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# Contents

<b>Keynote address</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Papers</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Demonstration presentation</b>	<b>xx</b>
<b>Posters</b>	<b>xx</b>

# KEYNOTE ADDRESS

## History from Below: Potentials and Limitations

**William Beinart**

University of Oxford, United Kingdom

[William.Beinart@sant.ox.ac.uk](mailto:William.Beinart@sant.ox.ac.uk)

South African historiography has benefited from a sustained exploration of ‘history from below’, focusing on the lives of ‘ordinary’ people, especially black people, in their political engagements and social experiences. While there was a long-established interest in the history of political struggle, this mode of enquiry has to some degree been borrowed from global and especially from British/European and American historiography. This keynote address briefly covers four influences: African history, anthropology, social history, and environmental history (or history from the ground up). It suggests some key questions raised by drawing on these comparative and interdisciplinary fields and argues that while there are many studies showing the potential of history from below, this research has not yet been drawn sufficiently into general texts or generalizations about South African history and society. There are also limitations of history from below – notably, that its specificity sometimes makes it difficult to incorporate into overarching arguments and general books. It does not often deal adequately with the formation of policy, or the globally generated ideas and innovations that washed across southern Africa in successive generations. It reveals brilliantly the consequences of power, but less so the nature and complexities of power in so divided a society.

History from below was obviously suited to a predominantly oppositional profession during the apartheid era. But what of the period after 1994? A new history of great men seems to be evolving and the question arises of why this is so. Does it better capture the transition, the nature of power in South Africa, and central strands of recent history? Indeed, what kind of history best engages diverse audiences? Can and should a resurgent history from below modify, transform and enrich the content and explanatory thrust of recent representations of South African society?

## ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

**Badassy, Prinisha**

University of KwaZulu-Natal

[badassy@gmail.com](mailto:badassy@gmail.com)

### **From the Corner of a Ploughed Field – Unearthing Narratives and Genealogies of Infanticide, Natal, 1880–1920**

This paper is an account of the ways in which the crime of infanticide developed in the colony of Natal with particular reference to the shifting gender and social norms affecting the incidences and prosecution of infanticide; purpose and execution of infanticide legislation; medical versus moral interpretations of child killing; and the way in which the state understood and constructed racial, class and gender boundaries around infanticide cases.

**Bargueño, David**

Yale University, United States

[davidbargueno@gmail.com](mailto:davidbargueno@gmail.com)

### **The Impact of the Mbeki Administration on the Presidency of South Africa**

The drama surrounding Jacob Zuma's recent election reveals the extent to which the president has become the locus of power in setting the course for South Africa, and it also points to changes in the political climate since Nelson Mandela left office. While the formative interlude of new policy-making and trust-building between 1994 and 1997 fit into the 'Mandela era', the subsequent shift toward 'hands-on' political management, firm governance, and fine-tuning institutions have come to characterize the technocratic 'Mbeki era'. Part and parcel of the latter era were widespread policies of 'centralization', specifically through the expansion of the office of the presidency.

This paper examines the causes and impacts of the Mbeki administration on the presidency. In order to contextualize Zuma's inheritance, the reforms made before his election must be evaluated in terms of the constitution, the African National Congress, and the individual personalities of the office-bearers. Thus, Part I establishes the causes of constitutional error, one-party dominance, and individual agency; then Part II describes how the Mbeki administration changed the actual office, the nature of his political opposition, and his presidential succession. This historical examination of the 'Mbeki era' concludes by questioning the promises and perils of the presidency in contemporary South Africa.

**Bolaane, Maitseo**

University of Botswana

[Bolaanem@mopipi.ub.bw](mailto:Bolaanem@mopipi.ub.bw)

### **Poaching and Illegal Biltong Export in the Tuli Block 1930–1960s: A Trans-Border Criminal Enterprise**

Border studies are gradually attracting attention from historians. Historians consider cross-border studies as drawing from diverse sources and specialized disciplines. The aim of this paper is to examine poaching and biltong trafficking as illegal trans-border economies which are best understood by drawing insights from ecologists, economists, environmental and natural resource management studies. In the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, a major local industry emerged on the border between the Union of South Africa and Bechuanaland Protectorate with Transvaal farmers poaching game in the Tuli Block – with the assistance of some Batswana from within the Protectorate – and producing biltong while still within Bechuanaland and selling it in South Africa. Poachers entered from and returned to the Union either on foot or horseback, or occasionally in vehicles north of the Motloutse-Limpopo conjunction. Poaching became a serious concern in the Tuli Block with white Tuli farmers attempting to organize policing, although in fact some Tuli farmers were themselves involved. The matter received more official attention in the 1950s and 1960s, when the scale increased and Tuli farmers increasingly complained. Due to the threat of extinction of some game species, the Protectorate government sought to come up with measures to reduce or control poaching. Why did this happen at this time? Contemporary reports note Transvaal farmers' economic needs and also a 1949 Transvaal Ordinance restricting hunting and imposing heavy penalties on poaching, which made the Tuli Block more attractive because detection was less likely and penalties were lower there.

**Bonner, Philip and Moloji, Tshepo**

University of the Witwatersrand

[philip.bonner@wits.ac.za](mailto:philip.bonner@wits.ac.za) and [tshepo.moloi@wits.ac.za](mailto:tshepo.moloi@wits.ac.za)

### **Pentecostalism on South Africa's East Witwatersrand: Oral Testimonies on its Inner and Social Life**

Pentecostal Christianity has been growing steadily, though unobtrusively, in South Africa over the past 25 years, but has until recently been ignored by all fields of academic enquiry and by historians most conspicuously. To some extent the rise of Pentecostalism has been eclipsed by the even more spectacular growth of other African independent (or African Initiated) churches (AICs), notably Zionist. However, as studies from other parts of Africa, combined with the kind of investigation made in this paper (via interviews in Tembisa, East Rand) show, the growth of Pentecostalism may, in the long term, be more significant.

This paper, through interview extracts grouped under particular themes, shows Pentecostalist churches increasingly recruiting from AICs and growing at their expense. It documents an otherwise unrecorded war between Pentecostals and AICs, as the former repudiate tradition and custom, reconstitute the individual, and seek out the ‘unfulfilled expectations of modernity’. It sees South African Pentecostals as concerned more with security not prosperity (in which respect it differs from other African, particularly West African countries). However, it suggests that, for a variety of reasons, South Africa may in this respect simply be lagging behind. The paper then unpacks prime features of the inner and social life of Pentecostals which seem likely to have critical social and even political significance, but which have until recently lurked in the shadows. The exclusive source for these arguments are oral testimonies/life histories of current members of one new and one old Pentecostal church.

**Carman, Jillian**

University of the Witwatersrand

[jillianc@bellatrix.co.za](mailto:jillianc@bellatrix.co.za)

### **The Fine Art of Politics**

It is twenty years since Albie Sachs delivered his paper ‘Preparing Ourselves for Freedom’ to an in-house African National Congress (ANC) seminar for exiled cultural workers. The paper was subsequently published in the *Weekly Mail* on 2 February 1990, the day on which Nelson Mandela was released. It evoked a huge response ranging from damnation to praise. In his paper Sachs proclaimed the right to move beyond culture as a weapon of struggle, to write love poetry, and to state ‘White is Beautiful’. Amongst those who embraced his declaration were ‘(mainly white) academics, critics, and artists’ (Carol Steinberg 1991). Detractors criticised him precisely because he seemed to accommodate such white liberals, to absolve them from confronting the realities of black artists’ struggles, and to encourage them to move into a post-apartheid cultural space before addressing the devastation of the apartheid legacy. Similar criticisms have been and still are levelled against the discipline of the History of Art as taught and practised in South Africa. Until the late 1980s, in both the teaching and art museum spheres, the discipline was characterised as a (white) Western construct telling a grand narrative of Western Art, in which there was a clear division between Fine Art and Craft. Local art-making was critiqued according to these two categories. Western-type art, made by both white and black artists, was considered Fine Art; indigenous art made by black South Africans was relegated to the inferior category of Craft. In this paper I propose tracking changing perceptions in the fields of art, craft and art history over the past twenty years, their impact on museum collecting policies, and their inextricable links with political developments. The discipline of art history and the nature of public collections have radically changed, but the question still remains: has the academic enterprise changed enough to proclaim, as Sachs did twenty years ago, ‘Black is Beautiful, Brown is Beautiful, White is Beautiful’ (Sachs 1990: 192).

**Catsam, Derek Charles**

University of Texas of the Permian Basin, United States

[derecatsam@hotmail.com](mailto:derecatsam@hotmail.com)

**Marching in the Dark Cities: Bus Boycotts in Alexandria and Harlem (New York) in the 1940s**

This paper will represent the next stage (and literally part of the next chapter) in my book project on bus boycotts in the United States and South Africa in the 1940s and 1950s. This paper will look at the little-known Harlem Bus Boycott of 1941 and the Alexandria boycotts of the 1940s, and especially 1943, and will place them within a comparative context that takes into account changing views of white supremacy and black resistance and the centrality of World War II in fomenting change and resistance. The Harlem boycott provides a particularly vibrant examination of American race relations because it allows us to explore American civil rights in both a different time frame and a different geographical location from what is customary, and thus will represent a continued fleshing out of recent historiographical trends. Furthermore the points of comparison between Harlem, the Mecca of urban black America, and Alexandria, Johannesburg's 'Dark City', are especially apt. In both cases, the protests were such that the challenge was not to segregation *per se* but to elements of bus company practices that stemmed from white supremacy. In the case of Harlem, repugnant hiring practices on the part of the local bus company inspired mass action. The offence that led to protests in 1943 in Alexandria was fare hikes that had a deep impact on the poor locals who required the bus lines to access their places of employment in Johannesburg.

**Cohen, Andrew**

University of Pretoria

[Andrew.Cohen@up.ac.za](mailto:Andrew.Cohen@up.ac.za)

**'A Difficult, Tedious and Unwanted Task': Representing the Central African Federation in the United Nations, 1960–1963**

On Tuesday 22 January 1963, the British First Secretary of State and Minister in charge of the Central Africa Office, R.A. Butler, met with the Southern Rhodesian Cabinet in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia. Butler notified the Rhodesians that he was visiting the Central African Federation in order to 'gauge for himself' the situation in the Federal territories. Southern Rhodesia, he remarked, was 'an issue unjustifiably pursued at the United Nations' and countering this negative international opinion 'was providing the British Government with a difficult, tedious and unwanted task'.

This paper seeks to demonstrate the importance of world opinion in determining the Federation's fate. The United Nations provided an arena in which the growing number of newly independent African states could place pressure on the remaining European colonial powers. Britain's responsibility for the Federation, combined with its refusal publicly to condemn South Africa's apartheid government, led many in the

Assembly's Afro-Asian bloc to equate British colonial policy with that of Portugal or South Africa. The United Nations played an increasingly important role as a channel for African nationalist protest on the world stage; therefore Britain's claims of fostering racial partnership in the Federation were treated with suspicion if not outright disbelief by many member states. Such moral authority as Britain may previously have enjoyed in the United Nations was seriously undermined by the Suez fiasco in 1956. Nor was criticism towards Britain solely confined to the Afro-Asian bloc. In the context of the Cold War, retaining links with the non-aligned nations was of paramount importance to the western alliance, and Britain's imperial legacy in the region provided an embarrassing – and potentially dangerous – area for the Soviet Union to exploit. Consequently, Britain could not simply ignore this international censure and was forced to reassess pragmatically its commitment to its kith and kin in central Africa.

**Deacon, Harriet**

Director, Archival Platform, Nelson Mandela Foundation and University of Cape Town  
[harriet@conjunction.co.za](mailto:harriet@conjunction.co.za)

**Challenges Documenting the History of Traditional Cultural Practices that Impact on Health in Southern Africa**

A number of traditional cultural practices impact on health, positively or negatively. One example is male circumcision, which on the one hand is being promoted as a public health intervention to reduce HIV risk, while on the other hand there are concerns about the safety of traditional male circumcision practice and attempts to regulate it. Historians can play an important role in documenting the history of cultural practices that impact on health, because this information can inform public health interventions. The author (with the assistance of Kirsten Thomson) has recently been documenting changes in traditional male circumcision practice using anthropological and other secondary literature as part of a literature review on the topic for the AIDS and Society Research Unit at the University of Cape Town (UCT).

This process takes place within a number of challenging methodological contexts which will be discussed in the paper. First, there is a broader ambivalence in the political domain about the notion of traditional culture, while in the biomedical literature culture is often seen as a barrier to health. Second, there are methodological and ethical problems with the data generated by anthropologists and others in the past on a topic that is sensitive and usually secret. Third, there are ethical questions to be asked about the role of the outsider in researching such a topic today.

**Dedering, Tilman**  
University of South Africa  
[dedertm@unisa.ac.za](mailto:dedertm@unisa.ac.za)

## **‘We Are Only Humble People and Poor’: A.A.S. Le Fleur and the Power of Petitions**

The colourful figure of the Griqua leader, A.A.S. Le Fleur (1867–1941) continues to attract the attention of academic scholars, amateur historians and novelists. His charisma was based on his promises to restore the independence and the sense of pride of coloured and black South Africans in the face of the increasing institutionalised racism in South Africa. Colonial authorities in South Africa perceived him as a charlatan who lured his own people into disastrous settlement schemes which left behind a trail of debt and disappointed followers. Recent studies have described him in the historical context of the shifting identity of the Griquas which was always negotiated in interaction with the colonial state. Until the present day, Le Fleur has remained a symbol of the indigenous struggle for social recognition and respectability in sections of the Griqua community.

This paper explores an under-researched aspect of Le Fleur’s interaction with other African groups and leading politicians during the interwar years. It is well known that A.A.S. Le Fleur was an avid writer of letters to a number of leading politicians, ranging from South African prime ministers to British governor-generals. I argue in this paper that the very act of continuously addressing the seat of power reflected not only an important strand in Griqua political tradition but also Le Fleur’s ‘extraordinary resourcefulness and resilience’ in the face of marginalisation. Contemporary observers and later scholars have emphasised that Le Fleur’s communication with South African and imperial politicians shows that he accepted segregation and that he tended towards delusions of grandeur. Beyond the grandstanding, however, his correspondence with the powers that be constituted an important aspect of his legitimacy as a leader in the eyes of his followers. Based on the investigation of archival sources, this paper will show that Le Fleur responded to the national and international context within which black protest in South Africa articulated its aspirations in the interwar years. Despite the language of servility which characterised some of Le Fleur’s correspondence with government authorities, he inserted a subtext which reflected his tenacious attempts to claim citizenship in the face of institutionalised racism. Moreover, in contrast to some scholars who have described Le Fleur’s activities in the context of traditional African concepts of ‘magic’, this paper will show that the Griqua leader interacted with the state in ways which resonated more with ideas of modernity than with ‘pre-modern’ attitudes.

**Denis, Philippe**

University of KwaZulu-Natal

[denis@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:denis@ukzn.ac.za)

### **The History of Indigenous Clergy in Southern Africa: An Historiographical Appraisal**

Christianity has undergone considerable changes in southern Africa over the last two centuries. An important factor of change has been the emergence of an ever stronger body of indigenous clergy. These ministers either created separate churches or brought about internal changes (theological education, leadership structures, worship, African traditional religion, black clergy caucuses) as well as external changes (relationship to the social and political environment) in the churches in which they were exercising their ministry. The paper will survey the work done on the history of indigenous clergy during the last twenty years. Two conferences have been held on the history of indigenous clergy in southern Africa and numerous books, journal articles and theses have been devoted to the topic. Attention will be paid to issues such as gender, finance, political affiliation, spirituality and to the role of oral history in religious history.

**Dube, Thembani**

National Archives of Zimbabwe

[tdubemaz@gmail.com](mailto:tdubemaz@gmail.com)

### **Legislation and Archival Development: The Case of the National Archives of Zimbabwe Act of 1986**

The concept of records and archives management reached sub-Saharan Africa in the colonial era. Zimbabwe established its National Archives by an Act of Parliament in 1935. Today these Archives fall under the Ministry of Home Affairs and operate on the basis of the revised legislation renamed the National Archives of Zimbabwe Act of 1986. At the time it came into operation, issues relating to the management and preservation of electronic records and the need for a more liberal access policy were not relevant issues, hence the need for new archival legislation has emerged as the Zimbabwe National Archives embarks on a records and information management restructuring project. This paper seeks to analyse the National Archives Act of 1986, its impact on archival development and the restructuring programme of the Archives and the extent to which it is limited by the current legislation. It will attempt to offer insights on how such laws could be reformed in order to adapt to changing times and technology that will make the archives more dynamic, while at the same time still serving their primary role of preservation and access.

**Duri, Fidelis**

University of the Witwatersrand

[fidelisduri@yahoo.com](mailto:fidelisduri@yahoo.com)

**Alcohol as a Terrain of Struggle: The Emergence and Development of the *Nipa* Traffic across the Zimbabwe-Mozambique Border with Particular Reference to the City of Mutare, Zimbabwe, 1905–1974**

This study traces the emergence and development of the trafficking in *nipa*, a universally banned spirit with an almost 100 per cent alcohol content, across the Zimbabwe-Mozambique border by various sections of the African population in the town of Mutare with the intention of articulating colonial urban struggles for socio-economic space. This paper locates the origins of the traffic in colonial legislation that prohibited Africans in urban areas from brewing the traditional opaque beer that normally matured after seven days. Instead, local authorities were given the monopoly to brew and market a new brand of opaque beer that could only be procured and consumed in officially-designated premises and within stipulated hours. The initial reaction by most Africans was to brew a brand of opaque beer that fermented within 24 hours in order to minimize the risk of being detected, while others sought the seven-day brew from rural villages just across the border in Mozambique. Attempts by colonial officials to thwart these options were frustrated as many Africans abandoned one-day brews in the suburbs and instead patronized *nipa* outlets across the border. This gave rise to the trafficking of *nipa* from Mozambique into Mutare where much of it found a ready market in the African residential areas. *Nipa* became convenient for trafficking purposes because small quantities were enough for intoxication; it was therefore transported in small quantities that could easily be concealed.

The argument of this paper is that the consumption of *nipa* across the border in Mozambique, as well as its trafficking into Mutare, were manifestations of the externalisation of local struggles over alcohol between Africans and the colonial administration. Beer-brewing and consumption served important social and economic functions for Africans. Socially, beer afforded them leisure and opportunity to gather and discuss, thus cultivating cohesion. The insistence by colonial authorities that beer be consumed at designated places and within specified durations, usually under the watchful eye of the police, was an affront to the privacy and leisure needs of patrons during Mutare's formative years. As beer was commercialized by the colonial economy, African participation was blocked and municipal authorities were given the monopoly. The consumption and trafficking of *nipa*, therefore, clearly illustrates how Mutare's African populations negotiated borders to complement their internal struggles for social and economic space in a harsh colonial urban environment.

**Ehlers, Anton**

University of Stellenbosch

[aehl@sun.ac.za](mailto:aehl@sun.ac.za)

**South African Trust Companies and Boards of Executors and the Bank Act, 1942:  
From Self-Regulating ‘Financial Aristocrats’ to Statutory Controlled Deposit-  
Receiving Institutions**

Since their inception as mainly local financial institutions in the first half of the nineteenth century, South African trust companies and boards of executors developed a distinctive tradition in which they defined themselves in terms of the trust focus of their activities and saw themselves as ‘financial aristocrats’ apart from the traditional banking sector. Although subject to the general legislation regarding trusts and the Company Act of 1926, they were excluded from the stipulations of the Currency and Bank Act of 1920 which regulated banking in South Africa. This strengthened their perception of themselves as trust companies and not banks, despite their growing involvement in activities that were traditionally considered banking business. The dissatisfaction of commercial banks with what they considered to be unfair competition from trust companies doing traditional banking business, the formation of the Association of Trust Companies in 1932, the growing awareness by the monetary authorities of the extent of the banking activities of trust companies and the general need for greater statutory control over the banking sector in the aftermath of the depression of the early 1930s prompted the South African authorities to include trust companies as deposit-receiving institutions under the stipulations of the Bank Act of 1942.

The paper is an attempt to describe and explain the nature and extent of the resistance of trust companies and boards of executors to this statutory monetary control and the dynamics generated by the implementation of the stipulations of the Bank Act of 1942 with regard to these institutions. It is the conclusion of the paper that their resistance was grounded in what these institutions perceived as a vote of no confidence in or an attempt to throw doubt upon their most cherished values and the foundation of the reputation of their institutions – their proven integrity, trustworthiness, continuity, and service record achieved over decades through financial self-control and in the absence of statutory regulations. Secondly, the Bank Act shattered their old-fashioned perception of themselves as trust companies first and foremost. It forced them to accept the rapidly and constantly changing post-Depression economic and financial environment that was irreversibly forcing them onto the path of becoming banks – with their trust activities reduced to only one of many services. In this regard, the South African experience of trust companies corresponded with similar experiences of American trust companies in the early decades of the twentieth century.

**Evans, Laura**

University of Sheffield, United Kingdom

[Laura.Evans@sheffield.ac.uk](mailto:Laura.Evans@sheffield.ac.uk)

### **The Makings and Meanings of ‘Homeland’ Spaces: Resettlement in the Ciskei, South Africa, c. 1960–1980**

Expressed in a new language of ‘ethnic self-determination’, cynically echoing nationalist struggles that resounded across the African continent from the late 1950s, and galvanised by radical black politics at home, by the early 1960s apartheid policy had shifted into a discrete second phase (Posel 1997). Throughout the ensuing decades, some 3.5 million African people were relocated to barren ‘dumping grounds’ in the Bantustans. Hidden away, and isolated from infrastructural connections, the experiences of those people relocated into rural townships in the Bantustans have been continually obscured, in the past as in the present. The histories of these environments – ‘urban’ as they are ‘rural’ – are not comfortably encompassed in current debates on land reform and restitution, which rest often on a problematic narrative of land dispossession that simplifies the diverse and contradictory experiences of displacement, and demonstrate ‘misplaced agrarianisation’ as a solution (Walker 2008). This paper will examine processes and memories of relocation into townships in the Bantustans, with reference to two of South Africa’s most notorious and longstanding sites of resettlement, Sada and Ilinge, in the Eastern Cape. Locating these histories within the specific political economy of the Cape, which in this period was crucial to evolving ideas of total segregation, the paper will explore some of the diverse experiences and contested meanings of relocation.

**Fourchard, Laurent**

Institut d’Etudes Politiques de Bordeaux, France, and University of Cape Town

[l.fourchard@sciencespobordeaux.fr](mailto:l.fourchard@sciencespobordeaux.fr)

### **Respectability and Pride: People’s Policing in Cape Town and Johannesburg since the 1940s**

This paper would like to address three main issues considered to be important in the historical, criminological and political science literature on crime and policing. First, some recent historical and anthropological works have used the notion of respectability to understand social dynamics and the importance of status, especially in crime-ridden areas of Johannesburg and Cape Town: D. Goodhew, *Respectability and Resistance: A History of Sophiatown* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004); E. Salo, ‘Respectable Mothers, Tough Men and Good Daughters: Producing Persons in Manenberg Township, South Africa’ (PhD thesis, Emory University, 2004). This paper would like to know to what extent the numerous people’s policing organizations operating in Cape Town and Johannesburg were part of the making of respectability in urban South Africa.

Second, the expression ‘people’s policing’ is used here as an alternative to the stigmatized term ‘vigilante’ and the more politically correct expression of ‘community

police' which became widespread in the post-apartheid era. Most of the time, however, people's policing initiatives did not develop independently from the state. This paper wants to understand how successive governments have reacted to these initiatives and how these organizations have dealt with the police.

Finally, this paper wishes to interrogate change and continuity in this tradition of policing. Not surprisingly, differences between the pre-1990s and the post-1990s police have been emphasized, especially in post-1994 government publications (the police moving from a brutal and apartheid policing style to a post-1994 policing style which tends to take into consideration the interest of the communities). If this general history is important, many local histories do not fit this general trend. Furthermore this chronology underestimates the number of organizations which worked with or without the police before 1994, and may overestimate the level of change that occurred in the post-apartheid era. Instead, this paper, based on archival material (from Pretoria, Johannesburg and Cape Town), on community newspapers (*World* and *Plainsman*) and on interviews collected in one suburb of Cape Town (Manenberg) will present four generations of people's police organizations which have developed since the creation of the first important initiative in South African cities of the 1940s.

**Glaser, Clive**

University of the Witwatersrand

[Clive.Glaser@wits.ac.za](mailto:Clive.Glaser@wits.ac.za)

### **Portuguese Immigrant History in South Africa: A Preliminary Overview**

South Africans of Portuguese descent probably constitute ten to fifteen per cent of the white South African population. Estimates of the size of the community vary from around 300 000 to as many as 700 000. Yet, in spite of this, it is a remarkably under-researched community (if indeed we can think of it as constituting a coherent 'community'.) This paper attempts to lay out a research agenda to address this large historiographical gap. It begins with an overview of the sparse literature on Portuguese immigrants and then provides a basic narrative of three discernible waves of migration from the late nineteenth century until the late 1970s. The first and longest wave involved impoverished Madeirans, many of whom entered the country illegally. The second involved more skilled mainlanders from about 1940–1980 but mostly in the 1960s and 1970s. The final wave involved Mozambican and Angolan ex-colonial refugees. The South African Portuguese occupied a somewhat ambiguous space, for, while ostensibly belonging to the world of the colonisers, they struggled to find acceptance in white settler society. Like Jews, they faced initial suspicion and even hostility. Until the 1960s few were skilled or even literate and, as darker-skinned and Catholic Europeans, even their racial identity could not be taken for granted. Until the South African government started actively recruiting skilled Europeans from wherever they could find them in about the early 1960s, Portuguese were actively discouraged from immigrating to South Africa. The paper concludes by posing a number of questions, rather than attempting answers in any conclusive way, about Portuguese-South African culture and identity. Some of the points

of discussion will include: the degree of coherence and cohesion of this ‘community’; the nature of transnational hybridised identity in general; racial identity and identification; political expression; religion and immigrant identity; generational continuity and discontinuity.

**Grobler, Jackie**

University of Pretoria

[Jackie.Grobler@up.ac.za](mailto:Jackie.Grobler@up.ac.za)

**Between Wonderful Relief and Bitter Disappointment: The Reaction of Afrikaner Women to the Peace of Vereeniging, 31 May 1902**

South African historians increasingly recognize the decisive impact that women as wives and especially mothers have on the attitude of their husbands and children towards contentious issues in society. The Peace of Vereeniging, which ended the Anglo Boer War in 1902, was such an issue. It is generally accepted that Afrikaner women and children who were forced into so-called concentration camps in the course of the war became the biggest single group of victims of the war. Afterwards they had to face the reality that their husbands, fathers and leaders signed a peace treaty in terms of which their independent Republics were incorporated into the British empire. This paper will investigate how Afrikaner women, in spite of their relief that the war had ended, reacted to the realization that their suffering was in vain. The paper will furthermore identify the impact that their feelings of bitter disappointment had on the formation of Afrikaner attitudes both in the short and the long term.

In the course of the paper answers will be given to questions such as the following:

- How did Afrikaner women feel about the outbreak of the Anglo Boer War?
- How did they feel about the continuation of the war after the introduction of scorched earth and the concentration camps?
- How did they react to envoys asking them to pressurize their men to stop fighting?
- How did they feel about peace without victory?
- Specific reactions to the signing of the peace treaty:
  - Relief?
  - Disappointment?
  - Biblical interpretation?
  - Resentment against peace advocates.
  - Renewed resentment against the hendsoppers and joiners.
- Legacy of ‘peace without honour’:
  - Ramsey Macdonald’s prediction that Afrikaner mothers would feed their children with hatred for Britain.

- Distrust of Englishmen, and of Afrikaners moving too close to the English
- How important in upholding the ‘great divide’?

**Grobler, Marelize**

University of Pretoria

[Marelize.Grobler@up.ac.za](mailto:Marelize.Grobler@up.ac.za)

### **Methodological Approaches to Writing Women’s Legal History**

There is a noticeable gap in South African historiography regarding the field of gendered (and women’s) legal history. This paper is a theoretical introduction to approaches for writing women’s legal history. It takes as its starting point the idea of history as a performance, or that people in the past performed their lives on different stages – in this context, a gendered legal stage – and their performances are influenced by what they were allowed to do on these stages. The paper takes this as background and makes it relevant to the period and people of the study, namely white female inhabitants of the Transvaal in the nineteenth century. Of course, the stage must be constructed before one can attempt to study the women’s performances. The challenging aspect is to find and analyse sources, especially in a context such as the Transvaal of the nineteenth century, where topic-specific secondary sources are sometimes lacking. A new history has to be written, one that considers not only the traditional political and socio-economic background, but one that incorporates gender, and the roles of men and women. This paper will thus explore ways in which sources can be deconstructed, before they are used to reconstruct a legal platform.

**Groenewald, Gerald**

University of Johannesburg

[ggroenewald@uj.ac.za](mailto:ggroenewald@uj.ac.za)

### **Symbolic Capital, Consumption and Identity in Dutch Colonial Cape Town, c. 1680–1795**

Cape Town under the rule of the Dutch East India Company (1652–1795) was a town in which free trade was severely restricted. During its founding years, the free inhabitants of this town all shared the same socio-economic background, yet over three to four generations a stratified society developed with a clearly identified burgher elite by the late eighteenth century. How was this possible? In previous work I have argued that through utilizing the possibilities afforded by the lucrative alcohol trade, some burghers managed to build up large amounts of capital which they invested in other areas of the economy (Groenewald 2007, 2009). This was made possible through an intricate network of connections built up through kinship and social capital.

In this paper, I extend this work by concentrating on the cultural aspects of the lives of the most successful of these alcohol traders, taking a multi-generational view. If they were the financial elite of Cape Town, were they also the social and cultural ones? How did they view themselves and how were they viewed by others? In order to answer these questions, I utilize the social theorist Pierre Bourdieu's concept of 'symbolic capital', arguing that it operated in tandem with economic and social capital.

The paper concentrates on three aspects of the cultural lives of wealthy alcohol traders. Firstly, it studies their consumption patterns and the use of material culture in showcasing their wealth. Secondly, through a study of selected civil court cases, the paper reveals the obsession these men and women had with respectability. Court cases based on issues dealing with status and respectability give much insight into the self identity of this group of people. Finally, the paper investigates to what extent these people's status was acknowledged by others – both in concrete terms, by being elected to major civic and religious functions, and in symbolic terms, e.g. forms of address, their position in formal processions and their treatment by high DEIC officials.

Through combining sociological and anthropological theory with a focus on topics from the New Cultural History, it is believed that this paper will contribute to a greater understanding of issues relating to the early history of Cape Town which have not yet been addressed by historians. As such, it should fit in well with the theme of this conference, 'Breaking Boundaries, Blurring Borders'.

**Grundlingh, Louis**

University of Johannesburg

[louisg@uj.ac.za](mailto:louisg@uj.ac.za)

### **Leisure History in South Africa: A Survey of Knowledge and Ignorance**

Since the late nineteenth century, leisure has come to mean 'free time'. For most historians, this definition predominates in their research. During the twentieth century, leisure became linked to consumption. Today it seems obvious that leisure is a commodity. Individuals living in the Western world have accumulated numerous leisure products and participate in an overabundance of leisure activities.

Leisure and recreation are now accepted as identifiable research areas. Recently, historians have presented a more complex story of leisure in modern capitalist society. The study of leisure shows how societal power dynamics are reproduced in the cultural realm, particularly workers' leisure.

Internationally there is a plethora of publications on leisure and specifically on the history of leisure. However, studies on the history of leisure in South Africa are still in their infancy. Research so far has been almost exclusively focused on sport.

The aim of this paper is to explore the historiography of leisure in South Africa during the twentieth century and to point to new and exciting possibilities in this field.

**Hamilton, Carolyn and Wright, John**

University of Cape Town and University of KwaZulu-Natal

[Carolyn.Hamilton@uct.ac.za](mailto:Carolyn.Hamilton@uct.ac.za) and [wright@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:wright@ukzn.ac.za)

**Of Tribes, Traditions and the Precolonial Past: Archaeologists and Historians in (and out of) Conversation**

Academic archaeologists began systematic research into what they called the Later Iron Age in the late 1950s and 1960s. Historians began investigating the last few centuries of the precolonial past in the late 1960s. In the 1970s, the interests of historians and archaeologists in some respects converged, but after 1980 the two disciplines grew increasingly apart. Only after 2000 did they begin to draw closer again. This paper sets out to explain why historians and archaeologists mostly researched in separate intellectual compartments for nearly four decades; what the current engagements between them are about; why they are taking place at this juncture in South Africa's political and intellectual history; and what their implications are for writing the precolonial past of the broader southern Africa region today.

**Harris, Karen**

University of Pretoria

[karen.harris@up.ac.za](mailto:karen.harris@up.ac.za)

**Blurring Boundaries: Chinese Inter-Group Relations in the Late Nineteenth-Century Colonial Cape**

The Chinese at the Cape in the late nineteenth century were an insignificant minority, and their place within the colonial hierarchy reflects on a dimension of society that was somewhere in between. Neither part of the ruling European colonial elite nor integral to the enslaved labouring class, they were relegated to an interstitial, almost invisible, space. However, had it not been for the promulgation of the Chinese Exclusion Act in the Cape Colony in September 1904, they would have remained hidden in the crevices of history. This paper proposes to move beyond the implications of the detrimental ramifications of this restrictive legislation and consider how the records that the Act generated present a unique window into the social place of the overseas Chinese community within the Cape during a period when racial boundaries were being drawn. Given the paucity of research material and the general discreteness of the overseas Chinese in terms of the historical record, this Act inadvertently uncovers their nuanced relations with the indigenous and other communities of the late nineteenth-century colonial Cape and provides insights into how, as in later phases of South African history, the Chinese community were able to blur societal boundaries from a position in between.

**Hess, Albert**

University of Cape Town

[ahess@xsinet.co.za](mailto:ahess@xsinet.co.za)

### **The Black Consciousness Movement in the Western Cape 1969–1979: An Organised Student Movement or Amorphous Activist Group?**

The period between c1960–c1970 was a time of bleak political anxiety and emptiness. The arrests, trial and incarceration in 1963 and 1964 of key members of the African National Congress (ANC), Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and other radical groups cast a spell of gloom over township communities, ruling out even the remotest prospect of ending apartheid. Following a wave of state repression, student activists met to fill the leadership vacuum. It made way for the inception of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM).

The philosophy of BCM arose out of the thoughts of individual members who expanded on a wide range of sources. Ideas were presented on various platforms, where they were debated to guide proponents as the movement developed. Its initial impetus came from the political experience of black activists in the late 1960s. Once their thoughts commenced to take shape, a symbiotic rapport between the political organisation and its philosophy was structured.

In essence, the history of the Western Cape for identifiable reasons has continuously been in the forefront of political developments of national consequence. It is therefore not surprising that, individuals and students at the University of the Western Cape and Hewat Training College in the Western Cape were discussing similar ideas, but independent of the proponents of BCM in Natal, about black solidarity. From this premise, students in the region, in conjunction with their respective communities, cooperated against the government, on the basic principle that they suffered the same oppression under a common enemy.

**Holdridge, Christopher**

University of Cape Town

[chrisholdridge@gmail.com](mailto:chrisholdridge@gmail.com)

### **Circulating the *African Journal*: The Colonial Press and Trans-Imperial Britishness in the Mid-Nineteenth Century Cape**

In 1843 William Sammons, a sprightly middle-aged eccentric with wild unkempt hair and a ready wit, founded the peculiarly-named *Sam Sly's African Journal* (1843–1851) in Cape Town. Sammons was a recent immigrant and the first English editor of a successful Cape newspaper, all previous editors having been either Scots or Dutchmen. Claiming to be a 'register of facts, fiction, news, literature, commerce and amusement', the *African Journal* was a hybrid newspaper and literary and satirical periodical aimed at a largely Anglophone immigrant readership.

Studies of the press have emphasised its role as a discursive agent in forming ‘imagined communities’ of identity (Benedict Anderson, 1983), but this has tended to focus on isolating nations or localities rather than noting the global context. However, recent scholarship on the British Empire has moved beyond nationally-focused histories towards examining metropole and colony within the same mutually-constitutive frame. Such scholarship has given primacy to the global movement of peoples, goods, ideas and documents. This paper draws on the conception of the circulation of newspapers as a significant means for negotiating geographies of identity in the empire posed by Alan Lester (2002) and Julie Codell (2003), but seeks to broaden the focus beyond the networks of competing official, humanitarian and settler discourses. This involves examining the materiality of newspapers – their local and global circulation and readership, the nature of their diverse content – to shed light on how the *African Journal’s* readers negotiated their identity as colonial Britons poised on the Empire’s periphery.

**Horwitz, Simonne**

University of Saskatchewan, Canada

[Simonne.Horwitz@usask.ca](mailto:Simonne.Horwitz@usask.ca)

### **Should We Be Doing Comparative Histories of Medicine?**

During the twentieth century the history of medicine has become an increasingly important sub-discipline within Southern African historiography. Histories of specific diseases such as mental illness, leprosy and HIV/AIDS have more recently been joined by a growing number of studies of medical institutions and the related studies of medical personnel. However, few of these studies view the history of medicine in comparative perspective. This paper aims to explore why this is so. Drawing on my new comparative work on the histories of medical institutions and medical delivery in South Africa and among indigenous people in Canada, the paper investigates the pitfalls and benefits of such a comparison. Beginning by asking if such a comparison is useful and even viable, the paper then argues that with the right caveats in place comparative history can and does open up new lines of enquiry which can give us a more subtle understanding of the complex nature of power, medicine and health care.

**Jackson, Eva**

University of KwaZulu-Natal

[jackson.eva@gmail.com](mailto:jackson.eva@gmail.com)

### **‘Wife of the Former Chief’: The Agency of Widows in 1840s Natal**

In Norman Etherington’s seminal work on South African missions history *Preachers, Peasants and Politics in Southeast Africa, 1835–1880: African Christian Communities in Natal, Pondoland and Zululand*, Nembula Makhanya, or Ira Adams Nembula, is one of the first people to confront the reader. His family’s participation in the ‘civilising mission’ is laid out and juxtaposed with the tale of Nembula’s Qwabe cousin Musi, and Musi’s son Meseni. This juxtaposition is used as a way into the book, an illustration of the divergent routes taken by *amakholwa* (or converts) and ‘traditionalists’ under chiefs in nineteenth-century Natal, following the displacement of thousands from Zululand during and after the formation of the Zulu kingdom. On Nembula’s side, we see the establishment of the Adams Mission converts, and on Musi’s, the revival of the Qwabe through the practice of *ukuvusa* – the purposeful resuscitation or awakening of an extinct chiefly line. This paper takes another look at these two families, and extends the discussion to include the Christian Dubes of Inanda Mission, Natal. I identify a common thread connecting these families: the particular situation, and pressured choices, of chiefly widows. The three families’ striking divergences and parallels with one another are examined from this starting point, an exploration of the controversies that surrounded these women. The bulk of the paper illustrates in some detail (through these three specific examples) arguments that have been made before, about how lobola practices reflected troubled ties to the different worlds of mission station and homestead – and about the role of women and lobola in expanding a kingdom like the Qwabe. These studies are able to add further detail to work on the Qadis’ links to Inanda mission station. They can also illuminate how particular women’s choices became ‘narrative capital’, integrated into mission station narratives; and they can give us a vivid sense of the imperatives of survival and growth keenly felt by certain Natal clans. However, I suggest throughout the paper aspects of these three cases that invite generalization and ‘open up’ important questions that are ultimately difficult to answer: how much can we really say about how lobola practices changed, in the move from Zululand to this Natal context? How did different women’s social status affect these considerations? What can we say about how this specific time and place may have altered interactions between women of status in Natal, and decision-making clan elites? Did numbers of widows in 1840s Natal have a detectable social impact? Asking these questions requires us to confront material and arguments that this paper only points to: firstly a scattered and often silent archive; secondly a body of anthropological literature; thirdly the research that has responded to this literature and includes debates around the significance of women’s labour, and women of status, in precolonial southern Africa; fourthly the complexities of the ‘Mfecane’ debate; and of course lastly the substantial work on gender in *colonial* Natal both on and off mission stations.

**Kanduza, Ackson**

University of Botswana

[kandiuza@mopipi.ub.bw](mailto:kandiuza@mopipi.ub.bw)

## **No Boundaries in Knowledge and Development of Electricity in Botswana, 1957–1985**

This paper is an historical study of development of energy supplies in Botswana and illuminates significance of multidisciplinary approaches. This is unavoidable when attempting to understand economic and social history of Botswana. This is also the history of the Botswana developmental state in international relations. Between 1957 and 1985, development of electricity in Botswana depended on technical information produced by experts from Lesotho, South Africa and Zimbabwe. Initially, officials based within Botswana put pressure on their seniors in Mafikeng, then Bechuanaland Protectorate's capital in South Africa, to develop electricity within the country. Mafikeng ignored this demand through a series of advisory technical and controversial consultancies produced by experts from Lesotho, South Africa and Zimbabwe. Technical information was solicited on a regular basis from 1963 from consultants in South Africa when it was decided to transfer the headquarters for a future independent Botswana from Mafikeng to Gaborone's Village. As an indicator of rapid development, population of Gaborone grew from 3 500 in 1966 to over 15 000 in 1970 (the latter population figure was what was projected Gaborone would reach in 1990). Along the development in and around Gaborone, there was increased private capital investment in the country and demand for electricity was a barometer of the pace of development in the country. This laid a foundation for a strong partnership between private and public capital. From the late 1970s, development of electricity illuminated a severe shortage of skilled labour in Botswana. In fact, this discussion is a history of retarded human capital development in the energy sector. Between 1979 and 1985, plans were developed so that Botswana would depend on local skills in the energy sector. This was part of a broad set of policies on localisation and development of education in Botswana.

Thus, the paper attempts a contribution to a rich historiography on garnering and using knowledge of various forms during and after the colonial period. Lord Hailey's work from the late 1930s is a seminal historical study in use of knowledge in managing multiple colonial questions. Palmer in the 1970s demonstrated for early colonial Zimbabwe how investigation commissions advised on land partition. Recently, Cooper examined application of knowledge in dealing with a variety of colonial problems in colonial Africa. This paper follows that rich historiography and demonstrates the importance of understanding connectedness of various specialisations of knowledge. It also complements anthropological studies on Botswana in advancing our understanding of how the state and other social actors used knowledge in shaping policies in Botswana.

**Kriel, Lize**

University of Pretoria

[Lize.Kriel@up.ac.za](mailto:Lize.Kriel@up.ac.za)

**‘For It Seems to Me a Troublesome Thing to Weary a Father as You by Letters’:  
The Circulation of African Wesleyans’ Correspondence in the Transvaal, 1880s and  
1890s**

In Karen Barber’s recently edited volume *Africa’s Hidden Histories: Everyday Literacies and Making the Self*, a strong case is made that the ‘the profusion of innovative individual writing’ by Africans throughout colonial Anglophone Africa should be recognised and subjected to more serious scholarly attention. The inventive studies in this volume focus mostly on individual Africans’ personal archives – tin trunks and suitcases under beds – and what their content accumulated during the first half of the twentieth century might reveal about ‘new kinds of personhood’, but also ‘new ways of relating to the world of officialdom’. In this study, I take a step back into the 1890s, into the tumultuous period of cultural contact, when the Transvaal was still an open – or at the most, closing – frontier zone where Boer and Britain and various African polities were still contesting one another’s claims to supremacy. I also turn away from a search for Africans’ personal archives and back to the more conventional repositories of historical sources – the archives of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission and the Superintendent of Natives of the South African Republic (Transvaal) respectively. The type of correspondence I found there and the deductions that can be made from their location there (even the mere fact that these letters survived there) bring me back, however, to the Barber volume’s question about the ways literacy enabled Africans to relate to the world of officialdom.

**Krige, Sue**

University of the Witwatersrand and University of South Africa

[suek@global.co.za](mailto:suek@global.co.za)

**‘Beyond Belief’: Spirituality in South African Historical Research, 1989–2009**

This paper will consider the ways in which spirituality, religion and belief have or have not been integrated into South African historical research over the last 20 years. It is a response to observations made about the importance of incorporating ‘religion’ into historical analysis and narrative at the History Workshop’s ‘Life after Thirty’ conference in April of this year. It challenges the perception expressed at the conference that the integration of ‘religion’ was something new in terms of historical writing. While I proposed to cover a 20-year period, I will not be embarking on a mammoth literature review, but will attempt something much smaller. I will select a number of case studies to indicate the long and vibrant history of what I prefer to call ‘spirituality’ in historical research both in South Africa and elsewhere. I will conclude by considering why the History Workshop research tradition has apparently ignored this body of literature until 2009.

**Kros, Cynthia**

University of the Witwatersrand

[Cynthia.Kros@wits.ac.za](mailto:Cynthia.Kros@wits.ac.za)

**Breaking Boundaries, Blurring Borders – But Only If You Have a Schengen Visa and €8: Encountering Africa in Paris at the Musée de Quai Branly**

It has become a common place scholarly observation to remark on the political expediency of President Chirac's speech at the opening of his legacy project, the Musée de Quai Branly (MQB), in Paris in 2006. Beyond his learned gestures to Lévi-Strauss and Malraux, it was quite obvious that the outgoing president thought it wise to declare that the museum, heir to many of the old *musée de l'homme's* collections, was intended to pay 'homage' to the people to whom 'history has done violence' – and who, in turn, had recently been doing violence to property in the bleak *banlieues* on the edges of the major French cities. Chirac was drawing advisedly on the ability of Lévi-Strauss's texts to speak to every decade about its own anxieties and self-doubt about the superiority of 'western civilisation'. Chirac was also drawing on an even longer genealogy of French official strategy to broaden the meaning of republican culture and to make the marvels of the Empire block out the sordid sights of everyday immigrant poverty and metropolitan xenophobia.

In the paper, I examine questions against this background about whether or not the MQB succeeds in encouraging respect for the people it supposedly represents. Does the 'western aesthetic' kill off any of the spiritual power and mystery that the artefacts may have retained after their difficult voyage to the museum? Are the descendants of their makers prevented from even seeing them let alone developing a meaningful relationship with them? Does the museum space facilitate cultural dialogue and an opportunity to explore '*métissage*'? Finally, I use my reflections on encountering Africa in the MQB as a way of thinking about the issues for our own MuseumAfrica as it quickens the transformation agenda under its new director.

**Kustenbauder, Matthew**

Yale University, United States

[matthew.kustenbauder@yale.edu](mailto:matthew.kustenbauder@yale.edu)

**Once a Witch, Always a Witch? Continuity and Change in Witchcraft Beliefs among African Christians**

A review essay, this paper synthesizes a broad literature as a first step toward formulating an intellectual history of Christianity's articulation with witchcraft beliefs in Africa. It argues that early anthropologists and missionaries approached African phenomena of spiritual power from a distinctly western moral framework. Such phenomena were labelled as 'witchcraft', and therefore inherently evil, imposing simple notions of good and evil on indigenous cultural and religious practices that were in fact ambiguous and complex. After affirming the existence of an overall historical trend toward the adoption of western moral dualism by African Christians in their thinking about traditional

religious practices, the paper turns to examine a number of divergent cases – including ones from South Africa. Contrary to the historical trend, these examples provide evidence for important continuities (preserved in African churches) with older beliefs about witchcraft as a morally neutral form of spiritual power. They also point toward a broad classification of churches, one that distinguishes between the earlier western-initiated mission churches, which often denied the existence of witchcraft; the more recent Pentecostal churches, which demonize witchcraft; and the African initiated churches, which have accommodated the widest range of witchcraft beliefs.

**Larkin, Clare**

University of Limpopo

[clarel@ul.ac.za](mailto:clarel@ul.ac.za)

### **The Consequences of Rejecting Segregation: The National Union of South African Students and the National Party Election Victory, 1948–1950**

In response to the change of government in 1948 and the National Party's earlier threats to segregate the universities, the essentially liberal and 'non-political' National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) enshrined in its constitution the principle of upholding racially non-segregated higher education. Coupled to this, it virtually abolished the customary social colour bar, observed by the majority of its predominantly white English-speaking membership. The Student Representative Councils (SRCs) of the Universities of Cape Town and Natal (Durban) disaffiliated from the National Union, the former to pursue an ineffectual policy of broad white South African nationalism and reconciliation with Afrikaans-speaking students.

These events led to a realignment of student politics at NUSAS-associated campuses. Strong, liberal-radical groups coalesced to oppose apartheid and woo the disaffected back to the fatally weakened National Union while a branch of the African National Congress Youth League was established at the University College of Fort Hare amidst rumours that the SRC there was considering leaving NUSAS too.

Ultimately the student bodies of Durban and Cape Town re-affiliated, propelled by fear of government policy and the realisation that the ideological gulf between the two white student language groups had become unbridgeable. NUSAS was restructured and its constitution amended. These reforms widened the National Union's membership base and accommodated limited political activity, but ultimately failed (intentionally) to deliver the all-embracing anti-apartheid programme desired by African nationalists and the radical left.

**Lekgoathi, Sekibakiba**

University of the Witwatersrand

[Sekibakiba.Lekgoathi@wits.ac.za](mailto:Sekibakiba.Lekgoathi@wits.ac.za)

### **Orality, Literacy and Succession Disputes in Contemporary Nzunza and Manala Ndebele Chieftaincies**

This paper explores the relationship between orality and literacy in the official narratives of the 'Transvaal Ndebele' chieftaincies, specifically the Nzunza and the Manala. The two chieftaincies drew public attention recently following the Nhlapo Commission's determination of the seniority of the Manala chieftaincy over all the Ndebele groups in the country. Owing to their common ancestry, the two groups have fairly similar oral traditions about succession conflicts and dispersal throughout the 'Transvaal' (dating from the 1700s). But these accounts also display striking resemblance to the biblical story of the struggle over seniority between Jacob and Esau. Contrary to government ethnologist N.J. van Warmelo's assertion that these are ancient traditions that have simply been preserved over the years, I argue that they are modern constructs, contrived in the context of the encounter between the Ndebele communities and German missionaries in the late nineteenth century. This contact allowed for some measure of appropriation and incorporation of the biblical story into the Ndebele's oral traditions. Given the Ndebele's long history of hostility towards missionaries, how do we explain their incorporation of the biblical narrative into their oral traditions? What other histories can be deduced from this story? What implications does this account have for our understanding of the workings of memory, orality and literacy? From a methodological perspective the Ndebele's story suggests the dangers of assuming that oral accounts are somewhat pure, authentic and untarnished by literary texts.

**Ludlow, Helen**

University of the Witwatersrand

[Elizabeth.Ludlow@wits.ac.za](mailto:Elizabeth.Ludlow@wits.ac.za)

### **Examining the Government Teacher, Caledon, Cape of Good Hope, 1854**

This paper follows the unfolding of an inquiry in 1854 into the allegations that the government teacher at Caledon, Cape of Good Hope, was jeopardising his school because of his suspected immoral conduct. Using a predominantly 'new cultural history' approach, the paper examines the ways in which his actions may be seen as 'performances of identity'. It also locates the inquiry within the expectations set up by the 'New System' of education, launched under the superintendency of James Rose Innes in 1839. As one of the first experiments in state education within the British Empire, the 'New System' is itself very significant and the interplay between micro- and macro-histories enables the historian to examine the nature of mid-nineteenth Cape society in new ways.

**Maaba, Brown Bavusile**  
University of Cape Town  
[Lmaaba@hotmail.com](mailto:Lmaaba@hotmail.com)

### **Liberation in Southern Africa: The Archive in Context**

In this paper, the author argues that a detailed study on the background of liberation archives in southern Africa is imperative. Such consignments include the ANC, BCM (A) and PAC collections at Fort Hare, as well as SWAPO, ZANU and FRELIMO collections in their respective countries. The author asserts that though many historians have used these collections to write the history of the struggle, there is still no detailed and informative study on the background of these various collections. Such important and necessary information includes the history of these collections and how they ended up in that particular space, preservation issues and the question of access.

The author stresses that this lack of the above-mentioned details around liberation archives has given birth to numerous problems, including debates on digitization, lack of policy formulation on archives and often, the less clarified question of ownership. Even some researchers have no clear understanding of what is contained in certain collections, leading to a range of problems and negative consequences such as fruitless expenditure.

**Mabika, Hines**  
University of Basel, Switzerland  
[hines.mabika@unibas.ch](mailto:hines.mabika@unibas.ch)

### **Writing the Swiss Mission Hospitals History in Southern Africa, Using Francophone Sources**

Rural health care in the north-eastern part of South Africa today relies on institutions established by Swiss missionaries. Elim hospital in present-day Limpopo province was one of the first providers of health services in the Zoutpansberg rural area. A few works on health in Limpopo province exist, but the Francophone sources for writing missionary hospital history in this part of South Africa remain poorly used.

This paper seeks to show that, being pioneers of providing rural health care in southern Africa, the 'Mission Suisse au Sud de l'Afrique' from the 'Canton de Vaud' in Switzerland made many documents on southern Africa. These Francophone sources are available in the 'Centre d'Archives d'Outre-Mer of Aix-en-Provence and the 'Bibliothèque de l'Histoire de la Mission et de la Missiologie' in Paris in France and mainly in the 'Archives du Département Missionnaire de Lausanne' in Switzerland.

This communication will be focused on the 'Archives du Département Missionnaire de Lausanne' in the French-speaking part of Switzerland. After a classification and a presentation of diverse sources and documents available, this paper will seek to explain how these Francophone sources can be helpful for writing hospital history in the north-eastern part of South Africa.

**Madida, Ngqabutho**  
University of Cape Town  
[nqabuthom@sanparks.org](mailto:nqabuthom@sanparks.org)

### **The Political Imprisonment and Detention of Non-South African Citizens under Apartheid 1962–1991**

This paper will examine the political imprisonment and detention of non-South African citizens in South Africa under apartheid in the period between 1962 and 1991. There were people from neighbouring African states and Europe whose involvement in the fight against apartheid landed them in South African prisons. Some were arrested, detained and released, while others were tried and sentenced or deported. While the existing literature on political imprisonment has contributed to our understanding of the imprisonment of South African political activists, non-South African citizens with similar experiences have not been given much attention. As will be demonstrated in this paper, stories of non-citizens do not feature much in the literature that has been examined so far. However, primary sources examined show that although the number of foreign political prisoners was far less than South Africans, they were scattered in different parts of the country over different periods. When examining the impact of apartheid on non-South African citizens, the focus has largely been on cross-border raids that killed foreign nationals in their countries. Individual stories of those who were imprisoned are also overshadowed by a blanket acknowledgment of the role that a particular country or countries played in hosting people in exile. It is in this maze that the individual stories of non-South African political prisoners and detainees have perhaps fallen by the wayside.

**Mäki, Harri**  
North-West University  
[186717@nwu.ac.za](mailto:186717@nwu.ac.za)

### **Environmental Health Issues in Four South African Cities, 1840–1920**

The idea of environmental health had its modern-day roots in the sanitary and public health movement of the United Kingdom in the mid-nineteenth century. Environmental health addresses all human-health-related aspects of both the natural environment and the built environment. In this paper I will address specifically issues of sanitation, safe water and adequate housing in Cape Town, Grahamstown, Durban and Johannesburg c. 1840 to 1920.

The introduction and augmentation of water supply and sanitary reform were amongst the most important issues in local government throughout South Africa after 1840. Urban administrators attempted to reduce fire risks, improve health, supply clean water, and establish a financially effective administration. In conducting their work, local officials closely collaborated with their counterparts in colonial, provincial and national sectors of governance. It then became possible for them to create a governance framework for local administration.

The issue of race is visible in environmental health issues of the day. During the time period, Africans, for example, were considered to be the carriers of disease. This perception was used to justify the policy of segregation. Diseases, however, did not follow racial or class divisions. This literally forced the authorities to take at least minimal care of the health of Africans in South Africa.

**Marschall, Sabine**

University of KwaZulu-Natal

[marschalls@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:marschalls@ukzn.ac.za)

### **Private Sector Investment in Public History – The *Sunday Times* Heritage Project**

This paper aims to critically investigate the *Sunday Times* Heritage Project, which the newspaper initiated in 2006 in celebration of its centenary. Over 30 memorials commemorating important ‘newsmakers’ – events and persons deemed to have ‘made history’ over the course of 100 years – have been installed throughout South Africa, usually in the very places where these events occurred. Although the project team at the *Sunday Times* newspaper consulted with various stakeholders and obtained permission from local authorities, the project was entirely developed, financed and implemented by the newspaper. The *Sunday Times*’s self-representation of the project (especially on the website) emphasizes the novelty of this initiative and implies freedom from the dictates of political correctness, yet a closer examination of the project selection process reveals underlying political discourses that are in many ways similar to those dominating the government-sponsored heritage sector. While the project can be commended in many ways, its shortcomings also raise critical questions about the ramifications of private sector investment in public history construction in South Africa.

**Mazarire, Gerald Chikozho**

University of Zimbabwe

[gmazarire@gmail.com](mailto:gmazarire@gmail.com)

### **Carl Mauch and Some Karanga Chiefs South of Great Zimbabwe 1871–2: A Re-Consideration**

The German explorer Carl Mauch’s Journals of his journeys inside Zimbabwe from July 1871 to October 1872 have been frequently cited by historians and archaeologists for their detailed coverage of the Great Zimbabwe monument. They carry a lot more information on his observations of the day-to-day activities he encountered in various villages he passed on his way to Great Zimbabwe and during his brief stay there. These have been valuable to historians who have used his notes not only to reconstruct local Karanga social and political life but also their relations with the Ndebele during this period. Carl Mauch remains to this day the key reference point for these subjects, yet he was only there for little more than a year. This paper is intrigued by the varying

interpretations of historians to Mauch's narratives which have given rise to several versions of the local history of the Karanga at the time. Using evidence obtained from recent fieldwork in the area, this paper re-considers Carl Mauch and the history of local chieftaincies with a view to correcting some glaring errors of omission and interpretation in a number of celebrated works on Karanga history and the nature of Ndebele-Shona relations.

**McDonald, Jared**

University of Johannesburg

[jaredmc@uj.ac.za](mailto:jaredmc@uj.ac.za)

### **Read(ing) between the Lines: Furthering the Reassessment of Rev. James Read**

Critical reflection of missionary lives as 'windows' on the colonial world's concomitant experiences for both the missionaries and 'missionised' alike have become a well-established trend in Cape history in recent years. As part of this development, and due to his extensive and active participation in colonial processes and counter-processes over many crucial decades, Rev. James Read has begun to move from being a peripheral figure in the mission history narratives of the nineteenth-century Cape to one who has emerged from the shadow of the likes of Dr Johannes van der Kemp and Dr John Philip to a far more prominent position. This trend was started by Christopher Saunders' groundbreaking paper of 1976: 'James Read: Towards a Reassessment'. Yet the impact of the new mission history on perceptions of Read's role has not yet been traced. This paper, therefore, proposes a further reassessment of both the biographical and historiographical treatment afforded Rev. James Read in the thirty years since Saunders' paper by scholars working on nineteenth-century mission history specifically, and more broadly, nineteenth-century Cape history. Taking its cue from ongoing interest in the actions and agencies of mission residents, this paper argues for a further historiographical realignment of Read the character as a perceived 'agent of change' for population groups seeking alternatives to their social statuses of marginalisation and interstitiality.

**Mitchell, Laura**

University of California, Irvine, United States

[Mitchell@uci.edu](mailto:Mitchell@uci.edu)

### **Watercolours and World Empire: French Military 'Designs' on the Cape of Good Hope**

This paper examines cartography and landscape drawings produced in the service of empire. The focal point is several watercolours produced by La Fite de Brassier, a French soldier temporarily at the Cape of Good Hope in the late eighteenth century, when the VOC was in decline and European powers anticipated a fight for control of the Cape. These images show the French military's keen interest in details of the Cape, indicating

which aspects of a complex landscape were important in the eyes of an acquisitive imperial power. Despite some differences between French and Dutch images produced in this period, in both we see an attempt at the visible ordering of an expanding empire, similar to the quotidian ordering of domestic space in the colony that was, as I argue elsewhere, visually symbolized by markers of European material culture.

The very existence of these watercolours highlights the cross-cutting imperial networks in play, locating a French artist (and military presence) in a Dutch colony. This paper also points out the intellectual boundaries created by nationally-based scholarship (to my knowledge, very little scholarship beyond Huguenot settlement has exploited French archives for the Dutch colonial period); archiving and cataloging practices; and disciplinary preoccupations.

**Moloi, Tshepo**

University of the Witwatersrand

[tshepo.moloi@wits.ac.za](mailto:tshepo.moloi@wits.ac.za)

**Bodibeng High School: Identity, Black Consciousness, and Students Revolt, 1976**

This paper examines the factor(s) that caused students to revolt in 1976 through a case study of Bodibeng High School in Maokeng, Kroonstad, in the northern Free State. It will demonstrate that, because of the political changes which took place from the late 1960s, especially the formation of the South African Students Organization, and the role of teachers influenced by Black Consciousness, the identity of some of the students at Bodibeng High School changed from submissive to assertive and political. Bodibeng High was – for a very long time, dating back to the 1930s – one of the major centres of education for African students in the then Orange Free State (now Free State Province). Most significantly, unlike other high schools, Bodibeng from the onset has always been under the leadership of African heads. Because of this, and the fact that it was one of the two day schools in the Orange Free State to offer matric in 1940, and the only one to have its matriculants writing the Joint Matriculation Board Examination in the 1960s, attracted an influx of students and some of the best teachers to the school. There were three phases in the history of the school; each phase can be characterised in terms of the degree of its engagement in the political affairs of the day. The first, from the 1930s – 1950s, was one where teachers engaged both education and politics actively. The second, from the 1960s to the early 1970s, was a period of apparent quiescence. And the third, from the mid 1970s, was characterised, once again, by active engagement of students and teachers with politics. One of the main differences from the earlier period is the political philosophy of teachers and students; by the 1970s Black Consciousness was the major influence. This paper will show that the influence of the Black Consciousness philosophy and the role of young and politically conscious teachers played an important role in encouraging some of the students at Bodibeng to revolt in 1976.

**Monkge, Mooatametsi Disang Chaah**

University of Botswana

[dichaah@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:dichaah@yahoo.co.uk)

### **A History of International Volunteerism in Botswana and Its Social Impact, A Case for the American Peace Corps 1966–1997**

This study was undertaken to investigate and evaluate the work and reasons behind past and contemporary international volunteerism in Botswana, as well as the social impact this has had on Botswana's developmental roadmap. The study focuses on the American Peace Corps Volunteers, being the largest group of volunteers to have served in Botswana and to have since stayed the longest. Approximately 2 058 American Peace Corps volunteers have served in Botswana over a period of 43 years. Available data indicates that the American Peace Corps volunteers' advent into Botswana society, their sincere interest and their participation in daily community life endeared them to Botswana, leaving behind a legacy of deep friendship and contentment. The international volunteers' free-spirited mentality is credited for influencing local dress styles, music and dance, as well as perceptions of black and white relationships in rural Botswana communities. The study asserts that American Peace Corps volunteerism was able to impact positively on the lives of Botswana, as the volunteers' work existed within the vortex milieu of already existing forms of volunteerism such as Botswana's own *motshelo*, *letsema* and *ipelegeng*, schemes that made it easier for volunteers to mobilize rural communities for development.

**Murray, Bruce**

University of the Witwatersrand

[Bruce.Murray@wits.ac.za](mailto:Bruce.Murray@wits.ac.za)

### **A Long but Intermittent Rivalry: South Africa and Australia in the Test Cricket Arena**

South Africa against Australia might be the third oldest rivalry in Test cricket, but what is striking is how few Tests, comparatively speaking, this rivalry has produced – 80 in all. For both, the original rivalries with the 'mother country', England, have obviously counted for more – to date, Australia and England have contested 316 Tests against one another, and South Africa and England 134 Tests – but what is noteworthy is that both England and Australia have played more Tests against the West Indies than against South Africa, 145 and 102 respectively, even though the West Indies did not make their Test debut until 1928, four decades later than South Africa. How, in particular, do we account for the relative paucity of Test match encounters between South Africa and Australia? Two words – 'money' and 'politics' – together with the initial weakness of South African cricket encompass much of the explanation.

**Murray, Jessica**  
University of Johannesburg  
[jmurray@uj.ac.za](mailto:jmurray@uj.ac.za)

## **Gender and Violence in Cape Slave Narratives and Post-Narratives**

Although most slaves' experience of slavery is lost to posterity, in some cases historians are fortunate enough to work with so-called slave narratives. In the United States, much scholarly activity has focused on the analysis of contemporary slave (auto)biographies and the WPA life narratives, as well as post-narratives (contemporary literary works based on the slave experience). Unfortunately similar sources do not exist for the study of slavery at the Cape of Good Hope. However, the existence of many criminal court cases enables the historian to hear the voice of the slave clearly – albeit briefly and under strained circumstances. Recently some work has been done on these slave cases, but not in terms of narratives. Likewise, there is a new interest in post-narratives dealing with Cape slavery, but nobody has as yet connected these modern reincarnations with the earlier historical narratives. This paper, then, explores Cape slave narratives and post-narratives by focusing on the ways in which the bodies of slave women become the sites on which both physical and discursive violence is enacted. History has long moved beyond 'chronological accounts of battles and borders, treaties and territories' to include the experiences of those who have 'inhabited the margins of culture and society' (Warhol and Price Herndl 1997: 855). Although some work has been done on gender and slavery, this has mostly concentrated on the nineteenth-century experience, while the eighteenth century remains virtually unexplored (cf. Van der Spuy 1991, 1992, 1993, 1996; Scully 1997; Mason 2003; Vernal 2008). The paper will illustrate that the stories of slave women's experiences of violence continue to be vulnerable to elision. By reading selected eighteenth-century criminal records from the Cape of Good Hope, in which women briefly (albeit under exceptional, often violent, circumstances) voice their experience, I will show how these texts 'prize open hidden worlds and interior landscapes of pain and oppression' (Turrel 2003: 84). More specifically, the paper will expose the extent to which these landscapes are shaped by gender and the reality of gender violence. The nature of available texts necessitates a reading strategy that teases out information from the gaps and silences in the narratives in an attempt to reveal the true texture of the lived reality of slave women in eighteenth-century South Africa. The paper will then consider a post-narrative in which Yvette Christians\_ offers a fictionalized account of the story of the slave Sila van den Kaap in her novel *Unconfessed*, one of a number of recent slave post-narratives dealing with the Cape. The juxtaposition of court records and fiction will grapple with the continuing difficulties of representing women's experiences of violence and of articulating a comprehensive account of women's history. It will emerge from the paper that the nature of patriarchy and violence ensures that narratives will rarely yield information of gender violence with ease. Instead, texts need to be prised open to access women's stories. In this way, the paper combines historical research and analysis with literary analysis in order to arrive at a greater understanding of the relationship between slavery, gender and violence. This inter-disciplinary approach is in line with the conference theme of 'breaking boundaries, blurring borders'.

**Musemwa, Muchaparara**

University of the Witwatersrand

[Muchaparara.Musemwa@wits.ac.za](mailto:Muchaparara.Musemwa@wits.ac.za)

**From ‘Sunshine City’ to a Landscape of Disaster: The Politics of Water, Sanitation and Disease in Harare, Zimbabwe, 1980–2009**

Harare, Zimbabwe’s capital city, has now joined the growing list of cities and ‘mega cities’ of the global South which are now confronted by an ever-growing crisis precipitated by the deficient provision of basic services such as water, housing and transportation. Emblematic of these challenges are cities such as Lagos, Nairobi, Kumasi, Mumbai and Cairo. This paper examines the mutation of Harare from what was once regarded as one of the most developed post-colonial cities in Africa, dubbed the ‘sunshine city’ in local Zimbabwean parlance in the 1980s, to a landscape of crisis and disease. The cholera outbreak in Harare towards the last quarter of 2008 extending into the first quarter of 2009 exposed the full magnitude of the city’s decrepit infrastructure. This pestilence laid bare the intricate political and municipal governance issues, the historical city-state tensions, and the impact of rapid urban population growth. Although the paper focuses on the contemporary water crisis it injects a historical perspective in order to demonstrate that the recent set of factors contributing to the occurrence of disease has profound structural origins dating back to the colonial days. The paper, however, also emphasizes that postcolonial Harare’s dysfunctional water systems have been worsened by rapid urban population growth and repressive forms of political interventions in city governance. The historical dimension hinted at above has been elided in current popular and scholarly analyses on the status quo on the water crises. An examination of the historical antecedents is central to this paper for what they reveal about the roots of the current water crisis. The paper briefly discusses the political significance of the water crises and its attendant consequences represented foremost by the cholera outbreak in the denouement of the Zimbabwe political stalemate.

**Mushonga, Munyaradzi**

National University of Lesotho

[papamunya@gmail.com](mailto:papamunya@gmail.com)

**Breaking Boundaries, Blurring Borders: The Changing Nature and Scope of History Teaching at the National University of Lesotho**

The teaching of history and in particular African history in universities in Africa in the post-colonial period has been punctuated by a number of setbacks. On the one hand, many of these setbacks are political, and on the other hand, they are methodological and epistemic. This paper is particularly concerned with how practitioners of the discipline and other interested stakeholders have responded to threats of the end of history teaching both in schools and universities. It does this by showing how departments of history in some universities in southern Africa have gone beyond disciplinary boundaries in order to postpone the threat of the end of history teaching. Using the National University of

Lesotho as a case study, the paper examines the changing nature and scope of history teaching since the founding of the university way back in 1945. The paper tries to situate such changing nature and scope within the broader national policy frameworks and the university's change and transformation agenda under the various strategic plans. The paper therefore traces curriculum reform and programme review in the Department of Historical Studies, then the Department of History, showing how the department has, particularly in the recent past, gone beyond the traditional disciplinary boundaries by revising its history programme to offer a wide array of courses in environmental history and cultural and heritage studies, largely in an attempt to postpone the threat of the extinction of history teaching at the university.

**Musiiwa, Estella**

University of Zimbabwe

[emusiiwa@arts.uz.ac.zw](mailto:emusiiwa@arts.uz.ac.zw)

### **Personal Narratives: Methodological and Epistemological Implications in Comparative Women's History**

Women's personal narratives constitute the core of historical inquiry in women's history, even though the category 'woman' has been contested and redefined at different levels in different cultures. The importance of women's experiences has provided some common ground for comparative women's history. The intention of this paper is to provide a general overview of prospects and problems of personal narratives as a methodology of writing comparative women's history. The paper begins by defining a 'Life History', an 'Autobiography' and a 'Diary'. Attention is then paid to the extrinsic and intrinsic prospects of personal narratives as a viable methodology of writing women's history. The question of subjectivity is one of the outstanding methodological and epistemological issues identified in the paper. Differences in the 'I' that speaks of itself out of initiative in autobiographies and diaries, and the 'I' that is spoken of in life histories has a bearing on the kind of knowledge that scholars can come up with. Whereas diaries do not seem to have a particular audience in mind (though some have), autobiographies and life histories point to the existence of an audience. The conclusion thereof is that such differences have methodological and epistemological implications in comparative women's history.

**Muwati, Itai**

University of Zimbabwe

[43109950@mylife.unisa.ac.za](mailto:43109950@mylife.unisa.ac.za)

### **Historical Discourse as Opposition: The Zimbabwean Liberation War Novel in English**

The paper develops from the premise of the interface of history and literature. It focuses on the history of the Zimbabwean liberation war as it has been used in recent politics, and

itself a hotbed of contestations in Zimbabwean politics and scholarship in general. In a context where history is a site for hegemony and regime legitimacy, and where those who have been beaten or denied state power and participation in democratic spaces have been accused of lacking history or being ignorant of history, historical literature becomes a veritable stakeholder in the on-going contestations of nationalism in Zimbabwe. Consequently, we advance the contention that historical literature in English marshalls historical discourse in order to contest state-centered interpretations of the past which have also been used as the only identity-giving vocabulary for nation and nationalism. This literature which is published in the late 1980s and beyond, when most people feel betrayed by nationalism, clearly uses history as opposition. By offering alternative narratives of liberation war history that displace and contest 'patriotic history', English historical literature pluralises debate on nation and nationalism in the neocolony.

**Neely, Abigail**

University of Wisconsin, Madison, United States

[aneely@wisc.edu](mailto:aneely@wisc.edu)

### **Hybridized Land- and Idea-scapes: Pholela in the 1960s**

In 1936, the South African government designated the African homeland area of Pholela as a Betterment or anti-soil erosion area. In 1940, the government established the Pholela Community Health Centre (PCHC) as the country's first rural health centre. The decision to place the health centre in a Betterment area was deliberate, following from the idea that healthy people and health land were necessarily united, and further that scientifically oriented intervention would lead to improvements in health and agriculture.

When health and extension workers arrived in Pholela they came to a place rich with local understandings and practices. People had an expansive agricultural system that included extensive fields, home gardens, livestock, fruit trees, and the collection of wild cultivars. And they visited traditional healers in order to treat personal and household illnesses. Indeed, individual and family misfortune and ill health were often caused by ill wishers using harmful *muthis*. As a result, people would use healers to help protect their domestic and agricultural spaces through the application of protective *muthis* to homes and people, kraals and animals, and fields and crops. In this world view health and environment were linked through the spaces they both inhabited.

When the health centre began to send health assistants out into the community in the 1940s, their teachings came from a different understanding of the causes of ill health. Through its extension efforts the PCHC attempted to tie health to domestic and agricultural spaces through the science of nutrition and disease pathology. The teachings of these extension workers led to new practices, which in turn helped to alter local landscapes. As agricultural and health practices and landscapes changed, these scientific ideas were also (partially) incorporated into local understandings of health and agriculture. As a result, the Pholela of the 1960s was a very different *place* than the Pholela of the 1930s. This paper examines the ways in which scientific understandings of

health and agriculture had and had not become incorporated into the land and idea-scapes of Pholela by the 1960s.

**Nyandoro, Mark**

North-West University

[21982325@nwu.ac.za](mailto:21982325@nwu.ac.za)

### **Historical Overview of the Cholera Outbreak in Zimbabwe (2008–2009)**

This paper is a historical overview of the 2008–2009 cholera pandemic in Zimbabwe. Its main hypothesis is that the recent outbreak has revealed serious health status implications hardly divorced from a malfunctioning economic and governmental order. The epidemic, of pandemic proportions resulting in the launching of the biggest cholera-related appeal for humanitarian aid in Africa, has deep-seated historical roots in the country's economic-meltdown and the exclusion of local municipal authority from its traditional water-governance role. An under-resourced state agency, the Zimbabwe National Water Authority (ZINWA), which presided over all aquatic matters in the country before the Government of National Unity (GNU), had failed to deliver clean water and appropriate sanitary facilities to residents, a situation which resulted in cholera.

The paper examines whether the health delivery system in Zimbabwe was so hopeless as to lead to cholera. It also attempts to describe the cholera epidemic and evaluate the country's disaster-preparedness approach – given the fact that this outbreak was not the first in Zimbabwe. Cholera has recurred every other year since the economy went into a back-slide in the late 1990s. At the policy level, sanitary reforms are vital in view of the lukewarm government response to what was a very real national state of emergency. Drawing on an array of United Nations, Red Cross, Ministry of Health and media perspectives on the cholera outbreak in Zimbabwe, this paper focuses the debate on the erosion of what otherwise was a good health system in Africa and the degeneration of a previously sound water, health and sanitation infrastructure.

**Oelofse, Marietjie**

University of the Free State

[oelofsem.HUM@ufs.ac.za](mailto:oelofsem.HUM@ufs.ac.za)

### **The Truth in Memories: Assessing the Search for Truth as Embodied within the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa (TRC)**

Value attached to 'truth' is a central, constant theme running through the anecdotes of experiences of various countries where attempts have been made (and are still being made) on how to deal with past human rights atrocities. Usually the establishing of truth about what happened in the past is seen as the minimum requirement for any meaningful and legitimate approach towards human rights violations of the past. Therefore truth is regarded as a value which cannot be denied under any circumstances.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa (TRC) was intent on effecting reconciliation through establishing, as fully as possible, the truth via a process of publicly accounting for human rights violations. Truth was to be told from a variety of perspectives by giving both victims and perpetrators opportunities to share their own stories. The complexity of the concept 'truth' and the search to answer the question 'What about truth – and whose truth?' were debated before and during the existence of the Commission. The debates on this issue resulted in four notions of truth implemented and used by the established TRC.

The paper will explore the conflicting viewpoints on truth and will examine the way 'truth' was defined by the TRC. The following questions will receive attention in the paper as to highlight the complex processes of 'truth recovery' as embodied in the practices of the TRC: Can truth and nothing else but truth be reached and captured, especially by a truth commission? Was enough truth gained by the TRC through truth-telling? Which difficulties and dilemmas are confronting truth commissions in finding and telling the truth? What did the TRC's handling of truth attempt to achieve and what was the significance thereof for the people of South Africa? Can shared memories lead to the truth and can memory play its part in bringing truth to light?

**Parsons, Neil**

University of Botswana

[nparsons@mopipi.ub.bw](mailto:nparsons@mopipi.ub.bw)

### **Some Southern African Entry Points into Global History**

So-called Global History has taken off in the United States to liberate undergraduates from Big Power parochialism, and has been the topic of a major conference held in London in May this year. The key element of Global Studies is to demonstrate the connectedness between different peoples and lands and periods of time. This paper is an attempt to crack the small-end of the egg by starting studies in one familiar region of the world, rather than the big-end approach of starting with general explanations or theory and then relating them back to particulars. It suggests three ways in which Southern Africa could be used as the starting point to throw more general light upon the world's history. First, by taking cues from and asking questions about the latest genetic research which suggests that modern human population dispersal about 60 000 years ago began in the Angola-Namibia frontier region. Second, by taking cues and asking questions about Indonesian contacts with Africa and coastal settlement that may account for significant influences on Southern African societies. Third, by tracing the biographies of real individuals whose careers encompass not only Southern Africa but other parts of the world, and in doing so demonstrate not only inter-connectedness of cultural, social, political and economic histories but also significant points of comparison in the experience of global trends and events.

**Phillips, Howard**  
University of Cape Town  
[Howard.Phillips@uct.ac.za](mailto:Howard.Phillips@uct.ac.za)

### **How to Avoid Landing Up in the Casualty Ward of History: Lessons from Writing a Hospital History**

This paper stems from the experience of writing a history of Groote Schuur Hospital, which was published as *At the Heart of Healing: Groote Schuur Hospital 1938–2008* in November last year. In particular, it reflects on the sources of the opposition to such a history from a small but vocal coterie of current and former staff of the hospital, as the comprehensive, ‘beauty spots and warts’ nature of the book became apparent through our circulation of draft chapters in 2007 and 2008. In analysing this opposition, the paper suggests that at its heart lay not only the objectors’ wish to preserve a rose-tinted view of ‘their’ institution, but also a number of conceptual disconnects between them and the academic historians engaged in the project.

By exploring these disconnects the paper aims to forewarn other would-be historians of institutions of the potential pitfalls of undertaking critical history writing in such an environment in particular, and, more generally, to flag the gap between popular perceptions of history and those prevalent in the cloistered academy.

**Pohlandt-McCormick, Helena**  
University of Minnesota, United States  
[Pohla001@umn.edu](mailto:Pohla001@umn.edu)

### ***Senzeni Na? What Have We Done? — Considering the Role of the Historian and History in the Context of a Post-Conflict Society and Rapid Historical Change, South Africa 1994–2009***

In 2008 I suspended work on my manuscript, *Senzeni Na? What Have We Done: History of South Africa since 1989*, for Zed Book’s Global History of the Present Series. In part, I was concerned that the book would be superseded by the events in the region: the sudden end of the Thabo Mbeki presidency in late 2008, the complex controversy around Jacob Zuma, the ongoing crisis in Zimbabwe which might yet throw the entire region into upheaval, and, probably not unrelated, the outbreak of violent attacks against foreigners (mostly from other countries in Africa but characterized as ‘xenophobic violence’ in the media) which seems to have subsided but the underlying reasons for which remain unresolved. Beyond these obvious and practical challenges to the writing of contemporary histories in a time of rapid historical change, this paper will consider the question, posed by the date in the title and indeed by the premise of the entire series — 1989 as a historical turning point — of how to historicize the end of apartheid. It will also address a growing sense of the inadequacy of inherited categories of analysis, chronologies and causations in explaining what increasingly seem to be the failing stories and paradigms of the transition from apartheid to postapartheid.

**Rabasimane, Olopeng**  
University of Botswana  
[rabasimane@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:rabasimane@yahoo.co.uk)

### **‘Paradise Lost or Paradise Regained’: Civil-Military Relations in Botswana**

This paper seeks to contribute to the on-going discourse on civil-military relations (CMR) in Africa, and specifically in Botswana. It does not seek to undermine previous contributions on CMR in Botswana or to postulate a new theorem in the discourse. The paper argues that the tri-partite relationship between security forces (mainly, the military), civilian society and political leadership is intriguing, fragile and normally complex. This three-sum relationship, normally referred to as civil-military relations, needs great attention and good care in order to mature and flourish into a stable and sustainable relationship. It goes further to posit that, by virtue of being an ‘alliance’, this relationship is inherent with ‘domino effect’ behaviour: that is, any significant change within any ‘member’ of the ‘alliance’ inevitable triggers a change of behavior on other ‘members’. The paper appreciates the ‘exceptionality’ of Botswana as a stable democracy in Africa, but it does caution, however, against the developing and worrying practice of ‘militarising’ the polity and ‘politicising’ the military. The pursuit to have civil-military relations at equilibrium is a challenging task that has caught the attention of scholars of security studies, military practitioners and political commentators alike.

For those rebellious; here their prison ordained  
In utter darkness, and their portion set,  
As far removed from God and light of Heaven  
As from the centre thrice to the utmost pole.  
Oh how unlike the place from whence they fell!<sup>1</sup>

- 1 ‘Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained’ is considered one of the most compelling poems of John Milton. The poem tells the story of the fall of man, which encompasses a battle that rages across Heaven between Good and Evil. The poem captures passion and innocence, victory and defeat, hope and despair.

**Roos, Neil**  
University of Pretoria  
[neil.roos@up.ac.za](mailto:neil.roos@up.ac.za)

### **Some Preliminary Notes on Work Colonies and Apartheid Culture**

Work colonies were a little-known feature of the cultural history of whites in South Africa between 1893 and 1960. In the 1890s, church work colonies were established by the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* (NGK) to help rehabilitate poor white families. After Union, a system of state work colonies for white men was established, initially to punish them and then, in the years after the National Party assumed power in 1948, to re-

educate them. The history of church and state work colonies elucidates an evolving set of anxieties, increasingly focused on white men, about what it meant to be white and what it meant to be a man.

Such insights help us understand how white society imagined and reproduced itself, and some of the tensions generated by these processes. They assist us to plot the shifting moral and intellectual centres of gravity in white South African society, from the church to the state; from compassion to bureaucracy; and from theology to sociology. And it suggests that these shifts were accompanied by a trend towards authoritarianism and increasing sophisticated forms of discipline that organized the lives not only of black people, but also whites.

**Sannar, Torsten**

University of California, Santa Barbara, United States

[tsannar@umail.ucsb.edu](mailto:tsannar@umail.ucsb.edu)

**‘I Ain’t Gonna Play Sun City!’: Boycotts and Opportunities at a South African Mega-Resort**

At the height of the United States anti-apartheid movement in 1985, Bruce Springsteen’s back-up man, Steven Van Zandt, wrote and produced one of the most influential protest songs of the decade. ‘Sun City’, released by the non-profit collective Artists United Against Apartheid, combined the talents of 54 United States and British artists in an effort to make the South African mega-resort of the same name anathema for international performers. While Van Zandt’s single never achieved vast commercial success in the United States, the cultural impact of his project had global implications. Informed by the project documentary (*The Making of ‘Sun City’*), performance reviews, and the ‘genealogy of performance’ (Joseph Roach) within Sun City, I demonstrate that ‘Sun City’, the artistic endeavour, shaped and sometimes confused South African cultural identity on two continents. Van Zandt *et al* implemented a variety of visual and aural strategies to depict apartheid protestors in both the United States and South Africa as racially integrated and politically unified in their opposition to apartheid. Through a deconstruction of the ‘Sun City’ music video that received heavy rotation on MTV, I analyse how these strategies contributed to a conflation of American neoliberalism and South African radicalism.

**Saunders, Chris**

University of Cape Town

[Chris.Saunders@uct.ac.za](mailto:Chris.Saunders@uct.ac.za)

### **South Africa and Angola: Diplomatic Contacts, 1976–1984**

Drawing upon papers in the archives of the Department of Foreign Affairs and an interview with ‘Kito’ Rodriques, when he was Ambassador of Angola in Pretoria, this paper explores hitherto unknown discussions that took place between South African and Angolan officials between the South African withdrawal from Angola in March 1976 and the subsequent withdrawal in 1984–85. Why did these bilateral meetings take place, and what was their significance? I put them into context, show their relationship to the war that South Africa fought in southern Angola, and how they fed into the Lusaka accord reached in early 1984, providing for South African troops to withdraw from southern Angola and for the setting-up of a Joint Monitoring Commission to supervise the process of withdrawal. I suggest that the bilaterals were more important than Chester Crocker intimates in his memoir, *High Noon in Southern Africa*. Though it was only in 1988 that formal negotiations between South Africa, Angola and Cuba laid the way for the independence of Namibia, the earlier contacts between South Africa and an independent Angola were not, I suggest, without their long-term significance.

**Setlhabi, Keletso Gaone**

University of Botswana

[keletso@fsg.co.bw](mailto:keletso@fsg.co.bw)

### **Heritage Negotiation across Frontiers**

Museums and other heritage preservation institutions are mandated to preserve the heritage of their communities. This paper will discuss Bakgatla-baga-Kgafela material culture preservation at Botswana National Museum and Phutadikobo Museum in Botswana. Bakgatla-baga-Kgafela reside in Botswana and South Africa and have been culturally bound across political boundaries from the late nineteenth century. The challenge facing museums is the definition of this cultural group in relation to its cultural and geographic boundaries. Currently the above-mentioned museums are aligned within their national borders which results in preservation and interpretation which excludes a holistic story of Bakgatla-baga-Kgafela. I argue that museums in both countries must negotiate the heritage preservation and presentation with Bakgatla-baga-Kgafela and the Botswana and South African governments in order to promote an inclusive interpretation that is relevant and accurate. The New Museology recommends change from museums’ definition of preservation to that of communities, in order to allow the latter to play a meaningful role in this process. Museums must therefore ensure that the cultural boundary of Bakgatla-baga-Kgafela transcends its geographic one through the adoption of inclusive redefinition methods.

**Simpson, Thula**

University of Pretoria

[thula.simpson@up.ac.za](mailto:thula.simpson@up.ac.za)

**The Soviet Bloc, Eastern Africa and the Resumption of the ANC's Armed Struggle in South Africa: A Global History, 1974–77**

This paper recounts the story of the resumption in the mid-1970s of the African National Congress's (ANC's) armed struggle in South Africa. It tells of how a group of students, seeking to receive military training from South Africa's exiled liberation movements, contacted Thabo Mbeki of the ANC in Swaziland in December 1975. The role of Tanzania and newly-independent Mozambique in assisting the ANC will be described, as will the military training rendered to *Umkhonto weSizwe* (MK), the ANC's army, by Eastern Bloc countries such as the Soviet Union and East Germany. The influence of this training on the strategy and tactics of the ANC's armed struggle will then be considered. Finally the paper will tell of the infiltration into South Africa, via Tanzania, Mozambique and Swaziland, of the first of the new batch of recruits to have completed their military training in Eastern Europe.

**Southey, Nicholas**

University of South Africa

[southnd@unisa.ac.za](mailto:southnd@unisa.ac.za)

**History at a Distance: A Century of History Teaching at the University of South Africa**

In 1906, the University of the Cape of Good Hope (UCGH) accepted history as an autonomous academic discipline and university subject, and this date may thus be regarded as the foundation of the Department of History at the University of South Africa (Unisa), which took over the functions and obligations of the UCGH in 1918. Initially responsible for prescribing the curriculum of all South Africa's university colleges and for conducting examinations, Unisa established a division for external students in 1946, when it offered formal tuition for the first time. Over the succeeding 60 and more years, it evolved into the country's leading provider of distance learning, attracting tens of thousands of students by the 1980s and beyond.

This paper explores the tuition and curricula offered by Unisa's History Department over the last 100 years, situating these within the broader intellectual and political climate of the country. In so doing, the paper attempts an evaluation of the influence and effectiveness of the Department's teaching.

**Strydom, Bronwyn**  
University of Pretoria  
[bronwyn.strydom@up.ac.za](mailto:bronwyn.strydom@up.ac.za)

### **The Education Controversy: Universities in the Transvaal Colony (1902–1907)**

In 1903, The Kimberley School of Mines moved to Johannesburg, becoming known first as the Transvaal Technical Institute and later as the Transvaal University College, evidently with aspirations of a future elevation of status to a full-blown teaching and examining university. By the end of 1907, however, plans were in progress to divide the institution between the two leading cities of the Transvaal, thus obstructing Johannesburg's plans to establish such a university in the immediate future and rekindling the hopes of a Pretoria university, an ideal that had been cherished by the leaders of the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek. The university question in the Transvaal Colony (1902–1907) and the models proposed for a future Transvaal University highlight the different influences and interests present in a complex society. Traditionally, university history has tended towards the parochial celebratory institutional history, the focus of which is the progress and growth of an individual institution. This paper will attempt to demonstrate how the study of universities and history of higher education within a wider context can add significantly to the understanding of a certain period in the past.

**Suttner, Raymond**  
University of South Africa  
[suttners@unisa.ac.za](mailto:suttners@unisa.ac.za)

### **Zuma Presidency: Why Did It Happen and What Lies Ahead?**

The election of Jacob Zuma as African National Congress (ANC) and now South African state president fills many people with, or has led to the orchestration of, great hope and semi-religious fervour. Alternatively, there is fear and sometimes loathing. The Zuma administration comes as a package, which is a mixed brood of previously very respected individuals as well as those who have been under investigation or narrowly escaped charges like Zuma himself. Many of the ANC leaders have a high tolerance of violence, demonstrated towards the Western Cape administration within a week of the inauguration.

The paper is not intended as a horror story and definitely not a hagiography. It aims at explaining in the context of ANC history how it has become possible that Zuma should be the leader of the country, sparing no previous leader, including Nelson Mandela, nor other factors that may have relevance to understanding. It investigates the extent to which the Zuma presidency is a rupture and/or a continuity with the past and also the extent to which it is a sustainable political alliance.

The relevance of the Congress of the People (COPE) will also be examined not for its electoral performance, but because it derives from the ANC itself. Its sustainability is scrutinized.

**Tempelhoff, Johann**

North-West University

[johann.tempelhoff@nwu.ac.za](mailto:johann.tempelhoff@nwu.ac.za)

### **Leaving Behind a ‘Twisted Soul’: The 2008–9 Cholera Outbreak in South Africa**

In November 2008, South Africa was affected by a comprehensive cholera outbreak that started in Zimbabwe in August 2008 and subsequently spreading to most countries of southern Africa. Judging from newspaper reports and information from observers in the field, by April 2009, it was evident that this highly contagious water-based disease was effectively contained in South Africa. There was a relatively low fatality rate. A total of 59 civilian deaths were reported and some 3 000 patients received treatment.

In the paper it is suggested that South Africa’s health authorities had learnt a great deal from the 2000–2001 outbreak in Kwazulu-Natal which claimed 239 lives. In 2008, from the outset local emergency response teams were ready in all parts of the country to deal with any outbreaks of the disease. However, despite information that South Africa was catching up with its water supply and sanitation plans to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) promoted by the United Nations (UN) as a strategy for development, the cholera outbreak proved that much work still remained to be done in the rural areas of Limpopo Province and Mpumalanga. Although the spread of cholera from Zimbabwe was a major factor responsible for the South African outbreak, it soon transpired that the disease had also been endemic in some parts of South Africa at the time.

Cholera affected the cultural fabric of society in many urban and rural areas of the country. Only time will tell to what extent the experience left a permanent mark on some nuclear communities, such as the town of Musina and some rural settlements in the Vhembe District of South Africa’s Limpopo Province.

**Thompson, Glen**

University of Stellenbosch

[glt@sun.ac.za](mailto:glt@sun.ac.za)

### **The Metonymic Irony of Blood: Tracing the Vampire and HIV/AIDS in the Postcolonial History of Southern Africa**

The AIDS pandemic and Thabo Mbeki’s AIDS denialism have foregrounded social anxieties and political meanings about blood in southern Africa’s contemporary history. With blood fetishised and the scars of Mbeki’s discourse continuing to mark South Africa’s political anatomy, these discourses surrounding blood have come to shape the ideas and practices about life, death, and living with HIV/AIDS.

In this context, the writing of histories of blood in southern Africa becomes possible. One line of enquiry is the examination of how the historiography of HIV/AIDS provides a cultural and materialist interpretation of how ‘vampire’ narratives, as sites of symbolic contestation over meaning, have travelled within the region during the

postcolonial period. By building on Luise White's study, *Speaking with Vampires* (2000), and in reviewing the vampire's literary, cinematic and cultural traces in the region's recent past, this paper argues that the mobilisation of postcolonial vampires, unlike the uncanny European or American bloodsuckers, is strategic in allowing urban and rural populations in southern Africa to negotiate power and identity in the everyday. The historicisation of vampire narratives in southern Africa's recent past therefore provides a cultural signification for emergent social and haemic relations, as well as political struggles at the local level, determined by the results of an HIV-test.

**Thomson, Kirsten**

University of Cape Town

[Ms.kirsten.thomson@gmail.com](mailto:Ms.kirsten.thomson@gmail.com)

### **Historicising Change and Stability in Cultural Practice: The Case of Circumcision and Initiation Schools in Southern Africa in the Twentieth Century**

Conventional colonial historiography has increasingly been criticised for its tendency to portray whites in Africa as pre-eminent bearers of power and as the monopolists of agency while black humanity is distorted by an equally familiar image of submission and subjection to white initiative (Ranger 1998). A similar binary between the 'modern' and the 'traditional', and their respective association with 'whiteness' and 'blackness', appears intrinsic to the current public and political debates around culture in South Africa. Cultural practices have always changed substantially and yet are represented as having happened the same way for ever (Deacon 2009). One way of attempting to correct these imbalances and stimulate informed debate is to show that cultural initiative was historically never the sole preserve of a single group, nor was cultural diffusion a one-way street.

Contact between African communities and European missionaries in South Africa has been well-documented, shortcomings, difficulties and biases of the sources notwithstanding. In the paper, I offer a preliminary documentation of early twentieth-century changes in the practice of traditional male circumcision and male and female initiation as a means of revealing this cultural negotiation, focusing in particular on moments where missionaries adopted aspects of traditional African ritual in the creation of their own Christianized initiation ceremonies and where changes in ritual practice were driven from within practising communities themselves.

**Thornberry, Liz**

Stanford University, United States

[liz.thornberry@gmail.com](mailto:liz.thornberry@gmail.com)

### **Sexual Violence and Colonial Law in the Colonial Eastern Cape**

Violence was characteristic feature of life in the colonial Eastern Cape. While we know much about violence perpetrated by the colonial state, and about violence aimed at rejecting colonial power, historians have paid less attention to the ways in which the colonial state reshaped the uses of violence within communities and families. In this paper, I examine the colonial state's attempt to regulate sexual violence by punishing offenders in colonial courts. These attempts collided with understandings of sexual morality in the African communities of the Eastern Cape. In particular, colonial scepticism of the complaints of rape victims made the experience of prosecuting rape unsatisfying to African women and their families, who turned to alternative modes of prosecution such as characterizing their cases as civil (rather than criminal) wrongs and taking their cases to local chiefs and headmen, who continued to hear such cases despite the best attempts of the colonial state to monopolize legal power. This failure on the part of the colonial state to provide avenues of redress for victims of sexual violence provides important context to discussions of the high levels of sexual violence in contemporary South Africa.

**Ulrich, Nicole**

University of the Witwatersrand

[nicole.ulrich@wits.ac.za](mailto:nicole.ulrich@wits.ac.za)

### **Dr Anders Sparrman: Subordination and Dispossession in the Cape of Good Hope during the 'Age of Democratic Revolution'**

This paper examines the writing of Dr Anders Sparrman, a Swedish scientist who visited the Cape of Good Hope from 1772–1776 and published an account of his travels in 1783. Most studies of travel accounts written in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries focus on the literary representations of exotic indigene, which are read in relation to the imperatives of European imperialism. Little attention has been paid to the more complex debates around subjugation and dispossession at the time or of travellers' discussions of subalterns who had been integrated into the transnational economy of merchant colonialism and whose labour render transcontinental travel possible. Using the methods of social historians, this paper considers Sparrman's accounts of the sailors, slaves, and KhoiSan servants he encountered on his journey. It demonstrates, first, that Sparrman used stories of subalterns to critique merchant colonialism and, reflecting radical ideological change associated with the 'age of democratic revolution', advanced relatively modern arguments around class and colonialism. Second, Sparrman's stories shed light on the lived realities of subordination and dispossession in the Cape and broader Dutch seaborne empire. Most significantly, Sparrman's anecdotes indicate that

subalterns challenged their masters by participating in a multi-racial subaltern fellowship that spanned the colony.

**Van der Merwe, Ria**  
University of Pretoria  
[ria.vandermerwe@up.ac.za](mailto:ria.vandermerwe@up.ac.za)

### **The University of Pretoria and the *Volksmoeder*: The Enemy Within 1920–1970**

For a number of decades in the twentieth century, the University of Pretoria (UP) had a close affiliation with the Afrikaner nationalist movement and what it stood for. In the early 1930s there was the avid promotion of the Afrikaans language, followed in 1938 by a rise in Afrikaner nationalist sentiments with the centenary of the Great Trek. Students of the university participated in large numbers in the celebrations and subsequently the nickname ‘Voortrekker Universiteit’ was adopted. This relationship was reinforced in the following decades with open support for the ruling National Party, which benefited from Afrikaner nationalist sentiments, and its policies.

Afrikaner nationalism clearly defined the position of women as that of the *volksmoeder*. Whereas Afrikaner men were seen to ‘embody the political and economic agency of the *volk*’, the women were largely confined to the domestic arena. They were not only the ‘cornerstone of the household’, but also a ‘central unifying force within Afrikanerdom’ as ‘the keepers of tradition and the *volk*’s moral and spiritual mission’. This view of women and their place and role in society was echoed on the campus of the University of Pretoria. Female students were encouraged to choose courses that would enable them not only to make a positive contribution to the health and welfare of the nation, but to their families as well. Their position in student organisations was that of support to the male students and they were depicted in university publications in this secondary position.

However, by 1970, this image had changed dramatically as female students openly ignored the strict rules that governed their behaviour and curbed their positions. These included the conservative clothing, the ban on smoking for female students and the limited scope in terms of course selection and office. This paper will, in the first place, look at the position of women as defined by Afrikaner nationalism and how this was manifested at UP. Second, it will consider the causes and implications of the move away from the designated role and place of Afrikaner women and how these developments affected the position of women at UP as a whole.

**Van der Watt, Lize-Marié**  
University of Stellenbosch  
[lmvdwatt@sun.ac.za](mailto:lmvdwatt@sun.ac.za)

**‘It Was the Drought, Locusts, Depression and the Lord Knows What Else!’:  
Afrikaner Pest Management and Politics in the 1920s**

This paper explores an aspect of the socio-environmental history of Afrikaners in the Union of South Africa using locust plagues as a prism through which to view the changing interrelationship of farmers, the state and nature. It takes its title from a *plaasroman* by C.M. van den Heever, where a character exclaims: ‘Dit is die droogte, sprinkane, depressie ... die Vader weet nog wat alles.’ The paper will focus on the locust part of the exclamation, although, as will become clear, the drought, the depression and the Lord form the context of the analysis. It argues that pests and pest management, being such integral parts of agriculture, can open up broader debates that resonate beyond the pest itself. Although mainly a rural issue, in the early twentieth century what was important to Afrikaner farmers also informed and was informed by larger discourses surrounding the ‘Afrikaner *volk*’. The paper starts by discussing the explicitly scientific, entomological issues including the knowledge exchange process. It then turns towards the political themes on macro as well as micro level. Lastly, it looks at the more ephemeral themes of religious and racial identity highlighted by the locust infestations.

**Verbeeck, Georgi**  
Maastricht University, The Netherlands  
University of Leuven, Belgium  
[Georgi.Verbeeck@maastrichtuniversity.nl](mailto:Georgi.Verbeeck@maastrichtuniversity.nl)

**Transitional Justice and the Historical Profession: A Comparative Case Study**

In my paper I will present some views on the importance of history and historical consciousness for the transformation of societies after political regime change. We are currently witnessing a paradoxical situation. Public history is generally gaining growing significance as part of identity politics. The role of academic historians, however, remains relatively limited in this process. Interesting similarities can be established between South African and European experiences in this respect. In both cases, post-Cold War conditions have a decisive impact on changing perceptions on the role of history.

An interesting parallel can be drawn between the political use of history in Germany during the last two decades and in post-apartheid South Africa. In my contribution, I will develop a comparative analysis of institutional ways of dealing with the past in Germany and South Africa. My assessment will be based on the most recent trends and developments in both countries. Attention will be given to both the *theory* of history as well as to aspects of public/political *use* of history. I will conclude with a critical evaluation of the ambivalent relation between the demand for ‘transitional justice’ and the historical profession.

**Waetjen, Thembisa and Vahed, Goolam**

University of KwaZulu-Natal

[waetjent1@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:waetjent1@ukzn.ac.za)

### ***Indian Views and the Making of Zuleikha Mayat's Public Voice***

This paper examines how the Gujarati-speaking Indian Muslim trading class in south(ern) Africa was linked as a reading public through a newspaper, the *Indian Views*, which had been founded by a businessman in early twentieth-century in Durban in opposition to Mahatma Gandhi's *Indian Opinion*. While the newspaper was started to present a moderate political perspective, it came to focus heavily on issues of relevance to Gujarati Muslims as opposed to Hindus. Under the editorship of Moosa Meer (1929–1963) it was a conduit for enforcing existing social networks as well as offering common narratives content that galvanized an idea of community to its geographically disparate readership. From 1956–1963, Zuleikha Mayat, a self-described housewife born in Potchefstroom but married to a medical doctor in Durban whom she 'met' through the newspaper, wrote a weekly column that represented one of the first cases of a South African Muslim woman offering her opinions and ideas in print. She spoke across gender divides and articulated a moral social vision that accounted for both local and diasporic concerns. This article provides a narrative account of how Mayat came to write for *Indian Views*, a story that underscores the personal linkages within this diasporic community and more broadly how literacy and the family enterprises that constituted local print capitalism provided a material means of enforcing existing networks of village and family. It also reveals the role of newspaper as an interface between public and private spaces in helping to create a community of linguistically related readers who imagined themselves as part of a larger print culture.

**Willoughby-Herard, Tiffany**

University of California, Irvine, United States

[twilloug@uci.edu](mailto:twilloug@uci.edu)

### **Comparative Political Thought, Interdisciplinarity, and the History of the Carnegie Poor White Study in South Africa, 1927–1932**

The Carnegie Corporation's anti-poverty philanthropy has been ably argued to have had an amazingly wide range of impacts internationally, particularly in debates on social work and social welfare. In this presentation, I take up questions about the significance of the proliferation of international race technicians and poverty knowledge to reconsider the production of political discourses about race, class, and gender in the Carnegie Corporation's Poor White Study in South Africa, 1927–1932. According to the joint recommendations of the Poor White Study, poor whites suffered from traditional thinking, traditional modes of land tenure, traditional and patriarchal family structures, competition from low wage African and white female labour, a culture of dependency, traditionalism, and miscegenation as well as the structural compulsions caused by industrialization and urbanization. If we considered just two of these tropes: job

competition and the causal link between white unemployment and black job competition, and the white standard of living that provided a framing device for how to discuss what to do to resolve white poverty, we see an amazing host of institutional, economic, and legislative practices and dynamics being concealed in debates about this social problem. As a comparative political theorist the concerns that historians take up are quite central to producing more ontologically sound political theory about processes of racialization and the racialization of poverty, in particular. I draw on interdisciplinary methods to consider Carnegie's role in South Africa in a distinctive fashion. Part of a larger project about the racialization of poor whites in South Africa, this paper examines the race, class, and gender dimensions of major economic tropes such as job competition, standard of living, and conspicuous consumption.

**Yekela, Drusilla**

University of Fort Hare

[xntontela@ufh.ac.za](mailto:xntontela@ufh.ac.za)

### **The AbaThembu Chieftainship: 1920–1989**

The history of abaThembu chieftainship bears unique features that correspond to pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial times. The entire cluster whose immediate ancestor was Mthembu straddles the provinces of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) and the Eastern Cape. While a pattern of descent evolved progressively from pre-colonial times that resulted in Mthembu's descendants from the great house being more visible in KwaZulu-Natal than in the Eastern Cape, the cross-provincial distribution of the Mvelase-Dlomo baThembu has continued to be a conspicuous aspect of colonial and post-colonial South Africa. It is with the chieftainship of amaDlomo baThembu, one of the biggest clusters in the Eastern Cape, that this paper is concerned. In 1863, this cluster yielded to external pressures by splitting from the parent body. The historical significance of this subdivision is in the fact that it resulted into two peripheral abaThembu chieftainships within the same house. The Great House had neither customary instruments for forestalling the fission nor defensive weapons for guaranteeing its superiority as a central body.

This paper specifically deals with abaThembu chieftainship as a 'unitary' and yet 'dual' institution that survived from 1920 until 1989. The period begins with the paramount chieftainship of Dalindyebo Ngangelizwe and interrogates his ability to reconcile his role as a tribal authority and a compliant, yet potentially ambivalent, government ally. Dalindyebo's death in 1920 created a vacuum for several regents until the last regent, Dabulamanzi, was asked to step down. The accession of Jonguhlanga Jongilizwe *ka* Dalindyebo signalled the beginning of a process of diminution of his authority, at the same time while that of his counterpart, K.D. Matanzima, from the erstwhile breakaway section, was augmented in a progressive pattern. The plan of the Department of Native Affairs to resuscitate 'indigenous' chieftainship saw the passing and subsequent implementation of the Bantu Authorities Act. How the operation of this act impacted abaThembu chieftainship became evident when it was used as an instrument to create and sometimes to upgrade chieftainships. The upgrading of Matanzima's

chieftainship to paramountcy was an historical paradox which reflected gross incompatibility between customary protocol and bureaucratic procedures. This became evident when his accelerated rise to paramountcy enabled him to manoeuvre his election as the first Chief Minister of a self-governing trans-Kei. This position enabled him to carve transKei's path to independence and thereafter to mould the abaThembu chieftainship into an instrument that was amenable to his political interests. This he did by deposing Jonguhlanga and re-inventing the line of succession in the House of Jongilizwe Dalindyebo. Jonguhlanga's desertion of his Bumbane Great Place and his subsequent death in exile, as well as his burial and reburial, were all challenges that affected the abaThembu chieftainship during the twentieth century and moulded its current shape.

# DEMONSTRATION / PRESENTATION

## Zotero: A Research Tool for Historians

**Keith Breckenridge**  
University of KwaZulu-Natal  
[keith@breckenridge.org.za](mailto:keith@breckenridge.org.za)

Historians have been waiting for almost two-decades for an intuitive database tool that will support archival research and writing. Zotero, from the Centre for History and New Media at George Mason is that tool. Zotero automatically harvests references from web sites, Journal databases and, importantly, state archives. It supports the document types (and meta-data) that historians typically use in research and it enables very powerful Internet-based collaboration, all the time giving control (and ownership) of the data to the researcher creating the database.

## **ABSTRACTS OF POSTERS**

**Carrim, Hannah**

University of KwaZulu-Natal

[206515367@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:206515367@ukzn.ac.za)

### **Women in the Eastern Vlei: Exchanges across the Fences of Racial Segregation**

This case study of Durban's labour barracks in the mid twentieth century offers a perspective on how gender, race and culture intersected across the boundaries of urban segregation often at odds with apartheid's aims of social engineering. While I am still very much in the research phase of my honours thesis, I will present a poster looking at the municipal labour barracks of Durban in the area formerly known as the Eastern Vlei, with a particular focus on the family barracks of the Indian South African residence, the Magazine Barracks, and the African residence, the Baumannville Barracks. I believe that there were processes of sharing taking place between the women in these barracks despite the creation of highly segregated urban spaces and a high wall separating them. I suggest that the nature of racial and cultural connections between these spaces was much more complex and multifaceted than represented in official documentation, and that women were at the fore of these processes. I hypothesise that through the sharing of recipes and family news, as well as friendships between children, African and Indian South African women forged associations and transcended segregationist policies in a manner that defies popular narratives of antagonism between these communities. While I do not attempt to gloss over tensions that must have emerged, it is these 'mutual borrowings' that I find interesting. I believe that it was in these spaces that new forms of cosmopolitanism were emerging, and perhaps upward mobility. I will argue that the Group Areas Act and the forced removals of these communities arrested these organic processes and led to a sense of loss for these communities of more than just residential spaces. I suggest that the identities of these municipal workers and their families were strongly tied to 'city living', walking to the beach, shopping in town and close community networks.

**Carruthers, Jane**

University of South Africa

[carruej@unisa.ac.za](mailto:carruej@unisa.ac.za)

### **Diepsloot and Dainfern: Northern Johannesburg's Many Edges**

Diepsloot is a large informal settlement about 30km north of Johannesburg where people's lives straddle many boundaries – the edge of poverty, of the urbanised heartland of South Africa, of municipal services, of the countryside of a river. Within sight is Dainfern, a townhouse complex for the wealthy. The common edges between the two communities consist of a major sewage outfall pipe and a main road – between them is an

area of open space, a firm geographical border. Nonetheless, in this region boundaries between town and country are blurred as are those between environmental and urban planning, between rich and poor. All the same, both communities seek common goals of services and personal and environmental safety.

**Harris, Karen**

University of Pretoria

[karen.harris@up.ac.za](mailto:karen.harris@up.ac.za)

**“Not a Chinaman’s Chance”**

In the mid nineteenth and early twentieth century, Chinese labour formed an integral part of the burgeoning colonial economies across the globe. Stereotyped as hard working, diligent and reliable, the Chinese were as much welcomed, as they were objected to. The anti-Chinese campaigns that resonated across the Atlantic and Pacific oceans reveal striking similarities in terms of anti-Sinicism and extreme orientalism. This poster presentation juxtapositions the place and position of the Chinese labourer in the United States of America and South Africa highlighting the identical visual representation of them as the ‘other’. It also shows how this perception gained in popular consciousness and eventually culminated in some of the first overtly racist pieces of legislation introduced during the genesis of white domination on these two continents – the Chinese Exclusion Acts.

**Juuti, Petri and Mäki, Harri**

University of Tampere, Finland and North-West University

[petri.juuti@uta.fi](mailto:petri.juuti@uta.fi) and [186717@nwu.ac.za](mailto:186717@nwu.ac.za)

**Environmental History in Johannesburg and Tampere, 1800–1920 – Case Study: Water-Related Problems (Poster presentation)**

In many respects, Tampere and Johannesburg represent the development of water supply and sanitation in their countries. Along with industrialization, the population in Tampere and Johannesburg grew rapidly during the respective periods of 1835–1921 and 1886–1920. The population of Tampere rose from about 1 600 to over 48 000 residents, while that of Johannesburg increased from 15 000 inhabitants in 1889 to 293 400 in 1920. These figures tell the hidden story of problematic urban population growth and the corresponding emergence of a critical water issue, that is, when traditional groundwater sources, wells, were polluted and provided inadequate yields.

Health became a new criterion for perceiving and regulating the environment in the late nineteenth century. In Finland, this was evident in the stipulations of the *Public Health Act* of 1879 which was based on the growth and development of new ideas about

health and hygiene. In South Africa, such laws came later, reaching the Transvaal only in the twentieth century. The main concern was focused on health risks related to water.

How were these water-related problems perceived and solved in Tampere and Johannesburg?

**Kriel, Lize**

University of Pretoria

[Lize.Kriel@up.ac.za](mailto:Lize.Kriel@up.ac.za)

### **A Contest for Converts? Missionary Rivalry in the Blue Mountains**

From the vantage point of the Wesleyan and Berlin missionaries active in the Soutpansberg district of the former Transvaal, the Boer conquest of the Bahananwa of Kgosì Mmalebôhò in the winter of 1894 offered an unexpected opportunity to showcase their skills in diplomacy and their capacity for humanitarian assistance. (Condemning the Boer campaign in principle did not occur to the mission societies.) In my two related posters I attempt to illustrate the role of missionary logistics in the way two rivaling European denominations conceptualised a crisis caused by war, and represented this to their sponsors in Germany and Britain respectively. What remains unsaid in the Berlin missionaries' story of indignation over perceived Wesleyan interference in their territory and the Wesleyans' assumption that their African evangelists were capable of dealing with the crisis on their own, is the altogether different take that African Christians must have had on the whole affair. Close reading of the German and Wesleyan documents opens a possibility to imagine the pragmatism and opportunism which this minority amongst the Bahananwa must have applied in order to sustain themselves amidst the warring factions. And while both the Wesleyan and the Berlin missionaries were claiming these Christians for their Societies, they were actually exploiting this rivalry to create a space that was religiously independent from the European denominations but politically not defiant of the Mmalebôhò leadership.

**O'Neill, Kyla**

University of KwaZulu-Natal

[206505047@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:206505047@ukzn.ac.za)

### **'Is It a Boy or a Girl?' Challenging the Binary Birth Certificate: A History of the Medico-Legal Interventions into the Lives of Intersex Individuals in South Africa**

The most common question at the birth of a child is whether it is a boy or a girl. Yet, for most of human history, the birth of children with ambiguous genitalia has challenged this dichotomy. How societies have reacted to such births has varied over time. From the mid-nineteenth century, intersex individuals were increasingly hidden from public view as medical power and technology increased. By the mid-twentieth century, children were assigned a sex at birth in the belief that they were psychosexually neutral and that correct

rearing would ensure their gender role. However, the assignment of a sex is more guess work than science. This has been recently challenged. My interest is to see how in South Africa, given that indigenous societies are reported to have a much higher incidence of intersexuality, intersexuality has been handled in the medical and legal spheres. In particular, how has our unique context of colonial and then apartheid rule, with its racial and gendered overtones, impacted and possibly differentiated these? In so doing, it raises powerful and intriguing questions about the understanding of sexuality in South Africa, its relation to state and medical power and ultimately the very categories of gender/sex themselves.

**Tiedt, Jo-Anne**

University of KwaZulu-Natal

[206513682@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:206513682@ukzn.ac.za)

### **Contesting Comrades: An Exploration of the Comrades Marathon 1980–1990**

The study investigates the Comrades Marathon during the period outlined in order to show that whilst the Marathon has positive associations within popular memory, the Marathon has been at the centre of many contested issues, including political activism, the international sports boycott of South Africa and the movement of sport from amateur status to professionalism. All these occurrences must be looked at within the context of the 1980s, an era fraught with political activism, frenzied government reactions and progress towards multiracial integration.

Three main points emphasized in the presentation are:

- The Finish Line: the conservation of the Comrades comradeship
- Comrades in Widescreen: A ‘human race’ amid political turmoil
- Ultimate Athletes: multiracial competition in segregated South Africa

**Van der Merwe, Ria**

University of Pretoria

[Ria.VanderMerwe@up.ac.za](mailto:Ria.VanderMerwe@up.ac.za)

### **Moulding ‘Volksmoeders’ or ‘Volks Enemies’, 1920s to 1970s?**

In the mid twentieth century, the University of Pretoria (UP) aligned itself with the Afrikaner nationalist cause and student participation in political and cultural events earned the institution the nickname ‘Voortrekker Universiteit’. Central to Afrikaner nationalism was the role of women as the ‘volksmoeders’ who were regarded as ‘keepers of tradition’ and ‘*volk*’s morale’. This perception of women was reflected at UP as female students were encouraged to qualify in subjects that would enable them not only to make ‘appropriate’ contributions to the welfare of the nation, but also within their families. By the 1970s, however, this had changed dramatically as some openly ignored the regulations that dictated their behaviour and position. A selection of photographs taken

from the University of Pretoria Archives' photographic collection visually reveals how this position had changed from the quintessential 'volksmoeder' to what some regarded as a 'gevaar' to the Afrikaner community.