

PART IV:
Discourse in *Keurboslaan*

Chapter Eight:

Imagining and imaging the nation through the discourse of fiction

One cannot make politics-history without this passion, without this sentimental connection between intellectuals and people-nation

Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*

Introduction

A problem raised in Chapter Two was the need for more information about the process through which the ideas and ideology of Afrikaner nationalism as articulated by the Afrikaner intelligentsia and petty bourgeoisie successfully permeated the consciousness of Afrikaners of all classes. O'Meara articulates this challenge as follows:

'Christian-nationalism' or 'Afrikaner nationalism' was more than a complex intellectual-ideological framework representing certain views of the world. The terms also encompass the mass social and political movement which emerged, comprised of widely disparate groups, mobilised through this ideology. It is not enough simply to trace the literary forms of development of the ideational structure and simply assume its inherent appeal to all Afrikaans-speakers. The actual translation of such literary forms of ideology from intellectual journals and the debates of elite groups into a form of mass consciousness – the process by which the new subject was successfully interpellated – has to be investigated (O'Meara 1983:74).

In Chapters Six and Seven it was suggested that children's literature, that is, the discourse of fiction, may have been one of the mechanisms through which a discourse of Afrikaner nationalism and the nation permeated the consciousness of ordinary white Afrikaans-speakers. This chapter explores strategies that were employed in the *Keurboslaan* series that made it possible to imagine an Afrikaner nation in a very specific way through fiction. In addition, the chapter explores representations of the self and the other and the portrayal of danger in *Keurboslaan* texts.

Strategies for imagining the nation in fiction

In previous chapters it has been argued that factors such as the *Keurboslaan* series being written in Afrikaans, its publication and dissemination under the rubric of popular fiction, and its wide readership that was geographically dispersed and cut across generational divides all contributed to make it possible to begin imagining an Afrikaner 'nation'. In other words, given its insertion in the political and cultural world of South Africa in the early 1940s, the *Keurboslaan* series – in a small but not unimportant way - contributed to the process of producing an Andersonian 'imagined community' that could be moulded into an Afrikaner 'nation'. Apart from these extra-textual ways in which the *Keurboslaan* series made it possible to imagine the nation, the nation is imagined in interesting ways and through innovative strategies in the texts themselves. It is argued here that three such strategies are employed in the *Keurboslaan* texts. These are 1) privileging the imagined over the real, 2) showing and not telling, and 3) inventing the future as opposed to commemorating the past.

The 'imagined' vs. the 'real': Keurboslaan as aspirational literature

When the first volumes of the *Keurboslaan* series were written in the early 1940s, the world depicted in these texts did not reflect school life as it was experienced by the overwhelming majority of Afrikaans-speaking children in Afrikaans-medium schools. Nor did it provide a true rendition of the social and economic situation of most 'Afrikaners'. Rather, the *Keurboslaan* series presented an image of an elite and urbanized Afrikanerdom that was well-represented in the professions and had strong international networks. Yet, less than a decade before the first book in the series was published, between a third and half of all Afrikaners could be classified as 'very poor' (see Chapter Two for a more detailed discussion). Volume III of the Carnegie Commission Report (Malherbe 1932: 132-135) includes the findings of a survey among 17 000 school going children who were asked to write down what they wanted to be when they grow up.⁸⁴ The results of this survey showed that 24,4% of the boys surveyed believed that they were going to follow a career in one of the professions, whilst a survey of actual career patterns reflected that those professions were able to accommodate only 3,6% of the male population at the time. Among the girls the pattern was much the same. 33,8% of girls surveyed indicated that they saw themselves as teachers, whereas only 2,5% of the total female population were involved in teaching

⁸⁴ 'Skryf neer wat jy dink jy eendag gaan word'

work at the time. The following tables show boys and girls' career expectations as reflected in the Commission's report:

Table 9: Choice of Career by Pupils in Primary and Secondary Schools (Professions)
- Carnegie Commission Report 1932⁸⁵

Career	Boys			Girls			Total			Total (including 'Vakskole')
	Primary	Secondary	Total	Primary	Secondary	Total	Primary	Secondary	Total	
Professions										
a) Clergyman	4.41	4.97	4.51				2.32	2.61	2.37	2.31
b) Missionary				1.19	2.30	1.38	.56	1.09	.65	.63
c) Teacher	8.46	17.52	10.00	32.67	39.36	33.80	19.96	27.87	21.29	20.66
d) Legal Profession	1.92	4.83	2.42				1.01	2.54	1.27	1.23
e) Nurse				10.41	17.00	11.53	4.95	8.06	5.47	5.31
f) Other	6.42	12.83	7.51	1.5	3.99	1.92	4.08	8.63	4.86	4.71
TOTAL	21.22	40.15	24.44	45.77	62.65	48.62	32.88	50.80	35.92	34.85

Table 10: Envisaged Careers of Secondary School Pupils compared to Actual Employment Patterns for Men and Women over 15 Years - Based on Carnegie Commission Report 1932⁸⁶

	Envisaged Careers: Secondary School Pupils		Actual Career Patterns: Men and Women over 15yrs	
	Boys (%)	Girls (%)	Men (%)	Women (%)
Nurse		17		<1
Farmer	30%			+ 30
Clergyman	4.97		.5	
Teacher	17.52	39.36	1.35	2.5
Other	12.83			
Professions (Combined)	40.15	62.65	3.6	

⁸⁵ Malherbe 1932: 132

⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 131-135

Through a range of efforts, which were discussed in Chapter Two and included the economic movement, the mobilisation by the petty bourgeoisie in Afrikaner religious and academic circles, and state intervention, the end of the forties saw a definite improvement in the so-called 'poor white' problem. Nonetheless, educational and other disadvantages were not eradicated overnight and whilst the number of Afrikaners that could be classified as 'very poor' certainly declined significantly, the majority of Afrikaners – now increasingly urbanized – formed part of working class and lacked the educational credentials that would give them access to the professions or even the upper working classes. It was only with the onset of National Party rule in 1948 that the government explicitly advanced the career trajectories of Afrikaners. These efforts at social engineering despite, by 1956 the Minister of Labour, J de Klerk, remarked that the Afrikaner was still not proportionally represented in a number of professions. These included architects, auditors, medical practitioners, radiologists and others (Stals 1986:48).

Afrikaans was officially acknowledged as a medium of instruction for primary schools in 1914 and for 'middelbare skole' in 1917. By 1917, Afrikaans was increasingly being used instead of Dutch, yet there still was a significant proportion of parents that preferred the medium of instruction in schools to be Dutch. Taking the case of Johannesburg from the 1920s to the 1950s illustrate the social stratification of Afrikaners. A grave concern of those who mobilised around language during this period was the small number of Afrikaans Secondary schools in Johannesburg and the Witwatersrand. It meant that pupils who wanted to pursue secondary schooling had to switch to English as a medium of instruction. Because of this and the difficulties this involved, many Afrikaans parents opted to send their children to English primary schools. As a result, many of these families became anglicised (Stals 1978:14-136). Thus, many professionals with Afrikaans surnames in Johannesburg during the 1930s and 1940s spoke English at home and at work. By the 1930s, Afrikaans doctors and medical specialists in Johannesburg comprised a very small minority in the industry (Stals 1986:53). In March 1939, the Christo Beyers Medical Commemorative Society, an association of Afrikaans medical practitioners in the city, was established and by the 1940s Afrikaners were becoming more established in the medical profession, though proportionally the representation of Afrikaners in the industry remained low. In 1943 a number of Afrikaners, among them medical practitioners, together bought the Park Lane Nursing Clinic (Stals 1986:54). There were only a few Afrikaans-speaking lawyers, and among their small number, some, like Mr S.A. Rissik, 'rather found a home in the English-speaking community' (Stals 1986:54).

In Chapter Two the argument that the champions of Afrikaner nationalism needed to achieve cohesion within the white Afrikaans-speaking community across class divides was outlined. One of the issues they had to resolve was the so-called 'poor-white' question. In addition to the efforts of the economic movement, the plight of 'poor whites' was taken up in religious circles and organisations such as the ACVV (The Afrikaans Christian Women's Society) began mobilising around this issue. Awareness of the 'poor white' problem was brought into the home and imaged through popular publications such as *Die Huisgenoot* and *Die Boervrou*, as well as popular scientific publications such as the *Tweede Trek* series produced by Nasionale Pers and the *Monumente* series published by J.L. van Schaik publishers. These and other efforts had two main goals: to forge a connection between white Afrikaans speakers of other classes and poor Afrikaans speakers in order to launch social upliftment programmes and to use this connection to support an economic and cultural mobilisation around Afrikaner identity.

In the 1930s and 1940s works of literature in Afrikaans literature increasingly took poverty and the position of 'poor whites' as thematic in a realist tradition, depicting marginalized Afrikaners who were dispossessed of their land. In addition, strong anti-city sentiments and a yearning to return to the land marked Afrikaans works of literature of the period:

Vanaf die ontstaan van Johannesburg het daar 'n anti-stedelike tradisie by die Afrikaner posgevat wat geslagte lank geduur het...Hierdie anti-stedelike gevoel het veral in die Afrikaanse letterkunde sterk tot uiting gekom (Stals 1978:178).

[From the inception of Johannesburg an anti-city tradition took root among Afrikaners that was to last generations. This tradition was especially evident in the Afrikaans literature.]

In Chapter Five it was shown that there was a negative reaction against this trend in literature from the Afrikaans 'reading classes', who felt that the depiction of Afrikaners as backward and poor in books such as *Ampie* undermined their status and prestige and made them feel ashamed for being Afrikaans.

Against all of this, the *Keurboslaan* series painted a picture of successful Afrikaners that were well represented in many professions - including the medical profession, finance and banking, the academy (in the social and natural sciences), and social work

– and who spoke Afrikaans at home and regarded themselves as Afrikaners. The main character in the *Keurboslaan* series, Doctor Roelof Serfontein, who is the school principal, is described as a son from one of the most distinguished Afrikaans families in Johannesburg. The eldest of eight children, he holds two PhDs, is a world-acclaimed novelist, renowned sportsman and the author of a number of educational texts. His brother Adolf is a teacher who has completed a number of higher degrees, while his younger brothers, Edward and Martin, are both medical specialists. Martin, a brain surgeon, is the head of a clinic and hospital in the city and Edward, an orthopaedic surgeon, is his partner. Roelof's twin brothers, Frans and Emil, completed their MSc degrees in botany and are lecturers at the university. Evelyn, his elder sister and the eldest of the Serfontein children, worked as a paediatrician before she got married and his youngest sister, Leonie, studied art in Europe and then took up a position as art teacher at a prestigious school for girls in Cape Town. As headmaster he presided over a school of which its former pupils almost exclusively entered the professions: as doctors and medical specialists, academics, musicians, social workers, lawyers and businessmen and theologians.

This image of Afrikanerdom was idealised and 'fictional' and did not correspond to the 'reality' as experienced by the majority of white Afrikaans-speakers. At the same time, this depiction of Afrikaners was contrary to the strategy adopted by the Afrikaner intelligentsia and petty bourgeoisie to sensitise and raise awareness among all Afrikaans-speakers about the 'poor white' problem as a mechanism to encourage an Afrikaner identity across class divisions. It is through this strategy that the *Keurboslaan* series became what Martie Meiring would later refer to as the 'only aspirational literature that we youthful Afrikaners had had' (Dick et al 2001:63), precisely because it was not rooted in or reflected the social realities of the day. It is on this level that Blakemore was in touch with her readership of the 1940s and 1950s, who aspired to be teachers, nurses, medical doctors and lawyers, even though this dream would for many of them not become a reality.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ The current debate about the appropriateness of a television programme such as *Yizo-Yizo*, with its realist depiction of school life in South Africa has developed along similar lines. In public forums there are those that argue that to motivate and inspire the youth one should not confront them with the ugly realities of township school life, but present them with an idealised and aspirational depiction of school.

The representation of Afrikaners in the *Keurboslaan* series fostered a link between the Afrikaner nation and individual aspirations and desires. Membership of the Afrikaner nation was not achieved through an association with the Afrikaans poor, but through a desire to be like one of the Serfontein children or the other distinguished scholars from the Keurboslaan College for Boys.

Showing not telling

There is another strategy through which the *Keurboslaan* series ‘imagines’ the nation, which is a strategy that is specific to the discourse of fiction, since literature favours the device of ‘showing’ rather than ‘telling’. Despite the fact that the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism was perhaps less coherent and unified as it is often depicted, it is still useful to think of it as a programme of action, which had particular objectives and goals and certain stumbling blocks that needed to be overcome in order to realise these objectives. Some of these were the need to mobilise around the Afrikaans language and establish an Afrikaans book publishing industry and literature, expand the Afrikaans professional classes, modernise farming methods, use social science to improve the plight of the Afrikaans poor, inculcate and disseminate information on hygiene and nutrition, improve literacy levels and schooling, and so forth. In various publications, including books, newspaper articles and popular scientific publications, plans for the advancement of Afrikaner nationalism were promoted. This usually comprised of an assessment of the present situation of and problems facing the Afrikaner, coupled with a vision of what an Afrikaner nation ought to be and an outline of a programme for achieving that goal.

The *Keurboslaan* series, on the other hand, does not depict the history and struggles bound up with the formation of the ‘Afrikaner nation’. Nor does it dwell on what it is that needs to be done to turn the Afrikaner nation into a reality or to deliver the nation from impending disaster, as one of the titles in the popular scientific *Tweede Trek* series - *My Nasie in Nood* – claims to do. The *Keurboslaan* series does not set out an action plan for becoming a modern nation utilising scientific knowledge such as those found in popular scientific series such as the *Monumente* series and the *Tweede Trek* series. Rather, in *Keurboslaan*, the existence of the Afrikaner nation is treated as *a fait accompli* and its transformation into a modern, industrialised nation as already accomplished.

Instead of dwelling on the Afrikaner's mythical relationship with land and the need to help Afrikaners who had lost their farms and way of living due to drought, the Anglo-Boer War or poor farming methods adapt to life in the city, the *Keurboslaan* series depicts Afrikaners as professionals such as medical doctors, lawyers, social workers industrialists, financial managers and academics. Keurboslaan College for Boys largely draws its students from the city, and not from rural and farming communities. Though there are a few boys at school whose fathers are farmers, they are usually - as is the case with both Olivier and Smit's fathers – described as well to do and influential people. André Smit's father, for example, is also a parliamentarian (Krogh 1949:61-62). Because of the social status of boys who study in agriculture at the school, they are compelled to follow the same academic programme as the other boys:

'Landbou of te nie, hy [Dr Serfontein]sê ons moet ook die akademiese vakke aanpak. Hy [Dr Serfontein] sê die oorspronklike doel van hierdie skool is 'n professionele opleiding, sê Pienaar. 'Hy sê, selfs al is ons boere, ontwikkel boere dikwels tot parlamentslede, wat dan kennis van sulke tale moet hê' (Krogh 1961a:44).

['No matter that we study agriculture. He [Dr Serfontein] says that we need to read academic subjects too. He says that the original aim of the school was to provide professional training', says Pienaar. 'He says that, even if we are going to be farmers, farmers often develop into parliamentarians, who need to have knowledge of such languages'.]

In the same vein, the *Keurboslaan* series does not make a case for the beauty of the Afrikaans language, the need to claim a space for its use in schools, government and elsewhere, and its potential to produce literary works of great value. In the *Keurboslaan* series, Afrikaans is simply described and treated as one of the modern languages of the world, together with German, French, Portuguese, Swedish, Bulgarian and others (Krogh 1961b:35). Instead of emphasising the importance of establishing an Afrikaans literary tradition, Dr Serfontein is depicted as a world-acclaimed novelist whose works are translated in many other modern languages, with the resulting inference that Afrikaans has already been recognised as a world literature.

Ideas about the importance of cleanliness, the benefits of an active lifestyle, the need to control sexuality, the urgency of programmes to uplift the poor, the principles of social work, the proper care for those who are ill, and many other such 'knowledges', which were disseminated by the Afrikaner intelligentsia in publications aimed at

educating the Afrikaner, are, in the *Keurboslaan* series, central features of the narrative.

Yet, precisely because this discourse is ‘showed’ and not ‘told’ in the *Keurboslaan* series – because the *Keurboslaan* series does not look at the problem facing white Afrikaans-speakers in becoming a ‘nation’ but show the nation as it could be, because the discourse is spoken by fictional characters to each other and not addressed to the reader as the one that needs to be educated - the fictional version of this discourse as found in *Keurboslaan* is vested with desire and aspiration. It does not instruct the reader about what he or she should do and be, instead, it has the potential to instil in the reader the desire to become a person with the habits and beliefs of Dr Serfontein, Helen Serfontein, Eugene Krynauw or any one of the other characters.

There is another level on which the distinction between showing and telling is of interest. O’Meara (1983) and others (Hofmeyr, 1987, for example) have shown how the Afrikaner petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia acted as community creators and spearheaded Afrikaner nationalism. Anderson (1991) explains that the role of the petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia is central to the process of imagining the nation. It can be argued that the *Keurboslaan* series contributed to and helped to define the public image of the petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia by showcasing their lifestyles and presenting it in an idealised and entirely benign manner, that is, in a non-confrontational way. The *Keurboslaan* series presents to its readers an image of what it means to be part of the Afrikaner intelligentsia. Hence, the *Keurboslaan* series offers its readers the opportunity to identify with the characters, to become part of the elite, to experience class mobility. Thus, the *Keurboslaan* series’ portrayal of the elite seems to legitimise not only the aspiration of readers to be part of that elite but also, by implication, *what the intelligentsia and petty bourgeoisie are saying* (seen as ‘telling’) in other forums and *their authority to speak*. The way in which this is portrayed in the series is illustrated in the following extract:

Was daar al ooit so ’n mooi gesin? wonder Jurie. Die gesinne wat hy ken is nie so nie. By hulle sien ’n mens net armoede en verdriet. Vir die eerste keer wonder hy of ’n mens miskien self jou lewe volgens hierdie patroon kan vorm. Natuurlik kan jy nou nooit so wellewend [sic, the intended word is most probably ‘welvarend’] wees nie, maar tog... as ’n mens dan nie meer in die knyp beland nie... as jy eendag ’n behoorlike betrekking kry... kan jy miskien ook ’n huis hê wat minstens skoon en ruim is en waar die lede van die gesin

mekaar kan toelag, in plaas van om krom en gebukkend en met moeë ooglede deur die lewe te gaan (Krogh 1956:42-43).

[Has there ever before been such a beautiful family? Jurie asks himself. The families he knows are not like this one. There one only sees evidence of poverty and sorrow. Now, for the first time he wonders whether it might not be possible to mould one's one life according to this pattern. Of course, it is inconceivable to be so affluent, yet... if one could manage to keep out of trouble... if one could one find oneself a proper job... it may just be possible to have one's own home, which, at the very least, must be spacious and clean, where members of the family can joyfully laugh with each other, instead of having to go through life crooked and bent and with heavy lids.]

Inventing the future vs. commemorating the past

Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* demonstrates the way in which the publishing industry is closely associated with the invention of a tradition for the nation. This aspect has also received attention from Hofmeyr (1987) in her analysis of the relationship between Afrikaner nationalism and the book publishing industry. Hofmeyr's work highlights the ways in which publishers and authors attempted to commemorate an Afrikaner 'history' and therefore mythified the migration of Afrikaans-speakers from the Eastern Cape to the North as the 'Great Trek' and celebrated the Rebellion of 1914 in Afrikaans books and popular publications. In Chapter Five it was argued that publishers who were sympathetic to the cause of Afrikaner nationalism, such as Nasionale Pers and J.L. van Schaik, invested resources into producing Afrikaner histories and literary works - despite the fact that some of these publications were expected not to be profitable - as a contribution to the cause of Afrikaner nationalism. A shared history is regarded as a powerful way in which nations are forged and the creation or invention of such narratives is therefore a prominent activity in the promotion of nationalism by the bourgeoisie and intelligentsia who act as community-creators.

Against this background, one of the remarkable features of the *Keurboslaan* novels is the relative silence the texts display with regard to the history of Afrikaners. It should not be inferred that the *Keurboslaan* series is set in a completely a-historical context. Rather, the *Keurboslaan* books do refer, if briefly, to the historical origins of the school and the way in which that is linked to South Africa's past and a few historical or contextual references crop up in *Keurboslaan* texts here and there. The establishment of the school as the first Afrikaans private school for boys is contextualised by a brief

explanation that parents of Afrikaans-speaking children were unwilling to move their children to another school, despite the fact that the quality of tuition at *Keurboslaan* was initially very poor, largely because they did not want to give the (South African) English the satisfaction to be able to say that Afrikaners could not make a success of their own school. In addition, the texts state that the idea behind the school's founding was to create an educational institution where leaders of the 'volk' could be educated. This account of the school's establishment seems to foreground both the Afrikaner 'nation' and its history, which is somewhat unusual for popular fiction. Yet, whilst the texts offer a 'founding history' of the Keurboslaan College for Boys that is rooted in a historical past, no other mention is made of the historical tensions that existed between South African English-speakers and 'Afrikaners'. There are also almost no references to historical events such as the Anglo-Boer War, the Rebellion of 1914, or Milner's Anglicisation policies.⁸⁸ This is particularly surprising, given that the series, through the account of the founding history of the school, sets itself up as one that speaks to and is inserted into the history of the Afrikaner. Where past events are referred to, these are not *commemorated* or celebrated as such, but are presented as a parallel to *present* circumstances, as demonstrated by the following two quotations:

'In die ou dae', sê hy koel, het die Voortrekkers, en in Amerika, hulle wat teen die Indiane geveg het, elkeen 'n laaste koeël vir die vrou gehou. 'n Baie verstandige plan as 'n mens daaraan dink, nie waar nie?' (Krogh date unknown: 214).

['In the olden days', he says calmly, 'the Voortrekkers, and in America those who fought against the Indians, each kept a last bullet for the woman. A most sensible arrangement if one thinks about it, isn't it?']

and

'Ek is nie bang nie', sê Amanda se stem. 'Ek sal gewere laai en koffie maak, soos die vrouens altyd in die ou dae tydens die kafferoorloë gemaak het.'

'Dit is geen rolprent van die Groot Trek nie, hoor!' sê meneer Bokhorst. 'Hier is gevare wat –' (Krogh 1959b:146).

⁸⁸ In the second volume in the series, a minor (and elderly) character is described as a veteran from the Anglo-Boer War.

[‘I am not afraid’ says Amanda’s voice. ‘I shall load the guns and brew some coffee, just as the women always did in the old days during the time of the kaffir wars.’

This is no movie of the Great Trek, do you understand!’ says Mister Bokhorst.
Here are dangers that –’]

In both cases, the historical events referred to are portrayed as having taken place at an unspecified but long gone time in the past. The first quotation is taken from the book *Misverstand op Keurboslaan*. It refers to a situation where Roelof Serfontein’s son, Josef, and a few friends – including his fiancé – find themselves trapped on a farm in Swaziland by a mob of black people from Mozambique who are looking for a white woman missionary whom they believed had fooled them and whom they want to kill. The second quotation is from *Die Kroon van Keurboslaan* and emerges in the context of Roelof Serfontein and Eugene Krynauw’s deliberations about what they have to do with Helen Bielefeld when the three of them are held captive by a local Swazi Chief. In both instances present actions are motivated or informed by the actions of others in historical events in the distant past. The references to the past therefore serve as a repository from which to draw valuable lessons. In that context, the remark that they are not making a film of the Great Trek is an indication of both the distance between the actual event and the fictional present and the extent to which the past is replicated in the future. In one case only is the reference to a historical event linked to a more recent past. In *Keurboslaan se Eerste Kaptein*, Roelof Serfontein confronts Mr Davis, the local attorney, about his treatment of a group of poor Afrikaners, one of whom is referred to as an elderly man receiving a small pension for his participation in the ‘Driejarige Oorlog (the Anglo-Boer War) (Krogh 1948:112). From this it can be inferred that the man had to have been an active soldier during the War in 1899-1902, but whether he had been a very young man at the time of the war or whether the war took place only a few years earlier remains unspecified.

The *Keurboslaan* texts are silent too about other aspects of social reality of the time. For example, given that a large number of the *Keurboslaan* books – including the first volume in the series – were written during World War II, it is surprising that no mention is made of the war, especially given the political repercussions it had had in South Africa. It is not true that poverty and the social problems associated with urbanisation do not feature in the *Keurboslaan* series. These elements are indeed present, but both the historical and contextual references seem to be of less importance than the fictional present and future that is situated in the Keurboslaan College for Boys.

Ideologically, this emphasis on the present and future is powerful. A different application of Bourdieu's notion of *genesis amnesia* (Bourdieu & Passeron 1990) may help to explain this statement. Bourdieu describes the notion of *genesis amnesia* as a strategy of *symbolic violence* exercised against oppressed groups. It comprises a systematic devaluation of culturally determined behaviour by advocating and disseminating the idea that things have always been the way they are now, and that there had been no history or preceding events that can explain or have influenced the present. Seen this way, *genesis amnesia* can be understood as a way of erasing the past in order to justify present injustices and inequalities and to homogenise behaviour, but also as a way to rule out social action based on past injustices.

Now, in the case of the *Keurboslaan* series it could be argued that the erasure or understatement of history has another function. The *genesis amnesia*, used in this context not to refer to Bourdieu's notion of *symbolic violence*, but rather to a kind of *symbolic imagining* that is present in the *Keurboslaan* texts, makes it possible to cast Afrikaners not in the usual Afrikaner nationalist romanticised narrative of a farming community with a deep love for the soil of their country who were dispossessed of their right to live from the land through the Anglo-Boer War, drought and poor farming methods and had to migrate to cities impoverished and unskilled. Rather, the Afrikaner is depicted as a modern, urbanized nation, whose people are at home in the city and global citizens.

Seen in this light, this type of symbolic imagining made possible by a kind of genesis amnesia could liberate upwardly mobile white-Afrikaans speakers from their legacy of a history of struggle and their connectedness to and responsibility for those Afrikaners classified as 'very poor' so often depicted in Afrikaans works of literature, such as *Ampie*. It was the tendency in Afrikaans literature to make a link between being an Afrikaner and being poor that readers complained about in the 1930s and 1940s. The genesis amnesia in the *Keurboslaan* series also served to counter the anti-city tradition that had become a definitive quality of being an Afrikaner and which equated the city and its associations with poverty and social ills. What is of interest here is that an aspirational view of the city was essential for the economic movement to succeed. Yet the strategies adopted by the Afrikaner intelligentsia and the bourgeoisie, in their publications and through their cultural organisations, did not take cognisance of this fact.

In addition, the device of excluding details about the relationship between Afrikaners and English speaking South Africans from the narrative and highlighting the similarities and differences between Afrikaners and the British, undermines the hegemonic account of the genesis of the Afrikaner and the strife to become a nation against English imperialism in texts on Afrikaner nationalism. Instead it poses the Afrikaner nation as equal to and on par with an English nation. For example, the model of the Keurboslaan College for Boys is juxtaposed against the model of the British school as a similar and equally worthwhile, yet distinct, tradition. Moreover, this device also serves to mask the class distinction between 'Afrikaners' and English speaking South Africans, therefore discounting the need for Afrikaners to mobilise around their perceived inferiority.

Despite the apparent differences between the way in which the *Keurboslaan* texts treat Afrikaner history compared with other texts produced by the Afrikaner intelligentsia at the time and explained by Benedict Anderson, this does not mean that the *Keurboslaan* series abandons the programmes of Afrikaner nationalism and its objective to forge an Afrikaner identity across class divides. *Keurboslaan*, with its portrayal of a majority of highly successful and sophisticated Afrikaners, represents the upliftment of the poor as a noble cause for the elite. Given that the *Keurboslaan* series focuses on the Afrikaner elite and that the majority of characters in the books are drawn from this class, the series creates the impression that the number of Afrikaners that are poor and suffering is few. Since the existence of an Afrikaner 'nation' is presented in the series as a *fait accompli*, it does not link the destiny of the elite to the extent to which they can successfully align themselves with the lower classes. Rather, the care for the poor and the downtrodden is cast not only as a worthy cause but also as an entirely achievable undertaking.

In the last instance, the lack of historical and contextual references aside from the founding history gave the books a sense of timelessness, which may in part explain why it was possible that the books were popular among many generations of Afrikaans-speakers. Positing the Afrikaner as a modern nation, situated in the present and at the forefront of international developments in science and arts, painted a picture of a nation whose strength lies in its future rather than its past.

Imaging *the self* and *the other* in the *Keurboslaan* series⁸⁹

Anderson (1993: 141-142) draws attention to the fact that nations instil a kind of love in its people and that the form this love takes is often self-sacrificing. It has been argued by some that nationalism always presupposes the existence of an 'other', an idea that Papini phrases as follows: 'in order to love something deeply you need to hate something else' (quoted in Vincent 1992: 158). The other often features as a threat to the particular nationalism. Central to the notion of nationalism are the concepts of autonomy, unity and identity (Hutchinson & Smith 1994:4) and it is the concepts of autonomy and identity that often provide the clues to who the other is. In a particular variant of nationalism, Nazi Germany, the other was defined as Jews (but also Roma, Catholics, Slavs, etc.). In African nationalism, the other often is the former colonial power. The other may be defined in a number of terms, including ethnicity, language, class, and so forth. Thus, nationalism frequently articulates the other as a danger to the self. In South Africa, the phenomenon of Afrikaner nationalism has often been phrased in precisely these terms: emerging from a fear of the other, which is defined as either the British colonisers or the black indigenous people, or both. Given the social history of the period that saw the emergence of Afrikaner nationalism, this section explores the way in which a discourse was circulated in the *Keurboslaan* series that articulated - and through this discourse attempted to counter - another danger to the project of Afrikaner nationalism – the danger of the self to the self.

Representations of the self in the Keurboslaan series

The nation always has its boundaries, its limits, its rules of belonging and there has not been a single nation in time that did not have rules for inclusion, argues Benedict Anderson (1991). The argument has been presented here that it is through the discourse of fiction too that a nation comes to be imagined and that specific strategies employed in the *Keurboslaan* texts made it possible to imagine the 'Afrikaner' nation in very specific ways. From this, it follows that if the nation can be imagined through the discourse of fiction in a text, that same text must provide us with some clues as to what the rules for inclusion into the imaginary nation may be.

⁸⁹ In writing this section, I am indebted to Achille Mbembe and Ivor Chipkin for valuable comments and suggestions for which I am very grateful.

The question then, is, how do *Keurboslaan* texts define the self and the criteria for inclusion into the nation? The Keurboslaan College for Boys' founding mandate to produce the future leaders of the Afrikaner nation ties the fate of the school to the fate of the nation. In a sense, then, Keurboslaan becomes a microcosm of the nation. This argument presented here therefore proceeds, as a first step, from analysing the Keurboslaan College for Boys as if it were analogous to the Afrikaner nation. This provides a useful entry into the question about the requirements for becoming a member of the nation.

The rules for acceptance as a student at Keurboslaan are well defined along class, race, language, and gender lines. Keurboslaan College for Boys was conceived of as a class project from the outset. A first requirement for admission therefore is that one has to be decedent from the ruling (or upper) class:

Die Keurboslaners van die toekoms moet die skool se tradisie en atmosfeer in hul opneem. Die gelde is met opset hoog. Die hoof het nou al 'n menigte liefdadigheidsinstellings vir minderbevoorregte seuns gestig. Vir sulke seuns sal iedere voorreg waarvan hulle in staat is om gebruik te maak, verskaf word. Maar Keurboslaan is vir die seuns van die regerende seksie van die land se burgers bedoel. Daar hulle van hul geboorte af bevoorreg is, begin hulle natuurlik met 'n beter kans as 'n onbevoorregte seun om later ook te kan regeer, hetsy pal in die parlement of op enige ander gebied waar 'n man verplig is om die ideale van sy volk te vorm. Wat nog meer in ag geneem moet word is dat sulke seuns sulke pligte byna nie *kan* vryspring nie. Dis dus belangrik dat hulle op 'n besondere manier opgevoed moet word om hierdie voorregte nie te misbruik nie; intendeel om hulle van die regte standpunt te beskou, sodat hulle die volk kan dien in plaas van die behoeftes van hul medemens as trappe vir hulle eie vooruitgang te gebruik. (Krogh 1948:68).

[The school's traditions and atmosphere have to become part of the Keurboslaners of the future. The fees are high and with good reason. The principal has already established a great many charity institutions for the less privileged boys. For such boys, any privilege which they are able to enjoy, will be provided. However, Keurboslaan is aimed at the boys of the ruling section of the country's citizens. Because they're born into privilege, they have a head start compared to the less privileged boys to become leaders themselves, whether stationed in parliament or in any other terrain where a man has to form the ideals of his nation. What is more, is that these boys can almost not escape such duties. It is therefore imperative that they be brought up in a manner that will prevent them from abusing their privileges; in fact, to see

these privileges in the right perspective so that they can serve their nation in stead of using others' needs as stepping stones for their personal progress.

Given that the medium of instruction of the school is Afrikaans, it follows that another requirement for inclusion is being a native speaker of Afrikaans, or at the very least, the ability to speak Afrikaans. By definition, a school for boys excludes the possibility of taking in female students and although no formal reference is made to regulations pertaining to race, the question of whether to admit a black student does not arise even once and Keurboslaan College for Boys has no black students. From this, it can be inferred that being black or female automatically disqualifies one from admittance to the school. These four criteria seems to be the minimum requirements for becoming a scholar of Keurboslaan. But Anderson argues that the boundaries set by the nation to determine inclusion and exclusion are almost always porous in some respects. He argues that there exists virtually no nation that does not somehow allow some of those not automatically awarded membership the possibility of becoming a member. In the case of admission requirement for the Keurboslaan College for Boys there is evidence of such porousness of boundaries.

In *Twee Nuwe Seuns op Keurboslaan*, Bertrand and Everard Spaulding, the sons of Dr Serfontein's best friend, the world-renowned musician Arthur Spaulding, and his late wife, Wanda Svoboda, a Russian opera singer and a former fiancé of Dr Serfontein's, are admitted to the school despite the fact that they are British nationals and do not speak a word of Afrikaans. Arthur Spaulding is not pleased about his youngest son's development in a British public school and is of the opinion that his son is in need of the kind of discipline that an Afrikaans education at Keurboslaan will provide and decides to send both his sons to his old friend, Dr Serfontein. The boys' admission into the school is conditional upon their acceptance of school discipline and their compliance with school policy about the medium of instruction, which is Afrikaans, with a grace period granted for them to acquire the language. The acquisition of the Afrikaans language and his inclusion into the Keurboslaan community prove to be significant in shaping Bertrand Spaulding's identity, because when he returns to Keurboslaan College for Boys many years later as music teacher, he regards himself to have 'become' an Afrikaner:

Anders as sy neef, ver-raai sy aksent geensins dat hy nie van kleins af Afrikaans gepraat het nie. Hy was maar dertien toe sy vader hom hiernatoe gebring het om hom onder die sorg van die hoof, met wie sy vader 'n mede-

student was, te plaas, en hy beskou homself nou as 'n ware Afrikaner (Krogh 1956:46).

[In contrast to his cousin, his own accent does not reveal the fact that he had not spoken Afrikaans all his life. He was but thirteen years old when his father brought him to Keurboslaan to place him in the care of the headmaster, who studied with his father, and he now regards himself as truly an Afrikaner.]

Likewise, his brother, Everard Spaulding marries an Afrikaans-speaking woman and even though they settle in London, he is employed in the BBC's Afrikaans Department and sends his son to Keurboslaan (Krogh 1957:37).

It would therefore seem that at Keurboslaan it is possible to be included through alternative mechanisms, and one can therefore become part of the 'self'. Yet, for some it proves to be more difficult to lose the taint of the other than for others. The Spauldings failed to comply with the language requirement for admission to the school. Arguably, this requirement is fairly easy to meet over time, once conditional entry has been granted and given that the incumbent displays a certain willingness to acquire the language. Those accepted into the school despite the fact that they do not meet the language requirement have the opportunity to integrate seamlessly into the school community. However, where conditional acceptance is granted to persons who do not meet the *class* requirement, integration into the school community is more difficult and becoming part of the 'self' remains an ongoing challenge. The way in which this ambiguity is represented in the *Keurboslaan* series is that the taint of the other is mostly linked to appearance. In Chapter One it was noted that Roelof Serfontein represents the archetypical Afrikaner male and that he even won a competition (which he did not enter at free will) in which he walked away with the title of Mr Afrikaner. He is described as tall, dark, and attractive and extremely well-built. In many of the Keurboslaan texts bystanders remark on the exceptional good looks and healthy complexions of Keurboslaan pupils, and the brightest among the Keurboslaan boys are always described as tall and athletically built. Therefore it is important to note that when boys from undesired class backgrounds may be admitted to the school under certain conditions, these boys' difference is generally marked by their appearance.

In *Kaptein Richard*, the headmaster accepts into his school - as part of a 'sociological experiment' - four boys who have been found guilty of various criminal offences and who are thus classified as juvenile delinquents. The selection requirement that headmaster passed on to André Smit, the director of his institute dedicated to the plight

of juvenile delinquents and the person responsible for selecting four boys to send to Keurboslaan, is that the boys had to be exceptionally intelligent. Thus, while these boys clearly do not meet the class requirement for admission into the school, their intellectual abilities open up the possibilities for their inclusion, even though there are a number of conditions attached to their admission, which may be withdrawn by Dr Serfontein at any time. Loggerenberg, Verryne, Logan, and Alberts, the four juvenile delinquents, are accepted into Keurboslaan, yet Rudolph Borneman, a Keurboslaan prefect, can tell by just looking at them that they are not Keurboslaan boys. His first impression of Loggerenberg is described as follows:

'n Groot seun kom die gang af. Hy is so lank soos Rudolph self. Sy arms is besonder lank, sodat sy hande byna sy knieë skrams raak. Klein oë wat onder dik winkbroue uitloer, en 'n smal voorkop, dra by om hierdie seun byna bobbejaanagtig te laat voorkom (Krogh, no date, page 33-34).

[A huge boy comes walking down the passage. He has exceptionally long arms, so that his hands almost touch his knees. He has small eyes that peeps out from underneath dense eyebrows, and, together with a small forehead, this gives the boy an almost baboon-like appearance.]

Alberts – a former member of the infamous Glennis gang - is described as having snake-like eyes (1959a:97) and of displaying a nervousness that reminds Rudolph of an animal in enemy territory (Krogh, no date, page 39). Logan, who had been abused by his grandparents who brought him up after the death of his parents and who had developed kleptomania as a result of the abuse, is betrayed by his paleness and frailness (Krogh, no date, p 39). It is only Jurie Verryne whose otherness is not revealed through his appearance, but then, since the four keep together, his association with them taints him. Importantly, Verryne is from a poor background and grew up with his mother and a large number of siblings after his father's death. Yet, he had not been into any serious crime and has only been apprehended for petty theft.

Another example is the case of Wentzel Elsenach in *Keurboslaan se Peetvaders*, a boy who grew up in the bush with virtually no contact with human beings because his father kept him isolated, who is admitted by Dr Serfontein for a test period. Elsenach was brought up by his father, a religious fundamentalist, in the bush and has had very limited contact with people. He survived from catching small animals and made himself clothes from their skins. He had never learnt to clean himself and can only read the Bible. He is also not used to speaking and became violent and aggressive when he

interacts with other people. As was the case with Loggerenberg, his appearance is initially compared to that of a primate or a wild animal. However, he is inducted into the Keurboslaan's way of doing and slowly adapts to school life. Yet, his appearance never fully becomes that of a 'normal' boy.

Whilst a further requirement for inclusion into this community is that one needs to be male, the boundaries here, too, prove to be porous, since it seems to be impossible to keep women out of the school community entirely. Yet, whilst the class criterion may be bent to allow for the admission of children from lower class backgrounds to the school under certain conditions, women are allowed to enter the world of Keurboslaan but cannot secure admittance to the school.⁹⁰ The basis on which selected women are included into the school community is either the fact that they hold positions that are regarded to be designated for women, for example, that of school secretary, nurse and matron, or because they are related to one of the (male) members of the Keurboslaan community. Yet, their inclusion despite, in most instances female characters, of which there are but a few, remain on the periphery. The inclusion of women is premised on condition that they play a particular role. A woman's role in the family is privileged above her professional role and it is standard practice that women leave their jobs after getting married or that they have no profession at all. Helen Bielefeld vacated her position as school secretary after she married Dr Serfontein, whilst the headmaster's niece, Tessa, is described as a house wife after she married Krynauw and Dr Serfontein's sister, a paediatrician, gave up her career when she got married:

Die oudste dogter, Evelyn, is goed getroud. Vroeër was sy ook kinderarts. Leonie, die jongste dogter en ook die jongste kind, bestudeer nog kuns oorsee. (Keurboslaan se struikrower: 7)

[The eldest daughter, Evelyn, married well. She was also a paediatrician earlier. Leonie, the youngest daughter and child, is still studying art abroad.]

Highlighting the conditionality of their acceptance into the Keurboslaan community, women are mostly excluded from important discussions and decision-making. This is explained by the code of chivalry towards women that underpins the Keurboslaan tradition and includes the instruction to keep difficult or unpleasant issues away from

⁹⁰ There is one exception to this statement, though. Tessa Serfontein, the headmaster's cousin, who ran away from her parents and came to live with her uncle from the age of nine, was allowed to attend classes with the boys. However, she was under the strict supervision of Ms Mostert, the school matron and was not enrolled as a pupil in the school. In hindsight, the headmaster regretted his decision to allow her to attend classes with the boys.

women, in order to protect them. For example, in the Serfontein household, family conflict is only discussed when Dr Serfontein's mother is not present (Krogh 1949b:15, Krogh 1949:186). By and large women's acceptance into the Keurboslaan community is premised on and judged by the successfulness with which they perform their role with regard to family responsibilities. The headmaster's sister in law, Coralie Serfontein, for example, is rejected because of her failure in her role as a wife and mother:

Op die familie se aanmerkings oor 'n vrou wat haar eie man se broers van oorsee laat kom sonder om hulle eers vir 'n maaltyd na haar huis te nooi en die man wat swak genoeg is om so iets toe te laat, antwoord hy absoluut niks nie (Krogh 1945b:9).

[To the family's remarks about a woman who lets her own husband's brothers come from overseas without first inviting them to her house for a meal, and about the husband who is weak enough to allow something like this, he says absolutely nothing.]

Likewise, when Dr Serfontein's niece, Tessa, complains about the long hours that her husband works, Dr Serfontein threatens to break off his relationship with her because she is not a supportive wife to Eugene Krynauw.

In the Keurboslaan world, women are generally fall into one of three categories: neurotic, impulsive and emotional; practical and sensible; or frail, quiet and brave given much suffering.

Tessa Serfontein, Roelof's niece who comes to live with him after being rejected by her mother, is an example of such a character. She is described as emotional, flighty and overly dramatic. Another is Coralie Serfontein, the headmaster's sister-in-law, who is portrayed as neurotic, conniving and unstable. She never recovered from her son's death and rejected her daughter. An English-speaking South African, Roelof Serfontein's family held it against her that she always pretended that she was unable to speak Afrikaans (Krogh, no date, page 149).

The second category of women is generally reserved for older women who had experienced hardship in their lives. Examples include the headmaster's secretary, Miss Conradie, who is portrayed as brave in the face of being handicapped and ill. Another such woman is Mrs Austin, the wife of a former teacher at Keurboslaan who was

suspended by Dr Serfontein because of his weak character. Mr Austin allowed his family to live in poverty and squalor, yet, when his wife was dying from a terminal disease, she remained constant in her love for him. This vision of courage and honour in the moment of death was the inspiration for the main character in one of Roelof Serfontein's novels, which was acclaimed by critics as the most humane of all of his books and the best he has ever written. The mother of Wentzel Elsenach, the boy who has been brought up by his father in the bush, is another such woman. Whilst not all women who fall into this category had necessarily suffered quite as much, they are portrayed as especially sensitive and caring persons. Roelof Serfontein's mother, despite coming across as a caring and understanding individual, does not play an important role in the series. Dian, Roelof Serfontein's eldest daughter, would also fall into this category.

An interesting feature of the way in which women are represented in the *Keurboslaan* series is that women characters who fall into these first two categories are often described as having child-like qualities, or as behaving like a child, and therefore needing to be disciplined, or as inspiring protective feelings as one would feel towards a child. It is for example suggested that Coralie Serfontein, the headmaster's sister-in-law, needs a good hiding (Krogh 1949a:54), whilst Roelof Serfontein's mother's youthful sense of humour receives praise:

'Moeder', met haar skoonheid en haar jeugdige humor staan op 'n spesiale verhoog in die Serfontein-tuiste (Krogh 1949b:186).

['Mother', with her beauty and youthful sense of humour, takes in a special place on the stage in the Serfontein home.]

Miss Conradie, the headmaster's secretary, brings out protective feelings in men:

Arme klein Juffrou Conradie, die hoof se sekretaresse, met haar klein lyfie, krom en swak deur 'n vroeë swaar siekte, en haar smekende sagte blou oë, laat almal voel asof sy soos 'n klein kind opgepas moet word (Krogh, date unknown, page 8).

[With her tiny frame, crooked and weak as a result of an earlier severe illness, and her soft pleading blue eyes, poor little Miss Conradie, the headmaster's secretary, makes everyone feel that she needs to be taken care of as if she were a small child.]

The last category is reserved for women who are described as pragmatic and sensible, and not too idealistic. These women know when to withdraw from conversations and leave men alone to sort out their own problems, but they are also prepared to speak out when absolutely necessary. Mrs Mostert, the school matron, who falls into this category, is portrayed as a strong and caring, albeit strict individual. However, the reader is never provided an opportunity to get to know her. Helen Bielefeld, the school secretary who eventually marries the headmaster, also falls into this category. These women are valued, because they embody female diplomacy combined with male sensibility. In other words, they are close to being men, but do not threaten men precisely because they hold on to their female qualities. For example, Helen Bielefeld is described as follows:

Dan kyk sy op, reguit en ernstig, byna soos 'n man (Krogh, date unknown: 88)

[Then she looks up, the expression on her face straight and serious, almost like a man's.]

Women in this category are generally depicted as never having been married or as widows. Helen Bielefeld was a widow, while Mrs Mostert had never been married. Other examples are Olga Betts and her daughter, Monica. Olga was widowed and had to raise her daughter under very difficult circumstances. Her daughter Monica, who eventually gets engaged to Richard Serfontein, grew up in a community where it was thought that her mother was a prostitute. Women in this category are regarded to be such sensible persons precisely because they have not had it easy themselves. This claim is supported by the following extract:

Ek handel in hierdie gevalle nooit met die moeder nie, tensy die moeder 'n weduwee is. Weduwees is natuurlik gewoonlik taamlik verstandig, omdat hulle swaar gekry het (Krogh 1949a:54).

[In these cases, I never deal with the mother, that is, unless she is a widow. Of course, widows generally tend to be reasonably sensible, since they have had it difficult.]

Finally, the last criterion for admission to the Keurboslaan College of Boys is race. Whilst this seems to be the criterion that is least permeable, there is once again an exception. As in the case of women, black persons are allowed to enter the Keurboslaan world based on their particular role, in this case as servants, and cannot be admitted to the school. The major character representing this group in the

Keurboslaan series is called Danster Sebolai, a black man who was assigned by Mr Schoonbee to be Roelof Serfontein's personal assistant or servant and continued to serve him in this role for the rest of his life. Before the headmaster married Helen Bielefeld, Danster was the only person that was allowed to set out the headmaster's clothes and cook his food. The relationship between the headmaster and Danster is therefore depicted as one of friendship and trust, but within very specific parameters and with Danster's role clearly designated as servant. Other black persons who are permitted to enter the world of *Keurboslaan* are family members of Danster's, provided that they do not overstep the boundaries set by the relationship between servant and master. As is the case with women, black staff are also excluded from decision-making and the unwritten code of conduct requires that students and staff behave in a courteous way to black staff:

Teenoor bediendes, swart of wit, wat hulself nie durf verdedig nie, is hy altyd wonderlik sag en beleefd, hoe sy humeur ook al mag wees. Daar hulle nie mag teëpraat nie, moet 'n mens dit nie vir hulle onmoontlik maak om hulle te bedwing nie, meen hy (Krogh, date unknown, page 141).

[Towards servants, black or white, who dare not defend themselves, his conduct is always wonderfully courteous and soft-spoken, no matter how ill-tempered he may be. He is of the opinion that since they may not answer back, one should not make it impossible for them to contain themselves.]

In summary, the main criteria that have emerged for inclusion into the body of the self in the *Keurboslaan* series are linked to gender, race, class and language. However, *Keurboslaan* College for Boys was established with a particular mandate: to produce leaders for the volk. Consequently, the criteria outlined here are admission requirements for becoming a member of the future ruling class of Afrikaners. By implication, this invokes another self: the body of the Afrikaner. Whilst it has been shown that the boundaries of the self are porous in the case of *Keurboslaan*, it has also been demonstrated that exceptions are usually made on the level of the individual rather than the group and that the different criteria do not facilitate or hinder entry to the body of the self on an equal basis. While examples from the stories show that both white non-Afrikaans speakers who are willing to learn and speak Afrikaans and Afrikaners from lower class backgrounds that are regarded to be of high intelligence can in certain instances become part of the self, the participation of white women and blacks is limited to entry into this world, as opposed to admission into the body of the self, and is premised on their fulfilment of a particular role. In the case of women, this

role is primarily vested in the family and centres on their responsibility for producing the 'volk'. The exclusion of white Afrikaans girls and of white Afrikaans-speaking boys from lower class backgrounds from the Keurboslaan College for Boys is not motivated on the basis that they are not part of the Afrikaner nation. In the case of women, their exclusion is based on the specific role women have to play, namely tending to the family, the chivalric code to protect women and keep them away from things that may upset them, and particular qualities that women display – such as being emotional - that make them less suitable for positions of leadership. In the case of men from lower class backgrounds their lack of opportunity is deemed to make it less likely for them to enter positions of power, except for truly intelligent and hardworking individuals from this stratum. In other words, in both cases the need to be ruled is emphasised, which excludes these groups from the ranks of the Afrikaner ruling class but not from the body of the Afrikaner nation. Based on the premise that no-one would be admitted into the Keurboslaan school that would not also be admitted into the body of the Afrikaner nation, it would therefore seem that white Afrikaans speaking women and white Afrikaners from lower class backgrounds are automatically included in the body of the Afrikaner nation and that whites who are willing to adopt the lifestyle and language of Afrikaners may also be included, whereas there has been no evidence to suggest that black persons could in any way become part of this body of the Afrikaner nation.

Representations of the other in the Keurboslaan series

The world depicted in the *Keurboslaan* series is an Afrikaans or Afrikaner world. In other words, the *Keurboslaan* series presents South Africa as an enclave for Afrikaners. All the main characters are Afrikaners and South Africa is implicitly presented as the country of the Afrikaner nation. It is in this context that this section explores representations of *the other* in the *Keurboslaan* series. In the previous section it has been shown that the boundaries between *the self* and *the other* are sometimes porous. Non-Afrikaans-speakers, women, blacks and Afrikaners from lower class backgrounds can be permanently or temporarily incorporated into the body of the self or at least share an intimate space with the body of the self on specific conditions and with specific limitations on their participation, even though this ability to be assimilated is not shared equally among these variables. For three reasons it is not productive to argue that since women and black persons are excluded from the body of the self in the *Keurboslaan* series, and since non-Afrikaans-speakers and Afrikaners from lower class backgrounds are only admitted to the body of the self on specific conditions, they comprise *the other* in the *Keurboslaan* series. First, the earlier discussion

demonstrated that the boundaries between the self and the non-self are porous. Second, while women and Afrikaners from a lower class background were excluded from the body of *the self* defined as the Afrikaner ruling class, they are nonetheless part of the body of the self framed as the Afrikaner nation. Third, in terms of the discourse of the nation and nationalism *the other* is not simply that which is not *the self*, but is comprised of those that present a danger to the self. Following from this, a more interesting question is how the danger *the other* presents to *the self* is articulated in the *Keurboslaan* series.

Conclusion

It has been argued that the *Keurboslaan* series employs three strategies that make it possible to imagine the Afrikaner nation in a manner that sets it apart from the way in which this 'nation' is imagined in other regimes of discourse. In particular, these strategies draw on the potentialities offered by fiction. In the first instance, a fictional reality is created that purports to insert itself into the ambit of modern South Africa of the 1940s when the series was first published, yet, this fictional world of *Keurboslaan* differs in some crucial respects from the realities of the time. The series portrays Afrikaners as well-adapted to city life, playing a strong role in the professions as Afrikaners and boasting a substantial middle class. In contrast to the literary works of the period that foregrounded the plight of so-called 'poor Afrikaners', the *Keurboslaan* series celebrated the – overstated - achievements of the petty bourgeoisie and Afrikaner intelligentsia. As such, the *Keurboslaan* series can be described as a kind of aspirational literature. Second, the series uses the device of showing rather than telling. By showcasing the lifestyles and attitudes of the petty bourgeoisie and Afrikaner intelligentsia, casting these classes in a positive light and showing their aims to be entirely benevolent and in the interest of Afrikaners, the *Keurboslaan* series legitimates their role. In other word, by instilling desire in the reader to be like one of the *Keurboslaan* characters, the series authenticates the right of the petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia to speak on behalf of and in the interest of the Afrikaner people. Thus, the *Keurboslaan* series offers a discourse of the nation that is vested with desire. In Chapter Two the argument was presented that Afrikaner nationalism required cross-class cooperation and unity in order to succeed. In the discourse of *Keurboslaan*, the existence and future of the Afrikaner nation is not tied to the plight of the poor Afrikaners and the extent to which they can be uplifted, but to the achievements of the Afrikaner intelligentsia. As a result, this makes the mobilisation around the cause of Afrikaner 'poor whites' an entirely voluntary undertaking, and as such far more

palatable to the group of Afrikaners that complained that books such as *Ampie* undermined their status. In the third instance, the *Keurboslaan* series places the emphasis on the fictional present and invents the future rather than commemorates the past. Where historical events are referred to at all, these are generally presented as quite distant in time and serve as repository of experience from which behaviour can be replicated.

It has been suggested that the criteria for admission to the Keurboslaan College for Boys can serve as a guideline to establish who belongs to the body of the self. The criteria for inclusion identified here centred on race (white), gender (male), class (upper class) and language (Afrikaans-speakers). Nonetheless, it was shown that women, Afrikaners from lower class backgrounds, non-Afrikaans-speakers and black persons could conditionally participate in this world, albeit not on an equal basis and provided that they play a specific role. In some cases, persons from lower class backgrounds or white non-Afrikaans-speakers from the 'right' class background displaying a willingness to acquire Afrikaans could gain entry to the body of the self. Thus, the lasting image of the 'self' that emerges from this varied set of criteria, is a self that irrevocably belongs to a ruling class, as clearly set out in the school's founding history. Hence, white Afrikaans-speaking women and white Afrikaans-speakers from lower class backgrounds formed part of the body of the self provided that they do not challenge the position of the ruler.

In Chapters Four and Seven it was stated that girls tend to read books for boys, but not the other way round. In the case of the *Keurboslaan* series, this fact takes on particular poignancy. Whilst the world of Keurboslaan excluded girls from participating in the body of the self, the series nonetheless had scores of young women readers. The consequence of this is that girl readers are allowed access to a terrain that is restricted to boys. As a result, they are brought to an understanding about the way 'men are' and they can experience for themselves men's 'true nature'. Strong characters such as Helen Bielefeld suggest that being one of very few exceptional women is an achievement in itself, since women tend to be so weak and flighty. Through Helen, girl readers are offered a model of the ways in which such strong women behave in order to 'counter' men's weaknesses. In other words, by showing that strong, sensible women earn the respect of men and have an important role to play, the *Keurboslaan* series claims that it is possible for a select number of women to earn the respect of men and gain power without having to be part of the ruling class.

It has been argued that in the discourse of the nation and nationalism *the other* is not simply that which is not *the self*, but is comprised of those that present a danger to the self. In the *Keurboslaan* series *the other* is generally depicted as a foreigner or from foreign descent and the threat of *the other* is predominantly represented by men. Moreover, the way in which *the other* is depicted as well as the type of threat *the other* represents is associated with race. When *the other* is presented as white, the threat is generally embodied by an individual, whereas when *the other* is portrayed as black, the danger is represented by a group. The danger presented by the *black other* is the danger of senseless violence. The threat presented by the *white other* is one of moral corruption or character defamation. As such, the danger the *white other* represents is presented to be far more serious than the danger presented by the *black other*. Whilst the threat of violence implies the threat of death, this is portrayed as a moral death. On the other hand, character defamation or moral degeneration is presented as far more serious and threatening, since it cannot be reversed, not even in the moment of death. Thus, it can be argued that the danger of *the other* is far more threatening in the white foreigner than in the black foreigner. Yet, this already hints to the far greater danger: the danger that the self may be corrupted by the foreigner, or that the self may be corrupted by the self. In summary, the threat posed by the white foreigner is not the source of the real danger. The real danger lies in the fact that the self allows itself to be corrupted, either from within its ranks or by an outsider. The idea that the self could represent a danger to the self emerges as a strong theme in the *Keurboslaan* series. In other words, the threat is not external but internal and it is mainly presented as a lack of self control. The next chapter explores the remedy the *Keurboslaan* series offers to counter this danger.

Chapter Nine:

The Body of the 'Nation': Sexuality and Self-control in *Keurboslaan* and in the *Tweede Trek* series

Seksualiteit is nie soos menige ultra-moderne beweging wil voorgee, slegs 'n *private* saak nie. Dit is by uitstek ook 'n vraagstuk van *sosiale* en *nasionale* betekenis. Die puberteitsperiode is die aangewese tydperk om die nadruk na die sosiale en nasionale aspekte daarvan te verskuiwe

J. De W. Keyter in *Dringende vraagtekens in ons opvoeding en onderwys. Tweede Trek-reeks no. XVII, 1942, page 129*

[Sexuality is not – as many ultramodern movements want to suggest - a private matter only. It is in particular also a question of *social* and *national* significance. Puberty is the appropriate period or phase to shift the emphasis to the social and national aspects of (sexuality).]

Introduction

This chapter examines discourse on the 'Afrikaner' body as a site of control, discipline and surveillance by reading discourses on, representations of and practices associated with schoolboy bodies in *Keurboslaan* against selected chapters on the sexuality and body of the Afrikaner child from the *Tweede Trek* series, a popular science series commissioned by the Afrikaner Broederbond and published by Nasionale Pers in the 1940s. It is argued that whilst narrative and discursive strategies employed in the 'discourse of science' differ from those employed in the 'discourse of fiction', these regimes of discourse articulate largely similar ideas about the dangers posed by the body and sexuality of the Afrikaner child to the project of nation-building. However, the role of popular fiction for children in disseminating ideas on Afrikaner nationalism amongst a wide range of readers has not received much scholarly attention. It is argued here that the discourse of fiction offers interesting ways into questions about the way in which nations come to be imagined, potentially has a wide reach and diffusion, and is one of the ways in which the discourse of nationalism seeps into practices of everyday life. The argument presented here is fairly limited. It examines discourse on the body and sexuality of the Afrikaner child, with emphasis on the need for compliance with authority and self-discipline, and explores the implications thereof for the development of a particular form of Afrikaner subjectivity. The chapter focuses on practices of everyday life, specifically the leisure activity of reading fiction, and, in doing so, attempts to problematise the notion of reading for pleasure. Finally, the

chapter explores popular fiction as a regime of discourse through which ideas and ideologies of Afrikaner nationalism was disseminated to a wider audience.

The chapter comprises of a comparison between the discourse on sexuality and the body found in the *Tweede Trek* series - which was commissioned by the Afrikaner Broederbond and published by Nasionale Pers in the 1940s to follow on the centenary celebration of the Great Trek - and the *Keurboslaan* series against the background of the challenges facing the Afrikaner elite in its nation-building project. It is argued that the *Keurboslaan* series invites a reading of the fictional school as the body of the nation. In that context, it is shown that there exists a particular resonance between ideas on sexuality and the body of the child as expressed in the *Tweede Trek* series and ideas on and practices of the body found in the *Keurboslaan* texts.

Isabel Hofmeyr (1987) attributes particular importance to the production of written texts as a strategy for the construction and consolidation of Afrikaner nationalism and highlights the difficulties associated with the process of manufacturing a literary culture among Afrikaners. In Chapter Five the genesis of the Afrikaans book publishing industry was reviewed. It was shown that it was only in the mid-1920s that the publishing of Afrikaans books really got momentum. Earlier, the focus was on establishing newspapers and popular magazines in Afrikaans. By the late 1930s the book publishing industry had matured, with Nasionale Pers recording sales of more than three million books between 1916 and 1937. It is during this period that the production of popular fiction in Afrikaans commences. There was a big upsurge in sales of Afrikaans books during the period of the Second World war, given that imported paper was very expensive, the number of books imported dropped sharply and because of increased anti-war and nationalist sentiments among white Afrikaans speakers.

It is against this background that attempts by the Afrikaner elite to mobilise Afrikaner unity through the circulation of texts must be understood. In its aims, the elite was facing a number of social challenges. In general, 'Afrikaners' were poor, poorly educated, struggling to adapt to life in the city, ill equipped for commercial farming, and divided in terms of class. Based on data collected by the Carnegie Commission during 1929-1930, it can be argued that a quarter of all Afrikaners could be classified as 'very poor' in the early 1930s. Given these conditions, many of the publications in Afrikaans produced by the Afrikaner elite addressed contemporary issues and dealt with the dangers and challenges facing Afrikanerdom in its strife to become a nation. The

discourse of danger had as its purpose to raise awareness among Afrikaans speakers of the plight of poor Afrikaners and to foster unity amongst white Afrikaans speakers. With regard to the mobilisation around Afrikaner nationalism by the elite through print texts, it would seem that the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism was disseminated through different regimes of discourse, each with its own truth function. For the purpose of this argument, at least three such regimes of discourse can be distinguished, namely the discourse of science, the discourse of religion and the discourse of fiction. Whilst these regimes of discourse were distinctive in terms of style, register and truth claims, all three discourses featured in popular publications such as *Die Boervrou* (see Kruger 1991) and *Die Huisgenoot*, and in newspapers such as *Die Burger*, *Die Vaderland* and *Die Volksblad*.

The discourse of religion supported the advancement of Afrikaner nationalism by giving nation-building religious content. Through the discourse of religion, links could be drawn between the Afrikaner nation and God's chosen people, Israel, thereby providing an animating historical trajectory and destiny for 'the nation'. Religion provided a foundation for the Volksmoeder discourse, which was aimed at moving women out of the workplaces and factories where they were building class alliances with black women and to remove them from positions of decision-making (see Brink 1987, 1986, and Kruger 1991). And the discourse of religion was used to support ideas about race that was to underpin the principles of Apartheid. For a detailed analysis of the discourse of religion and its relation to Afrikaner nationalism see Moodie (1979). It should be noted that a substantial part of the popular discourse of religion that was circulating in print in the 1930s and 1940s was not written by Afrikaners, but was translations of English and particularly American works. During the Second World War, no Bibles were available in South Africa and people therefore relied on Christian literature to fill this gap. Examples of texts that were translated into Afrikaans include *Die hand wat die spykers ingeslaan het* by J. Fletcher Ray, and *Die ideale vrou* by A. Lowry, both published in 1942. These books had sold 30 000 copies each by 1947. (Steyn 1992d:87).

The discourse of science functioned to legitimate and explain ideas about nationalism, race, and culture, to invent an authentic Afrikaner history, and to educate white Afrikaans speakers. Series such as *Tweede Trek*, published by Nasionale Pers, and *Monument*, published by J.L. van Schaik, were entirely devoted to educating Afrikaners about many social science concepts and ideas that pertained to Afrikaner nationalism. In addition, popular publications such as *Die Boervrou* provided information to women

about nutrition and principles of domestic science (see, for example, Kruger 1991). The popular scientific discourse was strongly influenced by Dutch, German and American social scientists.

In terms of the discourse of fiction, it was indicated that most of literary works produced in the 1930s and 1940s, especially prose, was in the realist tradition and dealt with problems around Afrikaner poverty, dispossession of land, and alienation in the city. Many of these themes are also present in popular fiction for children of the time.⁹¹

Together these regimes of discourse, though fragmented and not necessarily coherent, gave particular expression to the historical trajectory of a nationalist, modern and modernising Afrikanerdom, guided by Christian principles, driven by notions of scientific progress and betterment, that faces up to the challenges of the day.

An issue that is not always given the necessary prominence in studies on the First and Second Language Movements and the link between Afrikaner nationalism and literary production in Afrikaans is the reaction of the (Afrikaans reading) public to products of the cultural industry. In Chapter Five, it was indicated that in reaction to the publication of books such as *Ampie*, there was a general call from 'ordinary readers' for popular, escapist fiction in Afrikaans and a rejection of the direction 'Literature' in Afrikaans was taking. This should not only be seen as a call for more popular and escapist novels in Afrikaans, but also an expression of resentment against depictions of Afrikaners as dirty, backward, and tragic.

Nasionale Pers and the *Tweede Trek* series

The *Tweede Trek* (Second Trek) series, in twenty-five volumes, was published by Nasionale Pers in Bloemfontein between 1940 and 1943. Nasionale Pers was established in 1915 by a group of young Afrikaner nationalists from the Afrikaner elite in the Cape through the issuing of public shares. The aim of establishing their own publishing company was to give expression to their political beliefs, since they felt that the Dutch newspaper, *Ons Land*, no longer met their needs and because there was no other Dutch newspaper that supported General Hertzog (Muller 1990:50). Closely linked to this aim was the promotion of the Afrikaans language (Muller 1990:53). The first publication produced by Nasionale Pers was *Die Burger*, a daily newspaper

⁹¹ See, for example *Judith op Blourand*, *Chrissie en Joey*, and so forth.

circulated in the Cape. In *Sonop in die Suide*, a historical overview of the history of Nasionale Pers, it is stated that the first decade of its existence was financially difficult. For this and other reasons, preference was given to firmly establish the newspapers and magazines published by the Pers, rather than to focus on producing more books. It was only in the period after 1925 that Nasionale Pers really began to explore its role as publisher of the Afrikaans book. Financially, several of the early endeavours were not successful. Muller (1990) explains that this was because many books that did not produce any profit were published for ideological reasons and because 'Afrikaners first had to be taught to read Afrikaans with pleasure' (Muller 1990:498). Recording the history of the Afrikaner was an important priority for Nasionale Pers. By the late 1930s a succession of historical publications had been published. Many of these were biographies of Voortrekker leaders, but there were also a number of commissioned historical works on the history of the Afrikaner people.⁹²

The *Tweede Trek* series was published between 1940 and 1943. The aim of publishing this series, Muller (1990:549) explains, was far more radical than merely to record the Afrikaner's history. The FAK recommended the publication of the *Tweede Trek* series to Nasionale Pers, but did not subsidise the publication thereof. Muller argues that

[d]eur die FAK [Federasie vir Afrikaanse Kultuurliggame] het die Broederbond geprobeer om Afrikaners hul geledere om 'n gemeenskaplike verlede te laat saamsluit ten einde nuwe gevare beter die hoof te kan bied⁹³ (Muller 1990: 556).

He further states that

maar dit was eers met die *Tweede Trek*-reeks dat die Broederbond duidelik geprobeer het om 'n Afrikaner-republiek op 'n Christelik-Nasionale grondslag te bepleit en om eenheid onder Afrikaners te bevorder ten einde dié ideaal te verwesenlik (Muller 1990:557)⁹⁴

⁹² I use the word 'people' as a translation of the Afrikaans word 'volk'.

⁹³ '[t]hrough the FAK [Federasie vir Afrikaanse Kultuurliggame], the Broederbond attempted to get Afrikaners to close their ranks around a shared past in order to be better prepared to face up to new dangers'

⁹⁴ 'But it was only with the *Tweede Trek* series that the Broederbond clearly attempted to plead for an Afrikaner republic based on a Christian national foundation and promote unity among Afrikaners to achieve this goal (Muller 1990:557)

The *Tweede Trek* series was designed as popular scientific literature, and was inexpensively produced in order to make it affordable to each and every Afrikaner household. On the back cover of books in the *Tweede Trek* series, the aims of the series are described as follows:

As a consequence of the success with which our 'Own Library Scheme' was crowned, the question arose among many interested persons whether a similar initiative in the interest of popular scientific education of our 'volk' could not be harnessed. In European countries provision is made for the scientific education for those members of the community who are not in the position to enrol for a university course. In our own country, this need is strongly felt, yet the necessary initiative to provide for this need has always been lacking.

Publication of a popular scientific series in which all the questions pertinent to our 'volk' are discussed in an expert manner and which is well within the financial reach of each member of the community has always been one of the most important ways in which to provide in the aforementioned need. However, the difficulty is to find a publisher with the necessary boldness and initiative that is prepared to accept full responsibility for such an initiative.

Of significance is the title of the series, which alludes to the centenary celebrations of the Groot Trek (Great Trek). The celebrations involved a symbolic trek by a group of Afrikaners from the Cape to Transvaal with ox wagons. On its way to the North, the Trek stopped at various small towns. It became a cultural event of great significance. The title of the *Tweede Trek* series can therefore be interpreted in two ways. In the first instance, it seeks to establish a symbolic link with the centenary celebrations. A second interpretation, however, demonstrates the imperative of a second great move for the Afrikaner, a move to a republic based on Christian and nationalist foundations. Through the selection of the title and the cultural connotations that this invoked, the publishers attempted to link its contents explicitly to the mythologized and determinist history of the Afrikaner 'volk'.

Professors J. de W. Keyter, N. Diederichs, G. Cronjé, and Dr P.J. Meyer edited the series. Dr Meyer, who was also the author of the titles *Die Afrikaner* and *Ons Republiek* in the *Tweede Trek* series, later said that the management committee of the Afrikaner-Broederbond's executive council had asked him in 1940-1941 to 'cast the Afrikaner's republican striving as it was formulated by different academics and politicians in the

beginning years of the war in an ordered and political-scientific whole'.⁹⁵ The following volumes appeared in the series:

Die Afrikaner	P.J. Meyer
Ons Eerste Digtters	Dr P.J. Nienaber
My Nasie in Nood	J.D. Kestell
Die Sorg vir ons kinders en jeugdige	W.A. Willemse
Ons Volksdrag	Mej. Trudie Kestell
Die Ekonomiese Posisie van die Afrikaner	Dr C.G.W. Schumann
Die Huwelik en gesin	Dr J. De W. Keyter
Christelike en Nasionale Onderwys – Deel I	Dr E Greyling
Christelike en Nasionale Onderwys – Deel II	Dr E. Greyling
Ons Republiek	Dr P.J. Meyer
Volksgesondheid en Maatskaplike Werk	Prof. Dr J. De W. Keyter
Ontspanning en Maatskaplike Werk	Prof. Dr J. De W. Keyter
Die Afrikaanse Universiteit en sy taak in die volkslewe	Prof. Dr. T.J. Hugo
Afrikaner-Volkseenheid	Prof. Dr D.F. Du T. Malherbe
Lewensomstandighede en opvoeding van die Voortrekkerkind	J. J. Lubbe
Dringende Vraagtekens in ons Opvoeding en Onderwys	Prof. Dr J. De W. Keyter
Rasse en Rassevermenging	Dr G. Eloff
Naturelle-opvoeding en –onderwys – Deel I	Dr B. F. Nel
Naturelle-opvoeding en –onderwys – Deel II	Dr B. F. Nel
Verarming en Oorheersing	J.H. Coetzee
Ons Dokumente	Dr A Kieser
Die Bioskoop in Diens van die Volk – Deel I	Dr H. Rompel
Die Bioskoop in Diens van die Volk – Deel II	Dr H. Rompel
'n Beknopte Geskiedenis van die Hollands -Afrikaanse Drukpers	Dr P.J. Nienaber

As evident from the titles in the series, the series attempted to (1) construct a history and cultural identity for the Afrikaner nation (*Ons Dokumente*, *Ons Eerste Digtters*, *Die Afrikaner*, *Ons Volksdrag*, *Lewensomstandighede en Opvoeding van die Voortrekkerkind*), (2) give expression to the idea of an Afrikaner republic on nationalist

⁹⁵ This quotation is from Meyer's book, *Nog nie ver genoeg nie*, (Johannesburg 1984) page 51 as quoted in Muller 1990:550)

principles (*Afrikaner-Volkseenheid, Ons Republiek, Christelike en Nasionale Onderwys – Part I and II*), and (3) outline the dangers facing the Afrikaner volk. The idea of danger is most clearly expressed in the title, *My Nasie in Nood*. However, specific threats to the Afrikaner are discussed in depth in other volumes in the series. These include the danger of poverty and British domination (*Verarming en Oorheersing, Die Ekonomiese posisie van die Afrikaner*), miscegenation (*Rasse en Rassevermenging*), the crises in education (*Dringende Vraagtekens in ons Opvoeding en Onderwys*), the threat posed by black labour (*Naturelle-opvoeding en –Onderwys Parts I and II*), social problems and urbanisation (*Die Sorg vir Ons Kinders en Jeugdiges, Volksgesondheid en Maatskaplike Werk, Ontspanning en Maatskaplike Werk*.)

Of these volumes, the biggest print run was 3 050 and the smallest 1 500 (of volume number 25). The books were sold at 3s each. Muller readily admits that the books were poorly produced and did not compare favourably to the *Kwarteeu Serie*,⁹⁶ but argues that very important and topical issues were nonetheless addressed in the *Tweede Trek* series, which made it significant (Muller 1990: 516). None of the volumes in the series was ever reprinted, and it can therefore safely be assumed that the dissemination of the series was fairly limited.

Sexuality and the boy's body in the *Tweede Trek* series and in *Keurboslaan*:

The school as body of the nation

When Nasionale Pers published the *Tweede Trek* series to coincide with the centenary celebrations of the Great Trek, its overarching aims with the series were to build support for an Afrikaner republic based on Christian and nationalist principles and to unite white Afrikaans speakers under the umbrella of the Afrikaner nation. To achieve this, the *Tweede Trek* series included information about ways in which Afrikaners could improve their social condition, reviewed the Afrikaner history and cultural achievements, placed the republican striving on a 'scientific foundation', created awareness about the plight of fellow Afrikaans speakers, delineated a programme of action for the regeneration of the Afrikaner nation, and outlined key challenges facing the Afrikaner on its way to a republic. It is not suggested here that the *Tweede Trek* series gave expression to a coherent and singular position on all of these matters.

⁹⁶ A series of twelve books to commemorate the first twenty-five years of the existence of Nasionale Pers commissioned for the Nasionale Pers Quarter Century Festival. The books were written by prominent Afrikaans writers, among them Jochem van Bruggen, C.J. Langenhoven, F.E.J Malherbe and others.

Given that the volumes were written by a wide range of authors and that there was a need to produce the series at low cost in a short time, the series displays gaps and overlaps and opinions expressed in the different volumes are sometimes contradictory. Nonetheless, the series is a fair reflection of the thinking of Afrikaner intellectuals of the time on matters pertaining to nation building.

An important feature of the series is the way in which it gave particular prominence to the articulation of dangers facing the Afrikaner. In the introduction to *Dringende Vraagtekens in ons Opvoeding en Onderwys*, this emphasis on external threats is made explicit:

Waarna [in hierdie volume van die Tweede Trek reeks] gestrewe word is slegs om die mede-Afrikaner bewus te maak van die groot nasionale gevare wat daar dreig en hom tot eerlike, ernstige denke aan te spoor (Keyter 1942:6)

[What [this volume of the Tweede Trek series] endeavours is only to create awareness among the fellow Afrikaner of the immense national dangers that are threatening out there and to encourage him to candid, sober thought.]

In *My Nasie in Nood*, volume III in the series, seven such dangers are outlined: the loss of self-respect among Afrikaners; a lack of desire to work and an antipathy to manual labour; poor adjustment of the Afrikaner to the industrialised economy and modern farming methods; absence of a sense of solidarity among Afrikaners; the reality that the Afrikaner had no place in the economic life; the fact that the virtue of saving, which once characterised the Afrikaner's approach to money matters, had disappeared, and, finally, the tendency among Afrikaners to adopt lifestyles, cultural practices and beliefs that were foreign, i.e. non-Afrikaans, and that sometimes stood in opposition to the culture and worldview of the Afrikaner. In this discourse of imminent danger, the body seems to be central, both as metaphor and as site of remedy. In the introduction to *Dringende Vraagtekens in ons Opvoeding en Onderwys*, the Afrikaner volk is described as a diseased body:

My nasie in nood! En dit is nie alleen die honderduisende ongelukkiges wat in nood is nie – die ganse nasie is in nood, want die hele nasie word getref deur die ontsettend groot getal hopeloos versonkenes. Die liggaam kan nie gesond wees nie as hy ledemate het wat siek is; en as ledemate nie gesond word nie, en inteendeel in krankheid toeneem, dan sterf uiteindelik die liggaam self (Kestell 1940: 7).

[My nation in danger! And it is not only the hundreds of thousands unfortunate ones that are in danger, but it is the entire nation that is endangered, since the entire nation is affected by the large number of hopelessly sunken. The body cannot be healthy if it has limbs that are ailing; and if these limbs do not heal and, on the contrary, become even more ill, the body itself will eventually die.]

However, in restoring the nation to health, Kestell indicates that it is the hearts, minds and bodies of the youth that need to be targeted:

So is 'n deel van my nasie in nood. Hopeloos versonke. Van hulle is nie veel te verwag nie. Maar hulle kinders moet gered word (Kestell 1940: 32).

[Thus is a part of my nation in crisis. Hopelessly sunken (in the deepest state of surrender). From them not much is to be expected. But their children must be saved.]

The *Tweede Trek* series postulates a close link between sexuality and the nation. Consequently, regulation of the body and sexuality of the adolescent is regarded as an important aspect of the process of nation building. In a chapter entitled 'Sexual Education' in *Dringende Vraagtekens in ons Opvoeding en Onderwys*, volume XVII in the *Tweede Trek* series, Keyter articulates this understanding:

Seksualiteit is nie soos menige ultra-moderne beweging wil voorgee, slegs 'n *private* saak nie. Dit is by uitstek ook 'n vraagstuk van *sosiale* en *nasionale* betekenis. Die puberteitsperiode is die aangewese tydperk om die nadruk na die sosiale en nasionale aspekte daarvan te verskuiwe (Keyter 1942:129).

[Sexuality is not – as many ultramodern movements want to suggest - a private matter only. It is in particular also a question of *social* and *national* significance. Puberty is the appropriate period or phase to shift the emphasis to the social and national aspects of (sexuality).]

Matters pertaining to the sexuality and body of the child and young adult surface in many of the volumes in the *Tweede Trek* series, but is explicitly addressed in two of the volumes, namely *Dringende Vraagtekens in ons Onderwys an Opvoeding* by J. de W. Keyter and *Die Sorg vir ons Kinders en Jeugdiges* by W.A. Willemse. Whilst Willemse focuses on the body and sexuality of the girl and young woman in his contribution, the chapter by Keyter is concerned with the sexuality of the boy and young man. For the purposes of this argument, the chapters from Keyter and Willemse are read against the *Keurboslaan* series.

In summary, it is argued here that the *Tweede Trek* series attaches special importance to the sexuality of the child and the dominant discourse in this regard is the danger that the self poses to the self. Sexuality is explained as something that needs to be regulated. Undisciplined bodies and unrestrained sexual practices, in particular masturbation, are rendered as threats to the nation, whilst the need to subject the body to discipline and exercise is emphasized. The highest virtue that can be achieved is that of self-control.

There are a number of parallels between the *Tweede Trek* series and *Keurboslaan* that are explored here. As indicated in Chapter One, Keurboslaan College for Boys' founding history plays an important role in the Keurboslaan books and the school's historical trajectory frames many of the narratives. It is argued here that this founding history invites a reading of the Keurboslaan College for Boys as the body of the nation and the school's beginnings, which was outlined in Chapter One, is therefore briefly recounted.

Keurboslaan College for Boys was originally established by the eccentric Mister Schoonbee, an intellectual and a dreamer who understood very little about the demands of school management but felt that he had to create an opportunity for Afrikaans speaking boys to attend a good school at which teaching takes place through the medium of Afrikaans. Under Mister Schoonbee's management, the school was poorly resourced, struggled to survive and produced exceptionally poor results. Yet, despite these failings, parents were reluctant to move their children out of the school, because they were committed to the principle of a private school for Afrikaners and therefore wanted to keep the school going. In *Jong Dr. Serfontein*, Oscar Wienand, a senior student at the school, explains that the parents of Keurboslaan pupils felt that they had to support the school despite the many problems simply because it was the only Afrikaans private school in the country (Krogh 1945:11). In the revised edition of this title, the reluctance of parents to move their children to better schools is explicitly tied to the fact that the school was established as a project to provide quality schooling in Afrikaans to children of 'volksleiers' (leaders of the Afrikaans people). Moving one's children to another school would be perceived as an admission that the project had failed, which would expose Afrikaners to mockery from English speaking South Africans (see Chapter One).

Through circumstance, Roelof Serfontein arrived in Keurboslaan where he met Mr Schoonbee, the school principal. A unique friendship developed between the two men and Mr Schoonbee asked Roelof to stay on as school principal. On taking up his duties as school principal, Serfontein found conditions in the school in a completely unsatisfactory state. The school had very few facilities and no sport fields; the dormitories were dark and stuffy; pupils were dirty, their hair was long and unkempt, and their clothes torn. The school did not have a proper timetable or curriculum and its teachers were unqualified or under qualified. Moreover, the school lacked discipline of any kind and schoolboys were free to roam around and do whatever they liked. Since the school was understaffed, teachers were in the habit of sending boys off to bed right after a heavy early supper to free up time for themselves. Dr Serfontein sets about to change all of this in a very short period of time.

He started by making changes to the teaching corps. He discharged two teachers, who he felt could not be of any use to the school given their behaviour, which included encouraging students to smoke, telling crude jokes in the staff room, and engaging in some lewd (but unspecified) behaviour and taking pupils along on these excursions. An unqualified teacher, Mr Lamprecht, was instructed to select courses from UNISA's yearbooks and enrol immediately if he wanted to stay on at the school, while two elderly teachers were accommodated in non-teaching posts (as accountant and private music teacher respectively). Two schoolboys were sent away from the school because the headmaster felt that they would not have a positive influence on the others, but were nonetheless referred for psychological treatment. Dr Serfontein introduced changes in the school routine by instituting compulsory sport activities, introducing physical education as a subject, making study periods compulsory, changing pupils' diet, meal times, bathing and sleeping arrangements. At first, his reforms were met with resistance from the boys, but after a few confrontations, in some cases involving corporal punishment, he won their loyalty and support.

There are a number of ways in which Dr Serfontein's actions resonate with the concerns addressed in the Tweede Trek series. Outlining the dangers facing the Afrikaner volk, Keyter outlines a list of do's and don'ts with regard to the boy's body:

Dit spreek dan vanself dat een van die eerste vereistes wat nagekom moet word, dié is dat daar teen alle vorme van vertroeteling gewaak moet word. Van die eerste dag moet gesorg word vir die ontwikkeling van 'n gesonde, kragtige liggaam en besliste, goeie gewoontes. Die liggaam, en veral die geslagsorgane, moet rein gehou word, daar onreinheid prikkeling veroorsaak, die aandag daarop vestig en poginge om die onaangenaamheid te verwyder in die werk stel wat weer heel gemaklik tot perverse, seksuele gewoontes aanleiding gee. In die uitvoer daarvan moet egter gewaak word teen onnodige betasting van die geslagsorgane, iets wat heel dikwels deur bediendes gedoen word met die doel om die kind tot gehoorsaamheid aan hulle eise te beweeg. Die voedsel moet eenvoudig, solied en by die tyd en omstandighede aangepas word. Gereelde en verstandige ontlastingsgewoontes moet van vroeg reeds aangekweek en die gebruik van prikkelende stowwe soos asyn, peper, mosterd ens. sover as moontlik vermy word. Ook behoort die aandete lig en eenvoudig te wees – geen swaar maaltye soos 'n oorvloedige aandeel van patats, vleis, ens., nie – en die oorvloedige gebruik van vloeistowwe kort voor slaaptyd vermy te word. Tabak om nie te praat van alkohol nie, maar ook die bandelose geniet van lekkernye soos lekkers, koek, ens., mag onder geen omstandighede toegelaat word nie. Nie alleen word die gesonde, liggaamlike groei deur sulke omstandighede belemmer nie, maar die gewoontes van teulose toegee aan begeertes word langs daardie weg reeds vroeg aangekweek... Daar moet dus ook van die vroegste stadium af gestrewe word na die gesonde ontwikkeling van selfbeheer (Keyter 1942:119-122).

[It is self-evident then that one of the first requirements that has to be complied with is that all forms of pampering must be guarded against. From the first day onwards one has to see to the development of a healthy, strong body and positive habits. The body has to be kept clean, especially the genitals. Impurity causes irritation, which brings the attention to it, and attempts to get rid of the discomfort very easily leads to perverse sexual habits. In the execution thereof, one must guard against unnecessary touching of the genitals, something that is often done by maids in order to force the child to adhere to their demands. Food has to be simple and solid, and has to be adapted to time and circumstances. Regular and sensible excremental habits have to be formed early on and the use of stimulating substances such as vinegar, pepper, mustard, etc must be avoided as far as possible. Also, dinners must be kept light and simple – no heavy meals such as liberal portions of sweet potatoes, meat, etc – and the drinking of copious amounts of liquids before bedtime must be avoided. Tobacco, not to mention alcohol, and the unrestrained enjoyment of sweets, cake, etc must not be permitted under any circumstances. Not only does it hamper healthy physical growth, but the habit of giving in to desires is fostered early on....From the start, one has to strive towards the healthy cultivation of self-control.]

and

Die kinderkamer en die bed moet eenvoudig, lugtig en sonnig wees. Terselfdertyd behoort gewaak te word teen onnodige en ontydige in die bed lê. Onder geen omstandighede durf dit as straf gebruik word nie. 'n Gesonde, aktiewe kind vind orals middele waarmee hy homself kan vermaak en daartoe dien ook die liggaamsdele. Deur hom in die bed te hou wanneer daar geen behoefte daartoe is nie, word hy blootgestel aan die gevaar van ongesonde seksuele gewoontes (Keyter 1942:122-123).

[The child's room and bed must be simple, well ventilated and sunny. At the same time, one must guard against lying in bed unnecessarily and untimely. Under no circumstances must it be used as punishment. A healthy, active child can find entertainment for himself anywhere and that includes his genitalia. By keeping him in bed when there is no need for it, he is exposed to the danger of unhealthy sexual habits.]

In an uncanny way, the measures introduced by Dr Serfontein closely match almost each of Keyter's points with regard to the regulation of sexuality and the body. Immediately after his arrival at Keurboslaan, Roelof Serfontein starts implementing drastic measures to turn Keurboslaan College for Boys around. These include changes to sleeping arrangements and cutting down on sleeping time, the introduction of physical exercise, and changes to the diet, meal times and washing arrangements:

'Julle slaap ver te veel', kom die antwoord beslis. 'Julle gaan agtuur slaap en staan eers sewe-uur op. Geen mens van julle leeftyd het elf ure slaap nodig nie. In die toekoms gaan julle om tien-uur bed-toe. Die skool staan om sesuur op. Daar sal van half-sewe tot sewe liggaamsoefening op die speelgrond of, wanneer dit reën, in een van die klaskamers wees. Daarna stortbaaie en dan studie tot ontbyt. Van vandag sal die hoofmaaltyd in die middel van die dag in plaas van die aand gegee word. Die tyd van halfdrie tot vyf sal aan sport of liggaamsoefeninge bestee word. Dan, na die tee, word weer tot die aandete gestudeer. Daarna sal daar verder studietyd wees, met 'n halfuur se vrye tyd tot die aandgodsdiens. Die juniors sal half-nege bed toe gaan' (Krogh 1945b:51-52).

['You sleep way too much,' comes the firm answer. 'You go to bed at eight and get up only at seven. Nobody your age needs eleven hours sleep. In future, you will go to bed at ten. The school rises at six. From six-thirty to seven there will be physical training on the playgrounds or, when it rains, in one of the classrooms. Thereafter you will shower and study until breakfast. From today, the main meal will be served at noon instead of in the evening. Between two-thirty and five you will take part in sport or physical training.

Then, after tea, you will study until supper. After that there will be more study time, with half an hour spare time until evening prayers. The juniors will go to be at eight-thirty.']

These measures are introduced with great fervour, even where the practical implementation seems to be difficult. For example, cold showers, a washing method that is generally thought to be preferable to hot baths in regulating sexual practices and as a method to discourage masturbation, are immediately implemented and made compulsory despite the fact that the school had only three showers:

Toe die seuns hulle weer kry, word die laaste een, groot en klein, deur die drie onderwysers onder koue stortbaddens ingeja. Daar die skool maar drie besit, duur die hele operasie taamlik lank (Krogh 1945b:53-54).

[Before they know it, the boys, big and small, get chased into the cold showers by the three teachers. Because the school has only three showers, the whole operation lasts quite a while.]

A general school regulation is subsequently introduced that cold showers are compulsory in the mornings and that no hot baths may be taken in the evenings (Krogh 1959a: 66, 71). The changes Dr Serfontein introduces to the boys' sleeping arrangements also take on board Keyter's ideas that the child's room needs to be bright and airy:

Toe die jonger seuns later na die slaapsaal gaan, is doktor Serfontein voor hulle daar. Hy het van iewers meer lampe as gewoonlik gebring, en die yslike kamer lyk vroliker as wat hulle dit ken. Maar al die vensters, aan albei kante van die kamer, staan wawyd oop en 'n ontmoedigende, koue wind waai daardeur sodat 'n mens by die gedagte aan uitrek sidder.

Hulle kyk smekend om genade na die jong reus wat sonder medelye terugkyk.

'Hierdie vensters bly oop,' deel hy beslis mee.

'Maar, Meneer,' protester Bokhorst nors, 'ons sal koud kry!'

'Ek dink nie so nie. Maar as dit gebeur, staan op en doen liggaamsoefeninge (Krogh 1945b:57).

[Later, when the younger boys go to the dormitories, Doctor Serfontein is already there. He has brought more lamps than usual, and the enormous room looks more cheerful than they know it. But all the windows, on both

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sides of the room, are wide open and a discouraging, cold wind blows through them so that the mere thought of undressing gives you the shivers.

They look at the young giant begging for mercy, who looks back at them without the slightest hint of sympathy.

'These windows will stay open,' he tells them firmly.

'But Sir,' protests Bronkhorst, 'we're going to be cold!'

'I don't think so, but if that happens, get up and do some exercises.']

After Dr Serfontein's intervention, the dormitory rooms resembled those of a clinic, thereby taking Keyter's requirement that the boy's room needs to be simple one step further:

Die slaapkamers, elkeen met agt beddens, is blinkskoon met wit kaste en liggroen gordyne en vloermatte. Mevrou Mostert sorg dat dit netjies gehou word en dit lyk eintlik meer na hospitaalvertrekke as na seuns se slaapkamers. Groot vensters, nag en dag wawyd oop, laat vars lug deurwaai (Krogh 1942:54).

[The bedrooms, each with eight beds, are spotlessly clean, with white cupboards and light green curtains and carpets. It is Mrs Mostert's responsibility to keep things neat and the rooms remind one more of hospital rooms than bedrooms for boys. The large windows, open day and night, allow for fresh air to lightly blow across the room.]

The principle 'that all forms of pampering must be guarded against' (Keyter 1942:119) is exemplified by Dr Serfontein. Serfontein is depicted as an intensely private individual who has great difficulty expressing his personal feelings and whose personal relationships are marked by restraint. He strongly believes that a kind of distance between school principal and pupil must be retained at all times:

Wienand hoop dat die hoof wat 'n streng dissipel van selfstandigheid is en wat te veel intiemheid tussen onderwyser en leerling sien as iets wat in die sterkste mate afgekeur moet word, nie die fout sal begaan om hierdie teer persoon-tjie, wat tog nog baie klein is, te vroeg in die diep waters van selfstandigheid in te gooi nie (Krogh 1948:17-18).

[Wienand hopes that the principal - who is a devout disciple of independence and who regards intimacy between teacher and pupil as something that

should be strictly disapproved of - won't make the mistake of throwing this tender little person, still very young, too early in the deep waters of independence.]

This too applies in his relationship with his own children:

Krynauw glimlag. Hy het 'n goeie idee wat die hoof se besoek beteken. Hy sal lank langs sy seun se wiegie staan en ernstig op die slapende gesiggie neerkyk, maar hy sal die kind nooit aanraak nie. Net Krynauw wat na jare van ondervinding en meegevoel sy gedagtes byna kan hoor, weet dat hy miskien lus het om die kind op te tel. Hy sal dit in alle geval nie doen nie. Hy is vol inhibisies, meen Krynauw met jeugdige selfvertroue, en die sterkste van hulle is sy weersin in enige uiterlike bewys van intiemheid. Mens wonder hoe dit later met sy verstandhouding met sy seun sal gaan. Sal die kind die geslotenheid verstaan en dit as werklike skuheid erken, of sal hy dit as 'n gebrek aan simpatie beskou? (Krogh 1947a:35).

[Krynauw smiles. He has a strong gist of what the headmaster's visit will entail. He will spend a long time standing next to his son's cot, looking down on him with a serious expression on his face, but he will not once touch the child. It is only Krynauw that knows, based on years of experience and a deep sympathy for the headmaster that enables him to almost hear the headmaster's thoughts as if spoken out aloud, that he may have an urge to pick up his child. In any event, he will not give in to that urge. In his youthful self-confidence, Krynauw is of the opinion that the headmaster has many inhibitions, the strongest of which is his resentment of any outward expressions of intimacy. One cannot help but wonder what kind of understanding he will have with his son. Will the child understand his father's reservedness and recognise it for the shyness that it really is, or will he see it as lacking in sympathy?]

Keyter (1942) maintains that an interest in sexual matters and the body is characteristic of the deviant child:

Die gesonde, lewenslustige, aktiewe kind lewer selde uit eie beweging groot moeilikhede met betrekking tot die seksuele. Hy is te besig om al die mooie en interessante om hom heen te ondersoek en te geniet om te veel aandag daaraan te gee. Die sieklike, die onnatuurlike in homself getoë tipe en die kind met 'n swak senuweestelsel daarenteen, lewer maar al te dikwels groot en moeilike vraagstukke (Keyter 1942:119).

[The healthy, vivacious, active child seldom gives cause for concern with regard to the sexual. He is too busy investigating all the beauty and interesting

things around him to give it much attention. On the other hand, the sickly, abnormally introverted child or the nervous child too often causes serious and difficult problems.]

As remedy for 'perverse' sexual practices, the *Tweede Trek* series therefore praises the virtues of exercise, in particular swimming, and sensible eating habits.

In hierdie verband moet klem daarop gelê word dat volgens deskundiges feitlik alle seuns gedurende die rypingsjare in *masturbasie* (selfbevelekking) verval en dat baie daarmee aanhou totdat hulle 'n normale geslagslewe kan voer... Die beste kuur is 'n gesonde lewe (gebalanseerde voedsel, sport en veral swem)... (Willemse 1940:129).

[In this regard it must be stressed that according to experts almost all boys lapse into *masturbation* (self-pollution) during puberty and they continue doing this until they can lead a normal sex life... The best cure is healthy living (a balanced diet, sport and especially swimming) ...]

Whilst masturbation and other sexual practices pose a particular danger to the nation, Willemse indicates that the practices of subjecting desire and disciplining the body may translate into particular benefits for the nation. His advice to young men who say they feel a need to masturbate is as follows:

Gewoonlik maak ek dit aan hulle duidelik dat *beheersing lei tot verdieping* van die gemoedslewe en tot die *sublimasie* van die geslagsdrang in kuns en *idealisme*... (Willemse 1940:128-129).

[I usually make it clear to them that *self-control leads to deepening* of the inner life and to *sublimation* of the sexual urges in art and idealism ...]

Keyter further claims that by channelling the energies of the young body into the productive service of higher idealism through a call on the duties of the Christian faith and patriotism, the sexual desire of the young body can be transformed:

Geen angsjaende dreigemente, hetsy van godsdienstige of ander aard, wat onnodige en soms vernietigende sielskonflikte veroorsaak darf hier gebruik word nie. Dis opvoedkundig veel gesonder en by die aard en behoeftes van die periode beter aangepas om 'n positiewe beroep op die moed en manlikheid van die jongmens in diens van 'n verhewe idealisme te maak. Die moed om te lewe, om suiwer waardevol te lewe, is hier alles. Tot ontwikkeling daarvan bied die Christelike godsdiens en lewensideaal 'n besondere bron van krag wanneer dit in diens van 'n egte positiewe godsdienstigheid gestel

word. Dit is daar waar die oproep tot die stryd helder weerklank en die persoonlike voorbeeld self die weg aanwys. In die strewe om te dien, om sy plek op waardige wyse in die lewe in te neem, word die eie-ek met al sy kwellings vergeet en die aandag en energie in vrugbare kanale gelei. Daartoe kan gesonde literatuur, 'n gesonde vriendskaplike omgang met die teenoorgestelde geslag, die ontwikkeling van egte vaderlandsliefde en nasionale verantwoordelikheid en die vermyding van literatuur, rolprente en allerlei vermaak van twyfelagtige aard besonder baie bydrae (Keyter 1942:128-129).

[No fearsome threats, be it of a religious or other nature, that can cause unnecessary and sometimes destructive conflicts within the soul dare be used. Educationally, it is much healthier and conforms better to the nature and needs of the time to make a positive appeal to the courage and masculinity of the young person in service of a higher idealism. The courage to live, and to be of value, is everything. To develop this, the Christian religion and ideals offer a unique source of strength when it is put to use in a purely positive devotion. It is there that the summons to the battle echoes clearly and the personal example shows the way. In the goal to serve, to take its place in life in a worthy manner, the own-self with all its worries is forgotten and the attention and energy is steered down productive avenues. Wholesome literature, healthy platonic interaction with the opposite sex, the development of true patriotism and sense of national responsibility, and the avoidance of literature, films and any entertainment of dubious nature can greatly contribute to this.]

In addition to a healthy lifestyle and proper exercise, the *Tweede Trek* series regards the most important remedy for the dangers to the self posed by the desires of the body and unbridled sexuality to be self discipline, self-control, and self-rule:

Ook kan 'n goed uitgewerkte en taktvol gekontroleerde sisteem van selfregering 'n waardevolle bron van opvoedende invloed in hierdie jare [puberteitsperiode] wees (Keyter 1942:129).

[A well-conceived and tactfully controlled system of self-rule can also be a valuable source of educational influence in these years (puberty).]

Practices of and discourse on the body at Keurboslaan College for Boys seem to mirror the opinions expressed in the *Tweede Trek* series. Exercise is an important component of school life at Keurboslaan and Dr Serfontein introduced swimming as a compulsory activity in Spring and Summer. The school has its own Olympic standard swimming pool and two rock pools where pupils are allowed to swim naked (Krogh 1944: 20):

Die skool besit verbasend baie badkamers en stortbaddens. Elke seun kry drie warm baaie 'n week, en elke oggend 'n koue stortbad. Hulle swem ook elke dag. Dis alles verpligtend (Krogh 1942:54).

[The school has a remarkable number of bathrooms and showers. Each boy takes three warm baths a week and a cold shower each morning. In addition, the boys swim every day. All of this is compulsory.]

The school follows a sensible diet, and the headmaster disapproves of smoking, drinking and eating cake and sweets. In addition, a strong emphasis is placed on the necessity to acquire bodily self-control as a strategy for resisting attempts to 'sin' against the body:

'n Man se eerste plig is om liggaamlike ritme te kweek. Daarom beoefen ons hier soveel sport, sodat julle vroeg die deugde van 'n harde, gesonde, skoon liggaam kan leer. As julle dit eenmaal ken, kan julle nie maklik daarteen sondig nie' (Krogh 1944:103).

[A man's first duty is to cultivate bodily rhythm. That is why we do so much sport here, so that you can learn from early on the virtues of a hard, healthy and clean body. Once you know it, you won't easily sin against it.]

The importance of self-discipline and self-control is a recurrent theme in the Keurboslaan stories. In *Twee nuwe seuns op Keurboslaan*, the teacher responsible for physical training places all first team rugby players on a strict diet. The team members rebel against the strict diet and decide to confiscate a food parcel one of their members received from home. When they are caught and sent to the headmaster for punishment, the following exchange takes place:

'Dis onbevredigend om te sien dat julle so min selfbeheer toon,' gaan die hoof voort. 'Mens kry elke oomblik van die dag se vier-en-twintig uur selfbeheer nodig. Eetlus is nie die enigste begeerte wat onder beheer gehou moet word nie, soos julle self goed weet. As jou weerstand teen een soort versoeking verswak is 'n ander ook gou jou meester' (Krogh 1944:102).

[It's disappointing to see how few of you show self-control,' the principal carries on. 'One has to exercise self-control twenty-four hours of the day. Appetite is not the only desire that has to be controlled, as you very well know. If you lose your resistance to one kind of temptation, others are soon to follow.']

The particular danger of succumbing to the desires of the body is here articulated as the possibility that this may lead to lapses of self-discipline in other contexts. Here one could think of the dangers facing the Afrikaner nation outlined in *My Nasie in Nood*: the temptation to spend money rather than to save; the temptation to align oneself with foreign cultural practices; the temptation not to work; and the temptation to put the interests of the individual above the interests of the collective. The call for self-discipline is one that is often repeated at Keurboslaan:

“n Mens moet leer om jou altyd in alle omstandighede te bedwing’ (dr Serfontein in Krogh 1959a:82).

[‘One has to learn to control oneself in all circumstances’]

and

‘n Gebrek aan selfbeheersing is altyd ‘n mens se eie skuld’, sê Richard (Krogh 1956:56).

[‘A lack of self-control is always one’s own fault’, says Richard]

When the young Flip Venter tells his room prefect that he struggles to sleep at night and that his mind starts wandering when he lies in bed, he is encouraged to get up at night to do exercise and then take a cold shower (Krogh 1947b: 78). And, as an example to the boys, the headmaster displays enormous control over his own body:

Gedurende so ‘n rit ly hy aan dors soos dit by hom selde die geval is, daar hy al sy behoeftes onder uitstekende beheer kan hou (Krogh 1948:119).

[During the ride he suffers from thirst as with him it is seldom the case with him, since he has the ability to keep all his needs under excellent control.]

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated the centrality of discourse on the body and sexuality in the Tweede Treks series, and therefore, by implication, to the cause of Afrikaner nationalism generally. In the second instance, the chapter attempted to show that it was in particular children who had to be saved from imminent dangers by capturing them to the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism. Through a comparison of the

Keurboslaan series with two titles in the *Tweede Trek* series, this chapter attempted to show that the discourse on sexuality and practices of the body represented in the *Keurboslaan* series were in broad brush-strokes similar to the discourse on the body and sexuality as articulated in the *Tweede Trek* series, an explicitly nationalist project. This is of importance for three reasons. First, it flags the link between the bodies and sexuality of young adults and Afrikaner nationalism. Second, it illuminates the question posed at the beginning about the ways in which the ideas of the petty bourgeoisie were disseminated into a form of 'mass consciousness'. Third, it draws attention to the importance of children to the project of Afrikaner nationalism.

It can be argued that the *Keurboslaan* series made more significant inroads into the minds and hearts of readers than the *Tweede Trek* series. This view is supported by sales figures and the number of reprints, but more importantly, this was possible because the discourse of fiction is vested with desire. The *Keurboslaan* series became part of Afrikaner cultural goods and a collective memory in ways that were not possible for publications such as the *Monumente* series and the *Tweede Trek* series. Whilst it was not mass produced, the series was widely obtainable in public libraries and was reproduced a number of times to make it available to a few generations of Afrikaans readers. Consequently, Roelof Serfontein, Eugene Krynauw and the world of *Keurboslaan* became part of the social imaginary of children reading Afrikaans fiction. *Keurboslaan* became the imaginary model school for the Afrikaner nation and *Keurboslaan* pupils the role models Afrikaans children aspired to emulate. From book reviews of the books published at the time of publication, it is evident that the books had an audience well beyond the children it was intended for and *Keurboslaan* became the iconic Afrikaans school. It is important to consider here the space in which the *Keurboslaan* texts were read and continue to be read: Given that these books were never prescribed as set works in schools, children read them for the pleasure of reading, an everyday activity that engages the imagination in countless ways and which, on the surface at least, presents itself as a domain of free choice, though it is a choice that is mediated through structures such as the public library system.

The *Keurboslaan* series created a self-referential Afrikaner world in the imagination. It showed a way of being and at the same time the rules for and limits to belonging to the body of this nation. In this regard, the notion of self-discipline is central.

The research demonstrated that the dissemination of Afrikaner nationalist ideas on the body and sexuality through the *Keurboslaan* series was not an orchestrated

intervention that formed part of a grand plan aimed at unrolling Afrikaner nationalist ideas. Stella Blakemore was a marginal figure in the Afrikaner establishment. Whilst part of the Afrikaner elite, her ties with the other, both through her father's nationality and her marriage to a Welshman, as well as her upbringing which included a schooling in English private schools in Natal, excluded her from the ranks of the Afrikaner intelligentsia.

Yet Stella Blakemore was successful in areas where the Afrikaner petty bourgeoisie had failed. Whereas the latter were trying to foster a collective Afrikaner consciousness through literary works such as *Ampie*, which portrays the life story of a so-called poor white Afrikaner, Blakemore produced popular fiction, which tapped into individual desire for social and class mobility that could be achieved within the fold of Afrikanerdom. In that sense, it can be argued that the discourse in the Tweede Trek series and in Keurboslaan was not the product of the same process, but of the same class interests.

The discourse on the body and sexuality in neither the *Tweede Trek* Series nor *Keurboslaan* is original. The *Tweede Trek* series drew on Dutch, American and English literature from the late nineteenth century, whilst the *Keurboslaan* series gave expression to many of the Victorian attitudes and ideas predominant in the English public school story on which the series is modelled.

Finally, the examination of discourse on and practices of the body and sexuality in the *Keurboslaan* series presents an opportunity to explore the question of subjectivity. If the danger to the self is the self, *Keurboslaan* presents as the remedy to that danger the notion of discipline, in particular self-discipline and self-control. It may be interesting to explore the extent to which the emphasis on self-control in Afrikaner nationalist thought fed into the development of an Afrikaner subjectivity, which Hyslop describes as comprising of a non-reflexive submission to authority' (Hyslop 2000:37).

The chapter displays a number of important gaps. To keep the chapter focused, it was decided to leave out matters pertaining to the sexuality of the girl and young women and elements of homoeroticism portrayed in the Keurboslaan series. It should be noted that the theme of the self as danger to the self could be extended much beyond the scope of this chapter and the notion of self-discipline and self-control is not the only remedy for the self that is suggested in Keurboslaan. Other remedies for the self that

are outlined in Keurboslaan include tailored punishment, surveillance, and medical and psychological treatment.