiral respectively, for their great and heroic deeds of discovery, as the foster-fathers of the history of South Africa and inaugurator of the way to the East, a place much loved by Leipoldt.[62]

At the centre of Luis De Camões's epic poem published in 1572 entitled *The Lusíads*, is Vasco Da Gama's pioneer voyage to southern Africa in 1497, on his way to India. It is possible that Leipoldt had this poem in mind when compiling his own poem.[63] Interesting to note, however, is the dialectic between Leipoldt's heroes, and Preller's hero, respectively, the Portuguese navigators of the Renaissance carrying the Astrolabe and Cross to other parts of the world, *versus* Piet Retief, who decided to trek away from the Cape, leaving behind its liberal, Western civilization albeit in limited form, for the wide open spaces of the northern land.

Furthermore, the early pioneers who came to inhabit the hinterland of the Cape such as in the Cederberg are described by Leipoldt in the idyllic setting of flowers, hot springs, and teaming game of the Hantam Karoo. On his way into this beautiful area Nolte 'passed through the valley and his imagination was captured by its wonderful beauty, its serenity, its boundless possibilities.'[64] In this setting and with congenial neighbours showing 'old-world courtesy', Nolte set forth to acquire a piece of land, as there was 'much unoccupied, vacant land – government land … that could be bought for a pittance.'[65] Here we see Leipoldt's strong views on the value of diligence and work (*arbeid adel*), hence Nolte's desire to 'labour at and improve (the land) with a chance of seeing the result of his labour before he was too old and spent to care much for what life could still give.' In Chapter 3 of *Gallows Gecko* we read of the praiseworthy way in which Thomas Seldon and Andrew Quakerley were 'two outstanding

[61]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p.5.
[62]C Louis Leipoldt, ''n Voorspel vir 'n Afrikaanse heldedig' in *Versamelde Gedigte*, compiled by J C Kannemeyer, Tafelberg, Cape Town, 1980, pp. 129 – 140.
[63]J C Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, p. 255.
[64]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 6.
[65]*Ibid*.

examples of newcomers who by grit, patient hard work and adaptation to their new environment had made good.'[66]

These descriptions are in contrast to 'undiscovered territory', into which 'those complaining burghers … had trekked beyond the great river to find in the no-man's-land beyond a refuge where they could be safe from the exactions of a government they disliked.'[67] These are the trekkers Leipoldt was criticizing and the same people that Preller celebrated for the courage to trek, unlike the men and women who held it 'more manly and courageous to remain and fight the evils they complained of than to throw down the reins in despair and seek salvation in flight.'[68] It was men like Nolte that Leipoldt admired, who 'in that beautiful valley, on his own land, as his own master – (he) would play his part, win new friends and take his due share in the affairs of a new community.'[69] It is in this sense that Peter Merrington says of *Gallows Gecko*: 'These ligatures bind and give purpose to the frame, which is the exemplary tale of Everardus Nolte's own development as a farmer, citizen, and good neighbour, in a combination of Bildungsroman, romatic story-line, natural observation, and social comedy.'[70] Coming to the Valley as he did, will expose Nolte to the true values of local, deep tradition, as will be seen from the ensuing paragraph.

It is almost as if Leipoldt applied Buddhist tendencies, enabling the character to redeem his ignominious past through good works. Nolte's assimilation into the Valley community is gradual, assisted and supported by many friends, such as the already-mentioned 'Uncle Dorie' (the utilitarian Doremus Van Aard) and Martin Rekker (the essence of 'old-world stateliness and dignified courtesy').[71] Here we see Leipoldt employ one of his *topoi*, namely strong genes/genetics. The Rekkers were the real aristocrats of the Valley, genetically 'taller, sturdier, better-proportioned … healthy and fresh … fair … their musculature excellently well developed; their carriage and poise admirable.'[72] But also important in the social relations in the Valley are the missionaries, which historically make up Leipoldt's own family and forebears, his parents having been missionaries (Leipoldt modelled the character of the

[66]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 17.
[67]*Ibid.*, p. 8.
[68]*Ibid.,* p. 9.
[69]*Ibid.*, p. 9.
[70]Peter Merrington, "C. Louis Leipoldt's 'Valley trilogy' and Contested South African Nationalisms in the Early Twentieth century", *Current Writing*, 15(2), 2003, p. 38.
[71]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 22.
[72]*Ibid.*, p. 23.

wise cleric Pastor Von Bergmann on his dearly beloved maternal grandfather, head of the Rhenish Mission Station in Adderley Street, Worcester, Cape Colony).

On an occasion, on of the characters in *The Valley* Doremus (Uncle Dorie) decided it was time to introduce Everardus to the missionaries at Neckerthal (the fictitious name for Wupperthal), where they would stay a few days. They would stay at the home of the Reverend and Mrs Uhlmann, who headed up the Station (Leipoldt's paternal grandparents). Visiting at the Station at the time, was Pastor Von Bergmann. Leipoldt greatly admired his maternal grandfather, drawing the character Brother Von Bergmann from him, describing him thus: 'a broad-shouldered, brown-haired, clean-shaven man with a determined chin, cleft in a dimple, and a finely modelled head, broad in the forehead, high above the ears – a man carpentered by nature on ample lines, forceful, virile, impressive.'[73] The conversation between Von Bergmann and Nolte centre on a number of points and issues, from the value of a European-based education, the role of missionaries in society, that hard-work is ennobling, to intellectual and cultural discourse of European developments, and also topics that show a cosmopolitan and broad moral universe. These topics or typical points of discussion (*topoi*) in the fiction are what Leipoldt uses as part of the substance which he elevates into a metaphor for civilized behaviour and etiquette, as the German missionaries subtly and didactically provide Nolte with an education.

Unbeknown to Nolte, Von Bergmann knows about his ignominious past (having on an occasion been a hangman). This angers Nolte, when he realises it, but his fears are allayed after a frank discussion between them. More importantly, however, is the way Von Bergmann enlightens Nolte in racial affairs, and one can only imagine this is Leipoldt's own voice as a political liberal coming through, urging 'a man on to self-sacrifice, to duty ... tradition' but not the tradition of subserviency (such as slavery).[74] The question of the trekkers comes up in their discussion (Leipoldt's own anti-trek sentiments), whom Nolte does not hold with but does not judge — as opposed to Von Bergmann who confesses he judges them (the trekkers) because they should have stayed as others did and work out their destiny in the Cape.[75] These and the aforementioned points of discussion between Von Bergmann and Nolte, in the words of Peter Merrington, are:

[73]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 28.
[74]*Ibid.*, pp. 37 – 38.
[75]*Ibid.*, p. 38.

> 'framed by the idea of a liberal Cape tradition. Tradition is exemplified in terms of family dynasties, in several dimensions: from the topics of genealogy and of progress, the arrival of the settlers in the Valley in the 1830s, the establishment of farmsteads, the co-operation between the English and Dutch, negotiations over marriage, questions of bequests and inheritance, to the speculative issues of social Darwinism and the cultural maturity of blacks, and the equally speculative 'tradition' of genetic patterns, genetic legacies, eugenics, and the scientific as well as social implications of consanguinity, inter-racial marriage, and creolisation.'[76]

The qualities of beauty in the human face of Martin Rekker are described: 'a handsome man, an aristocratic type that in youth must have attracted anyone with a sense of beauty …' and 'from a race finely-framed and belonging to the best Nordic stock.'[77] The foil to the aesthetical beauty of Rekker is Doremus Van Aard (who accompanied Nolte to Neckerthal), 'totally different in appearance, a short, comfortably fleshy man whose round, chubby face, almost equally round short-cropped head and podgy hands could not for a moment be compared with those of his friend.'[78] The fact that Leipoldt makes this comparison strengthens the possibility of an interest in aesthetical appearance in certain males although, it must be conceded, this might not be the only reason he does this.

The image of facial aesthetics is a strong feature of class and society, of the writing of British novelist John Galsworthy in his trilogy, *The Forsyte Saga*, written between 1906 and 1921. Swithin Forsyte was shaven with a square old face; and James Forsyte was tall and lean, his cheeks thinned by two parallel folds and a long, clean-shaven upper lip. At the head of the Forsytes was Jolyon, eighty years of age but with his 'fine, white hair, his dome-like forehead', 'had a partriarchal look' and 'gave an impression of superiority to the doubts and dislikes of smaller men.'[79] This is similar to the way Leipoldt compares Rekker with Van Aard in *Gallows Gecko*.

Stephen Gray refers to Leipoldt's impeccable style in the school of Anthony Trollope or John Galsworthy.[80] Allusions to *The Forsyte Saga* can be found in descriptions such as: 'a certain steadfastness of chin, underlying surface distinctions, marking a racial stamp, too prehistoric to trace, too remote and permanent to discuss — the very hall-mark and guarantee

[76]Peter Merrington, "C. Louis Leipoldt's 'Valley trilogy' and Contested South African Nationalisms in the Early Twentieth century", *Current Writing*, 15(2), 2003, p. 38.
[77]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, pp. 11 – 12.
[78]*Ibid*., p. 12.
[79]John Galsworthy, *The Forsyte Saga*, Heinemann/Octopus, 1976, p. 14.
[80]Stephen Gray in C Louis Leipoldt, *Stormwrack*, Human and Rousseau, Cape Town, Pretoria, Johannesburg, 2000, p. 5.

of the family fortunes.'[81] The descriptions in *Gallows Gecko* of characters Martin Rekker *et al* in the paragraphs immediately above resonate with Galsworthy; furthermore what Gray has to say about Galsworthy and Trollope, that they are 'typical of English-speaking liberal traditionalists of a certain period …' is an interesting link for this chapter.[82] It is suggested that Galsworthy's reference to 'racial stamp' as in the description above could resonate with the term 'Nordic stock' used by Leipoldt in *Gallows Gecko*, and the term 'White stock' used by Professor Gilder in his article about Leipoldt, considered necessary by Leipoldt for good breeding, as, 'after a couple of generations the population would otherwise begin to degenerate.'[83]

From the above, one can deduce that Leipoldt writes about some of his characters to make them seem genetically strong and sturdy, showing an interest in genetics, and at the same time to accentuate their physiognomic aesthetical appearances, which is in line with other writers of the same era, Galsworthy serving as a good example. The points made in the above paragraphs about the similarities between Galsworthy and Leipoldt's descriptions by no means lie outside the bounds of possibility, since writing in *De Volkstem* of 20 November 1926, Leipoldt referred to the family saga in Galsworthy's *The Forsyte Saga*, acknowledging Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks* as its forerunner.[84] He clearly was aware of these literary works.

The point therefore can be made, in view of Galsworthy's character sketches, and what Leipoldt writes in *The Valley*, as in the above paragraphs, that he features and characterizes certain men in a certain style, in order to position them in a social standing (and as genetically strong), as successful and confident – in this manner, Leipoldt is showing an attitude towards men in their social standing, in a sophisticated sense, and not in a boorish, bucolic way as those who trekked, lived.

This point is still further borne out by descriptions of the strong physical and genetic features of certain male members of the Valley and also some of their aesthetical qualities as reflected in another passage from *Gallows Gecko*, where we read of the 'good health' and 'physical

[81]John Galsworthy, *The Forsyte Saga*, Heinemann/Octopus, London, 1976, p. 15.
[82]Stephen Gray in C Louis Leipoldt, *Stormwrack*, Human and Rousseau, Cape Town, Pretoria, Johannesburg, 2000, p. 5.
[83]S S B Gilder, 'Leipoldt the Editor', *South African Medical Journal*, 6 December 1980, p. 928.
[84]This reference is in J C Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, p. 480.

perfection of most of its male members.'[85] They seemed 'taller, sturdier, better-proportioned than the men he had lived with in his old district', and:

> their complexions, though tanned by the sun-glare, were healthy and fresh, in the younger ones fair almost to transparency; their musculature excellently well developed; their carriage and poise admirable.[86]

The value of being rooted in tradition is seen by the way (contrary to the way writers of farm novels would generally show the pathos and grievances of the farming community) Leipoldt placed the emphasis of his fictional novel on 'questions of progress, construction, and the integrity of this diversely-constituted social fabric.'[87] This is seen by the way Nolte constructs his farm with support from the likes of Doremus: 'Uncle Dorie had even hinted that at the next election of office bearers it might be a good thing to propose him for the office of deacon, which in time would lead to the more responsible senior position of elder.'[88] Even with the ignominy hanging over his head, Nolte was nevertheless accepted into the community as an Afrikaander:

> 'Some of them, like Uncle Martin, respected him (Nolte) less for these gifts than for what they found in his nature and his temperament, but they recognised that he was an acquisition to the district and placed him in the same category wherein they had already listed Quakerley and the Seldons, remarking, when they did so that Nephew Everard was at any rate superior to these latter inasmuch as he was indubitably one of their own people, even if they knew not whence he came or who his father and grandfather had been.'[89]

A further topos is the position and attitude held by Leipoldt on the question of the characteristics of race, what differentiates people based on the colour of their skin, and the attitude of white people to blacks, referred to by Merrington as 'the speculative issues of social Darwinism, and the cultural maturity of blacks.'[90] Discussions on these topics in the novel take place between Nolte and Von Bergmann, wise to the composition of a person's soul, spirit, and attitude on race, as well as having his own missionary's politically liberal idea, and therefore possibly the spokesman for Leipoldt's views on race: 'The missionary amazed Everardus by his breadth of outlook … 'and 'that if all races had the same chances,

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[85] C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 23.
[86] *Ibid.*
[87] Peter Merrington, "C. Louis Leipoldt's 'Valley trilogy' and Contested South African Nationalisms in the Early Twentieth century", *Current Writing*, 15(2), 2003, p. 38.
[88] C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 50.
[89] *Ibid.*, p. 54.
[90] Peter Merrington, "C. Louis Leipoldt's 'Valley trilogy' and Contested South African Nationalisms in the Early Twentieth century", *Current Writing*, 15(2), 2003, p. 39.

the same opportunities, there wouldn't be marked differences between them.'[91] It goes without saying that such views are in total opposition to the conservative attitudes that Preller and many Afrikaners held on this topic.

The anti-trek motif is perpetuated in the novel, seen by the residents of the Valley when confronted by some or other 'pestilential fellow' who came to collect money for the exiled trekkers. The chapter discusses the question of national feeling, 'a complex of slow growth, the product of various emotions that react differently on different individuals … developed by factors and conditions that antagonise as much as they may tend to encourage the cultural progress of a people, and it is directed into channels that may or may not benefit communal solidarity.'[92]

An interesting counterpoise between Leipoldt and Preller lies in the way festivals and celebrations are portrayed. On the one hand, for instance, as in Chapter 10 of *The Valley* Leipoldt demonstrates the joyous festivities and celebrations around the birthday of Alexandrina Victoria, the figure-head queen to Colonials and Boers alike — until attitudes change as allegiances become split during the South African War. But in the 1880s there is still this bond between Boer and Colonial, and even blacks are included in the celebrations, around their beloved Alexandrina Victoria. The same kind of unity however cannot be said for the celebrations in the northern districts, such as Dingaans Day, which are very specific to the Afrikaners. These divisions in attitudes are perpetuated in Chapter 11 which further discusses the relations between the nationalities in South Africa, confessing that (referring to that time) 'today [they are] not yet what they might or should be', and that it was a matter of 'mutual respect in a community' that holds the community together, also when it comes to respecting newcomers such as 'the Seldons, as fair representatives of the English but – unconsciously or subconsciously – it clung to the idea that they did not represent England and – equally subconsciously – it ranked them very much in the same category in which it had placed the trekkers', until 'the newcomers had shown themselves proven fellow-citizens was it prepared to accept them as co-equals'.[93] The same argument applied to the aristocratic Quakerleys.

[91] C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 57.
[92] *Ibid.*, p. 65.
[93] *Ibid.*, pp. 85 – 86.

Underlying the way the English were 'accepted' is Merrington's point that later, as the drive towards Union took place, it remained an ideal promoted by political lobbies but that 'once Afrikaner or Dutch national interests had been secured, however, it remained largely a rhetorical sentiment among anglophile, cosmopolitan, empire-loyalist and more-or-less liberal white South Africans'.[94] History was to show that any chance of 'nation-building' received a blow in the 1924 elections when the Afrikaners gained power in the Pact with the Labour Party. This outcome however never detracted from Leipoldt's hopes for a national South African cultural unity/federation.

A further range of topics is debated in the novel such as religion, the distinction between papism and Calvinism, negotiations over marriage: which 'in matters of faith, social custom, education and ethics, the church decreed and the valley followed.'[95] The value of High Dutch as opposed to the use of Afrikaans, was very much a debate in the Cape, as opposed to the northern parts of the country, where Gustav Preller and others promoted the writing and speaking of Afrikaans as a medium — the following paragraph makes the distinction between the two languages, the much broader Dutch being the preferred language of learning for Leipoldt:

> In those days this variation of the parent language – now called Afrikaans, which differs from high Dutch in its disregard of inflexions, its peculiar construction of sentences and its predilection for the use of the double negative and of diminutives – had not attained the dignity of official or semi-official recognition. The valley spoke it to its native servants, whose only language it was, to its children who had not yet mastered the grammatical high Dutch, and familiarly when it conversed *inter pares* about commonplace things. It never dreamed of using it when it addressed the Deity, officialdom or superiors, for then high Dutch was imperative; and the valley kept its high Dutch singularly pure and free from alien admixture. Seniors like Uncle Martin and Uncle Dorie spoke it with almost as good an accent, and certainly as grammatically correctly, as did the Reverend Mr de Smee, who had received his education in Holland and could converse in several languages including Arabic. For the Reverend Sybrand had passed his superior examination and had obtained his *Acte Classicale*, which permitted him to write the letters VDM after his name and qualified him for an appointment in the East Indies. To obtain these distinctions, as everyone knew, he had had to prove his knowledge not only of the classics but also of oriental languages, and although he protested that these acquirements rusted very soon through disuse, it was generally understood that when he went to Cape Town he practised his Arabic on a Malay Imam and talked Latin with the learned pastor at the Paarl. In the valley the Reverend Sybrand represented the acme of culture, and it was perhaps well for the

[94]Peter Merrington, "C. Louis Leipoldt's 'Valley trilogy' and Contested South African Nationalisms in the Early Twentieth century", *Current Writing*, 15(2), 2003, p. 34.
[95]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 100.

> valley that such was the case, for the pastor was a mild-mannered, gentle-souled man whose influence made itself felt far beyond his immediate environment.[96]

Neither did the workers of the salt pans evade Leipoldt's eye as social commentary, perhaps as a counterpoise to the poor white problem that was more a phenomenon of the north. It was Uncle Dorie who when he had gone hunting one day when holidaying at Lamberts Bay, found 'a community of men, women and children who lived a life of their own, apart, in squalid misery – mitigated by their philosophical resignation, their patient acceptance of hardship and poverty, and their sturdy, hard-working independence.'[97] There are further social issues that appear in *Gallows Gecko*, such as the consanguinity, inter-racial marriage and creolization raised by Merrington.[98] The inclusion of these topics in *The Valley* are to show the opposite of progress, and a sympathy for these communities. However it might be that Leipoldt was discussing issues such as breeding and genetics, topical at the time. For instance, we read that these were 'silent, almost morose folk … but hardy and sun-tanned … their skins showed milk white against the brown of the water' with 'their proportions, for a vigorous open-air life had moulded their limbs far better than any course of exercises designed for that purpose could have done. The men were strapping, upstanding fellows, bearded six-footers with long, sinewy, hairy arms.'[99]

In contradistinction were the excellent stock such as the Quakerleys, descendants from England, who believed that race and descent – however intangible they might be – were nevertheless things that counted and that carried with them obligations as well as privileges in addition to which someone such as Old Andrew was incredibly well-read in the Classics. Leipoldt uses Quakerley to illustrate the difference in language, culture and outlook, between English and Dutch-Afrikaans, and that 'compared to you English (we are) so badly off that we must constantly fight not to be overwhelmed by you, with your immense resources, your language, your culture.'[100]

As the book draws to an end it becomes clear that Nolte's secret is exposed but that the Valley community accepts it and in fact is pleased with his nomination in 1854 as

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[96]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 101.
[97]*Ibid.*, p. 117.
[98]Peter Merrington, "C. Louis Leipoldt's 'Valley trilogy' and Contested South African Nationalisms in the Early Twentieth century", *Current Writing*, 15(2), 2003, p. 38.
[99]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 118.
[100]*Ibid.*, p. 149.

representative of the valley district in the newly formed liberal Cape Parliament. The above paragraphs illustrate some of the *topoi* associated with the value and virtue of being rooted, in local, deep tradition, a mind-set and world-view that developed as a result of a number of factors in, and influences on his life, such as education, race, genetics, cultural advancement, to name some. The central topic (being rooted in deep, local tradition) informs the entire logic of *The Valley* as an oppositional text to the fully-fledged, national *volksgeskiedenis* propagated by Gustav S Preller.

5.5 – STORMWRACK

The second novel *Stormwrack* was written between 12 July 1930 and 31 January 1932. The book is described in the following synoptic form by Stephen Gray as a:

> chronicle realist novel, cottage industry and specialized agriculture (1895 – 1902). Analysis of a community which follows an alternative to the Trekker myth, on which the Second Anglo-Boer War recoils as an invasion back into Cape territory.[101]

There are different versions of the manuscripts for *Stormwrack* housed in the Manuscripts and Archives of the University of Cape Town Libraries. In addition there is the 500 foolscap-page typescript with the missing title page in the Africana Collection of the Cape Town Branch of the National Library of South Africa. Stephen Gray's edited version of *Stormwrack*, as is fully explained in his 'Introduction', is housed with the Manuscripts and Archives at the University of Cape Town Libraries.[102] One reason there are several manuscripts of the same text is because Leipoldt successively worked at tidying them up – his own methods were slapdash and he was not nearly methodical enough for them to appear ready for publishing. The current edition of *The Valley* used the TSS of 'Leipoldt's own last edition of each of the novels.'[103]

As a sequel to *Gallows Gecko*, *Stormwrack* shows the descendants of certain of the characters 'under totally altered conditions that existed at the end of Queen Victoria's reign.'[104] The following summing-up is what Leipoldt said about it. The hero, Andrew Quakerley, the son of an English aristocrat, is well-respected among both the English and

[101]Stephen Gray, 'Leipoldt's Valley Community: The Novelist as Archivist', *Social Dynamics*, 10(1), 1984, p. 50.
[102]BC94 A7.13.2 (Jagger).
[103]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, 2001, p. vii; BC94 A7.13 (Jagger).
[104]BC94 A7.6 (Jagger).

Dutch inhabitants of the Valley and his pride and joy is his garden. When the South African War breaks out he tries his best to keep the district quiet but the allegiances of the Cape Afrikaner and English-speaking South Africans have changed because they have relatives on both sides fighting in the war. Leipoldt explains that at this time 'there was practically civil war in the Cape Colony'.[105] The war affects Andrew Quakerley himself — his 'ingrained English ideal' changes and he 'finds himself more and more in sympathy with his neighbours.'[106] In this way, Leipoldt is expanding on the point of contested nationalisms as he shows how Andrew gradually turns away from his own nationalism (just as Preller had his own idea of nationalism) and begins to accept a more true South African nationalism.

Stormwrack, which was written after the other two books in the trilogy had already been completed, was re-worked by Leipoldt from novellas, *De Rebel* (1900) and *The Rebel* (1904) and the monologue *Oom Gert Vertel* (1911). The inspiration for these works were born out of Leipoldt's experiences from witnessing the war as a reporter, and a war journalist and correspondent writing for overseas newspapers such as *Het Nieuws van den Dag.*[107] The situation he found himself in when interviewing a Boer rebel-prisoner in the Dordrecht prison, with the legal counsel present, according to Leipoldt, led to the subject matter for his poem 'Oom Gert Vertel'.[108] There are similarities between *Oom Gert Vertel* and *Stormwrack*, for instance, the character of Oom Gert in *Oom Gert Vertel* and Martin Rekker are similar. The dastard actions of the British military, and the folly of the Boer Commando invasions into the Cape Colony are examples of other, similar themes.

South African journalist Leopoldt Scholtz explains the importance of Leipoldt's journalism for an understanding of the thoughts (intellectual history) of society at a certain time.[109] Between the time Leipoldt wrote his earlier war writings (1902 – 1904) and the time he wrote *Stormwrack*, a period of approximately 26 years, his indignation for what was happening

[105]BC94 A7.6 (Jagger).
[106]*Ibid.*
[107]C Louis Leipoldt, *Hierdie Land van Leuens, 'Brieven uit de Kaap Kolonie'*, edited and translated by Wium van Zyl, Africana Uitgewers, Cape Town, 2002, pp. 9 – 10.
[108]C Louis Leipoldt, 'Eerste Skoffies' in J M H Viljoen, *'n Joernalis Vertel*, Nasionale Boekhandel, Beperk, Cape Town, Bloemfontein, Johannesburg, 1953, p. 189.
[109]C Louis Leipoldt, *Hierdie land van leuens*, *'Brieven uit de Kaap Kolonie'*, edited and translated by Wium van Zyl, Africana Uitgewers, Cape Town, 2002, p. 1.

(martial law, the war, the destruction in relations it brought) never left him. The 'delicately balanced Cape belief in the value of tradition and the value of mutual understanding between Dutch and English'[110] changed when fighting erupted in the Valley, from the war. Cape Colonials who were at the same time Her Majesty's subjects, had to make the difficult choices either of upholding their allegiances to the Queen or lending moral support to their relatives in the adjoining Republics.[111] This dilemma became especially prominent when a Republican proclamation of 1899 declared certain areas in the south-eastern part of the Cape Colony part of the Republics, which effectively made rebels of the the Colonials, even if they did not respond to the Republican proclamation. Leipoldt explains this in *Bushveld Doctor*:

> During the Boer War the republican commandos invaded the Cape Colony and proclaimed parts of it republican territory. The Dutch-speaking farmers in those 'annexed' divisions were told that they were now republican burghers and had to fight in the commandoes. When the districts were re-occupied, these men, who were British subjects and technically rebels, were arraigned before a special court of three judges and were tried on charges of treason, murder and various offences. It was a circuit court, travelling from district to district, and it tried many rebels, with the majority of whom one could not help sympathizing, since they had gone into rebellion, not always because they rebelled against the Government under which they lived, nor because they so whole-heartedly sympathized with the cause of the republics, but because they had been induced to believe that they were by annexation republican subjects and as such

[110]Peter Merrington, "C. Louis Leipoldt's 'Valley trilogy' and Contested South African Nationalisms in the Early Twentieth century", *Current Writing*, 15(2), 2003, p. 39.

[111]The following story by Leipoldt serves to illustrate that the attitude of the Cape Afrikaners towards the Queen in some cases was so strong and therefore cannot be underestimated in the way Cape Colonials viewed Her Majesty as their Queen. 'I was at the time a correspondent attached to the court, and heard many tales about the intimidation that had forced some of those rebels into rebellion. One evening the solicitor who acted for the defence came and asked me to accompany the lawyer who had been briefed in the case of one of the foremost farmers in the district, and to act as interpreter for his client. We found the accused in the town jail, in a small bare cell, into which he had been brought that afternoon. It was night time when he came, and the jailer lighted us in with a guttering candle that he placed on the form, dropping a few gouts of grease to make it stable on the wood. Huddled in the corner sat the prisoner, an old man with a fine grey beard, a well-to-do, much respected farmer who had been field cornet, elder of the church, and justice of the peace. [Is this not reminiscent of the fictitious character Martin Rekker in *Stormwrack*? – PLM] He was crying when we came in, in the pitiful, restrained way that old men cry when they are affected by their feelings beyond the bounds of control, and when he saw us he started up and spoke agitatedly.

'I have indeed been made to drink the dregs of misery,' he said, wiping his tears away and emphasizing his points with a lean forefinger, 'I am on my farm, Mr. B—, peaceable and quiet, and the brothers from across the river come. They take away all my sheep, and they nail a paper to the door of my wagonhouse, and they come and tell me that I am now a subject of the Republic, and that I must go with them. They put me on a horse, and make me go with them [this is what the Boers who invaded the District did to Martin Rekker's son, also called Martin] Mr. B—, to show them the way, and they keep me with them until the English come, and then they leave me behind and the English soldiers catch hold of me and are very rough with me, Mr B—. They bring me to this prison … and our family, Mr. B— have never had a jailbird among them, and I feel the shame of it, Mr B—. I feel it. And to crown all, I am like Job in his trouble of whom the good Book tells, for when my cup is already full there is this more to make it overflow, since nephew E— here' — and he pointed to the jailer — 'has just told me that our dearly beloved Alexandrina Victoria is dead….' [the extract is from: C Louis Leipoldt, *Bushveld Doctor*, pp. 82 – 83.] It can be of interest to note that Mr B is probably the legal counsel Mr Henry Burton; Burton's mother was Emily Fryer, and she was the daughter of Charles Fryer of Clanwilliam on whom Leipoldt partially modeled his character Andrew Quakerley.

> bound to fight in the commandoes. The republican leaders who cajoled them into this belief knew perfectly well that every man they recruited in the Cape Colony ran the risk of being summarily shot as a rebel when captured; they themselves, being republican burghers, could claim the privileges of prisoners of war, but their dupes could not reckon on such immunity.[112]

With the signing of the Peace at Vereeniging at the end of the South African War in 1902, Deneys Reitz refused to take up the oath of loyalty towards Britain.[113] Instead, he went into exile in Madagascar where he wrote his memoirs of his three years' experience of the war, the 1903 text in Dutch, which forms the basis of the 1929 text, *Commando*. It is suggested Reitz removed the stinging comments he made about the actions of the British soldiers, from the 1903 manuscript because of the fact he was deeply influenced by Generals Smuts and Botha and their reconciliation policies. Furthermore, according to Trevor Emslie, publisher of the Reitz trilogy, 'Michael Reitz says that his father says that Deneys complained about the Faber people tinkering with his work, but he was a first-time author and couldn't do much about it.'[114] Reitz's stinging comments appear in various parts of the 1903 text, for instance:

> From there we reached the little village of Hartebeesfontein, which we found entirely deserted and devastated. The prayer books and baptismal registers lay around fluttering in the streets and the church was sorely damaged. The floor and pews had been broken up for firewood and the windows all smashed to pieces, as well as the communion vessels being stolen — all the work of the civilized Brit.[115]

A further example of Reitz's stinging comments is reminiscent of the comments by Leipoldt about the destruction during the South African War, concerning the library in Clanwilliam in 1901, in the following extract:

> In the house of the parson, Dominee Winter, it looked, if possible, even more sickening and miserable. His fine library was all in the road, for the most part in the water channel, and all the furniture and household goods were smashed to bits … There was not a single house in the whole village but that it had been vandalized, and the entire place appeared as if a hoard of Atilla's Huns has passed through rather than that a civilized British military force had marched past.[116]

Reitz describes the destruction of a farmhouse that he himself witnessed burning down, as follows. Passing through the area of destruction, Reitz enquired from an elderly man

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[112]C Louis Leipoldt, *Bushveld Doctor*, pp. 81 – 82.
[113]*Ibid*., p. 493.
[114]Confirmed in a telephone conversation between me and Michael Reitz (grandson of Deneys Reitz) on 25 June 2009.
[115]Deneys Reitz, 'Herinnerengen', p. 575. This is from the unpublished 1903 manuscript. (Permission was obtained from Diana Madden of The Brenthurst Library, to reproduce this information and the further references). The translations are from the Dutch, by Michael Reitz.
[116]Deneys Reitz, 'Herinnerengen', pp. 576 – 577.

sitting near to the scene: 'Oomie, whose farm is this?' He replied laconically, 'It's my farm, my boy', and he stared phlegmatically at the cloud of smoke rising upwards.[117] Reitz describes the 'rich' Visser's farm in the neighbourhood of Jagersfontein village; everything according to Reitz lay in ruins: 'The handsome furniture lay outside in the farmyard, battered to pieces or burnt'.[118] Reitz expresses his sadness at the destruction, as he and his war companions alone on the farm felt 'upset and uneasy'.[119] He recalls how, before, he had been on the same farm in the 'happy old days, when we used to trek from Bloemfontein by ox wagon in order to catch the train at Colesburg [sic] for our annual excursion to the Cape'.[120]

At the same time Leipoldt criticizes the actions of the 'civilized' British, through the voices of certain of his characters. Chapter 32 of *Stormwrack* contains scenes in which the voices of these characters also lash out at the wanton destruction committed by the marauding Boer forces in certain areas where they entered the Cape Colony. These actions enhanced 'the high-pitched' emotional excitement (concerning martial law) that prevailed everywhere'.[121] The Boer forces here are the republicans who came through the Cape in the third front against the British, known as the guerrilla phase of the war, under Boer leaders such as Smuts and Hertzog. In this sense, *Stormwrack* takes an anti-northern view when it criticizes the irresponsible behaviour of the republicans. The following extract from *Stormwrack* supports Leipold's belief that the republican ideal for South Africa was not a true republican, democratic ideal but rather an 'ideal of government by a clique, by a bigoted, intolerant group, just as is actually the case in the Transvaal today' and that the Transvaal government (then) was 'retrogressive, corrupt and illiberal.'[122]

Not only is it argued that the anti-republican stance Leipoldt writes into *The Valley* is informed by the fact that the north-south-South African split emanates from those early actions of the Voortrekkers moving out of the civilized, Western cultural society at the time, but with the move north, there grew a strong Calvinist community entrenched in narrow-mindedness. There is a scene in *Stormwrack* that supports this view. The character of Pastor

[117]Deneys Reitz, 'Herinnerengen', p. 580.
[118]*Ibid*., p. 673.
[119]*Ibid*., p. 674.
[120]*Ibid*.
[121]*Ibid*., p. 432.
[122]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 297.

Uhlmann in *Stormwrack* modelled on Leipoldt's liberally-minded father was silenced by the elders of the (dour)[123] Calvinistic Dutch-Reformed Church for playing his violin, an instrument he was proficient in. The following excerpt is included unabridged as it is a poignant piece and describes this lack of tolerance from the elders.

> That one exception [where there was intolerance)] had saddened him [Pastor Uhlmann], even though he had subscribed to it. From his earliest youth he had been passionately fond of music and he had received a good musical training. In his Utrecht days he had devoted himself enthusiastically to the violin, and had pleaded with his father to be allowed to become a professional violinist. That could not be permitted in a missionary's son whose career had been mapped out from the day of his birth and whose life had been consecrated to mission service. But while he had given up the idea of earning a living with his fiddle, that instrument had been a solace and comfort to him for many years. He played it in Sumatra, and his playing had won him a mild reputation which he had brought with him to the Colony. After his induction as parson at the village he had played it often, in the quiet afternoons and the quieter evenings – Bach and Beethoven and Mozart, Hungarian, Russian, Polish and Italian compositions, improvisations of his own. The village had listened and admired, and the location – that appreciated anything that could be fiddled with any semblance of tune – had been in ecstasies. But the church council had called on him as a deputation and asked him, for the sake of his cloth and the edification of the congregation, to refrain from playing "fiddle music". No former parson had fiddled, and it was beneath the dignity of their parson to descend to such vulgarity. A less self-disciplined man would have laughed at them and argued with them; one with more knowledge of men would have played to them and mastered their prejudice by the wizardry of his art. Mr Uhlmann did none of these things. He gave them coffee and cake, and locked up his violin in his study cupboard which he never opened; although he had listened in silence and had given them no promise. But he never played the violin after the deputation had left. No one but he knew what the sacrifice had meant to him. There remained the piano in the drawing room and the small organ in the church, and these he could play without wounding the prejudiced susceptibilities of his church council. He acted as he thought it was his duty to act; "be ye conformed" was an injunction that had scriptural warrant.[124]

Certainly one of the *topoi* in *Stormwrack* that is supported by the virtue of tradition is this open-mindedness and sense of tolerance of others' cultural practices and views. Leipoldt's odium for forced religion especially Calvinism is seen from an earlier quotation, whereby he showed disdain for the 'relegie' (religion) when he refers to it as 'die prulvlag van Kalvinistiese verdoemnisloer.'[125] As a young boy growing up in a missionary home he was taught organized religion from a young age and found this to be abnormal, anti-social and a

[123]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 345.
[124]*Ibid.*, pp. 337 – 338.
[125]In a letter to Dr J du P Erlank (a.k.a. Eitemal) dated 18 January 1935, BC94 B14.174.1 (Jagger). (Translation: 'it's shoddy flag of Calvinist damnation lore.')

form of paganism.[126] He thus viewed religion as narrow-minded and recognized it (narrow-mindedness) existed in the clique of a bigoted, intolerant group of certain Transvalers (the north).[127] Furthermore, according to one of the characters in *The Mask* sympathetic to Leipoldt (Mabuis III) '…Dutch Reformed Calvinism …is inimical to culture.'[128] From the above one can deduce Leipoldt did not admire the position of Calvinism in South Africa.[129] In fact on 29 May in a letter to his friend Dr F V Engelenburg, Leipoldt wrote to say he was writing a novel of the period around 1850 for the *Huisgenoot*, but that one had to proceed cautiously, since one of the characters is a dominee (minister of religion) who would be seen by the current Ministers (of the Dutch reformed Church) as a heretic because he chooses to dance, dabble with cards and does not find it sinful to look at a naked body.[130]

This leads to another *topos* in the Leipoldt repertoire, namely that of aesthetics. This can be seen in *Stormwrack* in the way Andrew Quakerley had a disciplined appreciation of form and colour.[131] This is taken further to include the way he beheld the physical beauty of his grandson visiting from Australia. He sees Charlie as 'a slender, supple boy whose open shirt revealed the smooth white of a skin not yet bronzed by the semi-tropical sun, and the marked contrast between bone and flesh that is the hallmark of a lad just emerging from childhood.'[132] Looking at his grandson's artful body ('a beauty of contour, the round sweep of limb and cheek, the straight line of shoulder …'), leaves Quakerley with a sense of guilt because he had for a moment abandoned his loyalty to his garden, 'a suspicion of an alien pride which the plants he had carefully tended and loved so dearly might justifiably resent.'[133] The trade-off between the beauty in the garden and the beauty of the boy strengthens the point made that the viewing of the boy is not an act of physical sexuality as much as it is an attitude towards (exotic) beauty:

> As he drank his tea and listened, abstractedly, to the talk around him at the tea table, his eyes followed the boy playing with the terrier on the lawn. They made a pretty picture,

[126]C Louis Leipoldt writing to the Afrikaans poet 'Erlank', W J du P Erlank, in a letter dated 18 January 1935.
[127]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 297. (This view is expressed through one of the characters sympathetic to Leipoldt).
[128]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 553.
[129]See Robert Ross, Chapter Nine entitled 'The Rise of Afrikaner Calvinism', pp. 183 *et seq*., in *Beyond the Pale: Essays on the History of Colonial South Africa*, Witwatersrand University press, Johannesburg, 1993.
[130]C Louis Leipoldt, in a letter to Dr F V Engelenburg, dated 29 May, 1928. BC94 B10.14 (Jagger).
[131]*Ibid*., p. 223.
[132]C Louis Leipoldt, Chapter 15 in *Gallows Gecko*, *The Valley*, pp. 248-249.
[133]*Ibid*., p. 249.

> these two, and his aesthetic sense responded to the appeal of their lithe, clean beauty. Looking at them, he felt the satisfaction he had frequently experienced when admiring some lovely flower.[134]

A further *topos* that surfaces in *Stormwrack* and in fact is central to the novel is that of botany. The origin of this interest can be traced to Leipoldt's earliest years, under the influence of his maternal grandfather who according to the school of Herbart taught his grandchildren how to grow plants, in a way that it was interesting for them.[135] The school of Herbart requires explanation, for a fuller understanding of the context of Leipoldt's youth experiences processed in *The Valley*. The following excerpt explains Herbart's pedagogy and when reading it, one might bear in mind Leipoldt's grandfather applying theory to praxis, for the benefit of his own grandson's education:

> Herbart saw the teacher's essential task as identifying the existing interests of the student and relating them to the great store of human experience and culture in order to help the student become part of civilized life. He also held that the ultimate goal of education was the building of ethical character rather than the acquisition of knowledge.[136]

A specific aspect of Herbart's theory was the notion of 'apperceptive masses'[137] whereby new ideas enter the mind, through assimilation, or association with similar, present ideas. When grouped they become what Herbart termed 'apperceptive masses'[138] which end up as the human experience. Thus, when Esselen was demonstrating to his grandchildren how plants grow from seeds, it was 'proving' 'apperceptive masses' for/on their minds. Leipoldt recalled the amazement and delightful satisfaction with his first experiment when he was about three years old which was conducted with rye seeds by his grandfather.[139] After a few days of the seeds having been 'sown' between cotton wool and a polished marble slab, to his

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[134]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, pp. 250 – 251.
[135]C Louis Leipoldt, 'Jeugherinneringe', p. 2. This article appeared in *Die Huisgenoot* of 9 May 1947. BC94 A7.21 (Jagger).
[Translation: '… a great pedagogue, well-versed in the school of Herbart, (who) retained our interest by providing us with practical examples of everything we did.'] The reference is to Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776 – 1841) who was a German philosopher and psychologist and the founder of pedagogy as an academic discipline. Further information on Herbart and Herbartism can be found at http://www.nwlink.com /~donclark/hrd/history/herbart.html. In *The Valley* Leipoldt writes the name of Pastor Johann Von Bergmann with two 'n's in both his name and surname, possibly following the trend from Mann's *Buddenbrooks*. It is however not outside of the bounds of possibility to consider that it might be because of the way Leipoldt associates Von Bergmann with his grandfather, and with Johann Friedrich Herbart. Incidentally, Herbart studied directly under Fichte, to whom Leipoldt makes reference in *The Valley* (p. 38).
[136]http://faculty.mdc.edu/jmcnair/Joe29pages/herbart.htm.
[137]There is an excellent definition of this term in http://www.csudh.edu/dearhabermas/womdiff01.htm.
[138]http://faculty.mdc.edu/jmcnair/Joe29pages/herbart.htm.
[139]C Louis Leipoldt, 'Jeugherinneringe', p. 2. This article appeared in *Die Huisgenoot,* 9 May 1947. BC94 A7.21 (Jagger).

amazement and delight, Leipoldt witnessed the way the tiny leaves had appeared and the fact he could see the little roots under a magnifying glass clinging to the little stones, all demonstrated by his 'Oupa'.[140]

The way apperceptive masses are proved on the mind of a young person through experiment, is present in the *Stormwrack* text, and explains how the natural surroundings create an avid desire in the central character Andrew Quakerley to have his own garden. In a way this notion informs the novel and is a method in contradistinction to the narrow Calvinist method of single-mindedness in culture and education. For Andrew: 'the avatar of his youthful yearning to plant a garden, engrossed him almost to the exclusion of other interests.'[141] From an early age already, Andrew 'had made, in the rain-sodden soil of his father's farmyard, little gardens of delight, pansied with sorrel petals and the ultramarine blossoms of wild tulips.'[142] In Leipoldt's own life, at the age that 'apperceptive masses' were strong enough to influence him, Leipold met important botanists, namely Professor MacOwan, Rudolph Schlechter and Dr Bolus.[143]

We read in the text of how Leipoldt himself, through the character Quakerley, is reminiscing about his own youth and interest in botany when he met prominent botanists such as Professor McOwan, and the young German botanist Rudolph Schlechter, with whom he journeyed on a hundred mile[144] trek into the outskirts of Namaqualand. Plant pathology as a science in South Africa began formally in 1887 with the appointment of Peter MacOwan as the consultant in economic botany to the Cape Government. It was to Professor MacOwan that Leipoldt sent plant specimen, for his South African Botanical Exchange Society, which sent specimen abroad. Harry Bolus (1834 – 1911) was a botanist who greatly advanced botany in South Africa by establishing bursaries, founding the Bolus Herbarium and bequeathing his library and a large part of his fortune to the South African College (now the University of Cape Town). He was active in scientific circles and received several awards for his work in science and philanthropy. He was instrumental in founding the Botanical Society in 1913, which is part of the Cape liberal Union-Loyalist-based paragdigm referred to

[140]C Louis Leipoldt, 'Jeugherinneringe', p. 2. This article appeared in *Die Huisgenoot,* 9 May 1947. BC94 A7.21 (Jagger).
[141]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 241.
[142]*Ibid*., p. 222.
[143]C Louis Leipoldt, *Bushveld Doctor*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1937, p. 23.
[144]160 km.

earlier, which Leipoldt represents in his novels, and it was this very person who acted as a mentor for Leipoldt.

Later, when at boarding school in Cape Town, the natural phenomena on the slopes of Devil's Peak prove apperceptive masses for the mind of Andrew Quakerley. The desire for a garden intensifies when his teacher exposes him to plants and shows him the natural beauty, as we read from the following extract from *Stormwrack*:

> The headmaster's experiment proved an undoubted success. There was no attempt to teach formal botany, but the natural treasures of the mountain and Common proved apperceptive masses upon which the mind of the country lad seized with avidity.[145]

When Andrew finally has his garden it is so majestic that 'it gave to the Village its distinction' and the Village becomes well-known 'for the garden Andrew Quakerley had created'.[146] Later, himself a grandfather, Andrew finds himself trying to 'teach' his grandson Charlie Crest formal botany, not by making him learn the names of plants, but by taking him out into the veld — excursions such as these 'yielded a host of apperceptive masses'[147] much like it was for Leipoldt when his grandfather gave him his first lessons in growing seeds.

Leipoldt had spent the first four years of his life under the careful guidance and influence of his grandfather at the Rhenish mission house in Worcester, Cape Colony.[148] In 1884 the Leipoldts as a family moved from Worcester to Clanwilliam where Leipoldt's father C F Leipoldt took up a position as a minister in the Dutch Reformed Church. This move was made because there was no full-time post for him at the mission station in Worcester and consequently he was forced to leave the Rhenish Missionary Society (the Lutheran faith) to take up a post as minister of the Dutch Reformed Church in Clanwilliam (Calvinist). From there it was to be a new experience for his children, including his third surviving child, Louis (then known as Christie) who would enjoy the immense exposure to the natural floral beauty of Clanwilliam and the Cederberg, much like his character the young Andrew Quakerley in the novel, is exposed to the floral kingdom on the slopes of Devil's Peak as a boy.

[145]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 225.
[146]*Ibid*., p. 243.
[147]*Ibid*., p. 275.
[148]Today this region is known as the Western Cape.

Leipoldt describes Andrew's garden much along the lines of Herbartian ethics, viz. that the building of it was an ennobling experience, coupled with the fact it should hold practical value and a desire to work:

> He threw himself with avidity into the work of planning, perfecting and ennobling the magnificent creation which he had in mind. Long ago he had laid, in imagination, the foundations of it, sketched in outline the salient features, filled in the details and studied the combinations upon which he had decided. The comparatively small space in which he had to work prevented the conception of anything on a grandiose scale, but that did not disturb him for he did not wish to emulate, in quantity or extent, the horticultural achievements of Buitenzorg or the Company's garden at Cape Town. He wanted quality, a choice, delightfully patterned series of plots in which practical utility should neighbour aesthetically satisfying arrangement, a collector's garden more than a nurseryman's, a dilettante's more than a professional's.[149]

For the construction of the garden motif in *Stormwrack*, Leipoldt must have had in mind the garden in Clanwilliam at the time, of Mr Charles Montague Fryer.[150] He described Fryer's garden as something along the lines of a botanical garden as far as variety, species and thorough cultivation, was concerned.[151] A full description of Quakerley's garden with botanical terms is the topic of Chapter 3 of *Stormwrack*.[152] Before publishing *The Valley*, Trevor Emslie the co-editor, contacted Barbara Knox-Short, a *cognoscente* on botany and botanical terms to proof-read the TS to verify the correctness of botanical terms in Leipoldt's book. I recalled this and so wrote to Professor Emslie to verify this point and his reply to me is that this is correct, saying that: 'the botanical names change from time to time, so Leipoldt's notations were just out of date, not wrong.'[153]

A further point about the garden motif although it can only be speculation at this stage relates to the visit by Leipoldt to Bogor (then Buitenzorg), 60km south of Djakarta, in 1912.[154] Here

[149]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 241.
[150]The body of Charles Montague Fryer is buried in the cemetery of the Parish of St John's Anglican Church in Clanwilliam. According to the 'Scheme' in his jottings, Leipoldt drew his character Andrew Quakerley from Mr Charles Montague-Fryer, a leading resident of Clanwilliam; as well as from 'type Knobel's father', who was a German nobleman, and one of Leipoldt's forebears on his mother's side. BC94 A5.6 (Jagger). When I researched the genealogical table of Montague Fryer on http://ancestry24.com/search-item/?id=2149453053&item_id=2., I found that he was married to Alice, which is the name Leipoldt gave to Andrew's wife in the novel; I also found that the name of Van Tongerloo's wife, a resident of Clanwilliam in the late nineteenth century (Vantloo?), was Maria, the name Leipoldt gave the wife of Elias Vantloo in *The Mask*. From this we can see that Leipoldt probably had real persons in mind when constructing his fiction.
[151]C Louis Leipoldt, 'Clanwilliam: Herinneringe aan 'n Ou Dorpie', *Die Huisegenoot*, 5 November 1926, BC94 A8.12 (Jagger).
[152]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, pp. 238 – 243.
[153]An e-mail from Trevor Emslie to Paul Murray, dated Monday 2011/09/12 11:34 a.m.
[154]The unpublished manuscript by C Louis Leipoldt, entitled "Visit to the East Indies", BC94 A7.16 (Jagger), is probably based on his jottings from his notebook which is BC94 A5.9 (Jagger); these jottings include very

he learnt of a skirmish between the English under Thomas Raffles and the Dutch army under J W Janssens and one can only wonder if the descriptions in *Stormwrack* of the skirmish between the Boers and the British in Andrew Quakerley's garden could not possibly have any bearing on his recollections of his visit to the East. According to literary historian Peter Merrington, the garden's eventual destruction, which is *Stormwrack*'s conclusion, is 'an allegory for the destruction of a long-held delicately balanced Cape belief in the value of tradition and the value of mutual understanding between English and Dutch.'[155] Merrington sees *The Valley* as having 'an inherent nostalgia for a perceived gracious past, which is in sharp contrast with the emerging destructive sectarian tendencies in Leipoldt's own society.'[156] Andrew Quakerley is shattered to see his work of beauty destroyed overnight, as we read in the following extract from *Stormwrack*:

> Now there was fighting going on in his garden … men were dragging the gun carriages across the paths; the wheels would make deep ruts in the gravel, but that was nothing – that could be repaired. But the guns would do much more damage, and so would the horses … what a mess … what a mess![157]

It can be argued that Leipoldt constructed the garden motif/metaphor in *Stormwrack* from his youth experiences. Surrounded by the floral kingdom of Clanwilliam and the Cederberg was fertile ground for Leipoldt's avid interest in botany. The way his grandfather exposed him to the growing of little seeds and how they came to fruition, proved 'apperceptive masses' on the young mind of Leipoldt, just as they were proved on the mind of the character Andrew Quakerley in *Stormwrack*. The youth experiences of C Louis Leipoldt therefore have been directly processed in his writing of 1929 – 1932, as seen in *The Valley* trilogy.

It has been suggested elsewhere that the garden motif relates to a liberal Cape tradition. For more detail about gardens at the Cape one can go to *The Gardens of Good Hope* by Marion Cran, with illustrations.[158] There are other texts that concentrate on the role of the importance of gardens at the Cape such as *The Pilgrim's Way in South Africa*.[159] In addition

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precise details of the gardens of Buitenzorg, such as the names of plant species that grew there; the dimensions of the gardens, and details of the scientist-gardeners who designed them. Chapter 3 in *Stormwrack* refers to the grand scale of the garden at Buitenzorg (*The Valley*, p. 241), of which the dimension is, for practical reasons, just too big for Andrew to emulate.

[155]Peter Merrington, 'C Louis Leipoldt's 'Valley Trilogy' and Contested South African Nationalisms in the Early Twentieth Century', *Current Writing*, Text and Reception in Southern Africa', 15(2), October 2003, p. 39.

[156]*Ibid.*, p. 43.

[157]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 475.

[158]M Cran, *The Gardens of Good Hope,* Herbert Jenkins Ltd, London, 1926.

[159]Dorothea Fairbridge, The Pilgrim's Way in South Africa', Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, London, 1928.

to the Cape's beautiful gardens is its unique Cape-Dutch architecture. For the classic text relating to this topic Dorothea Fairbridge's *Historic Houses of South Africa* is important.[160] In addition are her articles in the loyal-unionist magazine *The State,* on architecture.[161] The work done by Fairbridge to promote Cape vernacular architecture sprung from the Oxford-educated members of Sir Alfred Milner's 'kindergarten' espousing a neo-Hegelian idealist and organic view of society 'interpreting South African union as an algorithm for imperial or commonwealth union on a greater scale.'[162] Whilst the idea of Union and reconciliation was a move driven by Generals Botha and Smuts, the loyal unionist vision was more the idea of those feeling the need to forge a strong affiliation with England and take on a British imperial world-view.[163] For this point see the account of the closer union movement and the publication *The State*, and the endeavours of Curtis and others in unification, but also according to historians Thompson and Hancock, — that unification was achieved because of the way English- and Afrikaans-speaking 'factions saw in unification advantages to their group, whose interests they identified with all South Africans.'[164]

The change in government in Britain in 1906, however, meant that a more republican shift could take place in South Africa hence the move in the *Het Volk* Party to be able to manoevre away from the jingoistic loyal unionists as in Lord Milner, Lord Selbourne and Lionel Curtis.[165] Yet the initiatives begun around 1905 to propagate a union-loyalist-based culture still continued despite the pursuit of Botha and Smut's policies for a reconciled union of South Africa. These initiatives continued into the 1920 and part of them was the work done by Dorothea Fairbridge and her friends for instance in the South African National Society for the preservation of Items of Historic Interest and National Beauty established in 1905.

The National Society saw the need for a body similar to the Historical Monuments Board in Britain and in 1923 the Natural and Historical Monuments Act was passed which sought to preserve historic buildings, a process overseen by the Historical Monuments Commission

[160]Dorothea Fairbridge, *Historic Houses of South Africa*, with a preface by General J C Smuts, Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, London, 1922.
[161]Dorothea Fairbridge, 'Old South African Homesteads XI – Old Stellenbosch Houses', *The State*, Volume VIII No 5, November 1912, pp. 389 *et seq.*
[162]Peter Merrington, 'Carrying the Torch: Dorothea Fairbridge and the Cape Loyalist Imagination'.
[163]*Ibid*.
[164]Walter Nimcocks, *Milner's Young Men – The "kindergarten" in Edwardian Imperial Affairs*, by Walter Nimcocks, Hodder & Stoughton, Duke University Press, London, 1968, p. 122.
[165]For an account of the closer union movement and the publication The State, and the work done by Curtis see Chapter 7 of *Milner's Young Men – The "kindergarten" in Edwardian Imperial Affairs*, by Walter Nimcocks, Hodder & Stoughton, Duke University Press, London, 1968, pp. 108 *et seq*.

which became the National Monuments Council in 1969, subsequently the Heritage Commission. The areas of preservation included land having distinctive or beautiful scenery, beautiful or interesting content of flora or fauna, and objects (whether natural or constructed by human agency) of aesthetic, historical or scientific value, or interest, and also specifically to include waterfalls, caves, Bushmen paintings, avenues of trees, old trees and old buildings.[166]

The Valley contains a great deal of what Merrington refers to as the tropology (that is in) the idea of :

> husbandry, and in particular of an extensive and well-tended garden, which becomes the leading motif in *Stormwrack*. (The garden, botany, and horticulture, were common motifs among the Cape elite in the late nineteenth amd early twentieth centuries, becoming in fact a complex means of regional and class identification, and a focus of what was understood as an emergent liberal idea of South Africa).[167]

Leipoldt had a close association with Dr Bolus, his mentor, who in turn was a close friend of Dorothea Fairbridge, and she together with her friends in 1913 began the South African Botanical Society at Kirstenbosch on land which was bequeathed by Cecil John Rhodes for the development of a garden by the South African government on condition that an appropriate organization from civil society was formed to assist with the venture. Some of these aspects of aesthetical society are elevated in *The Valley* by Leipoldt together with topics such as race relations and the language question and so argue for a more inclusive South African identity. As we read in *Stormwrack* its hero refelects an attitude of 'tolerance and nineteenth-century laisser-faire liberalism, focussed in the person of the old gentleman farmer Andrew Quakerley'[168] and this together with references to the *topoi* already mentioned, feature as symbols for a Western tradition, highly valued by writers such as C Louis Leipoldt in *The Valley*.

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[166]'Myths Monuments Museums – New Premises?' A Paper delivered by Andrew Hall & Ashley Lillie of the National Monuments Council, on 6-18 July 1992 at the University of the Witwatersrand, as part of a History Workshop, for a Policy for providing protection for the cultural and environmental heritage.
[167]Peter Merrington, 'C Louis Leipoldt's 'Valley Trilogy' and Contested South African Nationalisms in the Early twentieth Century', *Current Writing*, 2003, 15(2), p. 47.
[168]Peter Merrington, 'Carrying the Torch: Dorothea Fairbridge and the cape Loyalist Imagination. '

5.6 – *THE MASK*[169]

The third of the novels, *The Mask*, is a re-working of *Afgode*, a play in four acts. *Afgode* first appeared in serialized form in *Die Huisgenoot* from 16 March to 6 April 1928 and thereafter was published in book form in 1931. The story therefore preceded the other novels. Yet, ironically it became the final of the three novels that made up the trilogy. Leipoldt re-worked *Afgode* into *The Mask* from 10 May to 29 May 1930 and it was completed by the beginning of June 1930. *The Mask* follows contemporary South African history of the period (*circa* 1929) and there are characters in it whose ancestors we know from the previous novels. As M P O Burgers states however, Leipoldt has not really succeeded in retaining his proposed theme of describing the 'omwentelinge' (coming full circled/rounding off the chronicle) of two specific families.[170] *The Mask* is a sequel to *Stormwrack* in that once the cordial relations of the two elements have been ruptured, the future prospect of a broader South African nationalism, was to become less likely. Therefore the notion of tradition, of being rooted in solid Western cultural philosophy of respect and tolerance begins to fade away, as the new Nationalists come onto the scene, represented in the novel in the character of Santa.

The Mask was never published during Leipoldt's lifetime, appearing for the first time, as part of the trilogy in 2001, and thereafter separately in a single volume published by Cederberg publishers in 2006. Stephen Gray explains that the book is really about the 1930s and not the preceding century.[171] To this, Gray adds: 'to decode history in fiction with an accuracy, the reader must of necessity read backwards in time, following a model which is not incremental and accumulative, but reductive and anti-developmental.'[172]

Leipoldt gives an outline of his book as follows: the Valley and the Village are shown in their 'modern guise'[173] and the chief resident is the prosperous town's attorney who has allied himself to one of the leading families of the district. He is admired as the epitome of honesty and is the Grand Master of the Good Templars Lodge. But eventually his

[169]There are two versions; BC94 A7.14 (Jagger), the earlier version, Chapters I – XXVII, and BC94 A7.15 (Jagger), a later version, Chapters I – XVIII.
[170]M P O Burgers, *C. L. Leipoldt, 'n Studie in Stof-keuse, -verwerking en -ontwikkeling*, p. 131.
[171]Stephen Gray, 'Leipoldt's Valley Community: The Novelist as Archivist', *Social Dynamics*, 10(1), 1984, p. 51.
[172]*Ibid*.
[173]BC94 A7.7 (Jagger).

daughter, the newly qualified medical doctor, Santa, comes to realize her father is a drunkard and that one of her patients is the illegitimate child of the family household nurse, and her father. She is in love with Eric, a partner in her father's law firm and he has known about Elias's shenanigans. They hide the fact from Elias's wife/Santa's mother Maria but she has known all along. Despite this, she stands by her man and shows unconditional love towards him. Santa, anti-English and fanatically Republican in outlook, is challenged by a former citizen now living in Argentina (providing an outsider's view, and possibly the views of the 'objective' Leipoldt) and the two debate topics and issues such as language, nationality and race. Leipoldt ends the Synopsis of his book, with the following words:

> The book throws light upon the present political conditions in South Africa, and explains much that is puzzling in the relations between the races, and at the same time it serves as a pendant to its two predecessors, rounding off the chronicle of the Valley by relating the fortunes of the various characters that have played a part in the history and development of the district.[174]

The similarities between the *The Mask* and *Afgode* are strong and according to M P O Burgers the events for *The Mask* take place approximately thirty years later (than the events in *Stormwrack*) and mainly correspond or coincide with the events of *Afgode*.[175] One of the central themes in *The Mask* is hypocrisy — the newly qualified female medical doctor Santa exposes her father whom she once idolized, for having done three terrible things: that he fathered an illegitimate coloured child from a liaison with the coloured house nurse; that he surreptitiously consumes alcohol even though he professes good templary; and that he has embezzled the money kept in trust for her — Santa calls for an end to the 'make-believe and hypocrisy in which we have been living all these years.'[176] But the theme of hypocrisy in Leipoldt's eyes extends beyond just this sort of hypocrisy. He feels strongly that people unwisely make political idols out of those they hold up or idolize in society, as well as those who are hypocrites because as 'fence-sitters' they are 'dignified' hypocrites.[177] This odium that Leipoldt had for hypocrites is reflected in his views in *Bushveld Doctor*.[178]

It was Leipoldt's intention with *The Mask* to engage in polemical discussions on important topics in South Africa's political, social, economic and cultural history at the time. A foil to

[174]BC94 A7.7 (Jagger).
[175]M P O Burgers, *C. L. Leipoldt, 'n Studie in Stof-keuse, -verwerking en -ontwikkeling*, p. 138.
[176]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Mask*, Cederberg Publishers, Cape Town, 2006, p. 256.
[177]For the reference to the hypocricy of politicians see C Louis Leipoldt, *The Mask*, p. 142.
[178]C Louis Leipoldt, *Bushveld Doctor*, p. 80.

the politician-hypocrites is the character Jeremiah Gerster, a member of one of the two original aristocratic Dutch families that inhabited the Valley, who is portrayed as much wiser in the author's eyes but not necessary 'slim' (clever, cunning); his breeding however would never lead to hypocrisy. This reference to 'slim' (clever) could possibly be directed satirically at someone such as General Smuts (his nickname was 'Slim Jannie') whom Leipoldt (until *circa* the 1940s) did not seem to have much time for, and even thought suffered from much the same disease as his own mother, which Leipoldt termed *paranoia diabetica.*[179] Other important themes in *The Mask* are the hotly contested flag and language debates of the era.[180] Then there is the voice of the anti-Trekker Leipoldt through his moderate character, the wise Dr Buren, in a discussion with the fiery young nationalist Santa, who criticizes any section or group for thinking they can have a sort of monopoly over patriotism.[181]

Another theme in *The Mask* is the degeneration of families and values, and the loss of tradition (tradition and values are necessary to forge a strong nation). But now the respect for tradition gradually becomes lost as the new societies degrade.[182] The following passage indicates how those who trekked north did not understand the tradition that was considered important for society, this tradition having value and virtue and based on respect, tolerance, and appreciation:

> 'Even if it isn't, you need not swear at it,' remarked his wife placidly. 'But he is right, my dear. I said so when I heard that we had given in all along the line to the north. There they view these things differently. They have no tradition; they have no real sense of obligation, for they have no background.'[183]...

A topic employed in the Leipoldt text to sustain the argument of the virtues of being rooted in local tradition is the use of language. In the previous chapters reference was made to the way Gustav Preller employed the argument that Afrikaans was important to construct a national character. *The Mask* debates the topic of language for its political advantage rather than its cultural and aesthetic qualities. Whilst politicians need to adopt language for its political utility, Leipoldt as a cultural pluralist, sees the importance of maintaining high levels of culture such as the continuation of Dutch and a strong literature: 'Formerly we expressed it in

[179]BC94 E2.5 (Jagger).
[180]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Mask*, pp. 110 – 111.
[181]*Ibid.,* p. 113.
[182]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Mask*, Cederberg Publishers, pp. 132 & 136.
[183]*Ibid.*, p. 646.

good Dutch and some of the Afrikaans we now use was reckoned fit only for the kitchen.'[184] A discussion between Santa and Mabuis III in *The Mask* centres on the topic of language, a subject covered by Leipoldt in *The Cambridge History.*[185] The point is voiced through one of his charatcters that language can be inimical to culture — how like Dutch Reformed Calvinism, Serbian Orthodoxy is inimical to culture.[186] It is probably Leipoldt's privileged voice we hear through his character Mabuis III, saying the following:

> "I happen to know a little Serbian," said Mr Mabuis imperturbably. "I was with the Serbian forces in the second Balkan War, and I have read a good deal of their literature. And I fancy I am well up in Afrikaans, well enough to compare its literary results with those of contemporary writers in other languages."[187]

As the exclusive, social, economic and political policies of the 1920s, of the National Party in the form of 'civilized' labour and the introduction of a colour bar in the work place emerged, and sexual segregation as in the Immorality Act of 1927 and political segregation (the Native Representation Act of 1927) began to enter the stratification of South African society, Leipoldt became increasingly alarmed, a condition which is expressed through the voice of the character Mabuis III. The reader reading the ensuing passage can get a feeling of the way Leipoldt might even be directing his voice at someone such as Gustav Preller who is more or less guilty of what Leipoldt is saying about that specific kind of Afrikaans writer:

> "Take the native problem, for example. What South African, whether English or Dutch, can take an unprejudiced view of it, unless – like me – he has been expatriated and has learned that colour and race by themselves do not really matter in the long run? Yet you Nationalists take it for granted that every English-speaking South African holds the old Exeter Hall view of the native and every Afrikaans-speaking one the South African view. And this while you know that Natal, which is predominantly English-speaking, is the most anti-negrophilistic province of the Union. That seems scarcely logical to me."
>
> "And consider," he went on earnestly, "what you produce by constantly asserting your rights as you call them. You imply that these rights still need defence whereas they are enshrined in your Act of Union, and by propagandising for them you merely create the impression that they are still non-existent or at least in jeopardy. That is the way a child looks at things. He imagines all too lightly that someone is trying to rob him of his rights, and as you know that creates a peculiar attitude towards his environment which psychologists declare is a defensive complex, which gives rise to all sorts of reactions."
>
> "You would have us tamely submit to see those rights whittled away, then?"
>
> "By no means. I have not made myself clear, I am afraid, if that is your impression. Let us take a concrete case – the language. Its equality with English is admitted by statute, isn't it? Very well then, why not take that equality for granted and allow

[184] C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p.644.
[185] *The Cambridge History of the British Empire VIII*, Chapter XXXII, 'Cultural Development', pp. 857 – 862.
[186] C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 553.
[187] *Ibid.*, p. 554.

everyone to make his own choice as to the language he prefers to use? Why propagandise for the one while the other remains content with what it has and by its very inertness, by its abstention from aggressive action, appears – I say appears – to justify its superiority? You started that way, but very soon your politicians saw what could be made of the language as a party-political weapon, with the result that already Afrikaans has reaped some of the discredit which inevitably attaches to a political subject. Instead of writing, as your pioneers did, purely literary books, you are producing propaganda literature and you are using your schools, universities and cultural centres for the dissemination of propaganda, not culture."

"You say that because you refuse to admit that sentiment plays a large part in creating national feeling. I suppose it is propaganda to refer to the war and the concentration camps."

"If you do it for the purpose of creating ill-feeling against the English – as some of your writers do – yes, I do call it that. Your Afrikaans works, written when the writers were under the influence of the war, deal with these matters in a passionate but perfectly legitimate manner to which no sensible man can possibly object. But do your moderns do that? Do they cull from their own experience and treat these lamentable subjects as objectively as their predecessors did? You know they don't. They go largely on hearsay evidence and they do not stress the wrong *qua* wrong but as something peculiarly and especially done by England against South Africa, or rather against Afrikaans-speaking South Africa. Which, as you again know, is not a fact. There were many of us who, much as they disliked the war, disliked the Transvaal Administration still more. But you slur over these facts. You intend the younger generation which knows nothing first-hand about these matters to grow up with the feeling that these wrongs were deliberately, consciously and purposely done by England, and in that way you foster the spirit of ill-feeling and antagonism which was gradually dying down at the time of Union."[188]

M P O Burgers, argues that as far as it is possible, a comprehensive study of any writer can only be effectively undertaken when the whole oeuvre is considered, for understanding his/her life and his/her intellectual development.[189] From this explanation it might be justified to include some discussion on Leipoldt's sexual orientation which is seen in Leipoldt's (1) aversion towards women, as a subject of sexual attraction (2) friendships with men (3) an attraction towards boys (4) and the caring for boys he took into his home.[190] A further point made by Burgers is that whilst Leipoldt idealised marriage in his work, where the two partners must show a deep sense of unity for and faithful duty towards each other, Leipoldt could never try to realise this ideal himself.[191] In the light of this, Burgers describes elements of a psychical homosexual orientation in Leipoldt.[192] Burgers nevertheless acknowledges that at the time he was writing, the terrain of literary psychology was new in

[188]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, pp.559 – 560.
[189]M P O Burgers, 'Voorwoord' to 'C. L. Leipoldt, 'n Studie in Stof-keuse, -verwerking en -ontwikkeling'.
[190]M P O Burgers, 'C. L. Leipoldt, 'n Studie in Stof-keuse, -verwerking en -ontwikkeling', p. 302.
[191]*Ibid.,* p. 301.
[192]*Ibid.*, pp. 301 – 302.

Afrikaans and that differences of opinion on it exist.[193] But Burgers does not shy away from discussing elements of a homosexual orientation in certain of Leipoldt's fictional prose, for instance in the case of the character Jan Slink's behaviour towards his son.[194] Burgers suggests that Leipoldt behaved towards the boys that he took into his home and cared for, in much the same way[195] — sublimating his homosexual orientation. Kannemeyer however cautions that Burgers's extensive psychological-critical (psigologies-kritiese) study is based on too many assumptions, although he strongly acknowledges the newly available, heretofore unknown detail on Leipoldt.[196] Thus, one should proceed with caution with Burgers on this topic, although this does not mean one cannot take note of what he has to say. But to omit reference to Leipoldt's Buddhist sense of unconditional love is to omit an important side to his world-view.

Unconditional forgiveness is a characteristic Leipoldt got from his interest in Buddhism, which the editors in the 'Introduction' to *The Mask*, comment on as follows:

> If it can be said, as we suggest it can, that the endurance and triumph of this kind of love is the ultimate theme of *The Mask*, then the deeply personal nature of this novel is clear — in the light of Leipoldt's own beliefs and the way in which, throughout his life, he gave to others expecting nothing in return.[197]

It is argued that Leipoldt's affinity with the East may also throw light on his attitude and relationships with women and it may even explain the puzzling role and position of Maria in *The Mask*. That Leipoldt embraced Buddhism, and the role of Maria as the all-forgiving wife in *The Mask*, who stood by her husband no matter what, is corroborated by M P O Burgers through the way Leipoldt believes in unconditional love that expects nothing in return, derived from Eastern influences but also from Christian ethics.[198] Kannemeyer's view is that the unconditional love shown by Maria for her undeserving husband is contextualized in terms of Leipoldt writing under the influence of the Victorian period and era. He explains Leipoldt's Buddhist tendencies to discuss the question of Leipoldt's sentiment about unconditional love; of giving without expecting anything in return. In the sense of demonstrating Buddhist tendencies, Kannemeyer claims Leipoldt

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[193]M P O Burgers, 'C. L. Leipoldt, 'n Studie in Stof-keuse, -verwerking en -ontwikkeling', p. 1.
[194]*Ibid.*, p. 184.
[195]*Ibid*.
[196]J C Kannemeyer. 'Voorwoord', *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, Tafelberg, Cape Town, 1999.
[197]The editors in the 'Introduction' to C Louis Leipoldt's *The Mask*, Cederberg Publishers, Kenilworth, Cape Town, 2006, p. xx.
[198]M P O Burgers, *C. L. Leipoldt, 'n Studie in Stof-keuse, -verwerking en -ontwikkeling*, p. 183.

rises above all sexual instinct, and all urges he might have in this sense are perfectly sublimated in 'perfect love that lives for evermore'.[199]

Burgers links the view he has of Leipoldt's unconditional love to an Eastern influence, and with the apostle Paul in the first letter to the congregation and community in Corinth.[200] The following extract from Professor Louise Viljoen of the University of Stellenbosch, outlining the qualities Leipoldt might have acquired from an Eastern influence, can further explain Leipoldt's emotions and feelings about great and selfless love:

> A similar point might be made about Leipoldt's enthusiastic depiction of the Orient in terms of qualities like mystery, impenetrability, indefinability, emotion and femininity; even though it is a positive evaluation, it implies that the Orient cannot be seen in terms of qualities highly valued in the West like rationality, lucidity and masculine strength.[201]

The Eastern influence on Leipoldt, as far as marriage is concerned, is expressed by him addressing his adopted son, Jeff, as follows:

> Sexual attraction which in adolescence is the mainspring of love, can never itself justify marriage, or that lasting companionship that, even without the formal marriage tie, may satisfy a man and a woman. There must be something more than mere lust, which, after all, anyone with common sense and the precautions that modern conventions demand can occasionally satisfy without binding either party to something that is irrevocably fixed by contractual obligations …. Between man and woman, the gratification of sexual lust is of course that implied selfishness which is, equally of course, a perfectly natural result of man's desire to procreate. But obviously the far higher friendship is the companionship that asks no gratification, the Buddhist's "love without desire" that should be the ideal.[202]

In conclusion, the lack of local, deep tradition informs the trilogy in its full thrust and once this great virtuous quality becomes eroded, so the once strong cultural bonds break: (the following is a discussion between husband and wife, Gertrude and Jerry):

> 'Now she's off on her hobby horse,' murmured Jerry, filling his pipe. 'It's not a hobby,' his wife said sharply. 'It's common sense and you know it as well as I do. The pity is that so few nowadays, or formerly for that matter, had any tradition to fall back

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[199]J C Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, p. 617.
[200]M P O Burgers, *C. L. Leipoldt, 'n Studie in Stof-keuse, -verwerking en -ontwikkeling*, p. 181.
[201]Louise Viljoen, *Leipoldt and the Orient: a Reading of C.L. Leipoldt's Travel Writing in the Context of Orientalist Discourse*, University of Stellenbosch, p. 6.
See also Edward W Said *Representations of the Intellectual – The 1993 Reith Lectures*, Vintage, London, 1994. In this book Said helps people to understand our aspirations as moral agents and not servants of power (Noam Chomsky, of Said's book).
See also Ryszard Kapuściński, *The Other*, Verso, London & New York, 2008. Kapuściński exhorts humanity to accept and acknowledge 'otherness'. (*Financial Times*, about Kapuściński's book).
[202]BC94 B4.1 – B4.207 (Jagger).

> on. There were some who came from fine stock, but you could count those on your fingers. There were others who had education and culture behind them, and knew what was due to them and theirs. That kept them from making fools of themselves as so many of the others did. But we are wandering away from your question, niece. I suppose what you wish to know is whether Jerry and I would approve of putting the black folk on an equality with us.'[203]

By writing *The Mask*, Leipoldt emphasized the social changes that followed the South African War. The newly formed National Party in 1914, formed partly in reaction to the union loyalist paradigm, is represented in the novel by Santa and her father. Her father Elias Vantloo who made good out of the war now represents the National Party as a Member of Parliament, whilst Santa herself embraces the nationalistic spirit. Santa represents the new movement of racial purity, a policy of which the initial stages were implemented by law under Hertzog in the native Bills in 1926. The entire set of *topoi* that Leipoldt employed, centering on the virtues of tradition in his fiction, to explain its values, is to counter Preller's *volksgeskiedenis*, and as he advanced in years, the idea of a *Volkstum*, realized under the Nationalists several years after he died (1943) when they came to power in full force in 1948. *The Valley* by C Louis Leipoldt is an oppositional novel to the calamity, but to see this it must be read in its full force to understand the logic by which it is informed.

[203]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 646.

CHAPTER 6

RESPONSES TO *THE VALLEY* & WHY IT WAS REJECTED BY PUBLISHERS AT THE THE TIME — CONCLUDING REMARKS.

> Perhaps what I am saying is not true but may it be prophetic.
> – Jorge Luis Borges.

There have been several reader-responses to *The Valley*, and these are discussed in this chapter. By examining these one gets an idea of the how Leipoldt is valued and the importance of *The Valley* as an oppositional/alternative history as well as how his fiction might serve as an alternative form of history to the standard histories covering that period (alternative forms of history). Of importance too is the question why *The Valley* was not published during the lifetime of C Louis Leipoldt. This is followed by a review of this thesis chapter by chapter. Finally one wonders how much *The Valley* is the prophetic voice of Leipoldt sounding a wake-up call for what is to come, for South Africa.

6.1 – J C KANNEMEYER, BIOGRAPHER OF LOUIS LEIPOLDT

J C Kannemeyer, one of 'the most erudite, authoritative, influential and productive littérateurs in the history of Afrikaans'[1] and recipient of the Recht Malan Prize and Helgaard Steyn Prize for his biography *Leipoldt: 'n Lewensverhaal* in 2000, provides a comprehensive discussion of the separate books making up *The Valley* and some discussion on *The Valley* itself.[2] He raised several issues concerning *The Valley*, newly published at the time, in *Die Burger* of 17 December 2001[3] and explained the reasons for the repeated rejection by publishers of the three novels. For instance, certain of the British publishing houses described the text as drawn-out and bulky, not to mention that 'die lewensverhale van sommige karakters die maatskaplike dokumentering in so 'n mate oorstem dat dit 'n fatale dualiteit in die trilogie bring.'[4] Furthermore, the manuscripts were untidy and slapdash and

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[1]The information in the following site was provided by John Kannemeyer, April 2002 http://www.stellenboschwriters.com/kannemey.html.
[2]J C Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, pp. 538 – 550.
[3]J C Kannemeyer, 'Lywige Roman-trilogie Dra Swaar aan Mankemente', *Die Burger,* 17 December 2001.
[4]J C Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, p. 548. (Translation: 'that the life stories of certain of the characters overshadow the social documentation to such an extent that it results in a fatal duality in the trilogy.') Kannemeyer quotes Stephen Gray stating that Leipoldt is acting 'as argivis en skriba [wat] die geskiedenis van die gemeenskap van die vallei dokumenteer' and then follows with his own opinion that 'selfs al moet 'n mens

required the hand of Stephen Gray to prepare them for public consumption.[5] Kannemeyer attacks the editors of *The Valley* for their views that they think it is a worthy work of art.[6] For Kannemeyer *The Valley* is a disappointing experience.[7] The article finishes with a suggestion that *The Valley* can mostly be of use to those readers wishing to compare Gray's edited version with the original and in the process, he askes if there are any readers who would actually take the time to read a book like this with its unnecessary, drawn-out digressions and endless tediousness.[8]

Like Kannemeyer, M P O Burgers criticizes some of Leipoldt's novels as lacking in plot and structure although conceding that he does bring across a strong sense of the human element in his work.[9] This supplants the higher artistic element in Leipoldt's writing, which Burgers explains as follows: 'Ons moet toegee dat Leipoldt soms meer mens as skepper was. Die mens in hom het dikwels die kunstenaar verdring.'[10] Burgers suggests that this might well be why Leipoldt could not always take universal images and give form to them in his works and why character formation is so incomplete in these works.[11] The remarks from Kannemeyer and Burgers in a way strike a chord with P C Schoonees, editor of the *Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal*, who remarked that Leipoldt, the well-versed journalist could find unending enjoyment in *Galgsalmander* and that he preferred to cover numerous topics on which he could digress at length without being overly concerned about his central characters.[12]

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byvoeg dat die lewensverhale van sommige karakters (soos Everardus Nolte in *Gallows Gecko* en die prokureur in *The Mask)* die maatskaplike dokumentering oorstem en 'n fatale dualiteit in die trilogie bring.' J C Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, p. 548.

[5]The reference is to Gray's 1980 hard back edition of *Stormwrack;* and the two paperback editions, one of *Gallows Gecko,* under the name *Chameleon on the Gallows* (Human & Rousseau, Cape Town, 2000) and *Stormwrack* (Human & Rousseau, Cape Town, 2000). *The Mask* was not published until 2006.

[6]J C Kannemeyer, 'Lywige Roman-trilogie Dra Swaar aan Mankemente', *Die Burger,* 17 December 2001. (Translation: 'From the way they refer to Manzoni and Mahler we must deduce that the editors value *The Valley* highly as a work of art and view Stephen Gray's strongly edited version as an unpermitted encroachment on an untouchable work of art.')

[7]J C Kannemeyer, 'Lywige Roman-trilogie Dra Swaar aan Mankemente' *Die Burger*, 17 December 2001. (Translation: 'Getting to know *The Valley* in its entirety is however a disappointing experience, because what we have here is a writer that knows no limits and just throws something of everything into his novels, to such an extent that the unity is irretrievably lost. One can have divergent views on aspects of Gray's work but he deserves the credit that he has made Leipoldt's unreadable and untidy novels accessible.')

[8]J C Kannemeyer, 'Lywige Roman-trilogie Dra Swaar aan Mankemente', *Die Burger,* 17 December 2001.

[9]M P O Burgers, *C. L. Leipoldt, 'n Studie in Stof-keuse, -verwerking en -ontwikkeling*, Nasionale Boekhandel Bpk, Cape Town, Bloemfontein, Johannesburg, 1960, p. 318.

[10]*Ibid.* (Free translation: 'We have to concede that Leipoldt showed more of a human quality than that of an artist. The person in him sometimes supplanted the artist in him.')

[11]M P O Burgers, *C. L. Leipoldt, 'n Studie in Stof-keuse, -verwerking en -ontwikkeling*, p. 318.

[12]P C Schoonees, 'Leipoldt as Prosaskrywer' (translation: 'Leipoldt as a prosaist'), *Die Huisgenoot*, 6 December 1940. BC94 A8.13 (Jagger).

But does what some suggest about the way Leipoldt structures his novels actually detract from *The Valley* as an important literary work? There seems to be more than sufficient examples of careful and positive evaluation of Leipoldt's works that make up *The Valley*, such as by Peter Merrington, Wium van Zyl, Riaan Oppelt and Salomé Snyman, to counter the rather negative view of Kannemeyer.[13]

The Valley as Leipoldt wrote it, should be seen for what it is worth — it might not have the strong plot-structure expected from a star-studded novel, but it nevertheless is first-class causerie, discussing the historical, social and political insights Leipoldt gained as a journalist. Now, writing in the late 1920s and early 1930s, when segregationist measures under the Hertzog government were gaining momentum, the sharp, critical eye of Leipoldt was mapping the gradual, ever-growing social injustices emerging in South Africa society, especially the inability of the new generation to open its eyes to the true conditions that lay before them. His strong voice of protest emerges here again, against the Nationalist government, as it critiqued the march of folly of the Boer Commandoes and British authorities at the time of the South African War, alike. Leipoldt's thoughts are allegorically transposed, warning against the impending disasters for the nation. The voice of Mabuis III might well be the voice of Leipoldt criticizing Santa for her dissenting voice:

> 'What binds you together today is that senseless, childish and to my mind utterly valueless irritation against England. And for the life of me I cannot quite understand why you, my dear young lady, should possess it. I ... well, I was a *burgher* of the old Republic – I even had a vote in the Transvaal, although I came from the Cape. I may claim to have a legitimate grievance against England because it conquered my country and subdued me by force. But you, who have lived under responsible government all your life, who know as well as I do that whatever England may have done in the past – and she did nothing worse than any other country would have done to its overseas settlements, and infinitely better than the old Company did to our forefathers – she is not going to interfere with you now ... honestly, I cannot understand your position. And I should like to understand it. You are a puzzle to me, Miss Vantloo.'[14]

6.2 – RIAAN OPPELT

Literary student of English studying *The Valley*, Riaan Oppelt presented a seminar at the University of Stellenbosch in 2009 entitled 'Appreciation of Nature displaced by Organic Destruction in C. Louis Leipoldt's *Valley* Trilogy' and refers as follows to the

[13]Salomé Snyman gives a very thorough account of Leipoldt's *The Mask* as an important literary work, in her 'Chapter 3: *The Mask* (1930) by C.Louis Leipoldt.' Salome Snyman, "The Small-town Novel in South African English literature (1910-1948)", unpublished D.Litt thesis, submitted at the University of Pretoria, 2009.
[14]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 558.

> ways in which he [Leipoldt] depicted nature in most of his works, with his reputation as a composer of romantic odes to the South African landscape and scenery possibly unchallenged in Afrikaans literature, which historically favors bonds between man and earth in most prose narratives, and poems.[15]

More than that, however, Oppelt produced his MA dissertation on Leipoldt, entitled 'The valley trilogy: a reading of C. Loius Leipoldt's English-language fiction circa 1925-1935,' (University of the Western Cape, 2007, spanning 180 pages). Whilst he places the emphasis on the literary side of *The Valley* he nevertheless sketches some of the historical background to Leipoldt's writing:

> During his youth in the Hantam, Leipoldt witnessed a friendly co-existence between English and Dutch/ Afrikaner settlers, despite increasing tensions between the two groups in other areas of the Cape Colony, and the Afrikaner Republics. While Leipoldt's upbringing was largely Cape English with a notable patrician influence, his exposure to and familiarity with the Dutch/Afrikaner population was as influential, especially with the greater emergence of the Afrikaans language, which had begun to overshadow Dutch as a popular language in the country. He had blood relations on both the English and Dutch/Afrikaner sides, and like many in the Cape, could profess loyalty to either. On the English side, there was a natural or adopted loyalty to Queen Victoria and to English culture; the British army had, by the 1890s, secured much of the modern world. On the Afrikaner side there was a strong sense of establishing a separate national identity, in which the Afrikaner could claim to be the founder of his own country and culture, based on the events of the Great Trek of the 1830s that saw the establishment of the independent Afrikaner Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

With reference to Peter Merrington's article on 'the Contested Nationalisms of C. Louis Leipoldt's Valley Trilogy from *Current Writing* in 2003' (which I have on a number of occasions used and referred to in my thesis), Oppelt raises the point that Merrington's was 'the first truly scholarly piece of writing on the trilogy after Gray and Kannemeyer's work.' [16]

6.3 – PETER MERRINGTON

Professor Peter Merrington of the University of the Western Cape has contributed most significantly to an analysis of *The Valley*.[17] Merrington discusses the fact that whereas Leipoldt 'has long been received as a major figure within the Afrikaans literary canon', Leipoldt's *The Valley* trilogy reveals him as a 'dedicated liberal' at a time his Afrikaans peers subscribed to isolationist policies, and in this connection Merrington refers to it as:

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[15]Riaan Oppelt, *Husbandry to Organic Destruction: The Role of Nature in C. Louis Leipoldt's Valley Trilogy,* Seminar presented at the University of Stellenbosch, Department of English. 27 August 2009.
[16]An email from Riaan Oppelt to Paul Murray, dated Mon 2012/02/13 12:19 PM.
[17]Peter Merrington, 'C Louis Leipoldt's 'Valley Trilogy' and Contested South African Nationalisms in Early Twentieth Century', *Current Writing*, 15(2), October 2003.

> a sustained imaginative project which runs through the fiction trilogy, engaging with a historical sweep from the 1830s to the 1920s, as well as with an intense debate on the meaning of liberalism and national sentiment within Leipoldt's contemporary and highly contentious political milieu in the Union of South Africa between the two world wars.[18]

Merrington stresses the intensity of the process as

> reinforcing Afrikaner group identity, and of securing full recognition of this language as a national language with its own deep (though recent) literary tradition. The intensity of this process has, however, obscured the fact that Leipoldt held views on questions of nationhood and nationalist policies that diverged considerably and at times sharply from those of the Afrikaner cultural establishment of his day.[19]

Merrington comments that Leipoldt's English novels demonstrate his resistance in the late 1920s and the 1930s to 'sectarian and race-based Afrikaner Nationalist politics' and that he was 'hostile to the polarizing implications of group identity, and to racial prejudice.'[20] He strove for an inclusive South African society, 'claiming that social values need such rooted and elemental continuity; and they dramatise an emotional energy which insists on fellow-feeling and compassion rather than sectarian animus.'[21] In discussing these and other points, Merrington's article gives credence to the point about the publication of *The Valley* as a whole, as it provides the chance to get a bird's eye view of Leipoldt's worldview through his fictional medium. Merrington's article ends on a note that is particularly important for this thesis, referring to Leipoldt, and the fact that The *Valley* as fiction, can be viewed as an alternative form of history:

> While his fiction is at times stilted, or melodramatic, or overly picturesque, and not as authentic in style as his documentary prose, the recent publication of the complete Valley Trilogy is a significant moment in the revision of South African literary history, reflecting an alternative fictionalisation of social thought.[22]

Needless to say such a statement and much more from Merrington, gives credence to the value of *The Valley* and strengthens the argument that Leipoldt's three English novels can be seen as an alternative form of history, unlike Kannemeyer's statement that does not seek to place The *Valley* in a wide context. But most of all, the way Merrington has explained *The Valley* in its full thrust, informed by the historical constructs of Preller's Voortrekker history, as a counter to the very *volksgeskiedenis* propagated by Preller, has

[18]Peter Merrington, 'C Louis Leipoldt's 'Valley Trilogy' and Contested South African Nationalisms in Early Twentieth Century', *Current Writing*, 15(2), October 2003, p. 34.
[19]*Ibid.,* pp. 32 – 33.
[20]*Ibid*., p. 33.
[21]*Ibid*., p. 33.
[22]*Ibid*., p. 47.

enabled this thesis to expound on a significant debate, namely the Preller-Leipoldt dialectic as suggested in the the preceding chapters.

6.4 – SANDRA SCOTT SWART

Sandra Scott Swart, in Chapter 5 of her unpublished thesis, 'A "Ware Afrikaner" – an examination of the role of Eugène Marais (1871–1936) in the making of Afrikaner identity',[23] states:

> This chapter contributes to the challenge to this historiographical construction of the rural socio-intellectual world of the Afrikaner, as an extension and exploration of ideas suggested by Hexham on white-black socio-religious interactions, drawing on the challenge presented to the conventional stereotype of the Afrikaner by Du Toit. This is effected through the investigation into the world of the Bushveld Boer through the work of Eugène Marais (1871–1936) and Christian Frederick Louis Leipoldt (1880–1947).

Swart shows the departure from Calvinist theology and Western medicine towards an interest in African beliefs and traditional medicine – captured in Leipoldt's term *bushveld magic* (an alternative form of history). Both Merrington and Swart show another side to this interesting and versatile person. They have provided a new perspective on C Louis Leipoldt, better known as one of the inaugural poets of the Afrikaans language and avid writer of stories, our own Robert Louis Stevenson, our own Tusitala ('teller of tales').

6.5 – WIUM VAN ZYL

Wium Van Zyl has conducted extensive research on Leipoldt's war writing, the results of which have greatly enhanced opportunities for an intertextual reading of Leipoldt and considerably furthered the Leipoldt English discourse. Delivering the Leipoldt Memorial Lecture at the 2011 Cederberg Festival, Van Zyl stated that Stormberg Publishers enabled a 'correction' to take place by publishing the English novels *Gallows Gecko, Stormwrack* and *The Mask* in their original form in a single volume entitled *The Valley,* which Leipoldt completed between 1930 and 1931.[24] It should furthermore be noted that Van Zyl identifies

[23]Sandra Scott Swart, A "Ware Afrikaner" – an examination of the role of Eugène Marais (1871–1936) in the making of Afrikaner identity. Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Modern History, University of Oxford, for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 2001.
[24]Wium van Zyl, the Leipoldt Memorial Lecture, at the Cederberg Festival, Saturday 30 April 2011 – Professor van Zyl kindly sent me a full unedited electronic transcript of the text he delivered, entitled 'Leipoldt as Rebel'. An abridged version of his speech appeared in the cultural supplement entitled 'Erfenis', in *Die Burger*, Saturday 7 May 2011.

links from some of Leipoldt's earliest war texts namely, *De Rebel*[25]; *The Rebel*[26] and *Oom Gert Vertel*[27] and has explained their inter-relatedness and with the text he edited, *Brieven uit de Kaap Kolonie*. With these texts in mind, Van Zyl comes to certain conclusions about Leipoldt; firstly by comparing him to the Dutch dissident writer Multatuli (Eduard Douwes Dekker); and by viewing Leipoldt's war texts in their broader perspective, which is in the context of 'die drie Engelse romans' (*The Valley*). When Van Zyl wrote in 2002 that reading *Brieven uit de Kaap Kolonie*[28] makes one realize that a more thorough appraisal of Leipoldt's earlier journalism, can throw light on his later oeuvre, at the time he might not have seen *The Valley* (1930 – 1931) as the most important phase of Leipoldt's dissident writing; and he subsequently acknowledges Stormberg Publishers for bringing out *The Valley* in its original form.[29]

Van Zyl appraises *The Valley* (Leipoldt's 'latere literêre oeuvre') especially for the revisionist way the events at the time of the South African War are scanned through the eyes of progressive, moderate loyalists in a colonial town at the time.[30] Theirs could well be the voice of Leipoldt himself, decrying the proclamation of the ultimatum by Britain; the harshness of the measures imposed by the British military authorities; and the havoc wreaked by the Boer commandos passing through parts of the Colony.

According to Van Zyl, *The Mask* exposes the morally corrupt actions of the Nationalists against those who are presented as morally correct – moderates who demonstrate true concern and love for their country.[31] In this respect, we are reminded of the character 'Gallows Gecko' in the eponymous novel whose nationalism excludes no section and does not limit itself to any creed or persuasion.[32] His attitude is a far cry from that of the Hertzogites of the 1920s whose political actions and policies reflect a sectarian animus that eventually leads to sectionalism and division between the two elements Leipoldt was hoping would form a closer cultural union. Van Zyl explains how Leipoldt corrects himself in the

[25]It appeared in 1900 in the Dutch publication *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandblad.*
[26]It appeared in 1904 in British publication, *The Monthly Review.*
[27]It appeared in his first anthology *Oom Gert Vertel en Ander Gedigte* in 1911.
[28]C Louis Leipoldt's *Hierdie Land van Leuens*: *'Brieven uit de Kaap Kolonie'* (ed. Wium van Zyl), Africana Uitgewers, Cape Town, 2002, p. 18.
[29]Wium van Zyl, the Leipoldt Memorial Lecture, at the Cederberg Festival, Saturday 30 April 2011.
[30]*Ibid*.
[31]Wium van Zyl, 'Leipoldt, die rebel', *Die Burger,* in the section entitled 'Erfenis', 7 May 2011, pp. 11 – 12.
[32]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 591.

three novels through the voices of the moderates who protest against the harsh actions of the authorities; whereas in Leipoldt's earlier life he showed sympathy for the Boer cause.[33]

To have someone in the academic field with high standing such as Professor Wium Van Zyl (and the same can be said of Professor Merrington) come out in such support for *The Valley* most notably by the way he commended Stormberg Publishers for publishing the trilogy in its entirety so as to get the full sweep of the history Leipoldt covered in his project, is heartening.

6. 6 – WHY *THE VALLEY* WAS NOT PUBLISHED AT THE TIME AND SUBSEQUENT EFFORTS TO PUBLISH IT

Leipoldt made several attempts to have the trilogy published. In his diary of 5 August 1930 he wrote that he had sent 'Idols'[34] to the overseas publisher Curtis Brown. Curtis Brown at that stage was a well-established international literary and talent agency whose clients included well-known writers such as Kenneth Graham, A A Milne, D H Lawrence and Winston Churchill. Curtis Brown particularly believed in promoting the publishing of literature between countries to foster a wider understanding of the world. On 28 September 1930 he wrote in the diary that Curtis Brown does not think he can place *Idols* (*The Mask*).[35] He was writing *Stormwrack* at the time (started on Saturday 12 July 1930). On 4 April 1930, he sent off the manuscript of *Gallows Gecko* to Curtis Brown and then on 5 July 1930 Leipoldt heard from him that they were trying to place the manuscript.[36] Eventually, on 22 February 1931, he received *Gallows Gecko* back from Curtis Brown 'which had gone the round of publishers unavailingly.'[37] Leipoldt then sent the manuscript to A Knopf in New York on 24 February 1931.[38] Knopf, currently a division of Random House, was a leading American publisher who had published the books of, among others, well-known writer Jack London and Thomas Mann, whose *Buddenbrooks* at that stage Leipoldt was well aware of. Leipoldt was possibly considering a hard cover book of fictional history, the kind

[33]Wium van Zyl, 'Leipoldt, die rebel', *Die Burger,* in the section entitled 'Erfenis', 7 May 2011, p. 12. It can however be quite difficult to call this a 'correction' as it is not a straightforward point; Leipoldt could not have regretted his own earlier espousal of the Boer cause, concerning the concentration camps during the War and recanted. It does not seem to be the same thing as espousing nationalism in the 1930s at all.
[34]BC 94 A4.19 (Jagger).
[35]*Ibid.*
[36]*Ibid.*
[37] BC94 A4.20 (Jagger). Entry 22 February 1931.
[38]*Ibid.*

of which A Knopf was experienced in. There are no further entries about the state of the publishing of the manuscripts, until 29 March 1932 when Leipoldt wrote that Curtis Brown had returned 'Quakerley' with a comment it was too long and not of interest for the English market; and he decided to send it to America.[39] It seemed his efforts were in vain but the question remains if Leipoldt ever actually sent *The Valley* in its full thrust for publishing?

After Leipoldt's death a friend, Miss G Tibbs attempted to get the middle volume of the trilogy, *Stormwrack*, published, sending the typescript to well established publishers, John Murray (1947); The Bodley Head Limited (1948), Hodder & Stoughton (1949) and later to Constable, and to Allen & Unwin. In South Africa it was sent to CNA (1950) and also to Howard Timmins.[40] Comments such as that it falls between two stools (from Hodder & Stoughton); that it suffers from redundancy (Howard Timmins); and that it would not procure sufficient sales (CNA) were comments that were returned.[41] Stephen Gray comments that, in his opinion, in *Stormwrack* (and the same can be said for *Gallows Gecko*), 'the writing is marred by a kind of generous overkill', and that Leipoldt's enthusiasm waxes and wanes, and, 'as he warms to the story he becomes inflatedly prolix, and when bored with it he cuts corners, leaving key scenes which should have been developed with merely a passing mention.'[42] To this one can add the view of Oppelt from his MA thesis:

> However, these are novels of ideas, and their unpublished status must always be considered. Leipoldt was untapped as an English novelist, and made a quantum leap from very average Afrikaans efforts (detective novels and obviously, *Galgsalmander*) to the highly ambitious project he set himself with the trilogy. *Stormwrack* in particular is a singularly groundbreaking achievement in South African literature.[43]

Peter Merrington in an article on Leipoldt's *The Valley* refers to the fact that the entire trilogy was brought out in a single (compendium) volume in 2001 edited by T S Emslie *et al*., and acknowledges the difference in the intentions of someone such as Gray, and says as follows, referring to Murray and Emslie: 'They followed a different editorial principle from Gray,

[39]BC94 A4.21 (Jagger). A name Leipoldt was possibly going to use for *Stormwrack*.
[40]C Louis Leipoldt, *Stormwrack* (ed Stephen Gray), Human & Roussouw, Cape Town, Pretoria & Johannesburg, 2000, p. 13.
[41]BC94 E1.9 (Jagger).
[42]Stephen Gray, 'Leipoldt's prequel to *Stormwrack:* an interim report on an editing project', *Standpunte*, 37(2), April 1984, p. 27.
[43]Riaan Oppelt, 'The valley trilogy: a reading of C. Loius Leipoldt's English-language fiction circa 1925-1935' MA dissertation, University of the Western Cape, 2007.

keeping strictly to the original text of manuscripts …'[44] Emslie and Murray's intentions are set out in the 'Introduction' to *The Valley* publication — they tried to reproduce Leipoldt, remaining faithful to Leipoldt's *ipsissima verba* to make it possible to appreciate the true scale of Leipoldt's achievement.[45]

Up to the time of the publication of *The Valley*, C Louis Leipoldt had mostly been canonized as an Afrikaans icon within the Afrikaans literary establishment, and one could say in terms of Bourdieu's theory of capital, he accrued a great deal of cultural capital in that field.[46] With Stephen Gray's edition of *Stormwrack* (1980) and subsequent paperback editions, *Chameleon on the Gallows* (2000) and *Stormwrack* (2000) the reading public became exposed to more options in reading Leipoldt. *The Valley* has certainly managed to widen Leipoldt's appeal even further and it seems as if the interest in Leipoldt is growing, not least in the area of food, as in *Leipoldt's Food and Wine*[47] and now also a republished edition by Tafelberg of *Kos vir die Kenner* (2011) with an Introduction by food *aficionado* and *cognoscente* Peter Veldsman. Riaan Oppelt also has an interest in writing about Leipoldt and Cape Malay cookery.[48]

6.7 – CONCLUSION

The above paragraphs show how *The Valley* was received from different quarters. Whilst Leipoldt wrote *The Valley* for several reasons, for instance, to preserve the history of his beloved Clanwilliam, it is is argued, he wrote it as a lament for the loss of Western culture as a counter to the Preller narrative, and also to produce what he imagined to be a worthy piece of South African literature. South African historian Hermann Giliomee writing in the 'By' supplement to *Die Burger* of 17 March 2012, using J C Kannemeyer's biography as his

[44]Peter Merrington, 'C Louis Leipoldt's 'Valley Trilogy' and Contested South African Nationalisms in the Early Twentieth Century', *Current Writing*, 'Text and Perception in Southern Africa', 15(2), October 2003, p. 48.
[45]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. xv. See Oppelt's view about the ambition of the novel: With this background of cosmopolitanism revealed by Leipoldt's general writing in the late 1920s and early 1930s, along with the unfolding of events in a manner that he had in one way or another foreseen, the Valley trilogy has a firm basis for its ideas. However, it is severely limited because at times Leipoldt is too broad with his cosmopolitanism, threatening to abstract issues that deserved concrete discussion.
[46]Elliot B Weininger & Annette Larreau, 'Cultural Capital', http://www.brockport.edu/sociology /faculty/Cultural_Capital.pdf. See Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital, in J. Richardson (ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, Greenwood, New York, 1986, pp. 241 – 258.
[47]C Louis Leipoldt, *Leipoldt's Food and Wine*, Stonewall Books, Cape Town, 2003, consisting of Leipoldt's *Cape Cookery* (1976), *Culinary Treasures* (translated by Dr W L Liebenberg from *Polfyntjies vir die Proe*) and *Three Hundred Years of Cape Wine* (1952).
[48]Riaan Oppelt, 'Louis Leipoldt and the Role of the "Cape Malay" in South African Cookery', *Journal of Literary Studies*, 28(1), 2012, Special Issue: 'Der Mensch ist was er isst (Feuerbatch) – Texts on Food, the Eating Process and the Philosophy of Recipes'.

source, explains how Leipoldt represented the intellect of the Afrikaner nation by referring to the importance of factors that lie beyond Afrikaner nationalism. The debates between Mabuis III and Santa in *The Mask* corroborate Giliomee's view. When Giliomee explains how Afrikaner nationalism was built on 'dinge van die hart — op emosie en sentiment'[49] an excerpt from*The Mask* says a similar thing in the fiction, to what Giliomee was saying (in the following excerpt the arch-nationalist Santa explains to the more objective Mabuis):

> 'Sentiment does count, Mr Mabuis,' interrupted Santa vigorously. 'Especially with us. If you knew more about your country, you would agree with me that it is sentiment – pure sentiment and nothing else – that has brought about the present state of affairs. It is because the old party, your party – for I suppose you are SAP, for only a SAP would talk like that – made no allowance for sentiment because it thought, like you, that something else counts, that it was swept away and will remain in darkness until it alters its opinion and lives up to its principles.'[50]

I

The Valley is an alternative form of history to standard histories. Linked to this, it is argued that *The Valley* belongs to an alternative historiography (in this case, to the Preller myth).

Chapter 1 is a literature survey of the theoretical works around the philosophy of history, theory and methodology in the field of historical representation. Further contextualizing literature as well as biographies and studies on C Louis Leipoldt and Gustav Preller are included in this survey. Furthermore, historical texts such as those of Ross, Keegan, Dubow and Legassick have been examined to provide a background against which *The Valley* can be read to better appreciate the stratification of South African society at the time. In addition, contextualizing literature from Leipoldt's early life as it relates to Clanwilliam is included in the discussion. Because it is a work of literary fiction, studies by literary historians and scholars Kannemeyer, Gray, Merrington, Van Zyl, Oppelt and Snyman have also been included.

II

Chapter 2 discusses *The Valley* as an alternative form of history. It is read against narrative theories in the field of the philosophy of history which includes those of pioneering philosophers as well as those more recent, especially in the construction of identity and

[49]Hermann Giliomee, 'Biografie van 'n Volk (in vier boekdele)', 'By', *Beeld*, 17 March 2012.
[50]C Louis Leipoldt, *The Valley*, p. 557.

national identity. At the same time the voices of criticism against the deconstructivist paradigm are heard.

III

Chapter 3 discusses the Preller-Leipoldt dialectic/polemic. On the one hand, Gustav Preller constructed a national consciousness through the use of a *volksgeskiedenis* and on the other C Louis Leipoldt was hoping to construct a South African national identity. From this, one can derive the Preller-Leipoldt polemic. The contra-fictional history of *The Valley*, imagined by Leipoldt in his three novels in their full thrust and historical weight, was informed by the Preller narrative. But the public history of Preller eclipsed Leipoldt's theory and dominated South African history from 1905 until till 1938.

IV

Chapter 4 examines the set of material used by Gustav Preller — such as history, journalism, enactments, literature, the prominence of Afrikaans, and artistic design — to reflect the Afrikaner's history, for the compilation of his *volksgeskiedenis*. His work over a period of about thirty-three years (1905 – 1938) resulted in a public history which became the dominant, national historical narrative for the Afrikaner, constructed around the romantic history of the Voortrekkers. It was this history that Leipoldt gallantly took on in his historical fiction, *The Valley.*

V

Chapter 5 shows how *The Valley* reflects a liberal, Cape-based belief in tradition and various supporting notions making up this tradition, such as the topics of genealogy and breeding, progress among families, the arrival of the English settlers in the Valley, farming and husbandry, Cape vernacular architecture, the cordial relations between the English and Dutch, universal brotherhood, the value of gardens and botany, genetics, and the gains of Western culture in conventions of gastronomy, gormandising, language and literature. Leipoldt employed this set of *topoi* in his fictional construct written in a Cape loyalist-unionist paradigm, to serve as a possible counter-history to the Preller narrative.

VI

Chapter 6 looks at the different responses to *The Valley,* both positive and negative. J C Kannemeyer criticized the appearance of the trilogy citing various reasons why few

would read it. He criticized Leipoldt for being slap-dash in his editing and the manuscript for being untidy and furthermore for not succeeding in the emancipation of historical facts to the art of fiction. Others praised Leipoldt's work, demonstrating the great insights it held for South African history at the time. There were questions asked why *The Valley* was not published at the time.

VII

Leipoldt's narrative construct, *The Valley*, made up of fictions, is an alternative form of history to standard history, although the voices of criticism against the deconstructivist paradigm need to be heard. Whilst *The Valley* has been read against narrative theory in the field of the philosophy of history, newer trends have been noted.

Not only is it argued that *The Valley* is an alternative *form* of history, but also an alternative history, a counter-history to the triumphalist *volksgeskiedenis* of Gustav Preller. Preller constructed a history of the exiled Voortrekkers who abandoned deep, local tradition by leaving the Cape, in search of personal and national freedom. It is this public history of Preller, constructed over a period from 1905 – 1938, that informs the entire logic of *The Valley* in its full thrust.

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