

CHAPTER 6

HISTORY TEACHING IN SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS 1918-1948

1. INTRODUCTION

1918 is for a number of reasons a convenient cut-off point. The Joint Matriculation Board, established in accordance with Act No. 12 of 1916, took over control of the matriculation examinations from the University of the Cape of Good Hope in 1918 - the end of a long era.¹ This Board consisted of four representatives of the Councils of each of South Africa's three universities, representatives of the four provincial education departments and of the Union Government, and six representatives appointed by the Minister of Education from amongst school principals of state and private secondary schools in all four provinces. The Junior Certificate examination would from then on be supervised by the University of South Africa. The JMB would award the School Leaving Certificate, or Senior Certificate. For the latter, candidates could choose between History and Geography. In 1920 the subject choice was again adapted, and a science or foreign language could be taken in place of history.²

In 1918, an Afrikaner, Dr W.J. Viljoen, was appointed as Superintendent of Education in the Cape.³ This was the first time an Afrikaner was in control of Cape education. This too marked the end of an era, as all subsequent appointments were to be Afrikaans-speaking. In 1918, "British History" finally disappeared from Cape syllabuses.⁴ In 1918 Dutch achieved

1 A.G. Coetzee, Die Leerplan in Geskiedenis as Leervak op die Kaaplandse Middelbare Skole, p.51.

2 See P.A. Grobbelaar, Middelbare Onderwys in die Oranje-Vrystaat, 1910-1952, met Spesiale Verwysing na Leergange and Leerplanne, pp.27-37.

3 J.C. Coetzee, (Ed.), Onderwys in Suid-Afrika 1652-1960, p.87.

4 F.A. van Jaarsveld and J.J. Rademeyer, Teorie en Metodiek vir Geskiedenisonderrig, p.92.

equality with English as medium of instruction.⁵ It was also the beginning of the Smuts era, for one year later, in 1919, he succeeded General Louis Botha as Prime Minister.

For the next thirty years, White South African politics was to be dominated by different interpretations of the concept of nationhood by Smuts on the one hand, and Hertzog (and later Malan) on the other.

2. POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS 1918-1948

2.1 Smuts, Hertzog and Malan: the party political backdrop

For three decades Smuts and Hertzog ruled the country, sometimes alone, sometimes in coalition. From 1919 to 1924 Smuts's South African Party was in charge, to be unseated by the Pact Government formed between the National Party and the Labour Party, which ruled to 1930. Hertzog's National Party was able to rule, with an absolute majority, for the next three years. The economic crisis forced the two former opponents into forming the United Party in 1934, with Hertzog still Prime Minister, and Smuts his deputy. With the declaration of war in 1939 the United Party split and Smuts took over the reins until his defeat in 1948. The formation of the United Party led directly to the establishment of Dr D.F. Malan's Purified National Party, the party which was ultimately to come to power in 1948, and is still ruling South Africa at the time of writing.

Each of these leaders articulated a different concept of nationhood. Smuts and his followers were hoping for the two White language groups to merge into one White nation, in which the English element was likely to be dominant. For them South Africa's loyalty to the Empire was unquestioned. South Africa

⁵ F.A. van Jaarsveld and J.J. Rademeyer, Teorie en Metodiek vir Geskiedenisonderrig, p.92.

was a part of that greater whole - the Empire was supreme, the constituent parts lesser. Hertzog maintained that there were two streams of South Africa's national life and advocated that they were to be united in a common loyalty to South Africa whose interests came first, before those of the Empire.⁶

Yet Hertzog's brand of nationalism was not intended to be an exclusively Afrikaans one; when he spoke of Afrikaners he included English-speaking South Africans. It was his call for equality that antagonised those pro-British elements who were not willing to grant the Afrikaner his place in the sun. It was Dr Malan who made the concept of nation more specific by narrowing it down to an exclusive Afrikanerdom.⁷

The compromise between the first two approaches is clearly reflected in both the syllabuses and textbooks of the period 1918-1948. Dr Malan's exclusive Afrikaner nationalism had to wait until 1948 to become "official", yet its spirit is already evident in many of the Afrikaans history textbooks of the period. Davies⁸ points to the inability and unwillingness of the United Party Government between 1934 and 1948 to assert itself in the sphere of pre-tertiary education, an area which touched on ethnic sensibilities. Its one interventionist role in education, the promotion of dual-medium schools, was a failure, demonstrating the "impotence of civic South Africanism and ... the relative vitality of Afrikaner nationalism."

6 See D.W. Krüger, The Making of a Nation, p.65, and D.W. Kruger (Ed.), South African Parties and Policies 1910-1960, pp.61-69. See also S.W. Pienaar, Glo in u Volk. Dr. D.F. Malan as Redenaar 1908-1954, pp.23-28.

7 E.G. Matherbe, Education in South Africa, Volume 2, p.19.

8 J.L. Davies, Christian National Education in South Africa, pp.134-137.

2.2. The Union Comes of Age: 1918 - 1932

The gulf between the de facto and the de jure status of the dominions was a source of confusion to the constitutional position of the self-governing states. In practice there was a great measure of equality, but not so in law. Hertzog, therefore, went to the Imperial Conference in London in 1926 determined to obtain from the British Government an acknowledgement that South Africa's status was on an equal footing with Britain's. In this he succeeded: the Balfour Declaration cleared up the uncertainty surrounding the status of the dominions. Hertzog, quite satisfied that South Africa was now a free and independent country within the British Commonwealth, created a Department of Foreign Affairs and in 1929 sent South Africa's first ambassadors abroad. The remaining inequalities still embodied in statutes were removed by the Statute of Westminster in 1931. Thus the nature of the British Empire was radically altered during the years 1926 and 1931.⁹

The Union was also obtaining more of the trappings of nationhood. After an almost unprecedented political storm, a compromise Union flag was hoisted on May 31, 1928. The Status Act of 1934 affirmed the status of the Union as a sovereign independent state. To an increasing extent South Africa was also acting as a regional power; not only was it the mandatory power in South West Africa, but there were also attempts from time to time to incorporate the Protectorates and Southern Rhodesia. On the economic front too South Africa came of age, particularly as a result of the spectacular growth of industry during the Second World War. By 1945 South Africa's prosperity, international prestige and self-confidence had all increased. This is mirrored in the changes, especially in emphasis, in the history syllabuses between 1918 and 1948.

9 C.F.J. Muller (Ed.), 500 Years. A History of South Africa, pp.419-421.

3. THE REVIVAL OF AFRIKANER NATIONALISM

3.1 The Centenary Celebrations of the Great Trek, 1938

Few events in South African history have provided a more immediate and powerful stimulus to the growth of national consciousness than the Symbolic Ox-wagon Trek of 1938. After fusion in 1934, Malan's purified National Party became a parliamentary dwarf and seemed destined for eventual political oblivion. Yet Malan enjoyed the support of the influential Afrikaans cultural and intellectual circles which had formerly stood behind Hertzog, as well as the hard inner core of Afrikaans Calvinism, which had for years been exerting a quiet but strong influence on the growth of political and national consciousness in South Africa. By 1936 the cultural movement had spread widely. The new generation of urban Afrikaners sought its inspiration in the past and aspired to a national independence of the republican variety. By 1938 it required only a deep emotional upheaval or external factor to bring down the edifice which the Generals had constructed. These were provided by the Voortrekker centenary and the outbreak of war respectively.

During the thirties Afrikanerdom had been conscious of its growing strength in urban areas, illustrated by the establishment in 1929 of the F.A.K. (Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Organisations) headquarters in the heart of English-speaking Johannesburg. With the increasing number of teachers provided by training colleges and universities, Afrikaners gained a firm foothold in education. As the influence of Afrikaans increased in the teaching profession, republicanism was fostered and this was built entirely on the memory of the past. The conquest of education was but the beginning. Throughout the length and breadth of the country Afrikaners were preparing to commemorate the Great Trek. From different points of the compass symbolic ox-wagon treks were to converge on Pretoria, visiting along the way all the places sacred in the history of Afrikanerdom. They

were thus to link the past with the present, and that part included not only the desperate struggle against "Bantu barbarians", but also against British imperialism. As the wagons converged on their goal, an extraordinary spirit of fervid patriotism swept over the country. Enthusiasm became quasi religious and sometimes hysterical. The symbolic Trek caused a quickening of the national pulse. The renewed interest in the heroic past found its emotional expression in the ox-wagon, the old Republican flags, Voortrekker dress (including full beards) and the old muzzle-loader, all objects to be venerated.¹⁰ This new revitalised Afrikaans nationalist spirit is clearly reflected in some of the works reviewed later.

3.2 The Afrikaner revival and the schools

Characteristic of the role of the schools in nationalist movements, the mouthpiece of the Cape Afrikaans Teachers Association, Die Unie, made a plea for well-planned and well-organised school participation in the centenary celebrations.¹¹ The July issue published a list of patriotic songs to be sung by schoolchildren at celebrations and around the huge campfires already planned. Amongst those were Die Stem van Suid-Afrika, Afrikaners Landgenote, Afrikanerlied, Dierbaar Suid-Afrika, Die Vierkleur van Transvaal, Land, Volk en Taal, Vlaglied, Vryheidslied, Slaap rustig, dapper helde, the Republican Anthems and the Unielied.¹² In December 1938, Die Unie issued a special commemorative "Voortrekkereuefeesuitgawe".¹³ It contained numerous inspirational messages from cultural, religious and educational leaders. The Superintendent General of Education expressed his pride in the enthusiasm and contribution of Cape pupils.¹⁴

10 W. Krüger, The Making of a Nation, pp.186-193.
11 Die Unie, 1 September 1938, p.82.
12 Die Unie, 1 July 1938, pp.9-10.
13 Die Unie, 1 December 1938.
14 Ibid., p.179.

The Chairman of the Cape Afrikaans Teachers' Association wrote of the "quiet worship" and "fiery admiration" one felt at the thought of the Trekkers, who one hundred years ago had paved the way, along the "Pad van Suid-Afrika". In the past, the report continued, the Afrikaans child had been subjected to a distorted, despised view of his own history; this was changing as he gained pride in the history of his nation: "The Afrikaner feeling has awakened in the child and calls out for leadership and guidance!". From 1939, Afrikaans teachers were to foster in Afrikaans children a greater awareness of their church, their nation, their language and their culture: "May the celebrations ... serve as an inspiration ... which will leave its mark forever on the "child of South Africa". The editorial claimed that "those ox-wagons" gave the Afrikaner what he had been seeking: they were the symbol of the "own", of the great and famous heroic deeds of that great period in "our history": "These are our wagons" (original emphasis)... "Here around the wagons we can at long last be ourselves ... We are still, we are once again, Afrikaners. There is a future for us. The ox-wagons bring us their message."¹⁵

In an article entitled "Ons Erfdeel" (Our Inheritance) in Die Unie, one J.S. Potgieter of Malmesbury wrote of past attempts to prevent the birth of a new nation in South Africa. These attempts had been in vain because it was "the will of God" that the Afrikaners should survive. Against the overwhelming "barbarian masses", the handful of Voortrekkers "protected our nationality and kept it pure". All Anglicization attempts had been in vain, because God had also willed that the new nation would have its own language. Was the Afrikaner not taking all these blessings for granted - had the time not come to face the colour questions squarely so that South Africa could remain a White man's country?¹⁶

15 Die Unie, 1 December 1938, pp.180-185.

16 Ibid., pp.187-188.

The same issue of Die Unie contains a speech by M.J. Oosthuizen of Kakamas¹⁷ emphasizing the sacrifices made by the martyrs of the February 1838 massacres at the "sacrificial altar of our national existence", thereby betraying the semi-religious nature of the centenary celebrations. The "civic religion" discussed in Part I is pertinent here. Oosthuizen takes the religious metaphor still further: the commemorative wagon "Johanna van der Merwe", named after the Voortrekker heroine, was a "Temple of God" which He had placed on the "Road of South Africa", and a "Volksaltaar" from whence the incense of national tribute rose; it was an "Ark of the Covenant" in which the covenant of Sarel Cilliers and the Bible of the Voortrekkers lay; strangers could worship with the Afrikaner in the courtyard of "our Temple" but "in the sacred place of our hearts where 'Johanna van der Merwe' stands, only the direct descendants of those who suffered and fought for our nation, may kneel".

The very exclusive nature of this nationalism, with its strong religious overtones, was also brought home by another Centenary speaker at George when he said "Dingaan's Festival is our (original emphasis) national festival ('volksfees') and by the word 'ons' I mean the Afrikaans-speakers". The same speaker was in favour of telling the Afrikaans child the full story of his history "even if it meant that others (i.e. English-speakers) sharing his classroom might take umbrage at hearing "the truth"; it was the task of the school to bring home to the future generations the "basic truths" of their history and to develop their national pride. In history teaching it was to be stressed that the Afrikaner nation's existence was rooted in its people's religion.¹⁸ The leader article of the same issue asked what role the teacher was to play in and out of school in honouring the memory of the Trekkers. Much work lay ahead for teachers and

17 Die Unie, 1 December 1938, "Johanna van der Merwe - Voortrekkerwa", pp. 190-191.

18 Die Unie, 1 February 1938, J.H. Barnard "Toespraak by Dingaansfees", pp.345-346.

schools before "our nation" would know its history and understand its meaning. Generations of neglect and contempt had passed, no longer should there be misrepresentations and omissions and the concern not to hurt others. It was time that "our own history" gained its rightful place in school syllabuses, and it should be taught by teachers "who not only know the facts, but who also understand the meaning of our history and will interpret the facts correctly for the next generation". A plea is made for "a new history of our country, a monumental work to replace or improve upon Theal".¹⁹

Die Unie of December 1938, also discussed the question of neutral, uninspiring history teaching due to the sensitive relations between English and Afrikaans. The past could not be interpreted properly because of this. The centenary had shown that the Afrikaners had their own heroes who should be honoured with enthusiasm. Just as at school the American child was indoctrinated at school with the idea of American greatness and was taught to honour the flag, so every South African school should have a South African flag to inspire its youth.²⁰

A teacher from Sterkstroom, G.A. Giliomee, expressed his concern through Die Unie²¹ as to whether "our own history" was taking its rightful place in the Senior Certificate syllabus: would the fact that large parts of South African history were optional in the current syllabus not encourage teachers to select the shorter more compact general history topics instead? The writer urged that the South African history component be made compulsory. A commission of history teachers of the Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwysersunie made the following noteworthy recommendations in mid-1938²²:

-
- 19 Ibid., "Ons Geskiedenis", pp.361-362.
20 Die Unie, 1 December 1938, "Nuwe Pligte wat die Eeufees op die Onderwyser lê", pp.199-200.
21 Die Unie, 1 June 1938, "Die Vaderlandse Geskiedenis van ons Senior Sertifikaat Leerplan", pp. 511-512.
22 Die Unie, 1 August 1938, pp. 56-57.

- (a) That more attention be paid to South African history, and to make this possible, that the greater part of the section on the British Empire in the current syllabus, be omitted.
- (b) That the expanded South African section should embrace "an intensive study of the Great Trek to 1854" and constitutional development up to and including the Statute of Westminster.
- (c) That the political history of South Africa be brought up to 1902 (i.e. so as to include the Anglo-Boer War).

Some eighteen months later the commission submitted its draft syllabus for the Senior Certificate examination, in which these recommendations were embodied.²³ The reaction of the S.A.O.U.'s sister organization, the South African Teacher's Association (S.A.T.A.) was predictable: "It is no exaggeration to say that these syllabuses have caused a sensation among our members. They are bound to provoke long and lively discussions to say nothing of resolutions for submission to the S.G.E."²⁴ This is a further illustration of the never-ending debate on the teaching of history at school, particularly on what should be taught. Another S.A.T.A. member wrote of the inclusion of the Great Trek, especially the causes thereof, in the history syllabus as "ammunition for racial polemics;" seeing that present syllabuses represented the "two dominant races" as "inevitably in opposition and at enmity", the time had come for a "reconsideration of the history syllabuses".²⁵ Yet another S.A.T.A. article deplored the emphasis on national heroes, mainly those of war," as an outcome of militant nationalism".²⁶

This exemplary study of the situation in the Cape is typical of the English-Afrikaans conflict in the other provinces.

23 Die Unie, 1 April 1940, p.314.

24 Education, May 1940, Editorial, p.65.

25 Education, June 1940, W. Reynolds, "History in our Schools", p.94.

26 Education, March 1940, T.H. Blyth, "The Teaching of History in the Primary Schools", p.43.

3.3 The Resurgence of Christian National Education

In Chapter 5 it was stated that the idea of Christian National Education had not died with the demise of C.N.E. schools before 1910. The Centenary provided a powerful new stimulus for the movement. A "Volkskongres" on Christian National Education was held in Bloemfontein on 6 July 1939. Die Unie²⁷ published the motions passed by the congress:

- (a) The Christian National philosophy should form the basis of the Afrikaans education, and should have as its aim the propagation, protection and development of the Christian and national nature of "our national life" ("ons volkslewe").
- (b) Religious instruction did not make a school Christian, nor did national history as school subject make a school national; only when the two elements permeated the whole school system, its spirit, curriculum, discipline, all its activities, could one speak of a Christian National school.
- (c) A Christian National view of history was required, a view which embraced the idea of the godly national destiny.

Two years later, Die Unie published an article by the Rev. J.J. Kruger entitled "Christian National Teaching",²⁸ in which the emphasis was once more placed on the own, "die volkseie". The child was to learn to value his "own fatherland, own history, own religion and own language, his own culture on his own ground". He demanded for his nation the right to make of "our sons and daughters true little Afrikaners" ("egte Afrikanertjies") (original emphasis) just as other nations turned their children into true Englishmen or true Germans. C.N.E. wanted to raise true Afrikaners who would not be scared of loving what was theirs: "We want to have this national principle in our education". The Afrikaans parent was demanding a "positive national attitude". The inclusion of national history in the curriculum was no guarantee in itself, for it could be taught in such a way that a

27 Die Unie, 1 February 1940, pp.253-254.

28 Die Unie, 1 February 1942, pp.272-273.

love of one's own was not fostered. In addition, the subject omitted so many "national treasures: a nation's religion, its literature, its folk-music". Therefore, C.N.E. required that the school should stand, not apart from the "volkslewe", but amidst it.

Through the teaching of history, Kruger continued, the child would be taught how Afrikaner national unity, national character and national destiny were founded in the national language and national culture. There follows an assertion which was to find an echo in so many history textbooks in the next three decades:

"In fact it is part of the order of Creation that there should be separate and different nations with their unique characters. Thus history teaching should take place in such a way that the origins, development, destiny and calling of one's own nation should be recognized in the national past ("volksverlede"), imparted faithfully and actively cultivated".

In short, C.N.E. aimed at fostering "a true nationalism" instead of an "untrue internationalism": in this way education would serve country and nation.²⁹ Kruger's treatise corroborates the contention in Part I that history teaching is inextricably linked up with the stimulation of not only historical, but also national consciousness. It serves, or is meant to serve the current dominant political philosophy, to legitimate the current order, to provide orientation particularly in times of national confusion (as with the Afrikaners between 1939 and 1943), and to reinforce national identity.

Prof. J.C. Coetzee³⁰ too advocated a "nationalisation" of the educational process in order that the Afrikaans child might receive education in his "own national language". He also came out strongly against dual medium schools. During the war years a heated, almost violent debate was in progress for and against

29 Die Unie, 1 February 1942, pp.272-273.

30 Die Unie, 1 May 1942, "Christelik-Nasionale Onderwys", pp.348-349.

such schools, the details of which do not concern us here.

In a paper entitled "The Foundations of Christian and National Education", Dr J.F. Kirsten accused Britain ("the great power with its imperial spirit") of denying smaller nations (i.e. the Afrikaners) their past, their spiritual heritage, or the right to self-determination; such a deed would be condemned as murder ("murder of the soul of a nation") before "the court of eternity".³¹ By August 1943, the philosophy of Christian National Education had become accepted to such an extent that the 39th congress of the Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwysersunie (S.A.O.U.) held in Worcester could issue a corporate policy statement in which all the major tenets of the philosophy were embodied.³² The Congress insisted on "the thorough and inspiring teaching of our national history in order that the necessary love of country and national pride be instilled in the child. A demand was also made for the creation of suitable occasions on which tribute could be paid to "our great past and its national figures". At the same Congress, the Chairman, in his opening address, referred to the long history of Christian National endeavour in South Africa, sketching the main events since 1652, through the Company, Batavian, British and Republican periods. He also referred to attempts "in certain circles" to eliminate history altogether as a school subject. His address ended with a strong case for single medium schools.³³

While none of the above views was reflected in the "official" textbooks or syllabuses until 1948, they are important, for they were articulated in many, if not most, Afrikaans textbooks of the period under review. In a way they represent an alternative view of the past or counter-symbols to the current "official" master symbols, just as we are today faced with an alternative radical view of the South African past with its own counter-symbols.

31 Die Unie, 1 September 1943, p.62.

32 Die Unie, 1 August 1943, p.31.

33 Ibid, pp.39-50.

3.4 English- speaking reaction

In Section 4.2. above, brief reference was made to the strong reaction of the S.A.T.A. to the history syllabuses proposed by the S.A.O.U. As Afrikaner nationalism gained in strength after 1938, one could expect a certain counter-reaction in English-language circles. Relations between the two language groups were probably at their lowest ebb since the Anglo-Boer War, exacerbated by South Africa's participation in the Second World War, and by the disunity in Afrikanerdom itself. In an editorial, the S.A.T.A. in 1940³⁴ advocated the appointment of two examiners, one English, one Afrikaans, for the Senior Certificate history examination, on the grounds that South African history "was liable to different interpretations"; what if a sole examiner should be appointed with "barely veiled totalitarian views and all but openly antipathetic toward anything English, a condition more widespread in this country among our so-called educationists and historians than some realize, or wish to admit?". It contended that "Historical bias unfortunately goes hand in hand with nationality and many Afrikaans-speaking South Africans have received their training in history departments in which history is almost politics, particularly South African history".

In response to the draft syllabus drawn up by the S.A.O.U., the S.A.T.A. submitted proposals of its own drawn up by a sub-committee of history teachers. The latter syllabus placed more emphasis on social, constitutional and economic history, and less on political and military history.³⁵ The content was of the "neutral", international kind, rejected by national-minded Afrikaners. While Afrikaner nationalists and protagonists of C.N.E. regarded current history syllabuses as insufficiently "national" in character, many English-speaking teachers regarded

34 Education, September 1940, p.150.

35 Education, June 1940, p.103.

regarded them as "narrow in outlook" and tending to foster insularity.³⁶

The views expressed by Margaret Ballinger, M.P., at a Fort Hare graduation ceremony in March 1940, were endorsed by the S.A.T.A. organ, Education, in its editorial of April 1940, which spoke of "a narrow nationalism with its tribal superstitions and myths" in reference to Afrikaner nationalism.³⁷ Mrs Ballinger pointed to the resurgence of "narrow loyalties and exclusions" which had "widened lamentably the gulf between the two dominant European national groups in the country". Teachers of history had to take their share of the blame for "the narrowness of nineteenth century nationalism", the "pouring of a new wine ... into the old bottles of tribalism". She lamented that all that White children learned of the place of non-Europeans in the world is provided by "a dreary record of Kaffir Wars ... represented as the inevitable conflict between civilization and essential barbarism."³⁸

In 1941, Education ran a series of articles in which a passionate plea was made for the inculcation of democratic views and values at schools. In the first half of that year in particular there was real concern for the future of democracy - National Socialist Germany and Fascist Italy had overrun most of Western Europe and were threatening the very existence of Britain. This concern is reflected in the articles "Teaching for Democracy" (in two parts), "The Democratic Teacher" and "The War and the Teacher: Thinking for Democracy", which demanded that democracy be reinforced in the schools. The fight for democracy was on the education front. The history lesson was "the natural medium" through which to study the traditions of a country, but the thing to remember was perspective: the story of South Africa cut across racial divisions, and children should be taught to seek South Africa's destiny along a common path. In the name of history many

36 Education, January 1944, p.143.

37 Education, April 1940, p.49.

38 Education, April 1940, p.60.

pedagogic crimes had been committed by "a section of our teachers who, oppressed by what they feel to be a chauvinistic use of history teaching for racially bigoted ends, are inclined to let history vanish altogether from our schools."³⁹

The S.A.T.A. expressed concern at purported moves by the Afrikaanse Nasionale Studentebond "to indoctrinate high school pupils by the institution of 'studie-bonde' under the aegis of principals of high schools". Members as well as the Department, were to be alerted to this development.⁴⁰

At the same time that the S.A.O.U. was requesting the authorities to make the celebration of national events possible at schools, the S.A.T.A. was being accused of blocking such attempts. Die Unie⁴¹ registered its "acute disappointment" at the attitude of the S.A.T.A. toward moves to have Heroes Day, 10 October, declared a national holiday. The S.A.O.U. was, however, determined to honour "our heroes" and to make a great deal of Heroes Day.⁴²

This English - Afrikaans controversy over school history, of which these pages are typical, has persisted to the present day. However, it is now overshadowed by a controversy of far greater import, namely the radical-establishment dichotomy.

4. HISTORY SYLLABUSES 1918 - 1948

4.1 The Cape

The 1921 syllabus for the Junior Certificate ⁴³ was possibly an attempt to overcompensate for the lack of South African history

39 See Education, February, March, June and September, 1941.

40 Education, May 1941, p.55.

41 Die Unie, 1 June 1941, p.364.

42 Die Unie, 1 September 1941, p.95.

43 The Education Gazette, Vol. XXI, No. 14, 17 December 1921, p.446.

in the 1911 syllabus. The compilers went to the other extreme, cluttering the new syllabus with a host of often unconnected topics and themes covering South African history from the voyages of discovery through to Union. Among these were "European settlement - a result of trade enterprise; the origin of the Burgher class; the rule of the Netherlands East Indian Company; the expansion of the settlement; slavery; the Huguenots; the British Occupation - a result of the Napoleonic wars; the British Settlers; pioneering; the Great Trek; Natal; the Free State; the Transvaal; political changes leading to the Act of Union; the native peoples". General history covered "from the Renaissance to 1713".

In an attempt to fill the huge gap in general history left by the 1921 syllabus, the education authorities in the 1923 revised syllabus, offered "General History to the Renaissance" as an alternative to South African History.⁴⁴ Pupils could thus study the thread of the history of western civilization, but at the expense of "national" history. As Coetzee⁴⁵ points out, this option relegated history to the position it had occupied before 1900 when South African history had been so neglected. With only very minor changes the 1921 Junior Certificate syllabus remained in force until 1930.

The new Senior Certificate syllabus, published two years in advance, came into effect in 1923.⁴⁶ Candidates were required to answer questions on any two of the following three sections:

- Section 1 - Pre-Revolutionary.
Growth of the British Empire from 1713.
Growth of the Cape Colony to 1795.
- Section 2 - Revolutionary Era.
Causes and chief stages of the French Revolution and immediate effects upon Europe.
Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.

44 The Education Gazette, Vol. XXI, No. 14, 17 December 1921, p.447.
45 A.G. Coetzee, Die Leerplan in Geskiedenis, p.87.
46 The Education Gazette, Vol. XXI, No. 14, 17 December 1921, p.458.



Causes and immediate results of the Industrial Revolution.
South Africa, 1795 - 1843.
Section 3 - Nineteenth Century - Post-Revolutionary.
Growth of South Africa to 1892.
Canada.
European possessions in Africa.
A comparison of the present constitution of the Union with those of Canada, Australia and New Zealand.
Brief sketch of the progress of democratic ideas in Europe.
Rise of the German Empire.
Unification of Italy.

This syllabus is almost identical to that of the Joint Matriculation Board (1918). Neither syllabus attempted to accommodate South African history after 1892.

It was only in 1931⁴⁷ that courses for the Junior and Senior Certificate were slightly altered. History became an optional major subject. There were to be two syllabuses in history - the one suitable for those schools where the majority of pupils proceeded to Std 10, and the other for those where the majority left school after Std 8. The first course would lead to the Senior Certificate, whereas the second brought the study of both South African history and general history "on to the present day".

The South African history component of the First Course included the rise of the Dutch East Indian Company with special reference to the Cape; van Riebeeck and his successors (up to Ryk Tulbagh); the Huguenots and expansion of the Cape up to 1771. The Second Course was the then Junior Certificate syllabus with a minor addition: "Government central, provincial and local".⁴⁸ The

47 The Education Gazette, Vol XXVIII, No. 20, 7 November 1929, pp. 858-861.

48 The Education Gazette, Vol XXVIII, No. 20, 7 November 1929 p.860.

Senior Certificate syllabus did not change. Most changes in the 1931 syllabus were, therefore, concerned with general history. The status of the subject did change though from minor to major.⁴⁹

In fact there were to be relatively few adaptations to history syllabuses between 1921 and the early 1950's. It was almost as if the delicate balance of power between the two major political groupings precluded any radical shifts in emphasis or content. It should be remembered too, that even when Hertzog was prime minister between 1924 and 1928, he was ruling with the support of the predominantly English-speaking Labourites. Once again, between 1933 and 1948, there were bilingual governments in power. The relative stability, or rather consistency, in history syllabuses throughout the entire period can almost certainly be traced to the political compromises between the two language groups, and to the fact that the political centre was in power throughout the period. The pro-British Jingo element and the more republican-minded and nationalist-leaning Afrikaners were politically ineffectual for much of the period.

In 1938⁵⁰, history as a minor subject, alongside history as a major subject, was introduced. There was no change in the syllabuses for courses I and II for history as major subject, from those of 1931. In the syllabus for history as minor subject, however, there were some new themes: Section III made provision for a study of "the natives of South Africa" (their origin, manner of life, occupations and present development); the development of "our farming, mining and industries; and our main roads, railways and harbours"; "our present form of government - central, provincial and local; the present distribution of "the European population".

49 Cape of Good Hope. Junior and Senior Certificate Handbook, 1930,
p.23.

50 Cape of Good Hope, Junior and Senior Certificate Handbook, 1937,
pp.7; 37-39.

By 1944, the history syllabus for both Junior and Senior Certificate had been redrafted "although the content is very much the same as the present syllabus"; this came into effect in the 1944 examinations.⁵¹ The most comprehensive revision occurred in the Senior Certificate syllabus in that the South African history component was extended from 1892 to 1910, and in one case even beyond that. It was also described in more detail: the social, political and economic conditions at the Cape (1771-1795); the period of temporary government (1795-1806); the main facts of the political and economic history of South Africa to 1910; the constitutional development of the Cape Colony to 1872, and federation movements and the constitutional development in South Africa leading to Union in 1910, including a thorough study of the Union constitution; the Statute of Westminster in relation to South Africa.

Section C - Special Subjects - prescribed four subjects of which two were an "intensive study of the Great Trek to 1854", a theme which was to be overemphasized to the present day, and "native administration in the Union of South Africa, mainly in connection with the Native Land Act (Settlement Act), the Native (Urban Areas) Act, 1923, and the legal amendments thereof, Native Franchise and Native Education". This second special topic is significant in that it is the first official recognition given to the rapidly increasing Black urban population. In 1904 Blacks had made up only 29,4 per cent of South Africa's urban population; by 1936 they constituted 38 per cent⁵² and, following the rapid urbanisation caused by the Second World War, 52 per cent by 1946.⁵³ There was a gradual realisation that Blacks were becoming an ever more important part of the South African economy. There was also slight recognition of the political position of Black South Africans. The spectre of the Black

51 S.A.L., Cape of Good Hope, Junior and Senior Certificate Handbook, 1942, p.57.

52 C.W. de Kiewiet, A History of South Africa. Social and Economic, p.206.

53 E.A. Walker, A History of Southern Africa, p.754.

majority was to loom ever larger.

4.2 The Transvaal

In the 1923 T.E.D. Regulations Governing Primary Schools⁵⁴ it is pointed out that history offers the teachers "a great opportunity". The subject was to have "local appropriateness, local point, and sting"; the "centre of gravity and interest must lie in South Africa. There must be a South African spirit throughout. But in no limited sense. The South African boy and girl must learn to look with discrimination and pride on the development of the two great white races which inhabit South Africa, and on the development of the Empire of which South Africa is now a self-responsible member." The Regulations further state that "no history course would be complete unless it included some account of the origins and development of the duties and privileges of citizenship". Pupils must know something of the principles and practice of responsible government. Their study of history "should end ... in practical patriotism".⁵⁵

As before, schools could choose between Scheme A and Scheme B. Scheme A prescribed stories from South African history in Std 3; South African history, 1486-1828, and stories from British history in Std 4; the outlines of British and general history to the accession of Queen Elizabeth in Std 5; and South African history, 1828-1892, as well as the outlines of British history, from the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the death of Queen Victoria in Std 6. Scheme B provided for stories from South African history in the period 1486-1815 for Std 3; 1815-1892 for Std 4; South African history from 1652 to 1828 for Std 5; and from 1828 to 1892 for Std 6. In both schemes there was a heavy emphasis on military history and, therefore, on conflict,

54 T.E.D.A., T.E.D. Regulations Governing Primary Schools for White Children, 1923, p.5.

55 T.E.D.A., T.E.D. Regulations Governing Primary Schools for White Children, 1923, p.33.

especially that between White and non-White. The syllabuses are full of "battles", "attacks", "Hottentot Wars", "Kaffir Wars", "conflicts", and "destruction".⁵⁶ It should also be pointed out that South African history was still married to, and embedded in, British history. The orientation was British.

As with the Cape syllabuses, there were few changes in Transvaal history syllabuses during the period under review. The first significant change was in 1931, when the South African history course for the Senior Certificate was brought forward from 1892 to 1914.⁵⁷ The period covered was thus 1760-1850 in Std 9 and 1850-1914 in Std 10. In 1934 this was revised slightly to cover the period 1771 to 1914. Both the 1931 and 1934 syllabuses also required a knowledge of the union of South Africa, Canada, and the federation of Australia and the United States, and general history from 1762 to 1914.⁵⁸ The 1934 Junior Certificate Examination required, as part of the history syllabus, a knowledge of "the related Geography" as well as of Citizenship. For Std 7 Civics pupils were to have such knowledge of local, provincial and national government "as will enable him to take an intelligent interest in public affairs", and for South African history (1806-1872) the change of Government at the Cape; the British Settlers; the Great Trek; the establishment of the Boer Republics and the discovery of diamonds. It was recommended that the connection between South African and general history be shown wherever possible "as is done in Hope's 'Our Place in History' and Gie's 'Geschiedenis vir Suid-Afrika'".⁵⁹

The Std 8 South African history section covered the period

- 56 T.E.D.A., T.E.D. Regulations Governing Primary Schools for White Children, 1923, pp.34-35.
- 57 T.E.D.A., T.E.D. Transvaal Secondary School Certificate Handbook, 1931-1933, p.26.
- 58 T.E.D.A., T.E.D. Transvaal Secondary School Certificate Handbook, 1934, p.30.
- 59 T.E.D.A., T.E.D. Regulations and Syllabuses for the Transvaal Junior Certificate Examination 1934, p.36.

1872-1910 and included topics such as the discovery of gold, economic changes, the poor white and native questions; events leading to Union; the Constitution; South Africa as part of the British Commonwealth and South Africa's relationship to the world as a member of the League of Nations.⁶⁰ Mirrored in these topics is South Africa's changing status vis-à-vis Great Britain, and her growing self-confidence as a regional power. After World War I, South West Africa was entrusted to South Africa as a mandated territory. By 1928, South Africa had her own flag, while three years previously Afrikaans had gained the status of an official language. The Balfour Declaration of 1926, the Statute of Westminster of 1931 and the ensuing Status Acts of 1934 were milestones on South Africa's road to sovereign independence. There was also growing economic power to match constitutional growth.

In 1935⁶¹ an explanatory note was added to the 1934 Senior Certificate syllabuses, as it was not proposed to draw up a detailed syllabus; the nature of the work expected was indicated as follows:

- (a) Salient points in the constitutional development of South Africa.
- (b) The main facts of our political history, e.g. native policy, extensions of European boundaries, political relations of South African States and Colonies with each other, dealings with external powers.
- (c) The influence of economic conditions on South Africa, mainly after 1860.
- (d) The period 1885-1910 to be treated in very broad outline, particularly constitutional growth.

In 1938⁶² the contents of the syllabuses were not so much changed as rearranged. The syllabuses for Stds 7 and 8 were divided into

60 T.E.D.A., T.E.D. Regulations and Syllabuses for the Transvaal Junior Certificate Examination 1934, p.38.

61 T.E.D.A., T.E.D. Transvaal Secondary School Certificate. Handbook 1935, p.24.

62 T.E.D.A., T.E.D. Regulations and Syllabuses. for the Transvaal Junior Certificate Examination, 1938, pp. 41-45.

four sections. Section A on general history was compulsory for all schools. Sections B and C on South African history were optional. Section D was divided into four parts, of which two were to be studied. The reason for making Section B an alternative was to permit those schools whose pupils proceeded to Std 10 to avoid repeating in Stds 9 and 10 work already done in previous standards. One new theme was "National Problems: Poor Whites - Asiatics - Natives".

The 1941 Catalogue of School Books Authorized for Use in Transvaal Primary Schools⁶³ listed Juta's series of textbooks as well as Kammeijer and van Rooijen's books for Stds 4 to 6.

In 1942, the T.E.D. published a suggested syllabus for the grades to Std 8.⁶⁴ In the introduction the aims of history teaching are set out, and include, that "it was the duty and the privilege of the history teacher to inculcate in his pupils a rational and enlightened love of country", and that "the history of our own country should always be studied against the background of world history"; and that a "sense of sound citizenship" should be developed in the child. Teachers are encouraged to stimulate interest in history by the reading of carefully selected passages, such as "the excellent description of the Battle of Blood River in Preller's 'Andries Pretorius'"

These suggested syllabuses display several interesting features. In the Std 3 syllabus, for example, Blacks are still regarded as a problem or a threat : "Jan van Riebeeck - Difficulties and dangers: wild animals, natives, etc." On the other hand, by 1942 the highly insulting term "Kaffir" was replaced by "Xhosa", or "Bantu" or "Native". Also the Anglo-Boer War is specifically mentioned in both the Std 5 and 7 syllabuses. The period covered in South African history was, as before, 1652 to 1910.

63 T.E.D.A., T.E.D. 1941, p.10.

64 T.E.D.A., T.E.D. Suggested Syllabus for History. Grades to Standard VIII, 1942, pp.3-17.

4.3 Orange Free State

It took far longer for the two smaller provinces to assume responsibility for the examination of their Junior and Senior Certificates than it did the Transvaal. This was probably because of the modest number of candidates in Natal and the O.F.S. not warranting an independent examination authority until much later. However, from 1932 the Free State Education Department administered its own Junior Certificate examinations. History and Geography as an integrated course was a compulsory subject for the Junior Certificate up to 1946. Thereafter the percentage of candidates opting for history declined rapidly, from 100% in 1945 to only 77% in 1950.⁶⁵

Up to 1932 the O.F.S. followed the Joint Matriculation Board examination for the Junior Certificate. The history component of the Free State integrated course of 1933 covered, as far as South African history is concerned, a "general survey" from 1652 to 1910 and the treatment of two periods, in more detail, chosen from a list of six, i.e.: 1652-1662; 1679-1707; 1814-1826; 1830-1852; the history of the Orange Free State 1852-1885 and 1890-1910. The first four periods were named the Jan van Riebeeck, Huguenot, British Settler and Great Trek periods respectively.⁶⁶ The 1933 course also made provision for civics, cultural and religious history.

It was widely felt that the "general survey" of the period 1652-1910 was too vast a field to cover; in 1934 the period to be surveyed was reduced to a more manageable 1825-1910. In 1946 the period for the general survey was again changed, this time to 1652-1806. This 1946 J.C. Syllabus also reduced the number of periods for more specialised study to three (Jan van Riebeeck,

65 P.A. Grobbelaar, Middelbare Onderwys in die Oranje-Vrystaat 1910-1952.

66 J.J. Nel, Geskiedenis in die Middelbare Skool onder die O.V.S. Departement van Onderwys (1933-1947), Bylae C.

Huguenot and British Settler), from which schools had to select only one.⁶⁷

Till 1938, the Free State had entered its candidates for the Senior Certificate in the external examinations of the Joint Matriculation Board. The history syllabus followed for this course after 1938 was virtually identical to that of the J.M.B., i.e. South Africa from 1806 to 1910 with a section covering constitutional development up to the Statute of Westminster.⁶⁸ This syllabus remained prescribed, with only the most minor changes, until 1951.

The situation of history as a school subject in the O.F.S. was similar to that in the other provinces during this period: between 1941 and 1950 the percentage of history candidates for the Senior Certificate declined from 93% to 78%.⁶⁹

4.4 Natal

As mentioned elsewhere Natal made use of the syllabuses of the Joint Matriculation Board until the early 1950's.

An examination of the N.E.D.'s own syllabuses for history in the primary schools⁷⁰ reveals very similar content to that of the other provinces. The Std 1, 2 and 3 syllabuses followed a biographical approach. Pupils were to learn the "stories" of famous figures from both general and South African history, in the form of cameos. Roughly half the stories had to deal with South African history. Standard figures such as Vasco da Gama,

-
- 67 J.J. Nel, Geskiedenis in die Middelbare Skool, Bylae D.
68 J.J. Nel, Geskiedenis in die Middelbare Skool, Bylae E.
69 P.A. Grobbelaar, Middelbare Onderwys in die Oranje-Vrystaat 1910-1952, p.123.
70 N.E.D.A., Onderwysdepartement, Natal, Leerplanne van Geskiedenis vir Gebruik in Goewerments- en Goewerments- ondersteunde Laerskole, Februarie, 1925, pp.9-18.

Adam Tas, Dick King and the Trek leaders were listed. Only one of the South African personalities is Black. Most, but not all, of the figures suggested from general history were in fact prominent British personalities such as Raleigh, Nelson, Gordon and Kitchener. Bryan's Our Country provided the framework for Std 3.

For Std 4 the topics listed in Foggin's book, in either the English or Afrikaans version, were to be studied. The list offers the standard fare from Prince Henry the Navigator through to Louis Botha. All the names mentioned are White. Non-Whites are mentioned only in the context of war. In Std 5 general history only was taught. The Std 6 syllabus, although it had a South African history component, was strongly British-orientated. The first topic sets the tone: "England's position". Further topics cover British colonial expansion in the Americas, India and Australia. The general history offered is thus British colonial exclusively. South African history commences with the British occupation of the Cape, treats of Somerset, the British Settlers, Lord Glenelg's "kaffir policies" and concludes with Shepstone.

The booklist at the end of the primary school syllabuses of 1925 includes Synge, Fairbridge, Theal and Gie as recommended reading for teachers. Most titles were on English history: Green's History of the English People, Macaulay's History of England, Woodward's Expansion of the British Empire, and the like.

In 1932 revised history syllabuses for Stds 1 to 6 were introduced.⁷¹ This entailed a rearranging of the 1925 syllabus rather than anything new. Books recommended for the use of the teacher were the perennials, Hofmeyr, Bryan, and Jenner's readers.

71 Education Department, Natal. Geography, History, Character-Forming, Hygiene and Temperance for Use in Government and Government-Aided Primary Schools, April 1932, pp.14-21.

This writer was unable to trace the 1942 history syllabuses referred to in the Director's Report for 1941-1942⁷². It is unlikely, however, that they would have differed to any great degree from the syllabuses examined.

4.5 Characteristics of History Syllabuses in this Period

School history syllabuses in the nineteenth century were ill-defined. From early in the present century they became increasingly detailed, and therefore, prescriptive. The syllabuses of the period reviewed illustrate this. It thus became more difficult, and later virtually impossible, for an author to simply omit an historical event simply because such an event did not suit his viewpoint. As syllabuses became more prescriptive, authors' inclination to vastly exaggerate certain points while underemphasizing others, was curbed, but not fully prevented, as the following pages show.

The somewhat tenuous and inferior position of South African history in syllabuses before 1918 gradually changes to a state where the South African component eventually comprises fully half of the syllabus.

It was thought best, by the authorities in all four provinces, not to disturb the sensitive relations between the two White language groups. Thus for many years, the period covered in South African history was 1652 to 1892, in this way avoiding the contentious events between 1896 and 1915.

Eventually the scope of the syllabuses is extended to 1914, and beyond. This reflects the growing maturity of the Union and a willingness to come to terms with the past, though from divergent perspectives.

72 N.E.D.A., Province of Natal, Report of the Director of Education for the Years 1941 and 1942, pp.9-18.

The Union is still viewed within the context of the British Commonwealth, but its increasing constitutional autonomy, expanding economic power, and rising international status, are very much stressed.

While there is still a heavy preponderance of traditional political, constitutional and military history, two new themes begin to emerge, albeit on a modest scale. One is the economic aspect, and the other the growing dimensions of the "native problem". The rapid industrialisation and resultant urbanisation of South Africa brought the economic dimension to the fore. The rise of an urban Black proletariat was also beginning to be recognized, as evidenced by the inclusion of sections dealing with legislation pertaining to "native administration" and policies. The emphasis, some would say overemphasis of the Great Trek, increases steadily throughout this period. As before, there is scant attention paid to social and cultural history.

On the whole, the syllabuses of this period, in all four provinces, display a stereotyped, narrow, and rather sterile view of the South African past.

THE INFLUENCE OF GUSTAV PRELLER ON AFRIKAANS HISTORIOGRAPHY

Before turning to selected textbooks representative of the period under review, a brief look at the influence of Gustav Preller on Afrikaans historiography is necessary.

Together with Theal (and to a lesser extent Cory), Preller was the most influential historian in Afrikaans historiography in the first half of the twentieth century. His influence was particularly strong in the so-called "pre-academic phase", up to approximately 1945, on account of the extent of his work, his sympathetic portrayal of the Afrikaners' past, the new light he

shed on the past and his bold and vivid style.⁷³

Preller grew up on the late nineteenth century Transvaal platteland, deeply conscious of the "century of wrong", and of the significance of the two main foci of the Afrikaner's historical image: the Great Trek and the Anglo-Transvaal War. These impressions were deepened by his active service during the second Anglo-Boer War in the Transvaal State Artillery and later on commando, the physical destruction wrought by the British scorched-earth policy, and the misery of the concentration camps, both of which he witnessed. The loss of independence in 1902 was a traumatic experience for him. Preller was very much a product of his times, in the mould of the colonial attitude of the White pioneer pitched against savages on the wild frontier.⁷⁴

To Preller, the Afrikaner had lost all in 1902 except his past, which had to be built upon and continued into 20th century party politics. He saw the history of South Africa as a clash between Afrikaner nationalism, British imperialism and Black "barbarism", in which the heroes were Afrikaans, and the villains the English and the Blacks.⁷⁵ Historical consciousness was a collective memory of the suffering experienced in the past, which became the central element for a common Afrikaner national identity. Thus consciousness was at one and the same time a reaction against the defeat of 1902, and a weapon in the continued struggle against the English. According to van Jaarsveld⁷⁶, history was for Preller a "legitimation arsenal". He saw himself as called upon to restore his defeated nation's national consciousness by providing them with a historical identity in their darkest hour. Much of his writing thus boils down to a justification of the

73 See K. Smith, *The Changing Past*, pp.57-68.

74 See F.A. van Jaarsveld, *Gustav Preller: sy historiese bewussyn en Geskiedsbeskouing*, unpublished paper, 1989, pp.1-17, 23.

75 K. Smith, *The Changing Past*, p.68.

76 F.A. van Jaarsveld, *Gustav Preller*, p.4.

Afrikaans nation's existence as a separate national entity.

Nowhere is the interconnectedness of past, present and future clearer than in Preller's writings: for him the past was an "accounting", "a settling of scores", a "liberation", an opening up of the way to the future. Through his historical consciousness Preller became the architect of the future and provided a philosophical foundation for Afrikaner nationalism. History could not be separated from the present: in fact it was to be used in the service of current events. His history was exclusive, ethnocentric and one-dimensional, conservative, nationalistic and partisan.⁷⁷ He told Afrikaners what they most wanted to hear: he restored their self-confidence by giving them an ideologised, politicised historical mythology; he created the Great Trek mythology which still exists today. His was a secularised form of a religiously experienced past, a cult freely using symbols and myths to foster allegiance.⁷⁸

Preller excluded whole periods and sections of South African history, offering a Afrikaner-centric image of the past as the actual history of the country. The Great Trek and the Second Anglo-Boer War (which replaced the Anglo-Transvaal War) were the two poles or foci which the Afrikaners' self-comprehension was based. This image of the past dominates school history syllabuses and textbooks to the present day. Preller absolutised a part of the whole, and it was within this limited historical framework that the three main actors on the historical stage were organized and a positive Afrikaner self-image set against the two Feindbilder, the Blacks and the English.⁷⁹ Preller is no longer read, but that which he stood for and the image of the South African past he created, live on in school history textbooks.

77 F.A. van Jaarsveld, *Gustav Preller*, p.6.

78 See F.A. van Jaarsveld, *Gustav Preller*, pp.9-13, and J.J. Oberholster, *Die Neerslag van die Romantiek op ons Geskiedskrywing in, Trends in South African Historiography*, pp.44-52.

79 F.A. van Jaarsveld, *Gustav Preller*, p.17.



The following are some of the most common aspects of this image, appearing time and again in South African school history textbooks throughout this century, taken from one of Preller's own writings⁸⁰:

- (a) The Voortrekkers left the Cape to escape British tyranny and treachery, to establish their own free states "... the motivation behind everything, the central thought, which spurred them to action, was the desire to get away from the English, and to be free."
- (b) His "historical resumé" begins in 1486 with Diaz and continues through the Dutch to the British period. Blacks and other non-Whites are seen as hostile barbarians, even in 1925; they were "more than 75 per cent still semi-barbarians"; the White settlers were plagued from the very beginning by "repeated Kaffer invasions and Bushman raids."
- (c) The myth of the missionary conspiracy against the settlers is perpetuated: Philip was "one of the well known agitators" and Livingstone actively armed the Blacks with "ten thousand rifles". These accusations are closely connected to the idea of an unholy alliance between the British and the tribes against the Boers.
- (d) The myth of the uninhabited interior into which the Trekkers moved was entrenched: the Highveld was "almost completely depopulated by the Zulu wars of extermination", "drenched with the blood of millions of innocent souls".

6. AN EXAMINATION OF STANDARD TEXTBOOKS OF THE PERIOD

6.1. The books examined

The following titles were those that could be traced in those book-lists, reports and other departmental documents, and in the various private, public and departmental collections to which the author had access. Such a list cannot be complete. It does, however, contain most of the textbooks in use between 1918 and 1948, and certainly all the most widely-used, standard works of

80 G.S. Preller, Historiese Opstelle, pp.15-35.

the period.

- W. Skinner : Juta se Geskiedenis en Burgerpligte vir Standerds VII en VIII, Juta, Cape Town, 1923.
- J. Wiechers: Geskiedenis Handboek vir Vorm II, Wallachs, Pretoria, 1926.
- R.B. Howes and H.J.Mandelbrote: Juta se Geskiedenis vir Matrikulasiestudente, Cape Town, 1926.
- F.A. Steytler: Geskiedenis vir Standerd III, Volgens die Leerplan vir Laer Skole in die O.V.S., Nasionale Pers, Bloemfontein, 1939.
- H.L. Brown: Maskew Miller's Primary History for Transvaal Schools Standard V, Cape Town, 1926.
- Maskew Miller's Elementary Course of South African History Part II, Cape Town, undated.
- W. Fouché: Darter se Geskiedenis van die Unie van Suid-Afrika, Cape Town, 1927.
- E. Stockenström: Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika, Deel II, Pro Ecclesia, Stellenbosch, 1927.
Handboek van die Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika Tussen 1652 en 1892, Pro Ecclesia, Stellenbosch, 1922.
- F.E. Bauling: Maskew Miller se Nuwe Geskiedenis en Burgerkunde Standerd V, Cape Town, 1928.
Maskew Miller se Nuwe Geskiedenis en Burgerkunde vir Standerd VI, Cape Town, 1930 (Second and Improved Edition).
- W.J.Kammeijer and H.H. van Rooijen: Sketse uit die Vaderlandse Geskiedenis: Leesboek vir Skool en Huis Deel III, Nasionale Pers, Bloemfontein, 1930.
- B.B. Lindeque : Suid-Afrikaanse en Algemene Geskiedenis vir Kaapse en Transvaalse Middelbare Skooleind-eksamen Deel I vir Junior Matriek, Juta,

Algemene en Suid-Afrikaanse Geskiedenis vir Transvaalse Juniorsertifikaat, Standaard VII, Juta, Cape Town, 1943 (Nuwe Hersiene Uitgawe).

Algemene en Suid-Afrikaanse Geskiedenis vir die Transvaalse Juniorsertifikaat. Standaard VIII, Juta, Cape Town, 1941.

Geskiedenis en Burgerkunde vir Transvaalse Junior Sertifikaat Deel I: vir Vorm II, Juta, Cape Town, 1936.

Geskiedenis en Burgerkunde vir Transvaalse Juniorsertifikaat Deel II: vir Vorm III, Juta, Cape Town, 1936.

History and Citizenship for Transvaal Junior Certificate, Juta, Cape Town, 1937.

General and South African History for Transvaal Junior Certificate, Juta, Cape Town, undated.

J.M. Cloete and

J.J. Bezuidenhout: Laer Geskiedenis vir Skole in Transvaal Standaard V tot VI, De Bussy, Pretoria, 1933.

H.J. Hofstede: Aardrykskunde en Beknopte Geskiedenis van die Oranje-Vrystaat, Bloemfontein, 1930, (New and Improved Impression).

S.F.N. Gie: Deel I Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika (1652-1795), Universiteitsuitgewers, Stellenbosch, 1927/1955.

Deel II Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika (1795-1918), Universiteitsuitgewers, Stellenbosch 1927/1955.

A. Jenner: Juta's New History Readers for Primary Schools, Standard V, Juta, Cape Town, 1932.

A.K. Bot: Algemene Geskiedenis en Burgerkunde Standaard V, van Schaik, Pretoria, 1927.

Algemene Geskiedenis en Burgerkunde Standaard VI, van Schaik, Pretoria, 1927.

It proved unnecessary to use all the above texts in this study. One, or at most two, works by a specific author may be regarded as representative. There is little need to reproduce the contents of all the textbooks by one particular writer. Likewise, where lesser known works are similar in spirit and content to the more widely-used texts, the author has opted to use the latter only. The following texts, taken from the comprehensive list above, have been included in the discussion in the remaining part of this chapter:

- W. Skinner: Juta se Geskiedenis en Burgerpligte vir Standerds VII en VII (1923).
- J. Wiechers: Geskiedenis Handboek vir Vorm II (1926).
- R.B. Howes and
H.J. Mandelbrote: Juta se Geskiedenis vir Matrikulasiestudente (1930).
- W. Fouché: Darter se Geskiedenis van die Unie van Suid-Afrika (1921 and 1927).
- E. Stockenström: Geskiedenis van Suid Afrika Deel II (1927).
- F.E. Bauling: Maskew Miller se Nuwe Geskiedenis en Burgerkunde vir Standaard V (1928).
Maskew Miller se Nuwe Geskiedenis en Burgerkunde vir Standaard VI (1930).
- H.W. Kammeijer and
H.H. van Rooijen: Sketse uit die Vaderlandse Geskiedenis: Leesboek vir Skool and Huis Deel III (1930).
- B.G. Lindeque: Geskiedenis en Burgerkunde vir Transvaalse Junior Sertifikaat Deel I: vir Vorm II (1936).
Geskiedenis en Burgerkunde vir Transvaalse Junior Sertifikaat Deel II : vir Vorm III (1936).
- S.F.N. Gie: Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika Deel I (1652-1795) (1927).
Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika Deel II (1795-1918) (1927).

References in the text are to the authors of these books. Where more than one book by a particular author is referred to, the form or standard for which the book was intended is indicated after the author's name, e.g. Gie II or Lindeque III.

2. Some Perspectives in the Textbooks Examined

(a) Skinner

Skinner was a history teacher at Middelburg in the Cape Province. His book covers the Std 7 and 8 Cape syllabuses of the time, i.e. South African history from 1652 to about Union, as well as Civics. This book is naturally Eurocentric in its approach to the indigenous peoples. Skinner, despite his English surname, is sympathetic toward the Afrikaans cause. The war of 1899-1902 is called "The English War". Skinner bemoans the results of the discovery of gold, more of a curse than a blessing, leading to an influx of mainly English foreigners. The book expresses understanding of the Transvalers' reluctance to give up control of their Republic.

(b) Wiechers

A history teacher at Bethal High School, Wiechers's perspective is decidedly Afrikaans; it is anti-Black and anti-British. This is illustrated by his treatment of rivalry in the Indian Ocean in the 17th century : the French and English receive half a page each, and the Dutch six and a half pages, an obvious case of bias by overemphasis and, conversely, underemphasis.

(c) Howes and Mandelbrote

Mandelbrote was Professor of History at the University of Cape Town. Howes, born in England, was the first headmaster at Oudtshoorn Boys' High School, and later a distinguished judge. The text examined is the third impression of the first edition of 1926, written to comply with the requirements of the new Matriculation syllabus which brought history up to Union.

In contrast to textbooks written from an Afrikaans perspective, this one makes no mention of the taking of the Vow in the

discussion of the "Victory Commando" (p.220). The Great Trek is "played down" or underemphasized. The authors acknowledge that the annexation of Natal caused "bad blood" between British and Boer. The events of the next forty years caused a deep "national feeling to develop", so delaying unification (p.222). The pro-British perspective in the book is further evident in its treatment of the Diamond Fields dispute: the British government "sincerely believed that the Free State was not capable" of administering the Diamond Fields and therefore annexed them (p.276); also, Carnarvon "assumed" that the majority of Transvaal burghers were in favour of federation and thus gave instructions for the Annexation (p.347).

Kruger was of the "old guard" and "unable to reconcile himself" to a changing world; his anti-British attitude, appointment of Dutch officials, refusal to co-operate with the British colonies economically, uncompromising stand on the franchise and corrupt practices raised tensions (pp.356-358). The implication is, of course, that Kruger and his government were the cause of the war. The War itself receives only a page; although the concentration camps are mentioned, no figure for fatalities is given. These are examples of bias by underemphasis and omission.

The Great Trek had disrupted the unity of South Africa, a break reinforced by the Sand River and Bloemfontein Conventions. Grey and Carnarvon had attempted in vain to heal the breach. But now the reader arrives at the happy conclusion: through the Treaty of Vereeniging, Rhodes's dream of the British flag flying from Cape to Zambezi was realised (p.361).

Chapters XXXIII and XXXV deal with the other Dominions and India respectively, while Appendix D consists of eleven pages of fine print on the expansion of the British Empire since 1713.

(d) Fouché

Fouché was headmaster of the Hogere Jongenskool at Robertson, and also founder of the Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwysersunie (S.A.O.U.).

The 1921 and 1927 editions of this textbook, published by Darters, are identical, verbatim, except that in chapters 40 to 42, "The English War" in the 1921 edition becomes "The Anglo-Boer War" in the 1927 edition, a subtle shift in emphasis, out of sensitivity to English feelings and opinions. The book, usually referred to as Darter's History of South Africa, was one of the first history textbooks to be published in Afrikaans. It ran to twelve editions, the last in 1936. Because it was compiled specifically for use in Afrikaans- or Dutch-medium schools, or for the use of Afrikaans-speaking pupils in parallel or dual medium schools, it has a completely different thrust to those pro-British books designed for use by English-speaking pupils. There is an overemphasis of conflicts between Briton and Boer, with the Great Trek and Wars of Independence figuring prominently.

In the preface ("voorrede") Fouché, addresses "the children of South Africa":

"Children!

It does not matter if your name is Jan Smuts, Piet Malan, William Robertson or James Jones. We address you as South African children, born in this wonderful land, grown up ... under the blue sky ... Here you now have a little book about the history of our country and people ("volk"), specially written for you by someone, who was also born in this country ..."

Children are urged to remember South Africa's own heroes, and not to think that the history of Holland or Britain is necessarily more stirring than that of their own country. Teachers are reminded that there is no subject more suitable for the making of good citizens of children than "history of the fatherland".

The encounter between of White and Black is viewed as a struggle that lasted for over a hundred years to decide "who will be boss?" Some are of the opinion, according to Fouché that the great struggle between White and Black in South Africa is still to be fought (p.141).

Fouché makes a plea for a great Afrikaans artist to execute a painting of the taking of the Vow, to be hung in the Union Buildings (p.301), Keet's poem Slag te Bloed-Rivier is quoted in full. The following stanza is illustrative:

"Blaauwkrans massacre has been repaid
... Honour to God! He has heard!
Afrikaners! pass the word on!" * (p.306)

After the annexation of Natal, it soon became apparent that the English were still following their "wrong Kaffir politics" (p.314).

Moshweshwe relied on the "hate of Wodehouse for the Boers" to gain British protection (p.360). Britain prevented the O.F.S. and Z.A.R. from uniting out of fear of the rise of a "powerful Afrikaner State" which could form a "pivot" ("middelpunt") of Afrikanerdom (p.348).

Chapter 33 deals with the "Transvaalse Vryheidsoorlog". The battles at Bronkhorstspuit and elsewhere are described as "shattering defeats" to British arms (pp.380-381). This is in contrast to pro-British works which describe these battles merely as "setbacks", "withdrawals", etc.

Following the discovery of gold, the "scum of the earth" gathered in Johannesburg. Fouché has great understanding of Kruger's reasons for not extending the franchise to the "foreigners"

* Blaauwkrans moord is duur geboet,
... Eer zij God! Hij heeft gehoord!
Afrikaners! zegt het voort!" (p.306).

("uitlanders") (p.394). Kruger's ideal was "to unite all Afrikaners in a great struggle against British supremacy" (p.412). Fouché devotes three chapters to the Anglo-Boer War. It would appear that the "struggle and suffering" of the Boers from 1835 to 1902 had been in vain, "but one thing the Boers never lost, that is their self-respect" (p.248).

To provide orientation for the future of the nation, in Appendix B Fouché asks the question : What future does South Africa have? Despite tremendous challenges and problems, the country was making remarkable progress as a result of the co-operation between the two White language groups "who have offered one another the hand of friendship". Fouché looks forward to the day, not far off, when the whole of Africa south of the equator will belong to South Africa. The two White races needed to work closely together "without necessarily becoming one". This reflects Hertzog's two-stream policy.

(e) Stockenström:

The first part of Stockenström's work prepared Matriculation candidates for the examination on European history between 1775 and 1919. In contrast to Stockenström's earlier textbook, reviewed in the previous chapter, this revised edition brings South African history forward from 1892 to around 1914, thereby including the highly emotional topic of the Anglo-Boer War. In doing this, the author was a few years ahead of the official Cape syllabus, which only included the period 1892-1914 as from 1931.

That part of Stockenström's book dealing with the period up to 1892 is very similar both in content and spirit to his 1918 and 1922 works already reviewed, and will thus not be dealt with here. The one difference is that the latter textbooks were written in English for English-speaking pupils, while the 1927 edition was written in Afrikaans. The Afrikaans nationalist overtones are thus more pronounced in this textbook. The first

chapter, for example, is entitled "Die Wording van die Hollands-Afrikaanse Volk". It is particularly in the treatment of South African history after 1892 that the Afrikaner nationalist perspective is obvious.

Stockenström, a fiery Afrikaner nationalist, is one of the first writers of textbooks to attempt to analyse the rise of Afrikaner nationalism, identifying the War of 1880-81 as its major stimulus (pp.377-382). The British annexation of Bechuanaland is also roundly condemned as an aggravation of British-Boer tensions (p.394). The Book contains several examples of bias by disproportion. The background to, and the causes, course and result of, the Anglo-Boer War are allotted 70 pages. For example, the Edgar incident alone receives two pages. Stockenström conscientiously lists the grievances of the Uitlanders, but then proceeds to minimize or dismiss them, giving the Republican viewpoint throughout. In summarising the causes of the War, Stockenström uses the metaphor of the Transvaal "lamb" being no match for the "mighty British wolf" whose greatest ambition was the expansion and glorification of the Empire - the "warmongers" and "empire-builders" made war inevitable (p.440). One can but imagine the uproar that must have been caused in pro-British circles by such an interpretation of the South African past.

Stockenström passionately denounces the Boer turncoats as "contemptible, cowardly traitors" ("afsigtelike papbroek-verraaiers") (p.445). Tribute is paid to the martyr and hero, Gideon Scheepers, the "fearless": "The English took him out of his sickbed, transported him to Graaff-Reinet and shot him" (p.447). Manie Maritz too was a "fearless, born military man". Stockenström does not hesitate to boast with the Boer gallery of heroes. The 26 000 concentration camp deaths are mentioned twice. He is strongly disapproving of the use by the British of Black troops - "the bloodthirsty barbarians" (p.452). He is cynical about the British victory: the Boers had inflicted a wound on

the British Empire from which it never recovered - what a price to have paid for Rhodes's ideal and for Transvaal gold (p.454). The high Boer casualties (especially among the women and children) and physical destruction were disastrous, particularly for the farming community. He remarks with bitterness that in many cases the people who had "bought the land with their blood and sweat" were forced to become "hewers of wood and drawers of water." (p.455).

Another consequence was the "racial hatred" the war had caused between Boer and Briton - "let us not mince words" ("laat ons tog nie doekies omdraai nie"), the whole war generation would first have to die out before the wound could heal. The Monument at Bloemfontein was erected so that the war might not be forgotten (p.456). The conflict had led to an unparalleled national awakening as a result of the national humiliation and suppression (p.459): "our history was enriched with a long series of glorious events and dramatic episodes and decorated with a long gallery of renowned heroes", who, through their heroic deeds against the overwhelming enemy earned the honour and respect of the whole world (p.460).

Stockenström shows that while, after 1902, many in South Africa were endeavouring to exclude the Anglo-Boer War from the school syllabus (and in fact had succeeded right up to 1931), there were others for whom the War (with the Great Trek as a second historical axis) provided inspiration in their present unsatisfactory predicament, and a guide for the future. To pro-British elements the War was an uncomfortable reminder of an event best forgotten. For the Afrikaner it was to be the dynamo which would drive his nationalism for the next seventy years.

The book ends with a section on the constitution of the Union and events between 1910 and 1914. The political events surrounding the rupture between Botha and Hertzog are interpreted as a clash

First" or the British Empire first (p.504). Stockenström makes no secret of where his sympathies lie.

(f) Bauling

For practical reasons, these two volumes may be treated as a whole: the Std 6 book is the second revised edition of the same series, first published in 1928.

In the foreword to both volumes Bauling, headmaster of Wolmaransstad High, urges pupils to remember that although they are Afrikaners first (and foremost) they belong to a wider world. The perspective in Bauling's books is Afrikaner nationalist. In a classic example of backward projection, Bauling interprets the birth of the first White child at the Cape, as the birth of the "first White Afrikaner" (p.25).

The Great Trek is explained as an attempt by the Colonists to rid themselves of a government which simultaneously oppressed them yet was unable to protect them against the natives (p.59). The Trek, more than any other event, contributed to the expansion of White civilization in South Africa and saved the Dutch element from downfall (p.59). Piet Retief's manifesto forms the basis of the explanation for the Trek (pp. 61-63). The "perseverance", "courage" and "determination" of the Trekkers became legendary.

The Afrikaans perspective is clear in the obvious pride Bauling takes in the Boer victories at Bronkhorstspuit and Majuba (p.117) and in his glowing portrait of Paul Kruger's physical and mental capacities: he was "powerfully built", "strong", "agile", "a good runner", and "excellent shot", "calm", with "a clear mind" and "good insight"; at fourteen he shot his first lion, later drowned a wounded buffalo, and outran an elephant - he was "a born leader" (p.199). Afrikaner nationalism, first aroused by the 1877 Annexation, was greatly strengthened by the Jameson

Raid. Milner's "haughty" treatment of the Z.A.R. is severely criticised (p.132). His concern for the Uitlander's rights was merely a "pretext for interference" - his real aim was British paramountcy over the whole of South Africa. Kitchener eventually launched a "war of destruction" - "all the farms were destroyed" so that the commandos would be starved (pp.134 and 141).

Although the War had inflamed "racial hatred" between Briton and Boer and cost the Afrikaner his independence, the Boer had emerged from the war strong: "his self-respect intact and with a name among the nations of the world"; he further earned the respect of his former enemy who came to view him "not as a half-civilized savage but rather as a brave and noble adversary" (p.142).

The aim of citizenship according to Bauling "is to teach us to be of use to family, school, town, country and nation" ("volk") (p.99). A good citizen is someone "willing to subject himself to authority" (p.100), a rather authoritarian approach to citizenship.

The Civics section would have every Afrikaner, like the Romans of old, fired with "national pride"; every citizen was to love and respect his "people" and the "fatherland". Bauling extolls love of fatherland as one of the strongest motivations to make a nation great (p.168). The flag was the symbol of an own nationality (p.169). The Union was still a young country and, as a nation, consisted of many different elements. As soon as the "right patriotism" penetrated the whole country, there would be co-operation (p.169). A knowledge of the past, especially of the nation's great men and deeds, could provide inspiration for the national task at hand and orientation for the future.

(g) Kammeijer and van Rooijen

Kammeijer was vice-principal of the Modelskool in Bloemfontein and van Rooijen was a lecturer in history at the Normal Teachers Training College in Bloemfontein.

Approved by the Suid-Afrikaanse Akadademie and recommended by the Book Commission of the Orange Free State Teachers' Association, this Std 6 textbook is propagandist, highly subjective and inclined to confuse historical fact with myths and wishful thinking.

Van Riebeeck's landing is depicted as follows:

"The voice of the brave Commander is heard on the beach at Table Bay - 'Men, the land is desolate and wild. But should God grant us His blessing, we shall transform this wilderness into a beautiful garden ... plant the flag here!'"

Van Riebeeck prays that God will establish the Reformed religion here, that He will use them to convert the blind heathen (p.90). Here already is the Afrikaner's special mission in Africa. The nine Free Burghers were the "first Afrikaners", another example of backward projection (p.93).

The authors make much of the Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet "nationalist" uprisings. The First British Occupation is depicted completely negatively: The officials were "tyrannical", religious freedom was non-existent, bribery was rife, money became valueless and the economy declined. Compare this to the glowing reports of the same period in pro-British textbooks examined in Chapters 3 and 5. The Anglicization policy is regarded as one of the primary causes of the Great Trek (probably to strengthen the cause of the Afrikaans language at the time the textbook was published). The London hearing attended by Andries Stockenström is belittled sarcastically : Philip took "samples" with him: "King or Emperor Jan Tsatsoe the Great" and "the honourable and

most learned gentleman Andries Stoffels", a "Kaffir and a Hottentot". If the results had not been so serious one could have laughed at the "travelling circus of the doctor"(p.197). Then "Enter Andries Stockenström, a true Afrikaner, he will put the record straight. But alas! syrup for the native, poison for the Afrikaner is his contribution" (p.198).

It is obvious that the authors have reserved a special judgement for the missionaries and other philanthropists. Sir George Grey and the German settlers are praised, while David Arnot is "the bastard", the "big villain", who inherited all his worst traits from his Coloured mother"(p.233). Arnot "hated the Boers with a deadly hatred". The Diamond Fields dispute is treated in an openly propagandist manner bearing little resemblance to scholarly historical writing. Arnot, the "Big Villain", is central to this fanciful version of the dispute.

The authors make light of the Transvaal's problems prior to Annexation. Under the ironic sub-heading "The Blessings of the British Rule", the supposed blessing was that the Transvaal state debt under Shepstone's "brilliant administration" grew from £300 000 to a "mere" £1 000 000 (p.247).

The Z.A.R. could not be expected to yield to the Uitlanders' (foreigners') demands without surrendering the country they had "bought with their blood" (p.275). The authors note with pride that "a small nation which can produce such great men as the Boer leaders and generals, cannot go under" (p.282). Kitchener with his 200 000 men could not get the better of 15 000 Boers (p.282). British martial law in the Cape is compared to Alva's reign of terror in the Netherlands (p.282), an example of bias by exaggeration. The British executed the Cape Rebels to terrorize the Cape Afrikaners into submission and without exception the victims gave their lives as heroes (p.284). Readers are urged to visit the Vrouemonument, erected to honour the women and children who gave their lives for independence (p.288). A breakdown of the

deaths in the concentration camps is given. The Peace of Vereeniging was a "dreadfully bitter pill" to have to swallow (p.305). Lord de Villiers and especially President Steyn, the "uncrowned king", are eulogised (p.314). The authors, being Free Staters, give more credit to Steyn than do most other authors.

The Union, the authors point out, is an independent state which rules itself according to its own laws; it has its own flag "which at our own national festivals waves in our clear skies".

Kammeijer and van Rooijen acknowledge that while the Union flag was a compromise, it should be honoured, and if needs be, defended (p.359).

The 1914 Rebellion is treated sympathetically: Germany was a traditionally friendly power with which the Union had no quarrel whatsoever (p.345). Jopie Fourie was a "true patriot", whose last request that he be shot in his big Afrikaner heart is quoted (p.348). The victory of the Pact Government in 1924 is noted with satisfaction (p.351).

The last sub-section, "Our Language", deals with the history of the Afrikaans language and the rise of the language movements.

Having provided their readers with ample sources of pride in their past, the authors offer orientation for present challenges and the future of the country: the big problem facing South Africa was the search for a solution "to the constitutional position of the natives". This is an accurate analysis for the period. South Africa with its wonderful climate, great natural beauty, fertile soil and mineral wealth had great potential: "we love this country ... because it is ours". The first verse of "Die Stem", (not yet the official anthem) is quoted. When we talk of our "volk" we are not referring to "creatures" like the Bushmen, Hottentots or Bantu, but to the Whites; South Africa is a "White Man's Land". In contrast to other colonies, the Whites

here had never mixed with the natives. Echoing Hertzog's brand of nationalism, the authors define "our people" as consisting of two nationalities: the Dutch and the English Afrikaners (pp.363-366).

(h) Lindeque

First a history master, later headmaster and eventually Inspector of Education in Johannesburg, Lindeque became one of the best known writers of textbooks in South Africa this century. His many books, in both languages, were used for two decades or more throughout the country.

Volume I treats of South African history between 1806 and 1872. The descriptions of the frontier wars, Slagters Nek, the missionaries etc., are largely conventional and contain nothing new. The emphasis on the place of the Great Trek in history is noteworthy. The religious overtones to the treatment of this event are interesting: Sarel Cilliers was the "prophet" of the Trek; "with God's help" the Matabele were repulsed at Vegkop (p.28); Cilliers, "pious man of God" did not forget to thank God for His assistance in their hour of need (p.29); with God's help, the Wenkommando gained a victory at Blood River. It could not have been otherwise for the "pious man of God", Cilliers, had made a vow to God (p.38).

Chapter XV deals with Civics: the Whites had power and influence over their non-White subjects, and it was their duty to treat them with tact and sense. As a member of the British Commonwealth, South Africa had a duty to support the other members economically and militarily. Britain, having conquered South Africa in stages, had gradually surrendered its status as conqueror and recognized South Africa as an equal partner (pp. 257-259). South Africa's newly gained dominion status is reflected here.

Volume II continues with South African history from 1870 to 1926.

Lindeque writes from an Afrikaner perspective. He calls the new thrust of British imperialism in the 1870's, "The Strong Hand" (p.5). Although conditions in the Z.A.R. left much to be desired, they certainly did not justify the Annexation. Paul Kruger becomes an almost larger-than-life figure (pp. 6-7).

The British reverses in the Zulu War are regarded with mild amusement: it was Chelmsford's own fault for having ignored the well-intentioned military advice given by the Boers. The War of 1880-81 is called the First War of Independence ("Vryheidsoorlog"), while land disputes with the Bechuanas are called "Kaffir troubles on the Western boundary" (p.13). Warren, MacKenzie and Rhodes are taken to task for their imperialist designs and for inflaming "racial hatred". Rhodes's "underhand" dealings with Lobengula are criticised. The Z.A.R. and the Matabele are seen as fellow victims of British "ambition" and "conniving" (p.20).

The problems arising from the discovery of gold were exacerbated by two other "disturbing factors" after 1885, i.e. the growing imperialist spirit of Rhodes, and the capitalist power of the imperialists after the establishment of De Beers Consolidated (p.21). More than other writers before him, Lindeque makes much of the common link between Imperialism and Capitalism, the common goal of which he sees as the destruction of Kruger's government. Kruger faced these formidable forces with only his burghers and the rising national spirit throughout South Africa. Rhodes was in close contact with the Rand capitalists to bring about Kruger's downfall (p.25).

This accurate summary of the forces at work before 1899 would have been uncomfortable in the extreme for pro-British elements even in 1936, hence the bitter recriminations of the period. The Jameson Raid was hatched by the "imperialist money kings and capitalists" (p.27). After this "fiasco" Rhodes became a "declared enemy of the Afrikaner in South Africa".

The causes of the Anglo-Boer war are presented in a rather simplistic form: the desire to revenge the humiliation at Majuba; the "racial hatred" inflamed by the Uitlander question and British Imperialism casting its "greedy eyes" on the Transvaal (p.28). The British thought they could crush the Boers in a few months, but Lindeque notes with pride that instead it took two and a half years and 250 000 troops. It was the Camps that forced the Boers to the negotiation table (p.30). Besides the 27 000 Camp victims and physical destruction, the war left a legacy of bitterness and hatred (p.31). A positive outcome was that "our national history was enriched with dramatic episodes and famous, glorious national heroes. The chapter on the war ends with this eulogy:

"They are our honour, our pride, the founders of our republics, the protectors of our nationality, the corner stones of our independence and the defenders of our land ..."

Among the most contentious issues facing the Botha cabinet were the "non-white question, English-Afrikaans relations and the language issue (which receives particular attention). In the clash between Botha and Hertzog, Lindeque's sympathies are clearly with Hertzog, who "unashamedly put the interests of South Africa before those of the British Empire" (p.62). The establishment of the National Party and its success at the polls in 1924 are described with enthusiasm (p.64).

It is interesting that Lindeque makes use of contemporary events, in this case right up to the year of publication, to score political points, even though the official syllabus only provided for history up to 1910. Lindeque is greatly concerned with the lot of the poor Whites who had to compete with non-Whites. The economic advancement of the Coloureds and Blacks was a distinct danger to the position of the poor White. Readers are reminded that the poor Whites "are our own people and it would be

extremely uncharitable and unpatriotic of us to look down on them" (p.87).

Gie

Dr Gie was secretary for Education for the Union, and also Professor of History at the University of Stellenbosch.

Gie's textbooks, each over four hundred pages of fine print and very detailed, were actually meant for university study. They were perennials, having first been published in 1927. The particular volumes consulted were of the sixth impression of 1955. Gie makes liberal use of sources and quotes, particularly those that support his own views.

The preface to Part I, written in 1927, contains numerous clues to Gie's historical perspective, his sympathies and his political views, making a study of his actual text almost unnecessary. According to him our knowledge of the Bushmen, Hottentots and Blacks is too limited for us to be able to reconstruct their past: in any case, "the illiterate and barbarian masses of humanity are not the field of the historian"; this is typical of the Eurocentric approach to history at that time.

The heroes of the past, "with their deeds still resounding like thunder", make "our hearts beat faster" and "strengthen our resolve to serve our nation". This was especially true of South Africa where civilization was often threatened, sometimes even to the point of a struggle for life and death, by "an almost unstoppable flood of savage heathendom". One can, therefore, understand why so much attention is given to "war and friction". The voices from our past bear witness to "the struggle" and individual heroism, and may not be smothered. They teach us to love and serve South Africa, which through their bravery, became "our country". Alongside these "mighty tones", are "other softer whisperings of the unnamed ancestors whose courage and holding

high of the honour of the White man" who made South Africa what it is. History should be inspiring and awaken enthusiasm.

Book I describes "how the torch of our civilization was lit and how it was passed from hand to hand over generations until it illuminated the coast of South Africa". The Germanic peoples "unlike the barbarian races of Africa", displayed an extraordinary talent for higher development. A distinguishing feature was their nomadic, freedom-loving habits "just like the Voortrekkers" (p.5). Gie also mentions the "great historical calling of the Afrikaner to move further and further into the interior with the rifle in one hand and the Bible in the other" (pp.27-28).

At the "peace negotiations" that ended the First Hottentot War in 1660, "the claim of the white man to a part of South Africa, and the right of the native to keep out of that part, was discussed in principle"; "so (original emphasis) principally and fundamentally that it was decided for the rest of time". The frontier could shift hundreds of miles to the east and north, but the same principles which applied to the Liesbeeck River would also apply to the Fish, the Tugela and the Zambezi Rivers. Gie legitimates in this way the White man's claim to Southern Africa.

The preface to Part II implores pupils to remain on South African soil "for it is here that we need their hearts and hands". This volume picks up where Part I left off, with the heading "Kaffir and Hottentot on the War Path", Bethelsdorp being a "breeding ground" of all the vices. All the other conventional stereotypes and epithets are repeated here. Gie devotes 70 pages altogether to the Trek, bias by overemphasis. Cilliers is described as "an Old Testament prophet" under whose guidance "those present bound their children and their children's children", in fact "the Afrikaans nation" before the Almighty (p.260). As the 10 000 Zulus attacked at Blood River, "the future of civilization in a large part of South Africa ... lay in the balance; and it is of

importance ... that not only the white man's weapons, but also his spiritual superiority, was decisive."(p.260). The fact that there was not one death on the Trekker side made the outcome appear "even more supernatural" (p.261).

Majuba too is seen as a "miraculous victory" - the Transvalers were convinced that God had restored their freedom (p.359). The Anglo-Boer War was a "war of destruction" and a "war of extermination". The Boer's heroism commanded the "enthusiastic admiration of the world" (p.421). The suffering had not been in vain: the Afrikaner nation came out of the crucible strengthened and rejuvenated. Today, Paul Kruger's statue gazes northward towards the Union Buildings - he would be satisfied "that in the great fatherland of the Afrikaner nation ... the language and traditions of the Voortrekkers are held in esteem" (p.422).

6.3 Negative Presentation of the Non-White Peoples

(a) Thieving propensities

One of the earliest and most enduring of South African master symbols is that of the thieving, plundering Hottentots, Bushmen, Xhosa etc. Skinner describes how the Khoi "stole colonial stock" (p.126), how the San attempted to halt White expansion "by stealing their stock" (p. 151), how the frontier farmers had to contend with the Bushmen and Xhosa who came to "steal and plunder" (p.151); time and again these "intruders" invaded the colony to "ravage", "rob" and "plunder" (pp. 1958, 192). Also the Basuto began to "rob" and "plunder" (p.241).

Wiechers accuses the San of stealing cattle from other tribes (p.130). Stock theft at the Cape "increased alarmingly" in van Riebeeck's time. The Khoi are blamed for this (p.165). In 1779 the internal strife among the Xhosa set off "stock-theft" and "plundering" on the frontier (p.217). The farmers were not only exposed to the "thefts of the Bushmen", but also of the Xhosa who

"robbed" and "plundered" (p.229).

Howes and Mandelbrote write of the "plundering gangs" of "barbarians" and their "depredations", and the "Hottentot plunderers", "Hottentot thefts" and the "thefts of the vagrant Hottentots" (pp.142, 149, 150). In 1808 Ndlambe's people launched "their usual cattle raids" and in 1813 the cattle raids recommenced. After 1820 both Dutch and British frontier farmers were victims of the Xhosa "thefts" and "plunder" (pp.152, 209). The fertile plains west of the Caledon River were "constantly plundered and raided" by the Basuto (p.272). Cetshwayo too was guilty of "plundering" farms on the Transvaal border (p.349).

According to Fouché, the San were "prone to theft" (p.36). Bethelsdorp became a "haven for thieves", resulting in "vagrancy" and "stock theft", while the Xhosa were "stealing and plundering" to their hearts' content (p.153). The frontier farmers were "robbed of their last stock" by the Xhosa (p.220). Fouché states with conviction that the "majority of Hottentots were thieves" (p.269).

Bauling (V) concurs that the Hottentots were "thieves who stole whenever they got the chance". In the beginning they only took clothes, tobacco and such things, but soon they also began stealing the colonists' cattle" (pp.22, 30). The frontiersmen too had to suffer much from the "depredations of the Bushmen". Bauling (VI) agrees with Fouché that Bethelsdorp was a "breeding place of evil and crime" (p.21). The result of Caledon's 1807 Ordinance was that the Khoi were "often guilty of theft" (p.27): "most of them", he alleges, were "dishonest" (p.53). Similarly the freed slaves moved about in gangs, often "robbing and plundering" (p.47).

Kammeijer and van Rooijen are no exception to the textbook writers of the period. On the young settlement's northern

frontier, the "Bushmen-plague" "robbed", "stole" and "plundered" (p.126). Following the 1834 invasion by the Xhosa ("like a swarm of locusts"), the scales fell from D'Urban's eyes - "No, the ferocious Black robbers are dangerous villains, thieves and murderers rather than innocent children of nature" (p.195).

(b) Physical appearance and filthy habits

Wiechers describes the San as "dwarfs", "yellowish in colour" (p.130). In a chapter entitled "A Strange People", Kammeijer and van Rooijen, are even less flattering their description of the "Bushmen": "Of their nose little more could be seen than two holes; the lack of nose made their faces even uglier; their forehead was so flat and narrow that there could scarcely have been much room for brains; their heads were covered with pepper corns which they attempted to pull out of one another's head when fighting" (p.1). The "Hottentots" were "neither attractive nor clean"; they rubbed themselves with fat to protect their skins from the bite of the vermin that lived in their "filthy karosses", "which they smeared with manure to look nice and dirty and smell strong" (p.94). Howes and Mandelbrote (III) also describe the Khoi as "dirty" (p.150). Bauling (V) too, views them as a "dirty", "ugly" nation (p.130). Fouché concedes that the "Kaffirs" are "a handsome people" "except for their colour" (p.11).

Lindeque (II) takes the Indians to task for what he considers their "filthy habits" (p.42). Because of their "dark skin colour" the White man is prejudiced against them, despite their "super intelligence" (p.42).

Stockenström, like Wiechers, regards the San as unintelligent: they were characterised by "the small area in their skulls left for brains"; their skin colour was yellowy brown, going over to "dirty yellow". The Khoi too was "anything but clean on his

person", his huts and skins being "alive with vermin" (pp.442, 448).

(c) Culture

The earlier authors were unanimous in their derogatory approach to the life-style, language, religious beliefs and morals of the indigenous peoples.

The Khoi were "too lazy to work", according to Skinner, so slaves had to be imported (p.123). He notes disapprovingly that the San practised polygamy, and "killed their children when food was scarce". When they migrated, Skinner avers, they "thought nothing of leaving old people behind with a piece of meat and an ostrich eggshell of water". No explanation of the sometimes desperate struggle for survival waged by the San is given as background to the accusations. Furthermore, their language was a "clickety-clack, a smacking of the lips"; of the Supreme Being "they had no conception" (pp.130-131; 203-209). Skinner also refers to the Khoi as a "superstitious lot", "believing in spirits and ghosts"; the old and handicapped "were simply left to die in remote places" and their language had "no fixed rules". He employs the epithet "Hotnots" in references to the Khoi, a term of contempt even at the time of writing (pp.131-133).

Howes and Mandelbrote report that the farmers found the Khoi "lazy" (p.150). Fouché as well writes that the Khoi were "generally lazy": the men "lay around the kraal smoking dagga", "too lazy to work" (pp.4, 266). The "Bantu" are regarded as having religious beliefs confined to "the worship of evil spirits" (p.11). In warm weather the San simply "burrowed a hole in the ground and curled up inside" (p.442).

Bauling (V) writes that the San did not even build decent huts but slept in holes in the ground or under bushes (p.27); nor did they hesitate "to devour the remains left by a predator" (p.29).

Their language was "inadequate" and they could count no "further than five"(p.30). The "Bantus" (a term used more and more frequently from the late 1920's onward) "could wage war well"; the men "spent most of their time in preparation for war, hunting, and beer drinking" (p.31).

According to Kammeijer and van Rooijen the San were "too lazy" to remove the ash from their dwellings or replace their clothes when they disintegrated - they then simply went naked; for food they merely dug out roots and ate these together with the worms and beetles crawling on them. The authors ask the sarcastic, rhetorical question, "Delicious, not so?" ("Lekker, né?"). When they received visitors, they caught a few hares, bit the long ears off the head, smeared their own heads with the blood and ate themselves "thick and round". Their language is dismissed as a "Strange click-clack" (pp.1-4). The religious beliefs of the San are belittled, yet the writers contend that they have a deeper sense of religion than the "Bantu", who gradually lost "the little religion they had" and became "wild barbarians" (p.15). The latter's beliefs are contemptuously dismissed with the comment "Foolish, no?" ("Dwaas, né?") (p.17). The "Hottentots", too, had a "funny kind of religion" - an insect ("gogga") was the prophet of one of their gods! "Creatures" who worship an insect (a reference to the mantis) are "far from civilized" (p.94).

On the culinary aspects of Indian culture, Lindeque (II) is condemnatory: "They have no South African patriotism, because their food consists of curry and rice" (p.42). Such comments may appear ludicrous today, but at the time they were taken at face value.

(d) Unreliability, deceitfulness

The pro-White, pro-Colonist bias of the writers under review is revealed in their apportioning of blame for the outbreak of

hostilities in South African history. It is always the non-Whites who cause conflict. There is a constant reinforcement of the stereotype or master symbol of the devious, cunning, deceitful, unreliable, dishonest Bushmen, Hottentots, Xhosa, Basuto etc.

So Skinner regards the Glenelg system as doomed to failure, "for the Kaffirs took little notice of treaties" (p.225). The Xhosa were always "merely waiting for an excuse to start another war" (p.192); they "ignored the Fish River boundary" and "violated" the frontier time and again (pp.56,158). The "national suicide" of the Xhosa is attributed to the "cunning" Kreli whose plan it was to send thousands of "starving, vicious and armed Kaffirs" into the Colony to drive the White man into the sea (p.230). It was always the Basuto under Moshweshwe who broke the agreements (p.247). Wiechers writes of the San as "cunning robbers" (p.230), and the Khoi as a "cunning enemy" (p.167). It was the incessant stock theft of the Khoi that caused the first "Hotnot" war (p.167). According to Howes and Mandelbrote, the farmers regard the Khoi as "unreliable", and "treaties with the barbarians" proved futile (p.150). Fouché says of the Khoi that they are "cowardly in war" and "treacherous" by nature (p.68). The Afrikaner had been in contact with Blacks, Khoi and San and thus knew and understood them best. He had learned not to trust them: "never trust a Black man" (p.267). Moshweshwe is described as the "clever rat", always up to his "old tricks", relying on the "hate of Wodehouse for the Boers" to gain British protection (p.360).

Bauling (V) writes that the farmers learned "that the promises of the Kaffirs mean nothing" (p.66). Bauling (VI) condemns the "fatal blunder" made by the British in employing Khoi as soldiers: not only did this policy result in hundreds leaving their masters' employ, but also in the Khoi soldiers joining the Xhosa "in droves" during the Third Frontier War, a further example of Khoi duplicity and unreliability (p.14). According to

Bauling, the "Hottentots" were "expert at imitating the less positive aspects of White civilization, such as drunkenness" (p.53).

The Xhosa were forever violating the "legal boundary" of the Colony, Ndlambe's subjects being the "worst culprits" (pp.32-37). Before 1850 there appeared to be calm on the frontier, yet all the while the Xhosa were "busy hatching schemes" to drive out the White man (p.84).

Lindeque (I) writes of the "treacherous Makapan" (p.65), and "the cunning of the Basuto's" (p.61), while Gie (IV) refers to the San as "dangerous, stealthy assassins" ("sluipmoordenaars") (p.118).

(e) As a threat or as problems

A consistent, multi-faceted theme in South African historiography has been that of the non-White peoples as a threat or danger, and at best as a burden, nuisance or problem. This is hardly surprising in the light of the relatively small, almost insignificant, number of Whites at the southern tip of Africa since 1652. From the very beginnings of White settlement, the Whites felt threatened by the always numerically superior indigenous peoples, especially the Blacks.

Thus Skinner (I) uses tautology to emphasize the "threatening danger" posed by the Khoi (p.126) and the San who were guilty of murdering herdsmen and colonists alike (p.151). The freed slaves became a "burden" as "vagrants" and "beggars" (p.136). Ordinance 50 was "a grave mistake", as the Coloureds "were not able to control themselves", becoming a "pest" and a "nuisance" (p.189).

Skinner treats three of the traditional causes of the Great Trek in some detail under the headings, the "Hottentot question", the "Slave question" and the "Kaffir question" (p.201 ff.). Indian immigration and their presence in Natal was "one of the dark

clouds threatening the future of South Africa" (p.248), as was the influx of thousands of Zulu refugees (p.249).

To Wiechers (II), the San were a "burden" to the farmers (p.209), Van Riebeeck had to deal with a "meat question", a "wheat question" and a "native question". By 1792 the "Native danger" had become "threatening" - the Xhosa posed "an even greater danger" to the exposed farmers than the San (p.229), with their even more "murderous attacks" (p.217).

According to Howes and Mandelbrote, after 1838 the Natal Trekkers were faced with a "Native problem" (p.225), while the early history of the Free State is largely "the story of the struggle against the Basuto" (p.272). The need to address the various "non-White problems" was a major incentive towards Union; Natal had imported "Coolies", thereby creating a further, as yet unsolved, "problem"; the Zulu "rebellion of 1906 highlighted "the dangers inherent in a divided native policy" (p.367).

In the chapter entitled "How the Border Farmers Lived", the typical frontier farmer is pictured by Fouché (II) as being robbed of his last stock, exposed to the demands of "cocky Kaffirs" and the danger that he and his family would be murdered and his homestead set alight (pp.220-221). From its inception the Orange Free State was "threatened" by "a foreign enemy", i.e. the Bastuo (p.349). Similarly the young Z.A.R. was "surrounded by a host of powerful Kaffir tribes". For Natal, the Zulu were a "great danger" (p.365).

Bauling (V) writes of the Khoi as a constant "threat" and of "trouble" ("las") to the colonists (p.30). In his Std 6 work he refers to the "Hottentot danger" (p.14) and "trouble with the Kaffirs". Although most of the Khoi had been wiped out by epidemics, there were still enough of them to be "a major burden" (p.53). He too writes of the "Indian or Asian question",

one of South Africa's "most problematical situations" (p.127). Natal was also threatened by the "power-hungry" and "cruel" Cetshwayo (p.151).

Lindeque (II) discusses the "Native problem" in the Cape Colony, the "Chinese danger" in the Transvaal (the Chinese were "prone to desert and some were even guilty of cannibalism") (p.38), and the "Asian danger" in Natal. By 1910 there were 100 000 Indians in Natal, "a serious problem" and "headache" (p.42). There was an "Asian problem" in the Transvaal too - in 1904 the plague broke out amongst the Johannesburg "Koelies" (p.44).

Among the most contentious issues facing the Botha cabinet were the "non-White questions"(p.62). The section captioned "The Native Problems after 1910" mirrors the fear of non-White domination which underlies segregationist tendencies in South Africa: the delegates at the pre-Union talks realised that if the non-Whites were to be given the vote, they would dominate the Whites; if permitted to access to alcohol "they would become a burden and a danger" in White society; if admitted into the same train compartments as Whites, conditions for the latter would become unhygienic and unbearable; if allowed to own farms in White areas, they would, by virtue of their lower standard of living and ambition, soon become masters of the country (p.64).

In his chapter Lindeque sees our "Native problem and labour question" as a "survey of the native problem" since 1652. He articulates the White fears of being swamped by the Blacks in particular. The "native problem itself" consisted chiefly of the fact that there are 6 million Blacks to 1,75 million Whites. The "Natives" were "streaming increasingly in disturbing numbers into the towns and cities" (p.135).

Gie (I), like Lindeque, is acutely aware of what he terms the "native factor", which comes to the fore as history unfolds: the

"Bantu advance, the overwhelming steamroller", the inexorable lava of the vast Bantu lake", clashed eventually with the standard-bearers of European civilization, a bloody struggle which would last a century (p.28). "Murders", "plunders" and a series of burnt homes marked the passing of "the Black tidal wave") (p.222).

Closely connected with the perception of non-Whites as a danger is the heavy emphasis on military history, on wars, battles, conflicts, and also the attitude that the White man could only maintain his position through force. Thus in 1770, for example, a commando shot a large number of San, bringing to a temporary end their "theft" and "murder", according to Skinner (p.151). That author also regards the policy of the British authorities toward the Xhosa as foolish, for the latter understood "only the use of force"(p.177). British vacillation led only to more "plundering" and "stock theft" (p.183). When Cetshwayo ignored Frere's ultimatum, the British decided to "teach him a lesson" (p.251).

Fouché, like so many of his contemporaries, devotes whole chapters to military history: the earlier O.F.S. - Basuto wars, the Frontier War of 1877, the Basuto War of 1880, and the Zulu War of 1878. The Zulus were becoming "cheekier" ("brutaler") by the day - "the time had come to subdue them" (p.369). The death sentence passed on Mapoch, who had "refused obedience", served as a "useful and necessary warning" to the other chiefs (pp.388-390). Bauling (V) too places much emphasis on "clashes with the Hottentots", and the first and second "Hottentot wars" (pp.34-35). Similarly the Xhosa are only mentioned in terms of the colonists' clashes with them, and the subsequent "Kaffir wars" (p.66).

Wiechers states that van Riebeeck soon came to realise that his "soft" ("mooipraat") policies were pointless, hence the "Hotnot"

wars. In 1674 a punitive expedition captured "400 Hotnots, 800 cattle and 400 sheep" (p.175).

In a section headed "Difficulties with the Natives", Howes and Mandelbrote, make much of the fifty years of fighting with the "Hottentots", and the "even more troublesome Bushmen". The "Bantu" were "even more aggressive by nature than the Hottentots or Bushmen" (p.43).

(f) As ignorant bloodthirsty savages

Besides the unsavoury physical and moral characteristics attributed to the various indigenous peoples, many of the earlier works did not hesitate to employ epithets such as "savage", "barbarian", "bloodthirsty" and so on when describing non-Whites in general or their leaders as individuals.

So to Skinner, Shaka was "cruel and bloodthirsty", exceeding in cruelty" even Mzilikazi" (p.209), who had sent his "bloodthirsty" warriors to attack Vegkop (p.215). Half a century later the Zulu, under the "cruel" and "bloodthirsty" Cetshwayo, were once more on the war-path (p.251). In Wiechers one reads that the Portuguese usually tried to avoid the coast of South Africa because of the "barbarian inhabitants", including "verkäfferde Hotnotstamme"* (p.129).

Fouché regards the Strandlopers as belonging to "a very low human race" (p.3), and the "Bantu" as "bloodthirsty and cruel" (p.11). Bauling (V) speaks in the same breath of "wild animals and Hottentots" (p.22). The latter, "like all barbarians, liked shiny objects" (p.23). The frontiersmen, he states, shot the "Bushmen" dead "like animals" (p.30). Bauling finds it difficult to credit the San with any kind of achievement. Thus it is a mystery how

* A translation is virtually impossible.

such an "uncivilized race" could draw so beautifully - some scholars believed that they had learned from the Egyptians or that they had originally come from Europe! (p.29).

Lindeque (I), like so many authors before and even after him, portrays Shaka as "cruel and bloodthirsty", and Dingane as "a devil", and again as a "proper devil from hell, who ordered that Retief be slain and that his heart and liver be cut out of him alive" (p.33). Lindeque (II) makes liberal use of the epithets of the time; his books are riddled with the usual derogatory references to "Hottentot enemies", "thieving and uncivilised Kaffirs", "darkies ("swartnerwe") and so on (pp.127-128). While conceding that many Blacks are intelligent, he nevertheless asserts that a large percentage will go to their graves as "morons" ("mamparas") (p.137). Fouché's paternalistic attitude is characteristic of the time: the Black man is to be fed, but given a hiding when he deserved it; in other words, "treat him in all respects as a child" (p.267).

Gie (I) refers to the non-Whites of the world as "the illiterate and barbarian masses of humanity", and "savage heathendom" (Preface). Elsewhere he refers to "the barbarian races of Africa" (p.5). Gie (II) views the Great Trek as the "great conflict" between Boer and "barbarian" (p.61).

Kammeijer and van Rooijen ridicule the missionaries, Dr Philip in particular, for their love of the "natives" which is termed "monkey love" - they were blind to the shortcomings of the natives and "loved them to death like a mother monkey loves her offspring" (pp. 188-189).

i.4. Positive self-image

As has already been explained, a self-image is like a coin, in that the value of the one side, that which may be termed the

such an "uncivilized race" could draw so beautifully - some scholars believed that they had learned from the Egyptians or that they had originally come from Europe! (p.29).

Lindeque (I), like so many authors before and even after him, portrays Shaka as "cruel and bloodthirsty", and Dingane as "a devil", and again as a "proper devil from hell, who ordered that Retief be slain and that his heart and liver be cut out of him alive" (p.33). Lindeque (II) makes liberal use of the epithets of the time; his books are riddled with the usual derogatory references to "Hottentot enemies", "thieving and uncivilised Kaffirs", "darkies ("swartnerwe") and so on (pp.127-128). While conceding that many Blacks are intelligent, he nevertheless asserts that a large percentage will go to their graves as "morons" ("mamparas") (p.137). Fouché's paternalistic attitude is characteristic of the time: the Black man is to be fed, but given a hiding when he deserved it; in other words, "treat him in all respects as a child" (p.267).

Gie (I) refers to the non-Whites of the world as "the illiterate and barbarian masses of humanity", and "savage heathendom" (Preface). Elsewhere he refers to "the barbarian races of Africa" (p.5). Gie (II) views the Great Trek as the "great conflict" between Boer and "barbarian" (p.61).

Kammeijer and van Rooijen ridicule the missionaries, Dr Philip in particular, for their love of the "natives" which is termed "monkey love" - they were blind to the shortcomings of the natives and "loved them to death like a mother monkey loves her offspring" (pp. 188-189).

6.4. Positive self-image

As has already been explained, a self-image is like a coin, in that the value of the one side, that which may be termed the

positive side, is largely determined by the opposite, in this case negative, side. It is as if the self-esteem of groups, such as nations, is dependent on a thoroughly negative evaluation of those outside the group, particularly those deemed hostile to the security of the group. The unflattering presentation of South Africa's non-White peoples in both the Afrikaans and English texts of the period 1918 to 1948 (and before that, of course), complements, indeed reinforces, the positive treatment or presentation of the writers' group or individuals from that group. Whereas the authors employ every epithet and cliché available to portray the "others" in as negative a light as possible, a completely different vocabulary is used when describing ones own.

Skinner writes of the Huguenots as being of the "noblest blood of France", belonging to the "best Puritan class". They are "efficient workers" and agriculturists, "sober" and "ferverently religious" (p.140). At Isandlwana more than 800 men were "murdered" (a strange term when applied to a battle), but the "brave" and "stubborn" defence at Rorke's Drift saved Natal (p.251).

Fouché goes out of his way to show that in contrast to other colonies, the slaves in South Africa were well-treated. In this way too, the positive, even self-righteous, self-image, is enhanced. In the 1834 frontier war the burghers "distinguished themselves" by their "heroic deeds" (p.254). Fouché, like Skinner, writes from an Afrikaans perspective. Yet, as has been observed so often in the textbooks examined in previous chapters, they do not hesitate to side with their fellow (British) Whites when the latter are ranged against non-Whites. Thus Fouché too writes of the British fighting "bravely" at Isandlwana and the Prince Imperial dying "fighting bravely" (p.369). Bauling describes how the British at Rorke's Drift "fought like lions" (p.151). Of course the Voortrekkers at Vegkop defended themselves "bravely". Retief was one of "the great men" (p.277),

and Pretorius one of "the most capable, bravest and most God-fearing men ever produced by South Africa" (p.298). The latter's commando on the way to Blood River was more like a "procession of pilgrims" than a military expedition:

"No swearing was heard, no drunkard was seen; arguments and strife were unknown ... mornings and evenings ... the air reverberated ... with psalms and hymns" (pp.300-301)

Bauling (V) extols van Riebeeck's "determination, initiative and inexhaustible energy" (p.26), and in his Std 6 book, the "perseverance", "courage", and "determination" of the Trekkers (p.86). Kammeijer and van Rooijen turn Adriaan van Jaarsveld into a larger-than-life, almost mythical figure: he was "born to lead", "unusually tall", "powerfully built" and "beautifully proportioned"; his "manly features, high forehead, exquisite manners and imcomparable courage", made him an "exceptional commander". He is even compared with a Saul or a Gideon (pp.145-147). There are no nuances in these authors' treatment of historical figures, who are either completely whitewashed or condemned unconditionally. Sir George Grey and the German settlers are praised too.

Potgieter and Maritz are described by Lindeque (I) as "outstanding leaders", and Retief as "the most remarkable" of the Trek leaders (p.30) and a "courageous, dignified Afrikaner" (p.35). Gie (II) is at pains to establish the excellent pedigree of his nation: they were of "good burgher stock", "the best ancestry" and "the best social basis for a new nation in a new country". These "good characteristics" of the Dutch were reinforced by the Huguenots, and the "blending of two high, equal and sympathetic races always bears lovely fruit" (p.114). By 1795 the Afrikaans "nation" (backward projection) was "landed aristocracy of the virile pioneers", "healthy to the core" (p.258).

As previously mentioned all nationalisms require a gallery of heroes and martyrs as a source of inspiration, especially for the young. In addition to the heroes portrayed above, the nation's self-esteem is further enhanced by the mention of other time-honoured national heroes, such as Wolraad Woltemade, to whom Bauling (V) devotes two full pages (pp.60-62), and the South African soldiers at Delville Wood, a more recent addition to the nation's gallery of fame, whom Bauling (VI) also lauds.

SUMMARY

The euphoria at the time of Union in 1910 soon dissipated in the face of the tensions inherent in South African politics of the time. The South African Party and the National Party propagated two different concepts of nationhood. The S.A.P. and its successor the United Party were either unable or unwilling (or both) to enforce their views in the schools. The N.P. was not in power long enough to have attempted to enforce this. The result was that in the period 1918-1948, history teaching was non-committal, at least as far as the official syllabuses were concerned. The constitutional changes in South Africa's status vis-à-vis Great Britain are, however, expressed in the history syllabuses of the period.

The textbooks examined demonstrate that Afrikaner nationalism, although politically in opposition, was vibrant, particularly after the Symbolic Ox-wagon Trek of 1938. The increasing assertiveness of national-minded Afrikanerdom and English-speaking sensitivity to this, are mirrored in the on-going debate on the role of school history.

Gustav Preller's interpretation of South Africa's past, and especially his unconditional eulogising of the Voortrekkers set the tone for Afrikaans school textbooks of the period. It was to some extent a mythical, certainly a very limited, image of the

country's past. Such books, as well as the British-orientated ones, treat the non-Whites as a problem at best and a danger at worst. The epithets, stereotypes and master symbols established in the nineteenth century live on through this period.

These attitudes were an inheritance of the Colonial and platteland era of the nineteenth century, which lingered on into the twentieth century. This mentality was present not only in South Africa, but was a world-wide phenomenon. The Whites were regarded as a superior race and the Blacks as inferior. A change came about only after the Second World War, with the loss of the supremacist position of the Whites world-wide and with the rising tide of Black nationalism.