

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

by

Paul Leonard Murray

(23414911)

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree DPhil

in the Department of Historical and Heritage Studies at the

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

SUPERVISOR: PROF L KRIEL

CO-SUPERVISOR: PROF A WESSELS

April 2012



FOREWORD & ACKNOWLEGMENTS

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

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

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

¹Stephen Gray, 'Leipoldt's Valley Community: The Novelist as Archivist', Social Dynamics, 10(1), pp. 46 – 51,

²Subsequent to writing the Foreword to this thesis, John Kannemeyer died on 28 December 2011, precisely 132 years after the birth of C Louis Leipoldt (28 December 1880). ³J C Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt, 'n Lewensverhaal*, Tafelberg, Cape Town, 1999.



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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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



particularly well.⁴ Thanks go to Marié Coetzee, Head of the Archives and Special Collection at the University of South Africa, as well as Annette le Roux, the Archivist. The Library Staff at the Adler Museum of Medicine in Johannesburg, the Library Staff especially Alett Nell and and Elsa Coertse at the University of Pretoria and the staff at the National Archives in Pretoria are thanked for their kind assistance. I would like to thank David and Marlene McCay, Christo and Caro Wiese and Japie Basson⁵, as well as Dr Ton Vosloo for the continued interest in my studies. Finally, I should like to thank Riaan Oppelt for sharing some thoughts about *The Valley* and sending me unpublished material to read, which greatly stimulated my interest, for instance, 'C. Louis Leipoldt and the Role of the "Cape Malay" in South African Cookery.'6 The acclaimed British photographer Jennifer Gough-Cooper is thanked for her inspiration, in the form of many conversations, which took place around the dinner table on the beautiful farm, Nooitgedacht⁷ in the Karoo. The renowned international architect and artist Pancho Geddes, over many years, has always been a great source of inspiration, and has probably been the greatest influence for me to try to conceptualize aspects of Leipoldt's life, the writing of which has emerged in the words of this thesis, through careful research — producing an alternative history (and form of history).

⁴Michael Reitz in a conversation with me on 9 July 2008.

⁵Mr Japie Basson, a retired South African politician, passed away on 8 August 2012.

⁶Riaan Oppelt, 'C. Louis Leipoldt and the Role of the "Cape Malay" in South African Cookery', *Journal of Literary Studies*, 28(1), March 2012, pp. 51 – 68.

⁷The meaning of 'Nooitgedacht' is 'who would ever have thought ...' and so in a similar way, one could say, who would ever have thought that a study such as this thesis would one day come to fruition.



KEY TERMS

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



ABSTRACT

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

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



TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD & ACKNOWLEGMENTS	2
KEY TERMS	6
ABSTRACT	7
TABLE OF CONTENTS	8
CHAPTER 1	12
LITERATURE SURVEY	12
1.1 – INTRODUCTION	12
1,2 – AIM	13
1.3 – THEORY AND METHODOLOGY	16
1.4. – CONTEXTUALIZING LITERATURE	19
1.4.1 – WORKS OF A THEORETICAL NATURE AGAINST WHICH <i>THE VALLEY</i> (READ	
1.4.2 – A NUMBER OF SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORIOGRAPHIC WORKS AGAINS' THE VALLEY CAN BE READ	
1.4.3 – CONTEXTUALIZING THE LITERATURE OF LEIPOLDT'S EARLY LIFE TO APPLICABLE TO THE VALLEY	
1.4.4 – CONTEXTUALIZING LITERATURE — SEMINAL LEIPOLDT AND OTHER THAT HAVE A BEARING ON <i>THE VALLEY</i>	
1.4.5 – BIOGRAPHIES, WORKS AND STUDIES AGAINST WHICH <i>THE VALLEY</i> READ	
1.5 – CONCLUSION	48
CHAPTER 2	
AN ALTERNATIVE FORM OF HISTORY— RE-PRESENTATION IN 'THE VALLEY TRILOGY, THE PAST IN THE PRESENT	
2.1 – INTRODUCTION	52
2.2 – HAYDEN WHITE'S THEORY OF HISTORICAL REPRESENTATION	54
2.2.1 – WHITE'S THEORY ASSESSED	63
2.3 – EELCO RUNIA	65
2.4 – ASTRID ERLL	67
2.5 – F R ANKERSMIT	68
2.6 – JONAS GRETHLEIN	72
27 - PAUL RICOFUR	75



2.8 - THE VOICES OF SERIOUS CRITICISM AGAINST THE POSTMODERNIST AND DECONSTRUCTIVIST PARADIGM	76
2.9 – NEWER TRENDS IN THE THEORY OF HISTORY – ALEIDA ASSMANN, ANN RIGNEY AND ASTRID ERLL	80
2.10 - CONCLUSION	84
CHAPTER 3	87
THE GUSTAV S PRELLER-C LOUIS LEIPOLDT POLEMIC – THE HEDGEHOG AND T	
3.1 – BACKGROUND TO THE GREAT TREK	
3.2 – GUSTAV SCHOEMAN PRELLER (1875 – 1943)	
3.3 – GUSTAV PRELLER THE HISTORIAN	
3.4 - CONCLUSION	101
3. 5 – C LOUIS LEIPOLDT	103
3.6 – C LOUIS LEIPOLDT'S <i>THE VALLEY</i> , HISTORY IN FICTION?	111
3.7 - CONCLUSION	115
3.8 – THE PRELLER-LEIPOLDT 'FEUD'	115
3.9 – LEIPOLDT AND ENGELENBURG	119
3.10 - CONCLUSION	124
CHAPTER 4	126
GUSTAV PRELLER'S CONSTRUCTION OF A PUBLIC HISTORY BETWEEN 1905 AND 1938 – THE SUMMATIVE, CONTRARY EVIDENCE TO THE VALLEY:	
4.1 – INTRODUCTION	126
4.2 – THE VAN DER STEL CONTROVERSY – A LITTLE-KNOWN INSTANCE OF THE WRITING-UP OF A PUBLIC HISTORY AND THE COUNTER TO IT	
4.3 – THE PRELLER-LEIPOLDT POLEMIC – MATERIAL IN THEIR RELEVANT WOR	
4.4 – <i>THE VALLEY</i> (IN ITS FULL THRUST) AS A FORM OF ALTERNATIVE HISTORIC WRITING IN THE PRELLER-LEIPOLDT POLEMIC	
4.5 – PRELLER, THE CAMPAIGNER FOR THE MEDIUM OF AFRIKAANS	136
4.6 – PRELLER'S MATERIAL – HIS PUBLISHED HISTORY PIET RETIEF	141
4.7 – OTHER PRELLER MATERIAL USED TO PROMOTE AN AFRIKANER HISTORIC CONSCIOUSNESS	
4.8 –THE YEARS 1908 TO 1915; IMPORTANT YEARS FOR THE AFRIKANER	
4.8.1 – THE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRIKANER POLITICS – 1910 - 1914	150
4.8.2 – A POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS SUPPORTED BY CULTURAL MANIFESTATI – 1917 – 1924.	
4.9 – 1925 to 1929	155



4.10 – PRELLER'S IDEOLOGY – 1929 ONWARDS	.157
4.11 – THE FINAL STAGE IN CONSTRUCTING A VOLKSGESKIEDENIS: ANDRIES PRETORIUS AND THE FESTIVAL OF THE GREAT TREK OF 1938	161
4.12 – PRELLER IN VOORTREKKER HISTORIOGRAPHY; ISABEL HOFMEYR <i>ET AL</i> .	.163
4.13 – CONCLUSION	.164
CHAPTER 5	
C LOUIS LEIPOLDT'S LITERARY SUBSTANCE IN THE VALLEY — AN ALTERNATIVE HISTORIOGRAPHY	•
5.1 INTRODUCTION	. 167
5.2 – THE EMPLOYMENT OF FICTION IN <i>THE VALLEY</i>	
5.3 – THE LITERARY SUBSTANCE OF THE VALLEY	173
5.4 - GALLOWS GECKO	. 177
5.5 – STORMWRACK	.191
5.6 – THE MASK	
CHAPTER 6	.213
RESPONSES TO THE VALLEY & WHY IT WAS REJECTED BY PUBLISHERS AT THE TIME – CONCLUDING REMARKS	
6.1 – J C KANNEMEYER, BIOGRAPHER OF LOUIS LEIPOLDT	. 213
6.2 – RIAAN OPPELT	.215
6.3 – PETER MERRINGTON	
6.4 – SANDRA SCOTT SWART	. 218
6.5 – WIUM VAN ZYL	.218
6. 6 – WHY <i>THE VALLEY</i> WAS NOT PUBLISHED AT THE TIME AND SUBSEQUENT EFFORTS TO PUBLISH IT	220
6.7 – CONCLUSION	.222
BIBLIOGRAPHY	.226
I – ARCHIVAL SOURCES	226
II – JOURNAL ARTICLES	231
III – NEWSPAPER ARTICLES	. 233
IV – MAGAZINE ARTICLES & REVIEWS	234
V – LITERATURE	.235
VI – UNPUBLISHED THESES	. 241
VII – ELECTRONIC INFORMATION SOURCES	. 242
VIII – PUBLIC LECTURES, CONFERENCE PAPERS PAMPHLETS & SEMINARS	245
IX – VIDEO	.246



X – BROCHURES	246
XI – BOOK WITH NO AUTHOR	246
XII – INTERVIEWS	246
XIII – E-MAILS	247