

**IDEOLOGIES AFFECTING UPPER AND MIDDLE CLASS
AFRIKANER WOMEN IN JOHANNESBURG, 1948, 1949
AND 1958**

by

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SUMMARY

This thesis investigates discourses surrounding upper and middle class Afrikaner women living in Johannesburg during the years 1948, 1949 and 1958. It uses magazines aimed at upper and middle class women as primary sources and also makes use of interviews with upper and middle class women who lived in Johannesburg during 1948, 1949 and 1958. The thesis uses women's magazines, educational magazines and church magazines, as well as the Vrou en Moeder magazine, mouthpiece of the Suid Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie.

Conclusions are drawn about the status and role of Afrikaner middle class women in society, as well as the value systems operating at the time. Differences in discourse and changes over time are accounted for. The thesis also draws attention to the importance of using gender as an historical category, and attempts to broaden the method of history by utilising discourse analysis.

Key terms: Ideology, discourse, middle class, Afrikaner, women, Johannesburg, 1948, 1949, 1958, upper class.

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Preface

This thesis focuses on upper and middle class Afrikaner women living in Johannesburg during 1948, 1949 and 1958. Using magazines as primary sources, the thesis analyses discourses surrounding these women. Discourses from 1948 and 1949 are compared with those of 1958 and changes are accounted for. Discourses in women's magazines, education magazines and church magazines are compared with discourses in the Vrou en Moeder magazine, which was written exclusively by women.

The thesis focuses on informal discourses contained in magazines rather than on more formal political documents. It argues that analysis of discourses in itself is a legitimate historical activity, and contributes in a significant way to the historical record through uncovering the norms and value systems current in a society. The thesis utilises discourse analysis, a technique currently popular in the social sciences as a tool, hoping in this way to extend the method of history.

Chapter One places the thesis in context through a historiographical survey of existing work on Afrikaner women, and an exploration of the relevant theoretical background. Chapter Two analyses discourses in Die Huisgenoot, Rooi Rose and Sarie Marais

during 1948 and 1949. Discourses in Die Onderwysblad vir Christelike en Nasionale Onderwys en Opvoeding, magazines from the Helpmekaar Hoër Meisieskool and Die Kerkbode are also analysed.

Chapter Three analyses discourses in Sarie Marais, Die Onderwysblad vir Christelike en Nasionale Onderwys en Opvoeding, Patrys and Die Kerkbode, comparing them to the discourses of 1948 and 1949.

Chapter Four gives a brief history of upper and middle class women's organisations in Johannesburg, and then examines discourses which informed one of these organisations, the Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie. In this regard the 1948 and 1958 issues of the mouthpiece of that organisation, the magazine Vrou en Moeder, are examined along with other documents from the organisation. Discourses present in interviews with some upper and middle class women who had lived in Johannesburg during 1948, 1949 and 1958 were also analysed. Chapter Five summarises the findings of the discourse analysis and draws some conclusions about the relationship of gender and ideology to history.

Chapter One

Beauties and the Beast:

A theoretical background to Afrikaner women and ideology

This thesis is an attempt to explain the relevance and importance of gender and ideology for history by analysing the discourses surrounding middle class Afrikaner women during the first ten years of National Party rule. The discourses are related to relevant political and economic trends and conclusions are drawn about the role of middle class Afrikaner women in society.

This chapter places the thesis in a historiographical context and investigates the theoretical implications of using gender and ideology as historical categories. The aims, scope and methodology of the thesis are also discussed.

1. Gender and history in South Africa

Gender studies examine the impact that being constituted as "male" or "female" has on human beings. The sexual dimension of being human is taken into account along with the different gender roles this dimension implies.

In South Africa, the inclusion of gender as a historical category similar to race and class only happened in the 1980s, and articles focusing on gender were scarce even then. When Belinda Bozzoli published her definitive article on gender in South African historical writing in

1983,¹ the journal in which it appeared had published only one article on the history of women in South Africa before hers.²

Most of the writing about women appearing at this time came from the neo-Marxist school. This school replaced the focus on race issues, which had been the domain of the liberal school, with economic analyses examining the creation and reproduction of a black working class and the impact of capital on pre-industrial societies. Thus early histories of women in South Africa tended to focus on black women, while trying to reshape an essentially materialist interpretation to accommodate gender issues. There is a dearth of writing on white women in general and on Afrikaner women in particular. The work on white women that does exist tends to focus on working class women.³ No studies exist of those Afrikaans women who may be termed upper class or middle class.

In this study, middle class is defined as that segment of the population who are financially stable and live comfortably, often owning property. From a table in E.L.P. Stals, salaries of upper class people in the 1940s and 1950s may be deduced as having been £600 per annum⁴ (by 1950 E.L.P. Stals states that only 12% of the Afrikaner community in Johannesburg were earning more than £600 per annum). While the chief

¹ B. Bozzoli, "Marxism, Feminism and South African Studies," Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol.9, No.2, 1983.

² P. Hetherington, "Women in South Africa: The Historiography in English", The International Journal of African Historical Studies, Vol.26, No.2, 1993, p.247.

³ This work includes studies of prostitutes, white women servants and garment workers. Authors dealing with working class women include C. van Onselen, E. van Heyningen and E.S. Sachs; referred to in P. Hetherington, "Women in South Africa, the historiography in English", The International Journal of African Historical Studies, Vol.26, No.2, p.262.

⁴ E.L.P. Stals, Afrikaners in die Goudstad, Deel II, 1924 - 1961, p.60.

factor determining class is money, middle and upper class people may also be defined as educated and having a business or profession. This study focuses on middle class women in particular, exploring the ideology surrounding them, their role in society and the values of the society in which they lived. In order to place the study in context, the existing writing on Afrikaans women is described below.

1.1 Early writing about Afrikaner women

The earliest writing about Afrikaner women can be traced to Afrikaner nationalist historians, such as Dr O'Kulis who published a book about women in the history of the Afrikaner nation as early as 1921.⁵ Nationalist writing idealises women, and in Stockenström's book, he praises women for their courage which inspired Afrikaner men throughout history.⁶ Women are characterised as silent martyrs who are honest, hardworking and pure.⁷

There is little documentary evidence of women's day to day lives, and the book relies heavily on the author's interpretation of events. The patriarchal structure of the family is accepted as natural and necessary. Although Afrikaans women are seen as courageous and an inspiration, there are also many references to their physical weakness: "Die moeders ...is

⁵ Dr. O'Kulis, Die Boervrouw: Moeder van Haar Volk. Other nationalist books focussing on Afrikaner women are E. Stockenström, Die Vrou in die Geskiedenis van die Hollands-Afrikaanse Volk and much later, but in the same nationalistic vein, A.P. van Rensburg, Moeders van Ons Volk.

⁶ E. Stockenström, Die Vrou in die Geskiedenis van die Hollands-Afrikaanse Volk, p.16.

⁷ This conclusion can be drawn from statements such as: "Nooit sou 'n Afrikaanse vrou van die ou stempel daaraan gedink het om te rook nie. 'n Mens vind die lelike gewoontes onder die uitlandse vroue in ons land, maar die Afrikaanse moeders en hul dogters het daar 'n afsku van gehad". E. Stockenström, Die Vrou in die Geskiedenis van die Hollands-Afrikaanse Volk, p.285.

natuurlik swakker as die manne."⁸

In this and other similar Afrikaner nationalist histories, women are shown mainly as cultural icons ("Die doel van die vrou is om die voorvaderlike godsdienst, taal en sedelike karakter by ons te bevorder").⁹

This early period also features some books written by women, such as van Warmelo's Die Kappiekommando and the journal of Anna Steenkamp.¹⁰ These works may also be classified as Afrikaner nationalist, but do not idealise women to the extent the books written by men do. Johanna Brandt was another woman writing during these times, beginning as a nationalist and writing The Petticoat Commando about the concentration camps in the 1899-1902 war, but ending up by writing The Paraclete, or Coming World Mother in 1936, a book which contains many of the elements of modern feminist theology.¹¹

1.2 Afrikaner women in history: 1920 - 1980

There is a diversity of writing about Afrikaner women during the period 1920 - 1980. Afrikaner nationalist works about women continue to be published. Like those already discussed, these works glorify Afrikaner women as martyrs to the nationalist cause and attempt no analysis of male

⁸ E. Stockenström, Die Vrou in die Geskiedenis van die Hollands-Afrikaanse Volk, p.75.

⁹ E. Stockenström, Die Vrou in die Geskiedenis van die Hollands-Afrikaanse Volk, p.280.

¹⁰ A. Steenkamp, Die Dagboek van Anna Steenkamp en Fragmenties oor die Groot Trek; J. van Warmelo, Die Kappiekommando of Boerevrouens in Geheime Diens.

¹¹ J. Brandt, The Petticoat Commando or Boer Women in Secret Service; J. Brandt, The Paraclete, or Coming World Mother. C. Landman continues the Afrikaner feminist religious tradition in her work The Piety of Afrikaans Women much later in the century. Many other nationalist works also exist about the women in the concentration camps during the South African war of 1899 - 1902.

and female gender roles.¹²

In direct contrast to these works is the book written by Marie du Toit, sister of the poet Totius, in 1921. Vrou en Feminist: Of Iets oor die Vroue-Vraagstuk¹³ was written in reaction to the 1920 decision of the synod of the Reformed Church of South Africa (Gereformeerde Kerk van Suid Afrika) that women should not be allowed to vote about church matters. In it Du Toit begs Afrikaner women to rid themselves of a sense of unworthiness, and to fight for their rights. By arguing that women are entitled to have a say in the church, Du Toit is moving women out of the private domain, and into a public domain where they can wield some political power. The book may thus be classed as the first piece of consciously feminist writing in Afrikaans.

Some decades after du Toit's book, Solly Sachs published Rebel Daughters about the role of Afrikaans women in the garment workers union in the Transvaal.¹⁴ Afrikaans women are shown to have played an active political role in the union. The focus in the book is on class rather than gender issues. In 1978, one of the Afrikaans women who was a prominent

¹² For example, see L. Hofmeyr, Brandhout uit die Vuur: Die Aangrypende Geskiedenis van 'n Hedendaagse Geloofsmonument. This book tells the story of the Afrikaner women who founded the Maria Kloppers orphanage in Johannesburg. Also see T.C. Pienaar, In Diens van die Volk. Oorsig van die Werk en Strewe van die Suid-Afrikaanse Vroue-Federasie, Transvaal, 1904 - 1944 and M.E. Botha, "Partikuliere volksorg in die Afrikaanse volkskultuur met verwysing na die ATKV (SAS en H) 1930 - 1964". Other nationalist works are K. Malherbe, Die Boerevrou Boek; C.P. van der Merwe and C.F. Albertyn (Eds), Die Vrou, Deel II (an encyclopaedia aimed at Afrikaans women about women in history) and A.P. van Rensburg, Moeders van Ons Volk.

¹³ M. du Toit, Vrou en Feminist: Of Iets oor die Vroue Vraagstuk. For commentary on the book, see C. Landman, The Piety of Afrikaner Women, p.111.

¹⁴ E.S. Sachs, Rebel Daughters.

member of the garment workers union, published her own recollections.¹⁵

This book focuses on the workers as a class, and women are seen as workers first, and women second.

1.3 Contemporary writing about women

The main focus of contemporary historical writing about Afrikaner women is on ideology and nationalism. Of particular importance to this thesis, is the work of Elsabe Brink who examines the link between the ideology of motherhood and Afrikaner nationalism.¹⁶ Brink has also written about Afrikaner working class women.¹⁷

The themes of nationalism and ideology run through other work as well. Cloete explores the implications for women of images and master symbols used in Afrikaans writing in her article "Afrikaner identity: Culture, tradition and gender,"¹⁸ while Gaitskell and Unterhalter compare how race and motherhood interact as ideologies in the Afrikaner nationalist movement and the African National Congress.¹⁹

¹⁵ B. du Toit, Ukubamba Amadolo: Workers' Struggle in the South African Textile Industry.

¹⁶ E. Brink, "Man-made women: Gender, class and the ideology of the *Volksmoeder*" in C. Walker (Ed), Women and Gender in South Africa to 1945, pp.273 - 293.

¹⁷ E. Brink, "The Afrikaner Women of the Garment Worker's Union 1918-1939".

¹⁸ E. Cloete, "Afrikaner identity: Culture, tradition and gender", Agenda, No. 13, 1992, pp.42 - 56.

¹⁹ D. Gaitskell and E. Unterhalter, "Mothers of the nation: A comparative analysis of nation, race and motherhood in Afrikaner nationalism and the African National Congress" in N. Yuval Davis and F. Anthias, Woman-Nation-State.

Moodie has examined the role Afrikaner women play in nationalist ideology. He defines Afrikaner nationalist ideology as a "civil religion"²⁰ and explains that in this religion, the Afrikaner woman occupies a special place. A woman "provided a deep well of moral fortitude which complemented and even surpassed her husband's more practical exploits."²¹ Moodie observes that Afrikaner women were given the attributes of the holy virgin, such as faith and purity, and were made into righteous and innocent victims. The monuments to their martyrdom became symbols in the Afrikaner civil religion.²²

Other themes in contemporary historical writing about Afrikaner women are religion, the media and Afrikaans women's organisations. Christina Landman has researched religion from an Afrikaner woman's perspective, and has concluded that Afrikaner men used religion both to keep women from participating in public life, and to engage them in nationalistic struggles. Landman points out the discrepancies between writing about Afrikaner women and the realities of the lives they lived.²³ She also challenges the view of writers such as Stockenström and Postma who portray women in the concentration camps as passive martyrs and helpless victims.

²⁰ T.D. Moodie, The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner Civil Religion.

²¹ T.D. Moodie, The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner Civil Religion, p.17.

²² Moodie cites the wagon in the symbolic ox-wagon trek of 1938 which was named "Vrou en Moeder", see T.D. Moodie, The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner Civil Religion, p.178.

²³ For example, most male writing assumes voortrekker women to be illiterate. Landman points out that a woman such as Susanna Smit could read and write better than her husband. See C. Landman, The Piety of Afrikaner Women, p.61.

In reality the author claims, women were active, resisting camp authorities and persistently struggling for survival.²⁴ There are also other studies dealing with Afrikaner women from a religious perspective.²⁵

The final themes dealt with in historical works about Afrikaans women are histories of Afrikaans women's organisations²⁶ and the portrayal of Afrikaans women in the media.²⁷

1.4 Other relevant work

In conclusion, work which has made a particular study of Afrikaner ideology will be mentioned.²⁸ Authors examined here characterise

²⁴ C. Landman, The Piety of Afrikaner Women, p.78.

²⁵ See H. Terre Blanche, "Rusty souls: Gender and religious ideology in Die Kerkbode during 1948 and 1958". This study focusses on images of Afrikaner women in Die Kerkbode. Also see K. du Pisani, "Die Vrou se posisie in kerk en samelewing - 'n historiese perspektief op die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk se siening". This study explores the attitude of the Dutch Reformed church to women.

²⁶ See for example, B. Eisenberg, "Gender, class and Afrikaner Nationalism: The Suid Afrikaanse Vroue Federasie"; M. Du Toit, "Gevaarlike moederskap: The ACVV and the management of childbirth 1925-1939"; T.C. Pienaar, In Diens van die Volk. Oorsig van die Werk en Strewe van die Suid-Afrikaanse Vroue-Federasie, Transvaal. 1904 - 1944 and M.E. Botha, "Partikuliere volksorg in die Afrikaanse volkskultuur met verwysing na die ATKV (SAS en H) 1930 - 1964".

²⁷ M. van der Vyver, "Die groeiende rol van die vrou in die Afrikaanse pers met spesiale verwysing na "Die Burger" en die Nasionale Pers"; A.L. Peterson, "Die uitbeelding van die vroulike rol in Suid-Afrikaanse vrouetydskrifte" and H. Terre Blanche, "Vrou en Moeder: Selected images of motherhood in Afrikaans women's magazine advertisements, 1940 - 1950".

²⁸ For early work on Afrikaner ideology, O' Meara cites Bunting (1969); Slovo (1976); Poulantzas (1974) and Simson (1980), quoted in D. O'Meara, Volkskapitalisme: Class, Capital and Ideology in the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism, 1934 - 1948, p.9. Later works include those works cited under historiographies of Afrikaner women; A. Grundlingh and H. Sapire, From Feverish Festival to Repetitive Ritual?: the Changing Fortunes of Great Trek Mythology in an Industrialising South Africa, 1938 - 1988; D. O' Meara Volkskapitalisme: Class, Capitalism and Ideology in

Afrikaans ideology as race conscious, Calvinistic, nationalistic and seemingly classless.

O'Meara traces the roots of Afrikaner ideology to the 1920s when organisations such as the FAK were founded.²⁹ He presents ideology as crucial to creating and establishing a new class of urban Afrikaner, and states that middle class Afrikaners exercised ideological dominance in the National Party through their control of the Broederbond.³⁰

Van den Berghe emphasises the fact that Afrikaner nationalism was based on a rugged frontier individualism, and a sense of righteousness as God's chosen people.³¹ Moodie stresses that Afrikaner ideology was rooted in Calvinism, and refers to it as a "civil religion".³² Grundlingh and Sapire³³ have studied the role the symbolism of the Great Trek played in uniting Afrikaner classes.

As can be seen from the above, most work done on Afrikaner women and ideology focuses on nationalist ideologies. The discourses analysed in the studies above were present in formal political documents. The present study seeks to uncover more informal discourses, and to discover whether

the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism, 1934 - 1948; D. O'Meara Forty Lost Years. The Apartheid State and the politics of the National Party 1948 - 1994 and T.D. Moodie The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid, and the Afrikaner Civil Religion.

²⁹ D. O'Meara, Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party, 1948 - 1994, pp.44 - 45.

³⁰ D. O'Meara, Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party, 1948 - 1994, p.55.

³¹ P. van den Berghe, South Africa, A Study in Conflict, p.79.

³² T.D. Moodie, The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid, and the Afrikaner Civil Religion, p.xvii.

³³ A. Grundlingh and H. Sapire, From Feverish Festival to Repetitive Ritual?: the Changing Fortunes of Great Trek Mythology in an Industrialising South Africa, 1938 - 1988.

discourses other than nationalistic ones were present in informal sources such as magazines.

2. Ideology as a historical subject

2.1 A brief history of ideological analysis

In this section, the development of ideological analysis as a methodology is sketched broadly. In any such sketch, the work done by two key figures in the study of ideology, L. Althusser³⁴ and A. Gramsci³⁵ should be taken into account.

Althusser analysed society in terms of infrastructures, the basic economic structures through which a society functions; and superstructures, which are made up of the state, laws and ideology. He saw ideology as being produced by what he called ideological state apparatuses, such as educational institutions, the family, churches, and the like. The function of these apparatuses is to disseminate the ruling ideology, which, according to Marx is "...the system of the ideas and representations which dominate the mind of a man or a social group".³⁶ Ideology is used to perpetuate the ideas of the ruling classes, but it is taught in such a way that the subjects being taught are not consciously aware that they are imbibing certain values and rituals. Thus all of us are always "inside" ideology.³⁷

³⁴ Althusser's work referred to here, and one which contains much of his thought on ideology is L. Althusser, "Ideology and ideological state apparatuses" in Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays.

³⁵ For an overview of Gramsci's work on ideology see C. Mouffe, (Ed), Gramsci and Marxist Theory.

³⁶ L. Althusser, "Ideology and ideological state apparatuses" in Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays, p.149.

³⁷ L. Althusser, Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays, p.164.

Althusser sees education and the family as being crucial to creating ideology in the twentieth century. These two apparatuses are private, but play a powerful role in perpetuating ideologies. They work together with other more repressive apparatuses, such as the police force, which are public. Many ideologies identified by this thesis are linked to the private apparatuses of family and education, as will be seen in later chapters.

Antonio Gramsci elaborated Althusser's position through defining ideology as "the terrain on which men move, acquire consciousness of their position, struggle".³⁸ For Gramsci, ideology is basically the creating of consciousness. Gramsci was the first to acknowledge that ideology is not only a false consciousness, which was the traditional Marxist position, but is also materialised in practise. This means that actions can be classed as ideology which is "lived out".

Gramsci sees ideology as being spread through intellectuals as well as what Gramsci terms "hegemonic apparatuses" such as schools, churches, the media, architecture and even street names. For Gramsci ideology is all pervasive, extending into all fields and levels of experience, even into "common sense".³⁹

Social scientists who followed in Althusser and Gramsci's footsteps recognised increasingly that ideology could be studied in its own right,⁴⁰ and post structural schools developed which redefined ideological study. An important difference between Marxist and post structuralist schools is that post structuralists dispense with the idea of searching for an

³⁸ C. Mouffe, (Ed), Gramsci and Marxist Theory, p.185.

³⁹ C. Mouffe, (Ed), Gramsci and Marxist Theory, p.201.

⁴⁰ M. Barret, P. Corrigan, A. Kuhn and J. Wolfe (Eds), Ideology and Cultural Production, p.204.

absolute "truth". Post structuralists no longer speak of a "false consciousness" as Marxists did; ideologies reveal truths which are relative and are linked to a specific time, place and purpose.

During the 1970s, social scientists began to analyse the world in terms of language, increasingly arguing that language constructs the social world. A methodology known as "discourse analysis" developed; a discourse being "a system of statements which constructs an object."⁴¹ Discourse analysis deliberately systematises texts in order to discover how discourses reproduce and transform the world.⁴²

Discourses and ideologies both represent transpersonal systems of meaning and reveal social value systems and power relations; ideology could be said to work through discourses. "The operation of ideology on human life basically involves the constitution and patterning of how human beings live their lives as conscious, reflecting initiators of acts in a structured, meaningful world".⁴³ Discourses may be likened to patterns which structure our lives. Discourse analysis reveals these patterns.

In the main, historians have concentrated on public methods of coercion, such as laws and the actions of governments. Ideology has been studied where it plays a public role in politics. However, the historical value of more informal discourses should not be overlooked. The analysis of such discourses can reveal societal norms and power relations; or divisions of race, class and gender which can work together to facilitate

⁴¹ I. Parker, Discourse Dynamics: Critical Analysis for Social and Individual Psychology, p.5.

⁴² I. Parker, Discourse Dynamics: Critical Analysis for Social and Individual Psychology, p.5.

⁴³ G. Therborn, The Ideology of Power and the Power of Ideology, p.15.

control by the ruling power.⁴⁴ It is this less formal aspect of ideology that this thesis will investigate, using discourse analytical methods to uncover discourses which hailed Afrikaner women.

2.2 The nature of ideology

The power of ideology comes from the fact that unless it is sought out and analysed, its workings are invisible. Much of what society accepts as absolute truths, like commonsense, or traditional practices, have an ideological component.⁴⁵ An example of such an ideology is biological essentialism. This argues that patriarchal societies are the logical consequence of biological differences between women and men, and are part of the natural order.⁴⁶ Once this "natural order" becomes embedded in the psyche of the individual it becomes difficult for him or her to relate to society in any other way.⁴⁷

However, if biological essentialism is seen for what it is, an ideology rather than an absolute truth, an individual can accept that different discourses inform the ways in which societies are structured. Thus both patriarchal and matriarchal societies can exist.

Ideologies are also regarded as timeless. However, when they are analysed it becomes clear that ideologies are specific historical entities, bound to a particular place and time. In such an analysis ideologies can thus be related to the time, place and community in which they occur.

Ideology cannot exist in a vacuum. Ideologies cannot exist without

⁴⁴ F. Anthias and N. Yuval Davis, Racialized Boundaries, Race, Nation, Gender, Colour and Class and the Anti-Racist struggle, p.3.

⁴⁵ A. Brittan and M. Maynard, Sexism, Racism and Oppression, p.181.

⁴⁶ A. Brittan and M. Maynard, Sexism, Racism and Oppression, p.11.

⁴⁷ A. Brittan and M. Maynard, Sexism, Racism and Oppression, p.181.

people who constantly decode and transfer their meanings. "Ideas are maintained not in the vacuum of the abstract, but through their active use: Values exist not in things but in their transference."⁴⁸ Ideology is thus a crucial part of the workings of any society, and as such falls squarely into the realm of history.

The workings of ideologies are complex, and similar ideologies or discourses may be used for different purposes. For example, the motherhood discourse may be used to confine women to the domestic sphere, by stating that as women are primarily mothers, they should be nothing else. The same discourse can be used to unite women in the struggle against oppression by stressing the unifying and positive elements of female experience.⁴⁹ As discourses are analysed their purpose in society thus becomes apparent.

The present study hopes to reveal through discourse analysis that ideology is time and place specific, and has a definite social and political role which has little to do with nature or commonsense. It argues that discourses are legitimate subjects for historical study as they reveal information about the norms, ideas, value systems and power structures of a society.

2.3 Gender and ideology

This thesis explores the role gender plays in Afrikaner discourses, utilizing work produced on ideology and gender as a theoretical background.

⁴⁸ J. Williamson, Decoding Advertisements, p.43.

⁴⁹ F. Anthias and N. Yuval Davis, Racialized Boundaries, Race, Nation, Gender, Colour and Class and the Anti-Racist Struggle, p.113. For an example of how the discourse of motherhood was used against oppression in South African history, see C. Walker, Women and Resistance in South Africa, p.2. Walker cites the example of Fedsaw which used motherhood as a central and unifying experience in the lives of its members.

Some work has recently been done on women's role in nationalist ideologies.⁵⁰ In this work women have been shown to play a crucial role in perpetuating ideologies such as nationalism. Women are important as bearers and teachers of customs and ideas and can be said to signify and reproduce the symbolic and legal boundaries of a group, and act as cultural carriers for that group.

In examining nationalistic ideologies, it becomes apparent that women and their behaviour are used to draw distinctions between one ethnic group and another. In order to keep women within the prescribed ideological boundaries, most nationalisms operate within a strict moral code, which often focuses specifically on women. Women may not be allowed to have sexual relations with members of other ethnic groups, and legal marriage with other groups may only be tolerated on condition that any children resulting from the marriage be recognised as members of the woman's ethnic grouping. Women are thus required to dress and behave "properly", to give birth to children within legitimate marriages, and so to perpetuate the "natural" nationalist order.

Women who transgress the boundaries determined by ideology are a threat to the entire nationalist system, and are condemned in the strongest moral terms, so as to dissuade other transgressors. If a woman does not behave in the appropriate sexual way, she and her children may be removed from the community. Women are clearly the reproducers of ethnic groups, both biologically and ideologically.⁵¹

Nationalism is not the only discourse which targets women and in

⁵⁰ See for instance, N. Yuval Davis and F. Anthias, Woman-Nation-State and F. Anthias and N. Yuval Davis, Racialized Boundaries, Race, Nation, Gender, Colour and Class and the Anti-Racist Struggle.

⁵¹ F. Anthias and N. Yuval Davis, Racialized Boundaries, Race, Nation, Gender, Colour and Class and the Anti-Racist Struggle

which women participate. Other discourses in which gender plays a major role are fashion and beauty discourses which control through advocating that women look a certain way; consumer discourses, which hail women as buyers; and religious discourses which may constrain or idealise women. The role these discourses require women to play often means that women remain in a domestic context. "Many states... have a strong ideological fear of women who are not clearly confined to the sphere of domesticity...It is in this context that we frequently find repeated references to working women as symbols of corruption and agents of moral disintegration."⁵²

3. The theoretical approach to gender used in this study

Until recently, histories dealing with gender have approached their subject matter through either a marxist or a feminist perspective. Both these approaches have their drawbacks. Marxism tends to view sexism as an evil particular to capitalism, and links the exploitation of women directly to the extraction of surplus value. It makes the assumption that once capitalism has been abolished, sexism will automatically disappear. The relationship between the state and women is however a complex one. A patriarchal state structure is not peculiar to capitalist states, and gender issues therefore need to be analysed in terms which are not purely economic.

Feminism on the other hand, focuses on the oppression of women by examining society through patriarchal structures where the focus is on men's power and their authority or dominance over women. This is also problematic as "...the oppression of women does not derive from a single set of social relations but from a complex system of interrelated

⁵² H. Afshar, Women, State and Ideology: Studies from Africa and Asia, p.4.

structures and relations".⁵³

In many feminist works, this complexity has not been fully recognised, and a universality of women's interests is assumed where none exists. An example of this is the way in which Western feminism has subsumed ethnic minorities, thus denying them a voice, by assuming a similarity of interest and purpose.⁵⁴ In this way, while attempting to combat one oppression, feminists are sometimes guilty of perpetuating another.

Women's relations to patriarchy vary according to class, age, status and occupation so that often the only similar factor for different women's groups is that they are all worse off than men.⁵⁵ These differing factors all need to be taken into account in a historical study.

Feminist literature has also largely failed to consider the reproduction of national, ethnic and racial categories through the use of women as cultural producers.⁵⁶ Here the reasons why women sometimes participate in their own oppressions need to be explored.

Recent feminist historians have moved away from emphasising protest movements and women in the workplace, and are concentrating on family structures and ideology.⁵⁷ They are adopting an interdisciplinary approach by using material traditionally belonging to fields other than

⁵³ A. Sassoon (Ed), Women and the State, p.102.

⁵⁴ F. Anthias and N. Yuval Davis, Racialized Boundaries, Race, Nation, Colour and Class and the Anti-Racist Struggle, p.105.

⁵⁵ A. Sassoon (Ed), Women and the State, p.99.

⁵⁶ F. Anthias and N. Yuval-Davis, Woman - Nation - State, p.8.

⁵⁷ P. Hetherington, "Women in South Africa: The historiography in English", The International Journal of African Historical Studies, Vol.26, No.2, p.260.

history, such as sociology.⁵⁸

This thesis is neither a marxist nor a feminist work, but subscribes to the position of a number of women historians, who emphasise that the analysis of gender should be the work of all historians; and that women's history should be made part of mainstream history and not marginalised.⁵⁹ As Manicom states: "Gender is clearly a relation of power and domination and of rule",⁶⁰ and as such needs to be explored by the historian. She emphasises that social relations are constructed through gender categories, and that gender thus needs to become a standard analytical tool used by historians much as race and class are. This thesis recognises that women are not a unified group with common aspirations, and will investigate how class and gender interact as historical categories.

4. Scope of the thesis

The scope of the thesis has been limited by focussing on a specific place, class and period of time. The place is Johannesburg, as little research as been done on the Afrikaner community in this economic centre.⁶¹ There is also evidence which suggests that Afrikaner women played a clearly delineated role within the Johannesburg community, being

⁵⁸ Angerman et al., Current Issues in Women's History, p.13.

⁵⁹ See for example, L. Manicom's position as set out in the conference paper "Ruling relations: Rethinking state and gender in South African history", p.2.

⁶⁰ L. Manicom, "Ruling relations: Rethinking state and gender in South African history", p.5.

⁶¹ The exception to this is the work done by the Rand Afrikaans University. The findings of this research is contained in E.L.P. Stals, Afrikaners in die Goudstad, Deel I and E.L.P. Stals, Afrikaners in die Goudstad, Deel II.

extremely active in areas of social work.⁶²

The thesis has also been limited by focusing only on the middle class, as little work has been done in this area. While Marks and Trapido have found a high correlation between poverty and a nationalist identity,⁶³ this thesis investigates the relationship between the middle classes and nationalism. The thesis will also attempt to discover what role class played in the lives of Afrikaner middle class women, and how women were affected by the changing economic circumstances of the Afrikaner during the 1940s and 1950s.

Time constraints would not allow an ideological analysis of all magazines produced during the decade 1948 - 1958. Three years have therefore been chosen as the focal point: 1948, 1949 and 1958. As the national party came to power in May of 1948, magazines from both 1948 and 1949 are studied in order to obtain a clear picture of ideologies during the first year of National Party rule. Ideologies from this period are then compared with ideologies found in magazines in 1958.

5. Sources to be used

This thesis uses magazines as primary sources. It targets discourses about women by analysing women's magazines which had an almost exclusively female readership, as well as education and church magazines, for which women were an important target market.

The press is a valuable source of ideological material, as the press in South Africa "...tended to use political information as ideological evidence, to use 'news' as a weapon with which to change or maintain

⁶². E.L.P. Stals, "Afrikaners in die Goudstad, Deel II 1924 - 1961", pp.25 - 26.

⁶³ S. Marks and S. Trapido (Eds), The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa, p.151.

political attitudes".⁶⁴ In addition to consciously using ideology to shape political attitudes, the press is also a source of less formal discourses. These discourses are a function of the society of the time, and have no conscious agenda. An example of such a discourse would be the motherhood discourse, which constructs all women as mothers. These less formal discourses are the subject matter of the present thesis.

There is no doubt that the press both reflected and helped to maintain divisions within South African society,⁶⁵ and this should be borne in mind when the various discourses are analysed. The Afrikaans press in particular was filled with a nationalistic fervour. The ideological position of the Afrikaans press will be examined below.

5.1 Ideology and the Afrikaans press

The Afrikaans press was owned and controlled by prominent National Party members, often cabinet ministers. Shareholders were carefully investigated so that no-one who was not sympathetic to the group could vote.⁶⁶ Material contained within Afrikaans newspapers and magazines therefore often promoted National party interests.

The creators of the ideological pictures within the magazines of this chapter were, for the most part, the intellectuals of the day, the majority of whom were male. It was these individuals who "rediscovered" collective memories, transferred popular oral traditions into the written word, and helped to "portray a golden age in the past whose reconstruction becomes

⁶⁴ E. Potter, The Press as Opposition: The Political Role of South African Newspapers, p.166.

⁶⁵ E. Potter, The Press as Opposition: The Political Role of South African Newspapers, p.9.

⁶⁶ E. Potter, The Press as Opposition: The Political Role of South African Newspapers, p.66.

the basis for nationalist aspirations."⁶⁷ In the women's magazines, literary and artistic figures, beauty, fashion and cookery experts join the ranks of intellectuals writing for the female market.

As will be seen, Afrikaner nationalism informed much of the writing produced from 1948 to 1958. By supporting Afrikaner nationalism and uplifting the Afrikaner, the press was helping to consolidate the victory of the National party and to communicate its ideology.⁶⁸

Although much research has been done into the role and history of the South African press, little of this research focuses on magazines. This study utilises magazines as primary sources, and in so doing hopes to show their historical value.

5.2 A history of the magazines used in this study

This study analyses discourses in Afrikaans women's magazines, educational magazines and church magazines as well as a magazine put out by an Afrikaans women's organisation. The thesis thus analyses discourses from each of Althusser's "ideological state apparatuses." Magazines were chosen which were aimed at middle and upper class Afrikaner women. The magazines chosen were all written for a market where people are financially secure (all advertise consumer goods in which middle or upper class people would be interested) and educated (articles about serious topics appear throughout). In order to place the magazines used in this study in context, a brief history of these magazines is set out below.

⁶⁷ F. Anthias and N. Yuval-Davis, Racialized Boundaries, Race, Nation, Gender, Colour and Class and the Anti-Racist Struggle, p.27.

⁶⁸ As E. Potter points out, the Afrikaans press was almost exclusively concerned with representing Afrikaans interests. E. Potter, The Press as Opposition: The Political Role of South African Newspapers, p.166.

5.2.1 Women's magazines

The first Afrikaans women's magazines began to appear shortly before 1920. Die Huisvrou was published from 1918 to 1924, then in 1929 changed its name to Die Huisgesin, under which name it was published until 1931. In March 1919, one of the best known early Afrikaans women's magazines, Die Boerevrou, began appearing. Much of the material it contained was aimed at mothers, as can be seen by its motto "Ek sien haar win want haar naam is vrou en moeder."⁶⁹ It was hoped that mothers would convey the cultural material contained in the magazine to their children: "die moeders wat die kinders moes baar en grootmaak, wat die toekoms van die volk moes bepaal, ook moes sien en hoor en lees hoe fyn die Afrikaanse wording kan wees..."⁷⁰

As the magazine's editor said: "Van ons bekendste skrywers en kunstenaars het bygedra - alhoewel ons nooit probeer het om ons voor te gee as iets meer as 'n suiwer vroueblad nie."⁷¹ The magazine contained material by well known Afrikaans poets and authors, such as Leipoldt and Totius, and was very much part of the language movement. In 1931 the magazine ceased to be published because of financial constraints caused by the depression.

After 1915, Nasionale Pers became the most important publisher of Afrikaans magazines. Die Huisgenoot, one of its most successful magazines, appeared for the first time on Saturday 20 May 1916. The stated goal of this magazine was to be an "opregte vertolker van die Afrikaanse

⁶⁹ This line is taken from the poem "By die Vrouebetoging" by J.F.E. Cilliers, and is quoted in K. Malherbe, Die Boerevrou Boek, p.9.

⁷⁰ K. Malherbe, Die Boerevrou Boek, p.7.

⁷¹ K. Malherbe, Die Boerevrou Boek, p.7.

volksiel",⁷² and women also merited special attention: "Spesiale aandag sal aan die belange van die huisvrou gewy word."⁷³ Women's columns were introduced in the magazine from 1923. Special emphasis was placed on literature, and the magazine was the official organ of the Afrikaanse Taal Vereniging. Most important Afrikaans writers had their work published in Die Huisgenoot and this magazine also contained much historical writing.⁷⁴

Although Die Huisgenoot saw itself as a literary rather than a political magazine, the fact that Afrikaner nationalism and language were so closely linked gave the magazine an indirect political agenda, and this was reinforced by the many articles about Afrikaner history which it contained. As C.F.J. Muller says: "Die geskiedskrywing was 'n uiting van Afrikaner nasionalisme, soos ook gevind kan word in baie ander publikasies van die Nasionale Pers in hierdie tyd."⁷⁵

The magazine went from strength to strength, and by the end of its first year of publication, it had 2 600 subscribers.⁷⁶ In May 1949 the magazine had 92 956 subscribers, and by the end of 1959 its circulation had settled down to 77 000.⁷⁷ Although it is unclear exactly how profitable Die Huisgenoot was, Muller states that it was an important source of income

⁷² C.F.J. Muller, Sonop in die Suide: Geboorte en Groei van die Nasionale Pers 1915 - 1948, p.257.

⁷³ C.F.J. Muller, Sonop in die Suide: Geboorte en Groei van die Nasionale Pers, 1915 - 1948, p.252.

⁷⁴ J.J. Joubert, "Geschiedskrywing in Die Huisgenoot, 1923 - 1949", pp.27 - 28.

⁷⁵ C.F.J. Muller, Sonop in die Suide: Geboorte en Groei van die Nasionale Pers, 1915 - 1948, p.569.

⁷⁶ C.F.J. Muller, Sonop in die Suide: Geboorte en Groei van die Nasionale Pers, p.254.

⁷⁷ A. van Eeden, "Die Huisgenoot as Gesinstydskrif van 1916 tot 1978", p.139.

for Nasionale Pers.⁷⁸ J.J. Joubert sees this magazine as the most successful South African magazine of the day.⁷⁹

During the period under examination, A.M. van Schoor was the editor of Die Huisgenoot. While he popularised the magazine, he also acknowledged that by 1949 Afrikaans had found its feet, and the period of fighting for Afrikaans rights and using the magazine as an educational tool was over.⁸⁰ Van Eeden sees the period from 1949 to 1959 as a transition period for the magazine, during which it evolved from an educational magazine to a family magazine.⁸¹

Hertzog's two-stream policy and his promotion of Afrikaans benefitted the Afrikaans press, and Afrikaans literary ventures went from strength to strength during his terms of office. Many Afrikaans magazines were established during the 1930s and 1940s in Johannesburg, and Die Huisgenoot lost its monopoly. The magazine Rooi Rose was founded in 1944, and was later taken over by Afrikaanse Pers Bpk. It is claimed that Rooi Rose soon became the magazine with the largest circulation in the country.⁸²

However, Nasionale Pers did not rest on its laurels, and began publishing Sarie Marais in 1949. This magazine replaced the women's section in Die Huisgenoot. It was a magazine containing fiction, recipes, patterns, fashion and beauty hints and articles of interest to women. Its

⁷⁸ C.F.J. Muller, Sonop in die Suide: Geboorte en Groei van die Nasionale Pers, 1915 - 1948, p.560.

⁷⁹ J.J. Joubert "Geschiedskrywing in Die Huisgenoot, 1923 - 1949", p.28.

⁸⁰ A. van Eeden, "Die Huisgenoot as Gesinstydskrif van 1916 tot 1978", p.139.

⁸¹ A. van Eeden, "Die Huisgenoot as Gesinstydskrif van 1916 tot 1978", p.195.

⁸² L.J. Erasmus, 'n Volk Staan op uit sy As: Die Verhaal van die Afrikaanse Pers Beperk, p.261.

goal was to provide a magazine exclusively for Afrikaans women, and it aimed to follow in the footsteps of Die Boerevrou, by providing readers with relaxation and helping them to solve problems.⁸³ The first issue of the magazine revived memories of Die Boerevrou by including photos of the founders of that magazine. "Ek sien haar win" is an article about Die Boerevrou magazine in which this magazine is described as a means of fostering national pride as well: "Terwyl ons besig was om op alle gebiede van die lewe vir die vrou hulp en raad te gee, wou ons aldeur help om 'n nasionale gees, 'n nasionale trots by hulle te kweek".⁸⁴

5.2.2 Educational magazines

This thesis utilises three educational magazines. Firstly it examines Die Onderwysblad vir Christelike en Nasionale Onderwys en Opvoeding. This was the official mouthpiece of the Transvaal Education Department, and started life as the Christelike Skoolblad. The magazine was aimed at Afrikaans teachers living and teaching in the Transvaal, and contains editorials, articles about education, book reviews, teachers' tips and ideas, and discussions on setworks and syllabi.

The study also makes use of magazines published by the Helpmekaar girls school in Johannesburg. This was the first school in Johannesburg to subscribe to the doctrine of Christian National Education, and the yearly school magazines and commemorative magazines provide a rich source of material relating to nationalist ideology.

The final magazine used is Patrys. This magazine was an educational magazine written for primary school pupils. Published from April 1953 to May 1974, the magazine appeared at monthly intervals. It had colour

⁸³ Sarie Marais, 6 July 1949, p.1.

⁸⁴ Sarie Marais, 6 July 1949, p.47.

illustrations and contained articles of interest to Afrikaans girls and boys.

5.2.3 Church magazine

The thesis analyses the magazine put out by the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa. Die Kerkbode was the official publication of this church and was printed by Nasionale Pers. The publication was started under the name, De Gereformeerde Kerkbode in 1849, and in 1933 became known as Die Kerkbode.

5.2.4 Vrou en Moeder

This magazine was the official mouthpiece of the Suid Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie. Three other social work organisations shared the magazine, the Oranje Vrouevereniging, the Natalse Christelike Vrouevereniging and the Rhodesiese Christelike Vroueverening. The magazine began publication in 1936. Prior to this, from 1921 onwards, the Suid Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie had published one page of official business in the magazine Die Boerevrou. When Die Boerevrou ceased publication in 1932, from 1932 to 1936 a magazine called Federasie-Nuus was produced.⁸⁵ From this time onwards, Vrou en Moeder was produced.

The magazine deals with news from the organisation, annual reports, branch reports and reports from the various institutions under the control of the organisation. It also contains an editorial, and articles of interest to the members of the Vrouefederasie.

The purpose of examining this magazine is to assess whether Afrikaner women during 1948 and 1958 were participating in the same discourses as

⁸⁵ In Diens van die Volk, p.89, Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie Collection, RAU Archives, File No. A88.

were contained in the women's magazines, church and educational magazines. Documents from Afrikaans women's organisations and interviews with Afrikaans women who lived in Johannesburg during the years in question will also be examined in order to determine this.

6. Method

This thesis does not aim to provide a comprehensive quantitative analysis, but has chosen to follow a qualitative approach, akin to discourse analysis,⁸⁶ a technique currently used in the social sciences in order to expose social discourses and ideologies. This means that rather than painstakingly cataloguing and analysing every article, the thesis identifies broad trends or discourses during the relevant time periods.

The main questions to be asked of the magazines are: What was the place and role of Afrikaner women in society? What discourses surrounded the Afrikaner middle class women? Why were these discourses present? What part, if any, did the Afrikaner woman play in the political history of the time? Did Afrikaner women participate in mainstream ideologies, or oppose them? What did it mean to be a middle class Afrikaner women? What role did class and gender play in Afrikaner society? Can the discourses present in the magazines be related to the social, economic and political trends of the time?

⁸⁶ For more detailed explanations of social discourses, see the following:
 I. Parker, Discourse dynamics. Critical Analysis for Social and Individual Psychology; J. Potter and M. Wetherell, Discourse and Social Psychology. Beyond Attitudes and Behaviour; A. Levett, A. Kottler, E. Burman and I. Parker, Power and Discourse: Culture and Change in South Africa and E. Burman and I. Parker, Discourse Analytic Research.

7. Conclusion

In conclusion, it should be noted that the discipline of history has itself played a crucial role in naturalising gender, so much so that writers such as Scott state that the whole framework of history should be challenged to avoid women's history becoming a separatist issue. Scott quotes Carl Degler who says: "What is meant by history or the past will have to be changed before [women's history] becomes part of it...since the conventional past was not only conceived (invented?) by men but includes almost by definition, only those activities in which men have been engaged while ignoring almost entirely the historical activities of women.... The challenge is now to rethink our conception of the past we teach and write about so that women...are included".⁸⁷ More recently these sentiments have been echoed by Helen Bradford⁸⁸ who argues that the exclusion of women from historical analyses renders these histories inaccurate.

A historian therefore faces the challenge of reworking existing historical conventions and methods, and dealing with unconventional primary source material in order to include gender in the historical record. This thesis is an attempt to rework historical conventions and methods in order to focus on gender.

⁸⁷ C. Degler, quoted in J. Scott, Gender and the Politics of History, p.195.

⁸⁸ H. Bradford states that there is "a price paid in empirical accuracy when 'men' and 'people' are regarded as synonyms." "Women in the Cape and its frontier zones, c1800 - 1870: A critical essay on androcentric historiography", p.3. In this paper, H. Bradford goes on to cite numerous examples of where neglect of gender has led to historical inaccuracies. For example, a social history of the slave uprising of 1825 in the Cape cannot be accurately represented if the rebellious slave, Galant, is not seen as a sexual being. Bradford argues that gender is crucial to an accurate analysis of this rebellion. H. Bradford, "Women in the Cape and its frontier zones, c1800 - 1870: A critical essay on androcentric historiography", p.23.

Chapter Two

Goldilocks and the Three Bears:

The Construction of Ideology in Afrikaans Magazines

1948 - 1949

This chapter examines ideologies and discourses which informed the writing in magazines published during 1948 and 1949. Using Althusser's ideological state apparatuses of the family, educational institutions and churches as a starting point,¹ the chapter targets women's magazines, magazines aimed at educationalists, and church magazines. The magazines used in the analysis are Sarie Marais, Die Huisgenoot, Rooi Rose, (women's magazines), Onderwysblad vir Christelike en Nasionale Onderwys en Opvoeding (the official magazine of the Transvaal Education Department), magazines from the first Afrikaans girls' school in Johannesburg, Helpmekaar and Die Kerkbode (a church magazine).

1. Analysis of ideologies in women's magazines

1.1 Ideology in Sarie Marais

1.1.1 Volksmoeder ideology

Volksmoeder ideology hails Afrikaner women as the mothers and protectors of the Afrikaner nation, and has been articulated most clearly by Elsabé Brink.² This ideology defines Afrikaner women as the

¹ L. Althusser, Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays, pp.136 - 137.

² See E. Brink, "Man-made women: Gender, class and the ideology of the Volksmoeder" in C. Walker (Ed), Women and Gender in South Africa to 1945, pp.273 - 293.

cornerstone of the household, the nurturer of the family and nation, and the representatives of stability and continuity. Volksmoeders foster Afrikaner unity and promote Afrikaner nationalism and culture.

The cover of the first issue of the Sarie Marais shows a 1949 woman whose shadow is that of a Voortrekker woman³ (see Appendix). The implication is that Voortrekker women are the guides and inspiration for Afrikaner women of 1949, and this cover introduces the volksmoeder ideology which dominates the magazine in 1949. Volksmoeder ideology informs 25 articles during this year.

Volksmoeder ideology is present in many different guises in the Sarie Marais. Frequent references are made to the Great Trek. In "Ouma Pretorius onthou" tribute is paid to the heroes of the Great Trek.⁴ The Voortrekker way of life is celebrated in recipes for soap making⁵ and the article "So het hulle gelewe"⁶ explores life on the Great Trek. The Great Trek also appears in children's games,⁷ and advertisements for everything from perfume to cigarettes.⁸ (A voortrekker birthday book is also

³ Sarie Marais, 6 July 1949, cover.

⁴ Sarie Marais, 3 August 1949, p.18.

⁵ Sarie Marais, 5 October 1949, p.20.

⁶ Sarie Marais, 14 December 1949, p.8.

⁷ Sarie Marais, 23 November 1949, p.17, article about a children's game (which appears similar to snakes and ladders) where the goal is to reach the Voortrekker monument.

⁸ Sarie Marais, 7 December 1949, p.15, advertisement for perfume which mentions the "verfyndheid" of the voortrekker woman. Sarie Marais, 7 December 1949, back cover, advertisements for Commando cigarettes and Caltex petrol both make use of voortrekker images. (The Voortrekker monument is used in the Commando advertisement and images of ox-wagons are used in the Caltex petrol advertisement). Only a few examples of this discourse are given here; many advertisements are informed by this discourse in the Sarie Marais.

advertised).⁹ History and the pioneer spirit, an essential component of the volksmoeder image, is celebrated in articles too,¹⁰ underlining the fact that women should look to historical examples for guidance in dress and conduct. Volksmoeders such as Rachel Steyn¹¹ (see Appendix) and Mrs E.C. van Lingen, the chairperson of the catering committee for festivities at the voortrekker monument,¹² are honoured in articles celebrating their work.

The beauty competition featured in 1949 is to choose not the best looking woman, but the most Voortrekker-like child, girl and woman¹³ (see Appendix), the Voortrekker woman being held up as the ideal of womanhood for which each Afrikaner woman should strive. Many of the fashion articles are about correct modes of Voortrekker dress, in order to prepare women for celebrations at the voortrekker monument¹⁴ (see Appendix). The

⁹ Sarie Marais, 14 December 1949, p.42.

¹⁰ Sarie Marais, 28 September 1949, p.31, article about Dorothy Fairbridge underlines the importance of remembering history. Sarie Marais, 21 December 1949, p.34, article about a family in which the woman's name "Deborah" has been passed down. Sarie Marais, 14 December 1949, p.3, article on woman pioneers in the Kalahari.

¹¹ Sarie Marais, 27 July 1949, p.48.

¹² Sarie Marais, 14 December 1949, p.48. This article is interesting for the strong stand which Mrs van Lingen took in advocating women's suffrage, not a common cause among Afrikaner women.

¹³ Sarie Marais, 10 August 1949, p.1. Advertisements for this competition also appear in later issues of the Sarie Marais (see Appendix).

¹⁴ Examples of articles on fashion: Sarie Marais, 17 August 1949, p.30, "Die kappie van 'n grensboer se vrou". Sarie Marais, 24 August 1949, p.33, article on different kappie styles. Sarie Marais, 31 August 1949, p.36, "Die Voortrekker vrou - Haar bykomstighede was deftig". Sarie Marais, 7 September 1949, pp.36 - 7, "Dit dra ons by the monument - voorstelle en patrone vir die vrou se feesklere". Sarie Marais, 21 September 1949, pp.18 - 19, "Swierige Voortrekkermodes". Sarie Marais, 28 September 1949, p.12, "Op trek getroud". Sarie Marais, 19 October 1949, p.31.

predominance of volksmoeder imagery may be linked to the unveiling of this monument on the 16 December 1949. Voortrekker imagery and ideology would have helped build up Afrikaner nationalistic sentiment in preparation for the day of the unveiling.

1.1.2 Religious ideology and moralistic discourses

Closely allied to the volksmoeder discourse are religious discourses. Within Afrikaner nationalist ideology, the great trek has been given the status of a holy icon, and there are strong moral imperatives connected to trek imagery. As Moodie has pointed out,¹⁵ Afrikaner nationalism can be likened to a civil religion, and like any religion, has strict moral guidelines. Religious or moralistic discourses thus abound in the Sarie Marais.

One article states, for example, that when wearing voortrekker clothes, dress should be accurate, no make-up, nail polish or fancy shoes should be worn. Women are warned against deviating from these rules, or drinking when in Voortrekker costume: "Die kwistige gebruik van mooimaakgoed, skoene wat hopeloos ongeskik was, selfs die blou rook van sigarette wat onder reinwit Voortrekkerkappies uitgeborrel het - hierdie dinge het 'n mens in Pretoria tydens die hoeksteenlegging gesien. Meisies het soms ook in Voortrekkertabberds na hotels gegaan om drankies te geniet!"¹⁶

Women are expected to be virginal and unadorned, their outward appearance reflecting an inner purity befitting the moral guide and

Marais, 21 December 1949, cover, picture of a little girl wearing a kappie.

¹⁵ T.D. Moodie, The Rise of Afrikaner Power: Apartheid and the Afrikaner Civil Religion, p.xvii.

¹⁶ Sarie Marais, 26 October 1949, p.12.

supporter of a nation. Moralistic discourses may also be discerned in articles dealing with etiquette.¹⁷ There is also a concern with immorality (the most frequently mentioned problem being that of unmarried mothers).¹⁸ An article about a home for the children of unmarried mothers is featured in the Appendix.¹⁹

These strict moral imperatives can be linked to the groundswell of nationalism. For the nationalist movement to flourish, it required women to perform clearly delineated roles. Religious discourses persuade women into these roles by utilizing religious belief systems and giving nationalism the status of a civil religion.

1.1.3 Other ideologies in the *Sarie Marais*

During 1949, other ideologies appear in the *Sarie Marais* in addition to the volksmoeder and related religious ideologies. Women are also seen as mothers and nurturers (18 articles), guardians of culture (8 articles), cooks and health care workers (2 articles, although here the countless recipes were not taken into account), political beings (2 articles), creatures concerned with beauty and fashion (2 articles) and marriage (2 articles).

¹⁷ *Sarie Marais*, 27 July 1949, p.30, article about how to attract men. An essential part of this is not to talk too much, display too much knowledge or be too sporty. *Sarie Marais*, 12 October 1949, p.3, debate about whether or not young girls should participate in sports, occasioned by the recent ban by the "Vrystaatse Atletiekunie" on girls participating in the high jump.

¹⁸ *Sarie Marais*, 13 July 1949, p.18, story of how an unmarried mother gets to keep her baby without causing a social scandal. *Sarie Marais*, 13 July 1949, p.30, "Die sonde van die vaders (maar dis die moeders en kinders wat boet)", article about a SAVF house for unmarried mothers.

¹⁹ *Sarie Marais*, 13 July 1949, p.30, "Die sonde van die vaders (maar dis die moeders en kinders wat boet)".

1.1.3.1 Motherhood

Discourses about motherhood and nurturing inform articles dealing with: "Pynlose Geboortes,"²⁰ matters of health and nutrition,²¹ social upliftment of the community²² and childcare.²³ (An article about how the Meisieskool Oranje trains girls for motherhood is featured in the Appendix).²⁴ While most discourses address women as mothers of children, some discourses address women as caregivers in the community. Motherhood discourses are distinguished from volksmoeder discourses by the absence of nationalism, and an emphasis on nurturing.

²⁰ Sarie Marais, 20 July 1949, p.3.

²¹ Sarie Marais, 20th July 1949, p.33, article about how tooth powder will improve the health of teeth. Sarie Marais, 6 July 1949, pp.4 - 5, article about the pros and cons of the school feeding scheme.

²² Sarie Marais, 27 July 1949, p.3, article about how mothers working because of financial hardships need social support. Sarie Marais, 2 November 1949, p.3, article about how women social workers help people working for the railways by forming vegetable clubs, holiday clubs and the like. Sarie Marais, 2 November 1949, p.36, article which tells the story of a woman who supervises the building of houses for poor whites. Sarie Marais, 9 November 1949, p.13, article about how hospitals help people through using occupational therapy. Sarie Marais, 30 November 1949, p.3, article about how orphanages should be made into homes rather than institutions. Sarie Marais, 30 November 1949, p.12, article about a woman who is both a teacher and a farmer.

²³ Sarie Marais, 20 July 1949, p.37, article on how to wean a child. Sarie Marais, 16 November 1949, p.46, "Nuwe Lig op Moederkunde", article praising mothers' instincts. Sarie Marais, 27 July 1949, p.32, article on how to find out whether your child is musical. Sarie Marais, 9 November 1949, p.29, article about the best age for your child to begin music lessons. Sarie Marais, 23 December 1949, p.31, article on books children should read. Sarie Marais, 20 July 1949, p.31, article about the Dolls' Hospital. Sarie Marais, 7 December 1949, p.47, article on how to make dolls. Sarie Marais, 17 August 1949, p.36, article on the Meisieskool Oranje and how it trains young girls for motherhood.

²⁴ Sarie Marais, 17 August 1949, p.36.

1.1.3.2 Culture

In the Sarie Marais, women are also hailed as the guardians of culture. The magazine contains articles on silversmithing,²⁵ painting,²⁶ singing,²⁷ dress designing,²⁸ pottery,²⁹ tapestry making³⁰ and the Afrikaans language.³¹

This cultural discourse may also be linked to the volksmoeder and other nationalistic discourses. By addressing women as cultural carriers, nationalist intellectuals were ensuring that women would inculcate Afrikaner art, culture and literature in their children, so strengthening the Afrikaner nation. (For an example of an article which hails women as cultural carriers, see Appendix). At the same time, this discourse placed women firmly within the private and domestic sphere.

1.1.3.3 Fashion, beauty and marriage

Throughout 1949, women are addressed as creatures who should care about fashion and beauty, largely in order to please men and get

²⁵ Sarie Marais, 13 July 1949, p.3.

²⁶ Sarie Marais, 16 November 1949, p.3, article about women who paints pictures of traditional Zulu women.

²⁷ Sarie Marais, 17 August 1949, pp.18 - 19, article about the singer, Erna Sack.

²⁸ Sarie Marais, 9 November 1949, p.18.

²⁹ Sarie Marais, 21 December 1949, p.3.

³⁰ Sarie Marais, 23 November 1949, p.3. Sarie Marais, 30 November 1949, p.34, article about a wall hanging embroidered in 1915 by the Vrouefederasie in Pretoria.

³¹ Sarie Marais, 21 December 1949, p.37, article about Henrietta Roland Holst, a Dutch poet. Sarie Marais, 31 August 1949, p.4, article encouraging women to write novels. Sarie Marais, 16 November 1949, p.12, article about how Afrikaans words are lost.

married.³² There are articles on hairstyles, slimming and clothes. (See Appendix for an article about a beauty salon). However, there is an uneasy relationship between beauty articles written from an Afrikaner nationalistic point of view, which emphasise inner beauty and strength, and those about beauty and fashion which have been imported from Europe and the United States, which emphasise appearance. In an article about the Jacaranda Festival in Pretoria, for example, the ideals for a beauty queen are listed as "inbors, karakter, intelligensie, aantreklikheid en 'n aangename houding."³³

Most articles take it for granted that women want to and should marry, but only two articles on marriage itself are present.³⁴ Throughout discourses about marriage, fashion and beauty, it is clear that men and women are expected to play different roles in society and the home. These discourses place women firmly within the domestic sphere and ensure women's subservience to men. Women are expected to take care of all domestic arrangements (see article about Maisieskool Oranje in Appendix), while men belong more to the public sphere, taking most of the decisions.³⁵ Men are the leaders, and women the followers.³⁶ Women have a duty to obey their

³² Sarie Marais, 6 July 1949, p.21, article on how to improve your figure. This is one example of this discourse.

³³ Sarie Marais, 5 October 1949, p.41.

³⁴ Sarie Marais, 3 August 1949, p.2, article debating whether married women should work. Sarie Marais, 19 October 1949, p.18, article about what a happy marriage entails.

³⁵ Sarie Marais, 17 August 1949, p.36, article about the Meisieskool Oranje describes how girls learn to be both women and mothers at the school. The emphasis is on domestic rather than academic achievement.

³⁶ Sarie Marais, 27 July 1949, p.30, article about how to attract men. Men will be put off by girls who have too much knowledge, or who talk too much. The discourse here characterises the domains of knowledge and opinions as particularly male. Any woman who invades them will be punished by not being courted by

husbands, and are subservient to men.³⁷ Women are expected to serve both husband and children, and even though they take care of all domestic arrangements, discourses do not refer to them as domestic "experts" or people who have power in the domestic sphere, although their mothering instincts should be trusted.³⁸

1.1.3.6 "Rebellious" discourses

Also contained in the Sarie Marais are discourses which "rebel" against the dominant ideas of the time. Women are addressed as people capable of political action in two instances, the first is the article about Mrs van Lingen (one of the organisers of the Voortrekker monument programme).³⁹ The second is an article about women active in the United Nations.⁴⁰

Also in the magazine are a number of articles written about women who live in unusual settings or do unusual jobs. Among these are an article about a champion woman wine maker,⁴¹ a woman who works in a laboratory doing pregnancy tests,⁴² a woman who keeps bees,⁴³ a woman who works at a

characterised as male. Girls are required to be more passive.

³⁷ Sarie Marais, 12 October 1949, p.19, jokes characterise women as dominating men. The idea of women having power over men is so ridiculous that it is laughable.

³⁸ Sarie Marais, 16 November 1949, p.46, article ("Lig op moederkunde"), which states that a mother's instincts can protect her child in a way that science may not be able to.

³⁹ Sarie Marais, 14 December 1949, p.48.

⁴⁰ Sarie Marais, 23 November 1949, p.18.

⁴¹ Sarie Marais, 6 July 1949, p.20.

⁴² Sarie Marais, 28 September 1949, p.3.

⁴³ Sarie Marais, 5 October 1949, p.3.

petrol station,⁴⁴ and women who are wives of whale hunters.⁴⁵ Although these articles seem to have been chosen for their novelty value, they nevertheless are a radical departure from other ideology surrounding womanhood, and make it clear that women are capable of roles other than those of wife and mother. Once again the reader is made aware that women do not all conform to the stereotypes represented in the media.

1.2 Ideology in Die Huisgenoot and Rooi Rose

In order to ascertain whether the strongly nationalistic picture presented in Sarie Marais was a general trend in women's magazines during 1948 and 1949, some issues of Die Huisgenoot and Rooi Rose were consulted. The January and February 1948 issues of Die Huisgenoot were consulted, while Rooi Rose was examined from January to April of 1948.

1.2.1 Die Huisgenoot

As previously mentioned, Die Huisgenoot was not aimed specifically at women, but contained a separate women's section which dealt mainly with household matters such as cooking, sewing and household management (17 articles), but also included articles on beauty and fashion (9 articles), marriage (3 articles) and motherhood and nurturing (3 articles). As Muller says, "Die vrouerubriek...was baie bewus didakties en voorliggend en selde op vermaak of ontspanning ingestel".⁴⁶

The strong volksmoeder imagery of Sarie Marais is absent here. Women

⁴⁴ Sarie Marais, 26 October 1949, p.3.

⁴⁵ Sarie Marais, 28 December 1949, p.3.

⁴⁶ C.F.J. Muller, Sonop in die Suide: Geboorte en Groei van die Nasionale Pers, 1915-1948, p.573.

are seen chiefly as nurturers, of children and old people.⁴⁷ The woman's place is in the home, and when there is a reference to women going to university,⁴⁸ the article is more concerned with the woman getting a husband than her getting good marks. Women are subservient, with men taking all important decisions.⁴⁹

Women are surrounded by strong moral imperatives, however. An example of this can be found in the article discussing behaviour in the maternity ward, which says that even when giving birth, women should be thoughtful, subservient and tidy.⁵⁰

The fashion and beauty discourse is also present. For example, an article "Net vir ongetroude mans"⁵¹ explains to unmarried men that the chief interest of women is their appearance, clothing and the like.

There are exceptions to this stereotyping however. In the February 13 issue, an article appears on Marie Curie⁵² which focuses on her achievements as a scientist, although it does mention that she was also a very good mother: "By haar het die wetenskap die moeder nooit verdring, nooit minder sorgsaam gemaak nie, terwyl moederskap aan haar persoon diepte

⁴⁷ Die Huisgenoot, 6 February 1948, p.53, ("Wat word van die ou geslag"), article about how it is the responsibility of women to look after the older generation. Die Huisgenoot, 13 February 1948, p.49, article about how women should behave in labour wards ("Moets en moenies vir die kraamsaal").

⁴⁸ Die Huisgenoot, 16 January 1949, p.44.

⁴⁹ Die Huisgenoot, 23 January 1948, p.43, article about parents taking the decision to let their child walk to school alone. The father takes the decision, while the advice of the mother is ignored.

⁵⁰ Die Huisgenoot, 13 Feb 1948, p.49.

⁵¹ Die Huisgenoot, 23 January 1948, p.47.

⁵² Die Huisgenoot, 13 Februarie 1948, p.43.

verleen het".⁵³ This article tacitly accepts that women are capable of roles other than wife and mother, although it does state that motherhood should not be usurped by these other interests. It forms an interesting contrast to an article in Rooi Rose in the same year, also discussing Curie, but seeing her achievements as the result of her abnormal identification with her father rather than with her mother.⁵⁴

1.2.2 Rooi Rose

Rooi Rose focuses mainly on reviews of films and news of Hollywood, articles on beauty and fashion, and society photographs. (The reason for this could be that Rooi Rose tended to be read by women with a lower level of education, such as office workers and typists.⁵⁵ The articles were therefore geared towards entertainment rather than serious issues). Rooi Rose also contains fictional stories, patterns, and some articles on household matters. Volksmoeder ideology is absent here. The magazine's preoccupation with the United States and Hollywood is striking. Almost every issue has a film star on its cover, and several articles deal with the lives of film stars or how things are done in the USA.⁵⁶ There is a constant preoccupation with appearance and beauty, and almost all the advertisements emphasise beauty products. Even an article about the only woman lion tamer in South Africa begins with a detailed description of what she looks like.⁵⁷ It is taken for granted that women should marry, "n

⁵³ Die Huisgenoot, 13 February 1948, p.43.

⁵⁴ Rooi Rose, February 1948, p.26.

⁵⁵ D. Prinsloo, written communication, p.1.

⁵⁶ Rooi Rose, May 1948, p.49, article about American kitchens. This is just one instance of the magazine's obsession with things American.

⁵⁷ Rooi Rose, March 1948, p.12.

Vrou is oor die algemeen te swak om eensaam te lewe, om nooit te trou nie."⁵⁸ Yet another feature of this magazine is the constant emphasis on etiquette, and the correct way to behave. An example of this is the feature on how to climb out of a car correctly.⁵⁹

The constant emphasis on appearance and correct behaviour may be as a result of Afrikaner women trying to measure up to their English counterparts who were regarded as the leaders in the cultural stakes. The many articles on this theme may have been an attempt to guide Afrikaner women and prevent them from being compared to their English counterparts and being found wanting.

2. Education

2.1 A brief history of Christian National Education in South Africa

In this section, ideologies informing two magazines put out by educational institutions will be examined. As these ideologies were formulated in the context of the Christian National Education system in South African, it is necessary before examining them to briefly explore this philosophy.

Christian National schools were first founded in opposition to British secularizing reforms of the seventeenth century, and Christian National Education was used in the concentration camps during the 1899 - 1902 war and during the reconstruction period after the war. When the National Party came to power in 1948 Christian National Education provided

⁵⁸ Rooi Rose, February 1948, p.26, article comparing men and women. "Die Vrou kan nie haar man staan nie...en tog is sy sterker as die man". The article concludes that a woman's life is incomplete without a man: "Sonder 'n man voel sy klein en nietig...daarom strewende alle vroue om 'n man te besit, om haar onder die beskermende vleuels van die sterkere geslag te skans". Rooi Rose, February 1948, p.26.

⁵⁹ Rooi Rose, February 1948, p.53.

both an educational doctrine and a political programme, and ensured the survival of the Afrikaners as a separate people.

Basic to Christian National Education was the idea that God created the Afrikaner nation, and it was this nation's duty to cherish and preserve its identity. Mother tongue instruction was enforced and Afrikaans language and culture promoted,⁶⁰ and "education policy and practice played a seminal role...in the definition and preservation of the Afrikaner identity".⁶¹

2.2 Analysis of ideology in Die Onderwysblad vir Christelike en Nasionale Onderwys en Opvoeding

Throughout the pages of this magazine, nationalist and religious concerns are prominent. In the issue of January 1 1948, the editorial deals with the threat to mother tongue instruction posed by foreign teachers,⁶² while the omission of the South African war of 1899-1902 from the history syllabus is seen as a threat to the Afrikaner nation. Links between church, state and education are strong, and sometimes the three institutions are almost indistinguishable.⁶³

Die Onderwysblad vir Christelike en Nasionale Onderwys en Opvoeding sees teachers as playing an important role in society, as it is their task

⁶⁰ J. Shingler, "Education and Political Order in South Africa", 1902 - 1961, p.152.

⁶¹ J. Shingler, "Education and political order in South Africa", p.i.

⁶² Die Onderwysblad vir Christelike en Nasionale Onderwys en Opvoeding, 1 January 1948, pp.1 - 3.

⁶³ Die Onderwysblad vir Christelike en Nasionale Onderwys en Opvoeding, 1 June 1948, p.1, editorial on the importance of Christianity. Die Onderwysblad vir Christelike en Nasionale Onderwys en Opvoeding, 1 December 1948, p.1, editorial on the importance of having strong bonds between the church and education.

to save and protect the Afrikaans nation: "Wil u graag sien dat ons Afrikaners 'n volk bly? Laat u heilige plig dan nie aan andere oorgee nie, gee deur u self, deur u eie kinders en deur u leerlinge daaraan uitvoering."⁶⁴ Teachers owe loyalty not only to the child, but also to the state.⁶⁵

Teaching was one of the few professions open to women in the 1940s, and many prominent Afrikaans women of the day trained as teachers.⁶⁶ A woman's role in education was seen as parallel to the mother's in the home: "In die skool vul die onderwyseres egter die rol wat tuis deur die moeder gevul word."⁶⁷ The May 1 issue of Die Onderwysblad vir Christelike en Nasionale Onderwys en Opvoeding states that a woman's temperament is more suited to working with children than is a man's as she is more patient. In addition, schoolgirls have certain needs (unspecified) to which only a woman can attend.⁶⁸

The role of Afrikaner women in education is linked specifically to nationalism: "Haar bede is dat sy haar kragte altyd kan aanwend tot heil en seën van die jeug, haar land en volk",⁶⁹ and the volksmoeder image of women is supported, as can be seen in the appeal for funds to be collected

⁶⁴ Die Onderwysblad vir Christelike en Nasionale Onderwys en Opvoeding, 1 February 1948, p.3.

⁶⁵ Die Onderwysblad vir Christelike en Nasionale Onderwys en Opvoeding, 1 October 1948, p.3. (It is interesting to note that this remark is made after the National Party came to power).

⁶⁶ In the interviews conducted by Dr Prinsloo, almost all the women concerned either trained as teachers, or started off their careers with a teaching post.

⁶⁷ Die Onderwysblad vir Christelike en Nasionale Onderwys en Opvoeding, 1 March 1948, p.8.

⁶⁸ Die Onderwysblad, 1 May 1948, p.16.

⁶⁹ Die Onderwysblad vir Christelike en Nasionale Onderwys en Opvoeding, 1 May 1948, p.17.

in support of the upkeep and care of the Vrouemonument and the Oorlogsmuseum in Bloemfontein.⁷⁰

Women teachers were usually single, and were expected to resign if they married so as to devote themselves to home, husband and children. By 1948, the view was expressed in educational circles that it was acceptable for married women to work, provided that they did not neglect their children or homes.⁷¹

There is evidence of some discontent on the part of women teachers with this position, however. In Die Onderwysblad vir Christelike en Nasionale Onderwys en Opvoeding, a woman teacher expresses the view that the fact that women are paid less than men, and are obliged to leave permanent posts when they marry is unfair.⁷² She goes on to say that their work is done out of love, in silence, and thus often goes unnoticed. She states that the teaching profession is dominated by men, and the writer estimates that an average of five years in the profession is all that most women teachers achieve.

2.3 Helpmekaar school magazines

"Die stigting van die Helpmekaar Hoërskool in Januarie 1921, was die vervulling van 'n diep gevoelde behoefte in die hart van 'n ontwakende en bewuswordende nasie."⁷³ Nationalism was prominent in all aspects of school life, and nationalism informs most of the writing in the school

⁷⁰ Die Onderwysblad vir Christelike en Nasionale Onderwys en Opvoeding, 1 September 1948, p.3.

⁷¹ Die Onderwysblad vir Christelike en Nasionale Onderwys en Opvoeding, 1 March 1948, p.8.

⁷² Die Onderwysblad vir Christelike en Nasionale Onderwys en Opvoeding, 1 May 1948, p.16.

⁷³ O. Geysler, Die Helpmekaar Hoërskole, 1921-1971, p.32.

magazines.

The school did away with a Latin motto and used an Afrikaans one ("Komaan"), and teachers were not expected merely to teach, but to serve their nation: "Dit was duidelik dat die Helpmekaaronderwyser sou moes besef dat hy in diens van sy volk staan en dat van hom sou verwag word om nasiediens te lewer".⁷⁴ Pupils were thus taught to become Afrikaners at school: "[Leerlinge] sou nie net kennis moes ontvang nie, maar opgevoed en gelei word op die pad van ware Afrikanerskap."⁷⁵ In 1938, the staff photo was taken with the teachers wearing Voortrekker dress, in honour of the centenary trek celebrations, while on 19 August 1939, a miniature replica of the Voortrekker monument was unveiled at the school amid much ceremony. In later years, the Helpmekaar schools were described as "die bron waaruit die Afrikaanssprekende aan die Witwatersrand sy geestelike krag geput het"⁷⁶ as well as a "simbool van die ontwaking en groei van die Afrikaner op die Rand".⁷⁷

To begin with, the school was co-educational, catering for both boys and girls, however, in 1941, Helpmekaar split into two single sex schools. The reason for this is described in the yearbook as follows: "In die dertigerjare het die gevoel ontstaan dat daar veral vir die dogter in die stad die beste geleentheid gebied moet word om te voldoen aan haar behoeftes en besondere eienskappe as vrou".⁷⁸ Men and women were seen as playing two very different roles in society, so much so that training for the two genders needed to be provided in separate schools.

⁷⁴ O. Geysler, Die Helpmekaar Hoërskole, 1921 - 1971, p.40.

⁷⁵ O. Geysler, Die Helpmekaar Hoërskole, 1921 - 1971, p.40.

⁷⁶ Helpmekaar 50 Jaar Gedenkboek 1921 - 1971, p.5.

⁷⁷ Helpmekaar 50 Jaar Gedenkboek, 1921 - 1971, p.6.

⁷⁸ Helpmekaar 50 Jaar Gedenkboek, 1921 - 1971, p.6.

For many years, Helpmekaar was the only Afrikaans girls school in Johannesburg. Significantly, considering women's role as cultural carriers, the school became a strong cultural centre, collecting the works of Afrikaner artists, and even putting on opera. The school started with only 261 pupils, but quickly became an institution.

Speaking in 1956, the headmistress, Miss Theron summed up her vision for the school: "In 'n tyd van vervlakking en materialisme is dit my wens dat ons op Helpmekaar dogters sal kweek met vaste lewensbeginsels, bereid vir onbaatsugtige diens aan ons land en medemens - suiwer van hart en gees, wàar en trou as Afrikaners."⁷⁹ Thus the girls were seen as moral guides, and as nurturers of the Afrikaner nation.

The school also wanted to bring "die verfynde element" to the girls education,⁸⁰ and this issue is further highlighted in P.J. van der Merwe's different messages to girls and boys in the 1971 fifty year commemoration year book. To the boys he says: "As jy jou moeder eer, ook die taal uit haar vrome mond geleer...sal jy 'n man word"⁸¹ while the girls are encouraged to be "verfynde dames...versier met die geestesgoedere".⁸² To girls he says: "[As jy] die mans sien tou opgooi en jy nog één skree kan skreeu: Komaan! Dan sal jy 'n vrou wees".⁸³ This message underlines the different gender roles in Afrikaner society, and with regard to the girls, echoes volksmoeder imagery with its emphasis on purity, encouragement, and cultural teaching.

⁷⁹ O. Geysers, Die Helpmekaar Hoërskole, 1921 - 1971, p.102.

⁸⁰ O. Geysers, Die Helpmekaar Hoërskole, 1921 - 1971, p.123.

⁸¹ Helpmekaar 50 Jaar Gedenkboek, 1921 - 1971, p.15.

⁸² Helpmekaar 50 Jaar Gedenkboek, 1921 - 1971, p.15.

⁸³ Helpmekaar 50 Jaar Gedenkboek, 1921 - 1971, p.15.

3. Analysis of ideology surrounding women in the church publication Die Kerkbode

Two main discourses may be discerned in the Kerkbode, the volksmoeder discourse and a moralistic discourse. Nationalist discourses abound in 1948 issues of Die Kerkbode, and all important nationalist holidays and events are mentioned.⁸⁴ The 1948 election itself is seen as being about ideals, as an opportunity to save the Afrikaner nation "[dit] gaan hier om ideale, om beginsels wat vir elke volk heilig moet wees."⁸⁵ There is also a concern for a nationalist education system. Die Kerkbode stated that the church should support teachers, and there are many articles in the 1948 issues of the magazine which push for a system of Christian National Education.⁸⁶

Amid this concern for nationalist issues, it is not surprising to encounter the volksmoeder discourse. Throughout 1948, the image of the woman as spiritual leader of the nation, appears strongly. Women are described as "die waarborg vir die sukses" of the Great Trek.⁸⁷ This article goes on to catalogue the sufferings of women as they protected the boerestaat and stood by their nation at the time of the "Tweede Vryheidsoorlog". Still today, the article says, women are the mainstay of the Afrikaner nation: "Vandag is sy naas die kerk die behoudende faktor om

⁸⁴ Die Kerkbode, 14 January 1948, p.63, article about how the festival celebrating the Battle of Blood River united all Afrikaners. Die Kerkbode, 28 January, 1948, p.149, article detailing the evils of communism for the Afrikaner volk. Die Kerkbode, 4 August 1948, p.255, article about the symbolic ox-wagon trek of 1938. Die Kerkbode, 15 December 1948, pp.1401 - 1402, article on the Dingaan's day celebrations.

⁸⁵ Die Kerkbode, 31 March 1948, p.692.

⁸⁶ Die Kerkbode, 28 January 1948, p.148; Die Kerkbode, 17 March 1948, p.651; Die Kerkbode, 31 March 1948, p.701.

⁸⁷ Die Kerkbode, 15 December 1948, p.1427.

die Afrikaner van verbastering en ontaarding te red".⁸⁸

Women's commitment to the Afrikaner nation is proven through examples such as Christina de Wit, the wife of Andries Pretorius, who sent him away from her deathbed to tend to his nation: "Sy was immers die vrou wat haar man van haar sterfbed weggestuur het, toe sy volk hom geroep het."⁸⁹ The article on her ends with the phrase: "Die boerevrou en die kerk, die hoop en die anker van die Afrikaanse volk - nou en in die verlede."⁹⁰

Again and again the magazine emphasises that the future of the nation rests on the family, in which the mother plays an important role: "Die veiligheid van volk en staat moet gebou word op die veiligheid van die huisgesin".⁹¹ Women often suffer in silence for the sake of the family (a picture in the Appendix of a mother holding a dying child epitomises this),⁹² and are often martyrs for the family, or the Afrikaner nation. The church is seen as the guardian of the family, and as such its role is to protect the woman: "Besonderlik van belang is die onderneming van die kommissie ten behoeve van ons dogters in die stad",⁹³ says an article discussing the founding of a boarding house for Afrikaans girls. Later, the same article refers to girls as "dogters van ons volk."⁹⁴ An article in the 26th of May 1948 issue refers to young girls as "die moeders en opvoeders van ons toekomstige nasie",⁹⁵ and in an article later in July,

⁸⁸ Die Kerkbode, 15 Desember 1948, p.1427.

⁸⁹ Die Kerkbode, 15 Desember 1948, p.1428.

⁹⁰ Die Kerkbode, 15 Desember 1948, p.1429.

⁹¹ Die Kerkbode, 7 January 1948, p.14.

⁹² Die Kerkbode, 10 March 1948, p.527.

⁹³ Die Kerkbode, 21 April 1948, p.890.

⁹⁴ Die Kerkbode, 21 April 1948, p.890.

⁹⁵ Die Kerkbode, 26 May 1948, p.1202.

which exhorts white women to have more babies, motherhood is referred to as a "heilige roeping", while the family is described as "die fonteinbron van die maatskaplike, staatkundige en kerklike lewe -die bakermat van opvoeding, kultuur en godsdiens."⁹⁶

The strong moral imperative with regard to women in most nationalist movements is present here too. In an article entitled: "Ons toekomstige volksmoeders: Wat word van hulle?", women are condemned for drinking, dancing, wearing men's clothing and wearing make-up.⁹⁷ The solutions to these evils, according to the author of the article, is to found an organisation whose members are "volksmoeders of toekomstige volksmoeders"⁹⁸ in order to reinforce idealism and nationalism. Women should promise not to touch strong drink, not to smoke, not to wear men's clothing, "om alle buitensporige kleredrag en die verkleuring van naels en lippe te vermy" to value the creation of a family as the highest privilege which a woman can be given, and to respect the Sabbath.⁹⁹

In another issue, women are condemned for allowing their children to suffer because they want to smoke and drink as men do.¹⁰⁰ Later, women are reprimanded for leaving the home to go and work: "Die sug na weelde en uiterlike vertoon bring mee dat 'n baie groot persentasie van gehude vroue nou wil gaan werk om geld te verdien. Só voel hulle ook meer selfstandig en onafhanklik van die man. Dit reageer nadelig op die vrou se gewilligheid tot moederskap."¹⁰¹ This is cited as leading to divorce,

⁹⁶ Die Kerkbode, 28 July 1948, p.168.

⁹⁷ Die Kerkbode, 17 November 1948, p.1177.

⁹⁸ Die Kerkbode, 17 November 1948, p.1177.

⁹⁹ Die Kerkbode, 17 November 1949, p.1177.

¹⁰⁰ Die Kerkbode, 7 January 1948, p.8.

¹⁰¹ Die Kerkbode, 7 April 1948, p.764.

and a neglect of family life.

Still later, a school headmistress berates women for taking part in beauty competitions, which she sees as degrading, and a departure from the role of moral guardian: "Die vrou met die ryker innerlike lewe is vanself nooit die ultra-moderne verskyning nie. Sy besef die belangrikheid van korrekte en smaakvolle drag, maar dit bly altyd ondergeskik aan hoër waardes."¹⁰²

Marriage as an institution is highly regarded, and numerous gold and diamond wedding anniversaries are commemorated within the pages of the magazine. The theme of women's subservience to men appears here too. In an advice column, the question is asked: "Mag 'n Vrou Preek?" and the answer is a definite "No!" justified with various biblical quotations: "Julle vroue moet in die gemeentes swyg; want dit is hulle nie toegelaat om te spreek nie, maar om onderdanig te wees...".¹⁰³

Within the church, women are allowed to speak, witness, pray, read from the bible, but they are not allowed to preach. They may also prophesy, and hold private meetings in the home, but they need to demonstrate a subservience and obedience to men in the church. The role of women at prayer is an important one, and there are several articles about the "Sustersbidstond".¹⁰⁴ Thus women also have a role as moral guardians, and as such need to be constrained by strict moral boundaries.

¹⁰² Die Kerkbode, 26 May 1948, p.1202.

¹⁰³ Die Kerkbode, 28 April 1948, p.1025.

¹⁰⁴ Die Kerkbode, 3 November 1948, p.1045. Die Kerkbode, 7 January 1948, p.6.

4. Conclusions

4.1 The primacy of Afrikaner nationalism

Firstly it may be concluded that nationalism permeated all sectors of the Afrikaner community during the 1930s and 1940s and structured discourses about both class and gender. The founding of Malan's Purified National Party, the rise in power of the Broederbond and its public front the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings, the founding of the Reddingsdaadbond in 1939 to promote the economic advancement of the Afrikaner people¹⁰⁵ and the centenary celebrations of the Great Trek all contributed to the growth of Afrikaner nationalism. In 1948 these nationalistic efforts bore fruit when the National party won the election in May. The new prime minister, Malan, then wanted to consolidate nationalist forces in order to maintain his position of power. Nationalist discourses therefore continue to dominate in 1948 and 1949.

Gaitskell and Unterhalter's gender sensitive analysis of Afrikaner nationalism becomes relevant here.¹⁰⁶ They identify three watershed dates in the history of Afrikaner nationalism: 1902 when Afrikaners were defeated in the 1899 - 1902 war; 1914, when the National Party was formed under Hertzog and 1948 when the first wholly Afrikaner nationalist government came to power.

These authors relate changing ideas about motherhood to these political changes. The period from 1914 to 1948 was one in which the home

¹⁰⁵ B. Murray and A.W. Stadler, "From the Pact to the advent of apartheid", in T. Cameron and S.B. Spies (Eds), An Illustrated History of South Africa, p. 260.

¹⁰⁶ D. Gaitskell and E. Unterhalter, "Mothers of the Nation: A comparative analysis of race and motherhood in Afrikaner nationalism and the ANC" in N. Yuval Davis and F. Anthias, Woman-Nation-State, pp.59 - 76.

became important, as the home was seen as the appropriate arena for fostering Afrikaner national identity through mothering. Throughout this period an Afrikaner woman could increase her status at home and in women's organisations though appearing "publicly as an Afrikaner woman who also taught others how to be Afrikaner women."¹⁰⁷ The home became the centre of nationalist mobilisation. The nationalist ideologies analysed in this chapter belong within this conceptual framework.

As the ideologies examined here demonstrate, nationalism informed discourses about gender and class. It is also clear that women sometimes participated in nationalist ideologies. The nature of their participation, and the reasons for it will be explored in later chapters.

4.2 Concern with moral issues

The preoccupation of the discourses with moral issues illustrates the way Afrikaner society was structured. In the Afrikaner experience Christianity and nationalism were integrated into a cohesive body of doctrine.¹⁰⁸ As Ds. G.E.N. Ross put it: "Die Nasionale Party se politiek was so ingewef in ons kultuurstrewe, jy kan hulle nie van mekaar skei nie. Die kerk, politiek en kultuurstrewe was deurmekaar. Ons het nie 'n skeidingslyn getrek nie."¹⁰⁹ This sentiment is echoed in the official Nederduits Gereformeerde church magazine, Die Kerkbode as early as 1915: "die grondtoon van al die besluite en besprekings in die vergadering was

¹⁰⁷ D.Gaitskell and E. Unterhalter, "Mothers of the Nation: A Comparative Analysis of Nation, Race and Motherhood in Afrikaner Nationalism and the ANC" in N. Yuval Davis and F Anthias, Woman-Nation-State, p.63.

¹⁰⁸ J. Shingler, "Education and Political Order in South Africa 1902-1961", p.53.

¹⁰⁹ E.L.P. Stals, "Afrikaners in die Goudstad Deel II. 1924 - 1961", p.340.

'God is in ons geskiedenis - ons kerk is nasionaal' ".¹¹⁰

Although the Dutch Reformed Church was not officially a state church, for all practical purposes it operated as such. From the beginning, the state and the Dutch Reformed Church had a symbiotic relationship: The church cared for the spiritual well-being of the Afrikaner people, and so ensured their loyalty to the state, and in return the state cared for the church. When the borders of the Cape moved towards the interior, Dutch Reformed ministers moved with them. On the Great Trek, religion was a cohesive force, so much so that one author describes the trek as "the Church on trek."¹¹¹

Ideology in the magazines reflects the inter-related nature of politics and religion. The moral imperatives aimed at middle class women are given an Afrikaans twist, and middle class values are imbued with a nationalist identity. However, it should be remembered that although women were regarded as spiritual and moral beacons for the Afrikaner nation, they remain passive icons in this role as they are not permitted to assume leadership positions and women were almost entirely absent from the political arena.

The emphasis on morality may also have been a symptom of the anxiety and uncertainty Afrikaners were feeling as a result of urbanisation. Stals estimates that in 1937, just over half the Afrikaners living on the Rand were churchgoing,¹¹² and by 1945 although 97% of Afrikaners belonged to a

¹¹⁰ C.F.J. Muller, Sonop in die Suide: Geboorte en Groei van die Nasionale Pers, 1915 - 1948, p.54. The quote was from Ds. J.D. Kestell at a conference of church ministers in 1915.

¹¹¹ P.G.J. Meiring, "Nationalism in the Dutch Reformed Churches" in T. Sundermeier (Ed), Church and Nationalism in South Africa, p.57.

¹¹² E.L.P. Stals, "Afrikaners in die Goudstad Deel II, 1924 - 1961", p.275.

church, only 30% attended regularly. This "kerkloshheid" and secularisation which had accompanied urbanisation is a constant theme in Die Kerkbode. In January 1948, this concern is articulated as follows: "Die huidige geslag van Afrikaners in the stede is nog binne die bereik van die kerk, vanweë hul godsdienstige verlede op die platteland, maar na nog 50 jaar sal toestande...veel meer onoplosbaar wees as vandag."¹¹³

In 1948, a series of articles entitled "Die Stad Roep" appear in the magazine, written by Ds. J.R. Albertyn. The articles analyse the evils in the city and the threats they pose for Afrikaners, as well as Ds. Albertyn's solution, which is for Afrikaners to turn to the church and for the church to play a more active role in people's lives.¹¹⁴ The poverty of many urbanised Afrikaners is also a constant theme.¹¹⁵

The Afrikaans churches played a leading role in rebuilding the Afrikaner people after the war of 1899-1902, and the churches championed Afrikaans as a language. As previously mentioned, the church played a key role in Afrikaner education: "Maar dan moet ons almal ook beseef dat die skool, naas die kerk en huisgesin, een van die belangrikste en gevoeligste lewenskringe van 'n volk is".¹¹⁶ The emphasis on morality can therefore be seen as an attempt to uphold the Afrikaner nation, and safeguard it from harm.

¹¹³ Die Kerkbode, 21 January 1948, p.10.

¹¹⁴ Die Kerkbode, 10 March 1948, p.515.

¹¹⁵ Die Kerkbode, 1 September 1948, pp.481 - 3. Die Kerkbode, 21 January 1948, p.112, p.117.

¹¹⁶ Die Kerkbode, 20 October 1948, p.905.

4.3 Women belong in a domestic sphere and are under men's authority

Throughout the articles examined in this chapter runs a discourse that women should be subservient to men. Men were exhorted to worship and respect women, while recognising their physical frailty and protecting them.¹¹⁷ Women, on the other hand, are exhorted to remain pure, and are the targets of moralising. Although some women questioned women's status in the church and education systems, most women seemed to accept their subservient status. Women's involvement in public life seems to have been limited to careers in teaching, social work and nursing. By and large, those women who did work outside the home did so out of economic necessity, and were to be helped and pitied. Suitable interests for women included anything to do with home life, the arts or culture, beauty and appearances, and moral and spiritual values.

While it is true that during this period most middle class women were housewives, it should also be noted that after World War II, women were entering the workforce in larger numbers. Between 1947 and 1952 the number of women workers in the clothing industry in the Transvaal rose from 10,930 to 15 061. Although the majority of these women were black, some white women were included in the workforce. White women also began moving out of industry and into the clerical and distributive sectors during this period.¹¹⁸ By 1951 96 333 women were in clerical posts, while 7 434 women were in higher professions.¹¹⁹ There were 238 women lecturers and

¹¹⁷ Die Kerkbode, 4 February 1948, p.207.

¹¹⁸ S. Marks and S. Trapido (Eds), The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa, pp.139 - 140.

¹¹⁹ C.P. Van der Merwe and C.F. Albertyn, (Eds), Die Vrou, Deel II, p.353.

professors, while 15 453 women were part of the nursing profession.¹²⁰

There are hardly any discourses present in the magazines about women who worked outside the home. Ideology in this case therefore does not reflect reality altogether accurately.

4.4 Ideology indicates that there is a growing Afrikaner middle class

The magazines examined here also showed a lively interest in etiquette, and correct behaviour. This is common to all women's magazines of the period, and these "rules" were not confined only to magazines. Although published a few years later than this portion of the study (in 1955) the book Lewenskuns en Goeie Maniere¹²¹ is a typical example of behavioural guidelines set for middle class women. This book contains strict rules for everything from setting the table for a dinner party to the correct way of announcing an engagement. The existence of such a book could also point to the basic insecurities of the Afrikaner woman about how to act. Such a book would provide Afrikaner women with the "correct" behaviour or etiquette, thus putting their minds at ease. The book also emphasises appearance, and the fact that it is aimed at the middle class is evidenced by sections on how to treat servants, and numerous travel tips, items which working class women would not require.

The existence of a growing Afrikaans middle class in Johannesburg is borne out when other evidence is consulted. O'Meara states that in the early 1940s, Afrikaners were worse off financially than their English speaking counterparts.¹²² During this period the National party realised

¹²⁰ C.P. Van der Merwe and C.F. Albertyn, Die Vrou, Deel II, p.353.

¹²¹ A. Van Alphen and H. MaJan, Lewenskuns en Goeie Maniere.

¹²² D. O'Meara, Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party, 1948 - 1994, p.75.

that assuming control of state power would be the best way of gaining greater control of the industrial and commercial sector for Afrikaners.¹²³ Once the National Party government was in power, it worked steadily to improve the economic fortunes of Afrikaners.

This was done by dramatically increasing the number of Afrikaners employed by the state. The National Party increased the public sector share of the economy, almost doubling it during the first 25 years of National Party rule.¹²⁴ State employees were given security of tenure and had access to government health care and other social welfare. This nurtured the emergent Afrikaner middle class. The tightening of influx controls and job reservation laws regulated African labour and protected white Afrikaans workers. These measures worked together to raise the standard of living for Afrikaners and expand the middle class.

The period between 1946 and 1973 was a period of rapid economic growth during which Afrikaner businessmen were appointed to key economic positions on state economic boards and senior management positions in state industries and key public corporations. Direct financial assistance was also given to some Afrikaner companies by the National Party. Government and local authority accounts were switched to Afrikaner finance companies, and plum government contracts were awarded to Afrikaner firms.¹²⁵ Economic corporations such as Iscor and Escom were established by the state. Education for Afrikaners was improved to enable them to move into

¹²³ D. O'Meara, Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party, 1948 - 1994, p.76.

¹²⁴ D. O'Meara, Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party, 1948 - 1994, p.79.

¹²⁵ D. O'Meara, Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party, 1948 - 1994, p.80.

professions such as medicine and law in large numbers.¹²⁶ This mobilising of state resources resulted in rapid economic growth, and the upward mobility of the Afrikaner. Nationalism and ethnic mobilisation was therefore the basis of Afrikaner power, on both a political and economic level.¹²⁷

It is therefore not surprising that discourses which would target middle class consumers also inform the magazines examined here. The obsession with things American exhibited in the Rooi Rose may be linked to the newly emergent Afrikaner capitalist class seeking to emulate one of the foremost capitalist countries in the world. (An instance of Afrikaners borrowing from the United States is cited by O'Meara. He states that the Rembrandt group borrowed principles of "scientific management" from the States during the 1940s¹²⁸ while taking care to portray itself as a protector of the Afrikaner volk). The trappings of glamorous Hollywood thus show Afrikaners the capitalist role required of them. The constant emphasis on etiquette reminds one of the moral imperatives of Die Huisgenoot, although here the message is to become a good capitalist rather than a good mother of the nation.

There is also evidence that education played a prominent role in nurturing the emergent Afrikaner middle classes. Discourses examined here show the importance of education to Afrikaner nationalists, and education now prepared young Afrikaners for work as professionals and middle class white collar workers. "In die doeltreffende beroepsarbeid, die skoling,

¹²⁶ H. Adam and H. Giliomee, Ethnic Power Mobilized: Can South Africa Change?, p.168.

¹²⁷ H. Adam and H. Giliomee, Ethnic Power Mobilized: Can South Africa Change, p.177.

¹²⁸ O'Meara, Volkskapitalisme: Class, Capital and Ideology in the development of Afrikaner Nationalism, 1934 - 1948, p.203.

leiding, organisering en mees doeltreffende benutting van hierdie arbeidskrag lê die redding en die toekoms van ons volk,"¹²⁹ said Nico Diederichs, leader of the Reddingsdaadbond, in 1947, showing how economic interests were inextricably bound up with Afrikaner nationalism and the political quest for power of the Nationalist party.

However, the prominence of nationalist discourses reveal that the Afrikaner middle class seems to have been more concerned during 1948 and 1949 with retaining the political power which they had gained, than with their class status. While nationalist discourses dominate the magazines, consumer discourses (aimed at middle class consumers) are relatively rare.

¹²⁹

E.L.P. Stals, Afrikaners in die Goudstad, Deel II, 1924 - 1961, p.49.

Chapter Three

Alice in Wonderland:

An Examination of Ideology in Magazines during 1958

1. Introduction: Afrikaner society in 1958 - Contrasts, similarities and changes

This chapter examines ideology in 1958 magazines, comparing it to the ideology examined in the previous chapter. By 1958, Afrikaners in Johannesburg were in a stronger position than they had been in 1948. Many organisations supportive of Afrikaners had been founded such as the Handhawersbond, a cultural group founded to support the Afrikaans language, and the Rapportryers, an Afrikaans cultural organisation for men. Many Afrikaans women's organisations, which will be dealt with in detail in Chapter 4, had also been founded, and were active, particularly in the field of social work. J.C.B. Schoeman had founded a special fund to promote Afrikaans in Johannesburg, and Afrikaans schools, both primary and high had continued to be founded as well as an Afrikaans teacher training college, Goudstad Onderwyskollege.

The National Party had been in power for ten years, and in 1954 the second National Party prime minister, J.G. Strijdom, had come into power. He was to die of a heart attack on 24 August 1958. However, while the National Party was entrenching its support among white Afrikaners, there was growing opposition to the policies of apartheid among other races. In Johannesburg one instance of this was the mass demonstration of seven thousand black people on the steps of the Johannesburg city hall in May 1957.

The task in this chapter is to analyse the ideology produced during 1958, compare it to that produced during 1948 and 1949, ascertaining the reasons for differences and similarities. Many of the same magazines as were used in 1948 will be used here: Sarie Marais, and Die Kerkbode; however Patrys, an educational magazine for the Afrikaner youth, will be used instead of magazines from Helpmekaar school, as Helpmekaar school magazines for 1958 were not available.

2. The Sarie Marais

2.1 Changes in the magazine

When analysing the discourses in the 1958 Sarie Marais, those discourses uncovered in 1949 will be used as the departure point. Changes in discourses will be highlighted, and conclusions will be drawn from those changes.

In 1958 the Sarie Marais was nine years old. During this year the editor was Fred le Roux, and the assistant editor was Alba Bouwer. By 1958, the Sarie Marais had become a more substantial magazine, now able to produce a detachable booklet of household hints, patterns and recipes.

The covers of the Sarie Marais magazines during 1949 were often nationalistic in nature using illustrations of women in national dress, or Voortrekker images. During 1958 the photographs on the covers of the magazines are of young children, women models and bowls of fruit, vegetables or flowers. No overtly nationalistic images are used on the cover during this year.

The magazine still contains short stories, serialised fiction, sketches, social news, articles on child rearing, beauty, fashion, interior decorating, sewing, knitting, cooking and regular columns. New features are the regular columns dealing with film and Hollywood personalities, a

consumer products page, and some articles on travel and overseas cultures. Overall, the feel of the magazine is more sophisticated, and although its market remains the middle class Afrikaans woman, one feels that this woman has become more sophisticated, more urbanised, and has moved further away from the "plattelandse boerevrou" of the turn of the century.

2.2 Analysis of ideology present in 1958 issues of Sarie Marais

In 1949 the Sarie Marais presented the volksmoeder as the dominant image of the Afrikaner woman. In 1958, only six instances of volksmoeder imagery are found. Most articles containing references to volksmoeders relate to books which have just been published, or personalities.¹ All of these articles idealise Afrikaner women seeing them as moral leaders and guides of the nation.

Although the volksmoeder image as such has waned, women still remain important guardians of culture. There are twenty articles during the year which deal with cultural issues such as books, music, art and history. Articles about music are varied, ranging from a regular column called "Kom ons luister", which reviews gramophone records, to an article about dogs

¹ Sarie Marais, 22 January 1958, pp.16 - 17, article about Jan Hofmeyr's mother who turned 95 in 1958 ("Die mense praat oor..."). Sarie Marais, 5 February 1958, pp.14 - 15, article about Anna Verwoerd. Sarie Marais, 19 February 1958, p.14, article about Mrs Johanna Brandt, author of book about Afrikaner women in the 1899 - 1902 war: Die Kappiekommando. Sarie Marais, 28 May 1958, p.32, article about the women A.G. Visser wrote a poem about, ("Liefste Tannie, ons bring rosies"). Sarie Marais, 12 November 1958, pp.48 - 50, article about women from the Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie who cleaned up the concentration camp graveyard outside Irene. Sarie Marais, 24 December 1958, pp.46 - 47, article by M.E. Rothmann about how bridal outfits were made in early South African times.

that sing.² There is also a column which reviews books called "Wat Kan Ek Lees?" as well as articles about authors.³ There are articles about women artists, Elly Holm⁴ and sculptor Elizabeth Macadam⁵, and there are also articles about people and places of historical or artistic importance.⁶ More prominent too, are articles on film, in keeping with the growth of the film industry during the second half of the twentieth century. There is a regular column about the film stars of Hollywood which portrays them in an idealised way.⁷ In keeping with the waning volksmoeder image, the culture

² Sarie Marais, 6 August 1958, p.59. (A regular column on records is found usually on p.52 or p.54 of the magazine). Also see Sarie Marais, 8 January 1958, p.7, article about a West-German choir started by social workers in order to keep children busy ("Kinders sing 'n kasteel los") and Sarie Marais, 25 June 1958, p.40, article about how to make a child practise the piano ("Ek wil nie oefen nie").

³ Sarie Marais, 5 February 1958, p.17. Sarie Marais, 28 May 1958, p.14. Sarie Marais, 6 August 1958, p.26. Sarie Marais, 3 September 1958, p.42. The first three references here references to a regular column in the Sarie Marais about which books to read ("Wat kan ek lees"). Sarie Marais, 22 January 1958, pp.8 - 9, interview with an 82 year old Dutch writer of novels. Sarie Marais, 10 December pp.20 - 21, article about a family who travelled through Africa while the father wrote a book.

⁴ Sarie Marais, 25 June 1958, pp.38 - 9.

⁵ Sarie Marais, 15 October 1958, p.57.

⁶ Sarie Marais, 8 January 1958, p.10, article about a historical house in Holland filled with valuable paintings. Sarie Marais, 5 February 1958, p.44, article about the South African Arts Association holding exhibitions in a furniture shop. Sarie Marais, 19 February 1958, p.18, article about a movie being made in Natal. Sarie Marais, 5 March 1958, p.46, article about a historical house in Germiston ("Hulle woon in 'n stal"). Sarie Marais, 10 December 1958, pp.32 - 33, article about Mrs Louise Liesching who lived in a house which belonged to the editor of Die Volkstem which had become a museum.

⁷ Sarie Marais, 23 July 1958, p.42, example of a regular column which features different stars such as Diane Varsi, Mario Lanza, Yul Brenner in every issue, ("Flitse uit die filmwêreld"). Sarie Marais, 3 September 1958, p.16, article about Susie Strasberg, a child star ("Susie word groot"). Sarie Marais, 1 October 1958, pp.20 - 1, article about Hollywood women ("Hollywood se stil vroue").

of the magazine is no longer exclusively Afrikaans; now music, art and literature from other nations is included.

Just as women remain the guardians of cultures, so the theme of women as mothers and nurturers remains strong, and dominates the 1958 issues of Sarie Marais. During 1958, 40 articles relating to this theme were found. These include articles on how to raise children,⁸ articles about physically or mentally disadvantaged children,⁹ articles giving advice on the psychological aspects of child rearing,¹⁰ articles on mothers as

⁸ Sarie Marais, 5 February 1958, pp.24 - 5, article on how to get your children to do housework. Sarie Marais, 19 February 1958, pp.8 - 9, article about how one should not abandon one's children to the care of black nannies. Sarie Marais, 5 March 1958, p.51, an article on toilet training. Sarie Marais, 16 April 1958, p.52, article about how to bath a newborn baby. Sarie Marais, 30 April 1958, p.30, article about dummies for babies ("Die fopspeen is weer met ons"). Sarie Marais, 14 May 1958, p.40, article about the first year of a child's life. Sarie Marais, 11 June 1958, p.66, article about feeding babies. Sarie Marais, 9 July 1958, pp.32 - 33, article about the best clothes for children to wear. Sarie Marais, 9 July 1958, p.39, article about books for children ("Wat kan my kind lees?"). Sarie Marais, 20 August 1958, p.6, article about teenage girls ("'n Skoolgaande dogter hoort tuis"). Sarie Marais, 17 September 1958, pp.64 - 5, article by a teacher giving advice on how to discipline children ("Ek het geleer by dogters en seuns van dertien"). Sarie Marais, 29 October 1958, pp.38 - 9, article about how one can raise happy toddlers through encouraging play. Sarie Marais, 10 December 1958, pp.54 - 55, article on how to bring up twins ("Die ma van 'n tweeling het vier hande nodig, maar dit kan gedoen word").

⁹ Sarie Marais, 22 January 1958, pp.10 - 11, article about Woodside, a sanctuary in Yeoville for physically handicapped children. Sarie Marais, 2 April 1958, p.25, article about mentally disabled children ("Ek het 'n kind in skaduland").

¹⁰ Sarie Marais, 5 March 1958, pp.28 - 9, article about how not to push your child too hard ("'n Kind kan of hy kan nie"). Sarie Marais, 2 April 1958, p.48, article about problem children ("Die koppige kind"). Sarie Marais, 16 April 1958, p.62, article about Rudolf Steiner schools. Sarie Marais, 30 April 1958, p.12, article about how the woman in a house determines the atmosphere in that house ("'n Lekker lag is soos sonskyn in die huis"). Sarie Marais, 28 May 1958, p.35, article about children and discipline ("Die bedorwe brokkie"). Sarie Marais, 9 July 1958, p.51, article about sibling rivalry ("As jy nie die witbroodjie is nie"). Sarie Marais, 23 July 1958, p.36, article about moral values in children ("'n Man van eer - hoe help 'n ouer sy kind

nurturers of the community,¹¹ articles about childbirth,¹² and an article praising motherhood and housework as satisfying careers.¹³ This last article echoes the ideal of selfless motherhood seen in previous years.

An interesting new theme is mothers and travel. Two articles were found about this, the first suggesting that cars should be sold: "Resep vir gelukk; verkoop u motor"¹⁴ which suggests that if the car is sold the mother will be confined to her home, will have more time for her children

om dit te word?"). Sarie Marais, 6 August, p.56, article about children who lie ("Die kind wat jok het hulp nodig, nie slae nie"). Sarie Marais, 6 August 1958, p.16, article about the superstitions surrounding birth and childcare ("Pasop vir die duiwel se hanskinders"). Sarie Marais, 20 August 1958, p.44, article about teenagers ("My dogter van dertien is 'n moeilike mens. Kan ek haar help?"). Sarie Marais, 3 September 1958, p.63, article giving the child's perspective of the parents ("Dogters kla oor ouers"). Sarie Marais, 12 November 1958, pp. 41 - 42, article about the value of humour ("Leer jou kind lag"). Sarie Marais, 24 December 1958, pp.18 - 19, article about how mothers' moods influence their offspring ("Wat gee 'n mens die beste begin - Dr. Inge Santer sê 'n vrolike moeder").

¹¹ Sarie Marais, 30 April 1958, p.38, article about a building built by the Vroue Federasie to house lonely Pretoria widows. Sarie Marais, 30 April 1958, pp.44 - 45, article about a school for black women on a mission station. Sarie Marais, 14 May 1958, pp.6 - 7, article about a woman who does mission work in South Africa and Tanganyika. Sarie Marais, 28 May 1958, p.16, article about a French woman journalist who helps the homeless ("Die engel van die stad"). Sarie Marais, 10 December 1958, pp. 46 - 7, article about how to be a good visitor to the sick. This advises the woman to encourage the sick at all times "sê jy lyk baie beter as wat ek verwag het", p.46.

¹² Sarie Marais, 6 August 1958, p.16, article about superstitions surrounding birth and child care. ("Pasop vir die duiwel se hanskinders"). Sarie Marais, 20 August 1958, p.8, article about pain management in childbirth ("Opblaas-pijamas verlig geboortepyne").

¹³ Sarie Marais, 17 September 1958, pp.19 - 20, article about the importance of housewives ("Die waarde van 'n huisvrou se werk kan nie met geld gemeet word nie"). A quote from the article reads "Dit is juis die ideale element in 'n vrou en moeder se werk wat daaraan die groot, onbetaalbare waarde gee - die offervaardigheid, die diensbereidheid, die pligsgetrouheid", p.20.

¹⁴ Sarie Marais, 17 September 1958, pp.58 - 9.

and will consequently be happier: "'n Mens het meer tyd vir you kinders, so sonder motor, waar jou erf jou eilandsvesting geword het."¹⁵ Ironically, the second article dealing with this theme is about how to avoid travel sickness.¹⁶

Comparing the articles on motherhood of 1958 with those of 1949, some interesting facts emerge. Clearly the women who read the 1958 issues of the Sarie Marais are financially better off than they were in 1949. In 1949 three articles mention financial hardship endured by mothers.¹⁷

By 1958 the economic fortunes of the Afrikaner have changed for the better, and this is reflected in the mention of cars and travel, luxuries which these people were not previously able to afford. The rampant nationalism of 1949 has disappeared, to be replaced by a more materialistic consumer culture. There is a regular consumer page in the 1958 magazine, and there are also articles specifically for the consumer.¹⁸

This can be related to the events of the time in that by 1958 the Afrikaner had formed a strong middle class. Afrikaans businesses had been founded to compete with the English, and were doing well, and the need for a strong Afrikaner nationalism was not as urgent as it had been before and

¹⁵ Sarie Marais, 17 September 1958, p.58 - 59.

¹⁶ Sarie Marais, 24 December 1958, pp.38 - 9, article about how to cope with travel sickness ("Geniet u reis op land, op see, in die lug, want dis nie nodig om rysiek te word nie").

¹⁷ Sarie Marais, 27 July 1949, p.3, article about how mothers working because of economic necessity need social support. Sarie Marais, 2 November 1949, p.3, article about social workers helping people to form vegetable clubs so that they might eat healthy food without paying too much money for it. Sarie Marais, 2 November 1949, p.36, article mentioning the poor white problem.

¹⁸ Sarie Marais, 29 October 1958, p.67, article advising mothers how to get value for money by going shopping without their children ("Pasop vir die kat in die sak"). Sarie Marais, 26 November 1958, pp.8 - 9, article about how to buy wisely ("So word vroue verleë - 'n komplot teen u beursie").

shortly after the 1948 election. The National Party was comfortably in power, no longer striving to wrest the political reins of the country away from the English, although it still had to maintain and defend its political gains.

Another striking difference between 1949 and 1958 is the emphasis placed on psychological issues in the 1958 editions of the magazine. In 1949, debates were about morality rather than psychology. In 1958 there are no fewer than 16 articles about psychological issues, some of these focussing specifically on the psychological problems of women and mothers.¹⁹ This emphasis on psychological issues may reflect the rise in the importance of psychology as a social science, but it also confirms the middle class status of the Afrikaner, as people undergoing financial hardship could ill afford to ponder psychological problems, when economic ones were more pressing.

It is interesting to note that moral pressures are still being brought to bear upon women, although in a subtler way than the strident 1948 nationalistic propaganda, in that they are often pointed at as the cause of the problems in their families.²⁰ A few articles about etiquette and correct social behaviour are also still present in 1958 issues of the

¹⁹ Sarie Marais, 5 February 1958, pp.8 - 9, quiz to find out whether one is lacking self-confidence ("Ek is sonder self-vertroue"). Sarie Marais, 1 October 1958, pp.48 - 49, article about how to handle teenagers written by a psychologist ("Vertrou jou kinders"). Sarie Marais, 29 October 1958, pp.6 - 7, article about wives of alcoholics ("Die vrou van 'n dronklap - moet haar nie bejammer nie, dis dalk haar skuld"). Sarie Marais, 26 November 1958, pp.70 - 71, article about good mothering practices ("Is jy 'n goeie moeder?"). Sarie Marais, 29 October 1958, pp.28 - 29, article about how reading can help psychological problems ("Sielsiektes word met boek gedokter"). Many of the article mentioned in Footnote 10 also refer to psychological issues.

²⁰ Sarie Marais, 29 October 1958, pp.6 - 7; article about wives of alcoholics. This is an especially telling instance. In this article a woman's shortcomings are blamed for driving her husband to drink.

magazine.²¹

Another difference between 1949 and 1958 is the many articles found in 1958 about women's careers. In 1949 references were made infrequently to women who worked, but the consensus of opinion was that most women were working because of economic necessity. There were exceptions to this rule, but generally women did not have careers. In 1958 there are twenty-one articles dealing with women and their careers. The January 8 issue contains photographs of women achievers, bursary holders, poets, teachers and biologists.²² This trend is continued throughout the year in articles featuring women who have achieved in their various fields. These include women prodigies,²³ prominent Afrikaans women,²⁴ women writers (some of whom are Afrikaans),²⁵ and a Russian woman space scientist.²⁶

There are also, as in the Sarie Marais of 1949, articles celebrating women who have done unusual things. In 1949 there were five of these articles, now there are ten, and they do not provide as striking a contrast to other discourses in the magazines as they did in 1949. The articles range from one about the richest woman in the world to a woman doctor

²¹ Sarie Marais, 5 March, p.40, article about kissing when courting ("Moet jy soen om gewild te wees"). Sarie Marais, 26 November 1958, p.65, article about etiquette ("Aangename kennismaking").

²² Sarie Marais, January 8, 1958, pp.14 - 15.

²³ Sarie Marais, 22 January 1958, pp.32 - 3, article about a girl in Paarl who obtained her BSc. degree at 16 years of age.

²⁴ Sarie Marais, 22 January 1958, pp.16 - 17, article about J.H. Hofmeyr's mother's work. She was a nurse, dramatist and writer, and curator of Langenhoven's work.

²⁵ Sarie Marais, 5 February 1958, pp.13 - 14, articles about Afrikaans women writers and poets. Sarie Marais, 5 March 1958, p.56, article about Selma Lagerlöf who wrote "Niels Holgerson". Sarie Marais, 5 March 1958, p.64, article about the writer Audrey Blignaut ("Die Vrolike Lied"). Sarie Marais, 19 March 1958, pp.56 - 7, article on Agatha Christie.

²⁶ Sarie Marais, 5 March 1958, p.38.

working in Nigeria.²⁷

There are also career-related articles, for instance, an article warning of how short a model's career is,²⁸ and four articles about women who lead unusual lives because of their husbands' careers.²⁹ However, many articles still appear about topics which traditionally have been seen as women-related. These include 18 articles about crafts and gardening,³⁰

²⁷ Sarie Marais, 19 March 1958, p.20, a series of pictures of women architects and builders. Sarie Marais, 16 April 1958, pp.8 - 9, article about the richest women in the world. Sarie Marais, 16 April 1958, pp.24 - 25, article about Dr. Martha Moernich of the Royal Geographical Society who was an intrepid traveller. Sarie Marais, 30 April 1958, p.28, article about two German women who are tramps. Sarie Marais, 11 June 1958, p.18, article about a woman breeder of angora rabbits who began one of the biggest factories in Europe. Sarie Marais, 9 July 1958, pp.20 - 1, article about a South African woman who walked around the world. Sarie Marais, 6 August 1958, p.32, article about a Finnish woman doctor and surgeon living in Ovamboland. Sarie Marais, 3 September 1958, p.13, article about a woman doctor who went to work in Nigeria ("Dokter teen toordokter"). Sarie Marais, 10 December 1958, pp.80 - 81, article about a woman who started a school for the blind in Southern Rhodesia ("Ndcaidza - ek sal probeer").

²⁸ Sarie Marais, 10 December 1958, pp.58 - 9.

²⁹ See Sarie Marais, 22 January 1958, pp.42 - 3, article about a chimney sweep and his wife living in Brussels ("Koning van die skoorsteenveërs"). Sarie Marais, 28 May 1958, p.6, article about the wife of South Africa's first admiral ("So woon ons eerste admiraalsvrou"). Sarie Marais, 23 July 1958, p.4, article about the wife of the chief game warden in South West Africa ("Hier moet 'n vrou haar man liefhê"). Sarie Marais, 3 September 1958, p.38, article about the wife of a game ranger in South West Africa.

³⁰ Sarie Marais, 22 January 1958, pp.26 - 7, article about an Italian noblewoman who became a designer and weaver. Sarie Marais, 22 January, p.36, article about how to make a room look light and attractive. Sarie Marais, 5 February 1958, pp.40 - 1, article about bathrooms. Sarie Marais, 5 March 1958, p.48, article about gardening. Sarie Marais, 19 March 1958, p.48, article about a woman who cultivates orchids. Sarie Marais, 16 April 1958, p.48, articles about a woman who designs gardens in Pretoria. Sarie Marais, 28 May 1958, p.42, article about aloes. Sarie Marais, 11 June, p.27, article about gardening in Namaqualand. Sarie Marais, 25 June 1958, p.24, article about gardening. Sarie Marais, 25 June 1958, p.42, article about covering and decorating shoes. Sarie Marais, 25 June 1958, pp.54

4 articles about health³¹ and 35 articles about fashion and beauty.³²

- 5. article about "Cheiridopsisplantjies". Sarie Marais, 23 July 1958, p.44, article about gardening. Sarie Marais, 6 August 1958, p.54, article about how to blow up photographs and hang them up attractive. Sarie Marais, 1 October 1958, pp.24 - 5, "Naaldwerk sonder ryg of spelde". Sarie Marais, 1 October 1958, pp.32 - 3, article about growing proteas. Sarie Marais, 29 October 1958, pp.34 - 5, how to make bouquets of flowers. Sarie Marais, 10 December 1958, pp.48 - 9, article about how to grow ferns. Sarie Marais, 24 December 1958, pp.20 - 1, article about how to use flowers for Christmas decorations.

³¹ Sarie Marais, 14 May 1958, p.44, article about healthy eating ("Keer verkoues deur reg te eet"). Sarie Marais, 9 July 1958, p.6, article about how to keep young. Sarie Marais, 17 September 1958, pp.12 - 13 article about faith healing ("Lourdes - waar siekes opstaan en loop"). Sarie Marais, 1 October 1958, p.46 - 47, article about an oxygen bar in Paris.

³² Sarie Marais, 8 January 1958, pp.34 - 35, article about how to keep trim and healthy ("Die Soeklig val op jou arms, jou bene, jou nek, jou rug"). Sarie Marais, 5 February 1958, p.32, article about skincare ("Hou jou vel klam - dan bly dit langer glad en mooi"). Sarie Marais, 5 February 1958, p.36, pages showing new fashions. Sarie Marais, 2 April 1958, p.35, article about attractive legs ("Mooi bene"). Sarie Marais, 2 April 1958, p.63, article about how to attain the right weight ("Te maer is ook nie mooi nie"). Sarie Marais, 16 April 1958, p.34, article about face massage. Sarie Marais, 14 May 1958, p.32, article about choosing the right colour lipstick. Sarie Marais, 28 May 1958, p.37, article about care of the hands. Sarie Marais, 25 June 1958, p.32, article about skin problems. Sarie Marais, 25 June 1958, p.26, article about how to look younger. Sarie Marais, 9 July 1958, p.53, article about make-up. Sarie Marais, 23 July 1958, p.41, article giving beauty hints for pregnant women. Sarie Marais, 23 July, p.63, article about how dress size affects womens' postures. Sarie Marais, 6 August 1958, p.37, article about how placenta cream can take away wrinkles. Sarie Marais, 6 August 1958, p.44, article giving tips for overweight women who want to look thinner. Sarie Marais, 20 August 1958, p.7, article about slimming. Sarie Marais, 20 August 1958, p.32, article about fashionable clothing ("Die mode sê stywe krulle is uit"). Sarie Marais, 3 September 1958, p.7, article about slimming ("Eet soveel vleis, eiers, kaas, botter as u wil en word maer"). Sarie Marais, 3 September 1958, p.31, article about make-up ("Oor lippe en lipstiffies"). Sarie Marais, 3 September 1958, p.36, article about slimming ("Weg met die winter se vetrolle"). Sarie Marais, 17 September 1958, pp.9 - 11, article giving advice about hairstyles ("Sarie Marais se haarkliniek"). Sarie Marais, 17 September 1958, p.35, article about fashionable clothing. Sarie Marais, 1 October 1958, pp.16 - 17, article about hairstyles ("Vleiende kapsels vir die ouer vrou"). Sarie Marais, 1 October 1958, pp.36 - 37, article about fashionable clothing. Sarie Marais, 29 October 1958, pp.20 - 21, article about hairstyles.

There is a regular interior decorating feature in the magazine as well.

Marriage is also an important theme, with ten articles being written about this subject.³³ Interesting to note is the article about a woman keeping her own money separately in a marriage. This suggests that women are beginning to be seen as autonomous individuals within a marriage instead of simply being wives subservient to husbands.

The sense of Afrikaner women developing an identity of their own and a solidarity as women is continued in the features on Afrikaans women's organisations, women in politics, and a series on women of different cultures.

As previously mentioned, women had no real place in the political arena in 1948, although they were valued for the role they played in developing Afrikaner nationalism. By 1958, however, women are acknowledged

Sarie Marais, 29 October 1958, pp.36 - 37, article about fashionable clothing. Sarie Marais, 26 November 1958, pp.54 - 55, article about holiday dresses. Sarie Marais, 10 December 1958, pp.34 - 35, article about how to look after your feet. Sarie Marais, 24 December 1958, pp.28 - 9, article about how to look attractive on New Year's Eve. Sarie Marais, 24 December 1958, pp.34 - 35, article about fashionable clothing. Sarie Marais, 24 December 1958, p.49, article about how to wake up feeling beautiful.

³³ Sarie Marais, 11 June 1958, p.6. Sarie Marais, 23 July 1958, p.24, article about marriage to an artist. Sarie Marais, 17 September 1958, pp.22 - 23, quiz ("Sal 'n man met my wil trou?"). Sarie Marais, 15 October 1958, p.6 - 7, article about being married to a man who has been married before ("Ek is my man se tweede vrou"). Sarie Marais, 15 October 1958, p.19, article about what marriage entails ("Die huwelik is darem meer as dit"). Sarie Marais, 15 October 1958, pp.28 - 29, article about how to look beautiful on one's wedding day ("Wees 'n stralende bruid"). Sarie Marais, 15 October 1958, pp.38 - 39, article giving advice to bridesmaids. Sarie Marais, 15 October 1958, p.43, article discussing handling one's money if one is married ("Die getroude vrou en haar eie geld"). (Note that the issue of 15 October 1958 was a special bridal issue). Sarie Marais, 29 October 1958, pp.40 - 41, article about an Afrikaner who is married to a Norwegian ("Die gemengde huwelik kan wel slaag"). Sarie Marais, 26 November 1958, pp.36 - 37, article about what true love really is ("Liefde en hartstog - Daar is 'n verskil en elke vrou moet dit kan herken").

as being able to play some sort of political role. Often this is as a supportive partner to a husband actively involved in politics,³⁴ but in 1958 some articles are also written about women who became involved in politics in their own right.³⁵ The anti-communist standpoint of the National Party is clearly visible in some of these articles.

Also appearing in this year are a series of articles about Afrikaner women's organisations and the women who ran them. There are four of these articles, the first one appearing in July, entitled "Mevrou die voorsitter, u staan in die lig".³⁶ This article deals with how chairpeople can sometimes overwhelm the organisation: "Hierdie saak raak die groeikrag en gesondheid van talle vroueverenigings, wat noodsaaklik in die samestelling van die volkslewe is, en dit raak die persoonlikheidsvorming van duisende lede."³⁷ Other articles are about Mrs Ina de Villiers, the chairperson of the Afrikaanse Dameskring in Johannesburg, an organisation with 80 members;³⁸ Mrs A.C. Raath, who for 28 years was the secretary of the

³⁴ Sarie Marais, 19 February 1958, p.25, article about Russian women ("Die vroue in die lewe van Chroesjistof"). Sarie Marais, 19 February, p.76 - 77, article about an Afrikaner woman married to the mayor of Johannesburg ("'n Boeremeisie word burgemeestersvrou van die Goudstad"). Sarie Marais, 1 October 1958, pp.10 - 13, article about Bestie Verwoerd, the wife of the new South African prime minister ("Nuwe premiersvrou in Groote Schuur").

³⁵ Sarie Marais, 5 March 1958, p.15, article about Bertha Solomon, South African woman and fighter for women's rights, Chairperson of the National council for Women. Sarie Marais, 12 November 1958, pp.6 - 7, article entitled "Hierdie vrou moes eintlik gesterf het" about a Russian woman imprisoned for her opposition to communism. Sarie Marais, 24 December 1958, pp.10 - 11, article entitled "Sy lewe in die skaduwee van die dood" about a woman who was jailed in Russia for 12 years.

³⁶ Sarie Marais, 23 July 1958, p.13.

³⁷ Sarie Marais, 23 July 1958, p.13.

³⁸ Sarie Marais, 6 August 1958, p.9.

Melville-Auckland Park branch of the Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie³⁹ and Mrs Esther Knobel, the chairperson of the Nasionale Parlementêre Vroueklub.⁴⁰ In April there is an article about Elise Smith, a founder member of the Maria van Riebeeckklub, and later chairperson of the club.⁴¹

These articles focus on women as active beings in their own right, who have an identity of their own. This trend is continued in a series of articles about women of different cultures which also appears in 1958 issues of the magazine.⁴²

The 1958 issues of the Sarie Marais also contain articles about a variety of other topics which do not fit into any of the categories analysed above. There are twenty-one of these articles, and they are about topics as diverse as a new speed typewriter,⁴³ gatherings of widows and widowers,⁴⁴ and an article about the South African Defence Force.⁴⁵ These articles show that women are now being seen as people who have interests outside the home and family.

³⁹ Sarie Marais, 23 July 1958, p.28.

⁴⁰ Sarie Marais, 3 September 1958, p.23.

⁴¹ Sarie Marais, 30 April 1958, p.7.

⁴² Sarie Marais, 5 March 1958, pp.10 - 11, article about Chinese women. Sarie Marais 19 March 1958, p.46, article about Japanese women. Sarie Marais, 2 April 1958, p.46, article about Balinese women. Sarie Marais, 5 March 1958, p.8, article about Pedi culture and food. Sarie Marais, 26 November 1958, pp. 14 - 15, article about the Greek community in South Africa.

⁴³ Sarie Marais, 5 February 1958, p.56.

⁴⁴ Sarie Marais, 22 January 1958, p.22.

⁴⁵ Sarie Marais, 2 April 1958, p.10.

3. Analysis of articles in the Patrys magazine during 1958

3.1 Background of the magazine

Patrys was an educational magazine, written specifically for the youth. It was started in April 1953 and published until May 1974. Patrys begins by containing a special section for girls, but in March 1958, the girls' section becomes a separate magazine with separate numbering. The girls' section of the magazine makes up only about 16 pages of the magazine's 64 pages. Only the girls' section of the magazine was analysed. Patrys was a monthly magazine, published by Voortrekkerpers. In 1958 the editor was W.S. Sutherland, while the editor in charge of the girls section was Eugenie Smit.

The girls' section of the magazine contains short stories, and serials for girls, as well as articles on a variety of topics. The covers of the girls' section featured girls, sometimes in adventurous settings, for example, exploring tombs, or standing in front of exploding volcanoes.

3.2 Analysis of articles in the girls' section of Patrys

The magazine aims to mould the women of the future. The editorial in the first edition of the magazine with the separate girls' section states: "Die dogters van vandag is die vroue van môre....Die dogtertjie van vandag is die bruid van môre. Die skooldogter wat so lief is vir diere en klein kindertjies, is die moeder van die toekoms. Die dogters van vandag hou die toekoms van ons volk in die palms."⁴⁶ Clearly the magazine sees women primarily as wives, mothers and leaders of the nation, echoing the themes present in women's magazines of 1948 and 1949.

⁴⁶

Patrys, March 1958, p.1, editorial of girls' section of magazine.

The writing in the magazine focuses on etiquette and behaviour, stories glorifying the history of the Afrikaner nation, animals, appearance, home skills (such as interior decorating, cooking and sewing) religion and how to deal with exams.

Many of the articles in the magazine contain strong moral imperatives, particularly those dealing with behaviour. The articles on etiquette include one instructing young boys and girls on the ways to behave in restaurants.⁴⁷ This article spells out strict, but separate moral codes for boys and girls. "Daar is niks wat 'n seun so min van hou as 'n meisie wat 'n neerhalende opmerking teenoor ander maak nie."⁴⁸ It goes on to instruct boys to open doors for girls, young girls to stand up for older women, and boys to get up for all women. It also says that women should dish up cake, as men are too clumsy.⁴⁹ The May issue of the magazine continues with this moralising tone, in the piece "Die dingetjies wat die meeste tel", saying "Dit is die klein dingetjies soos liefde, vriendskap, opregtheid en vriendelikheid wat die lewe die moeite werd maak."⁵⁰ The magazine also emphasises that girls should be gentle,⁵¹ sensitive, artistic and polite ("Vir my is die mooiste en wonderlikste meisies en vrouens dié wat fyngvoelig, hoflik en kunstig is").⁵²

Much of the fiction in the magazine fits into the volksmoeder ideology previously discussed. "Die hele nag" is a story about the brave

⁴⁷ Patrys, January 1958, p.28.

⁴⁸ Patrys, January 1958, p.29.

⁴⁹ Patrys, January 1958, p.29.

⁵⁰ Patrys, May 1958, pp.iv-v.

⁵¹ Patrys, March 1958, p.7.

⁵² Patrys, August 1958, p.vi.

deeds of a voortrekker girl who gets a proposal of marriage as her reward.⁵³ "'n Windbuks vir Sarie"⁵⁴ and "Hoefslae in die nag"⁵⁵, a story about a girl on commando, are two more stories in this mould.

Girls should also be animal lovers. Some of the cover pictures of the magazine feature animals, and in addition, the girls section contains one article about brave and loyal dogs.⁵⁶

Girls are also the ones in charge of appearance. Both they themselves and the places in which they live should be attractive, and the magazine contains several articles telling one how this should be done. "Dis meer om die halsbandjie"⁵⁷ and "Maak jou eie handsak"⁵⁸ tell girls how to beautify themselves, while four other articles during 1958 teach girls the art of interior decorating.⁵⁹ One article appears about handiwork,⁶⁰ and one article appears about religion, telling girls to see God as their guiding force when they grow up.⁶¹

There are no articles about careers for girls in this magazine,

⁵³ Patrys, March 1958, p.32.

⁵⁴ Patrys, March 1958, p.37.

⁵⁵ Patrys, September 1958, p.iv.

⁵⁶ Patrys, March 1958, pp.2 - 3.

⁵⁷ Patrys, April 1958, p.3.

⁵⁸ Patrys, June 1958, p.iii.

⁵⁹ Patrys, July 1958, p.iv, article on decorating a bedroom ("Verfraai jou kamer"). Patrys, July 1958, p.v, article on using furniture creatively ("'n Nuwe rok vir die divan"). Patrys, August 1958, p.viii, article on interior decorating ("Kussings vir skoonheid en gemak"). Patrys, September 1958, p.viii, article on interior decorating ("Doen wonders met gordyne").

⁶⁰ Patrys, October 1958, p.vi, article about crochet.

⁶¹ Patrys, December 1958, n.v, article entitled "Ek is die Wee. die

although several advertisements recruiting nurses appear.⁶² There is however one article giving advice on how to make examinations a positive experience.⁶³

The Patrys therefore sees women as belonging in the home, bringing up children, and guiding the Afrikaner nation. The trend pinpointed in the Sarie Marais issues of 1958 of seeing women as working outside the home is not apparent here. Here, women do not work outside the home as they did in the Sarie Marais. Women are also still subjected to strict moral codes, and have few interests besides the home and family. These discourses are very similar to those found in church and educational magazines during 1948.

4. Analysis of articles about women in Die Kerkbode

Little about Die Kerkbode changed between 1948 and 1958. The magazine has the same format, and the articles concerning women, or aimed at women deal with similar issues to those of 1948.

Women are still identified as nurturers of the nation. In June 1958, an article declares that "'n Nasie is wat sy vroue hom toelaat om te wees"⁶⁴ and in a plea for volunteer matrons for a church hostel, the women in the hostel are as described as "dogters van ons volk wat langs die pad bly lê het."⁶⁵ In an issue later the same month, Gertruida Groenewald acknowledges the important power that women can wield in politics, and

⁶² Patrys, August 1958, p.xi, advertisement recruiting nurses.
Patrys, October 1958, p.vii, advertisement recruiting nurses.
Patrys, November 1958, p.viii, article on how to tackle examinations positively. Patrys, December 1958, p.xii, advertisement recruiting nurses.

⁶³ Patrys, November 1958, p.viii.

⁶⁴ Die Kerkbode, 18 June 1958, p.1083.

⁶⁵ Die Kerkbode, 5 Februarie 1958, p.245.

encourages women to participate in politics and to use their vote to protect their nation saying: "Sy is ook die moeder van die volk van môre."⁶⁶ However, here there is an interesting tension between the volksmoeder ideology, hailing Afrikaner women as mothers of the nation, and the call for active female participation in politics. In previous years women's role was seen as providing men with moral support in the political arena, rather than active participation. There are articles in addition to the two mentioned above which show the church's concern for the welfare of the Afrikaner nation;⁶⁷ here however, women are not specifically mentioned. The importance of a sound home life is a theme that runs through the articles though.

Not only are women nurturers of the Afrikaner nation, they are nurturers of people in general. There are numerous instances of women in healing roles, and some nursing adverts are also present in 1958 issues of the magazine. Vrouesendingsbond anniversaries are commemorated, and the role of woman-as-nurturer is clearly delineated in an article about a world-wide day of prayer for women: "Smeekebede sal opgaan vir ons huisgesinne, vir krankes, vir klein kindertjies wat geen lewensblyheid ken nie, vir eensames en ontworteldes, vir die wat om hul geloof ly, vir volksleiers en wêreldvrede en nog baie ander sake wat so na aan die hart

⁶⁶ Die Kerkbode, 26 February 1958, p.382.

⁶⁷ Die Kerkbode, 1 January 1958, p.29, letter about shortage of Afrikaans teachers. Die Kerkbode, 5 February 1958, p.250, article about "Onderwysprobleme". Die Kerkbode, 5 February 1958, p.31, article where concern is expressed for the health of the Afrikaner nation and "kerk-erosie" and "volks-erosie" are symptoms of the illness. Die Kerkbode, 15 January 1958, p.107, article discussing the problems. Die Kerkbode, 29 January 1958, p.197, article about the dangers of communism for the church ("Kerk onder kommunistieke druk"). Die Kerkbode, 6 August 1958, p.229, article about celebrating the Battle of Blood River ("Geloftedagviering te Bloedrivier").

van die vrou en moeder lê." ⁶⁸

Moral boundaries are still being drawn very clearly for women. Women are encouraged to participate in prayer ⁶⁹ and are criticised for dressing too daringly when playing sport. ⁷⁰ In February Lot's wife is used as an example of what happens to women who sin, ⁷¹ and the morality of divorce and remarriage is debated in August. ⁷² Women are encouraged constantly to do their duty and serve in church organisations, for example the "Kongres van sustersverenigings" an organisation founded to explore ways in which women can serve and do their duty ⁷³ and the "Bond van Dienaresse". ⁷⁴

An important deviation from 1948 discourses in the Kerkbode involves the role of women within the church. In 1948, the magazine stated specifically that women were not allowed to play an active leadership role in church life. They could not preach, or hold any office in the church. In 1958, however, there is a report of how the Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk in the Netherlands opened the offices of deacon and elder to women:

"Die Sinode van die Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk in Nederland het met 27 teen 24 stemme besluit om die ampte van diaken en ouderling ook vir vroue oop te stel, en in sekere gevalle vir bepaalde werksaamhede ook die amp van predikant vir vroue

⁶⁸ Die Kerkbode, 5 February 1958, p.264.

⁶⁹ Die Kerkbode, 22 January 1958, p.149, notice about a world prayer day for women.

⁷⁰ Die Kerkbode, 8 January 1958, p.83, letter ("Sportklere vir vroue"), where the writer complains that women tennis players' dresses are too short.

⁷¹ Die Kerkbode, 12 February 1958, p.317.

⁷² Die Kerkbode, 27 August 1958, p.381.

⁷³ Die Kerkbode, 12 March 1958, p.452.

⁷⁴ Die Kerkbode, 18 June 1958, p.1083.

toeganklik te maak."⁷⁵

There is no comment after this announcement, and also no suggestion that women in South Africa should be allowed to follow suit.

5. Conclusion

From an analysis of magazines of 1958, it can be concluded that the changing circumstances of the Afrikaner are reflected in the discourses found there. Women are now hailed as consumers, which would reflect the fact that Afrikaners were better off financially than they ever had been during the 1940s, and although nationalist discourses are still present (more in educational and church magazines than in women's magazines) they are not as strident as they were in 1948 and 1949.

As was mentioned at the end of Chapter Two, Afrikaners were becoming more prosperous during the decade in question mainly through the National Party protecting Afrikaner workers through creating more government jobs and providing protection for white workers against African workers by means of job reservation and influx control.⁷⁶ More Afrikaners began moving into white collar professions such as the medical profession during the 1950s. From figures quoted by E.L.P. Stals, it may be deduced that 5,9% of Afrikaners were involved in professional, semi-professional and technical jobs in 1949, and by 1961, 6,4% of Afrikaners were involved in these professions.⁷⁷

More Afrikaner women were working in 1961. In 1949, 41,2% of

⁷⁵ Die Kerkbode, 13 August 1958, p.283.

⁷⁶ D. O' Meara, Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party, 1948 - 1994, pp.76 - 77.

⁷⁷ E.L.P. Stals, Afrikaners in die Goudstad, Deel II, 1924 - 1961, p.193. Percentage calculated from the figures given here.

Afrikaners were housewives; this percentage dropped to 35,3 in 1961.⁷⁸ As Afrikaners were upwardly mobile in 1961, one would assume more Afrikaner women were working because they desired careers, and not through economic want. This would seem to be substantiated by the discourse hailing women as independent agents which appears in magazines during 1958, and which was not present in 1948. After the outbreak of World War II, large numbers of married women were drawn into the teaching profession,⁷⁹ and it is reported that by 1950, 53% of teachers in the Transvaal (4 183 women) in state and state aided schools were women, and by 1960, that this figure had risen to 57%.⁸⁰ At almost the same time, in 1951, the same source records that 96 333 women were in clerical posts, 7 434 women were in what the book calls "hoër beroepe", 238 women were lecturers and professors and 15 453 women were nurses.⁸¹

The growing economic prosperity of Afrikaners may further be substantiated by the fact that many Afrikaners were employers of domestic servants during the 1950s. There is scarcely any material in the magazines about domestic workers, and Afrikaner women are not yet being hailed as "madams."⁸² However, middle class Afrikaner women were employing black domestic workers during the time in question, as occasional references to

⁷⁸ E.L.P. Stals, Afrikaners in die Goudstad, Deel II, 1924 - 1961, p.202. Percentages calculated from figures given here.

⁷⁹ C.P. Van der Merwe and D.F. Albertyn (Eds), Die Vrou (Deel II), p.356.

⁸⁰ C.P. Van der Merwe and C.F. Albertyn (Eds), Die Vrou, Deel II, p.357.

⁸¹ C.P. Van der Merwe and C.F. Albertyn (Eds), Die Vrou, Deel II, p.353.

⁸² J. Cock, Maids and Madams: A Study in the Politics of Exploitation, p.8. Cock explains here that madams are white women who are allowed to escape from a structure of constraints imposed by their gender, through their employment of black domestic labour.

them occur.⁸³ A book about family life published in 1958 bears out that the employment of black women in the home was an occurrence common enough to provide a threat to Afrikaner identity. When referring to black domestic workers it warns: "Hulle is onryp en nog vry primitief...Veral mag hulle nie die kinderkamer oorneem nie."⁸⁴

Thus the Afrikaner women examined here would have both been oppressed (in terms of their gender) and oppressors. Cock explains this phenomenon: "'maids' and 'madams' are both victims of discrimination...Nevertheless experience this dependence very differently. The employment of maids frees madams in various ways, not only to play golf and bridge, but to undertake paid employment, to be involved in the community...".⁸⁵ Middle class Afrikaner women could therefore develop as autonomous beings, (as indicated by some of the discourses examined in the 1958 magazines), partly because they could rely on cheap black domestic labour. It is noteworthy that the ethics of the employment relationship and the role of middle class Afrikaner women as oppressors of other women is ignored.

Discourses of 1958 still address women chiefly as mothers and nurturers, and women are still provided with clear-cut moral boundaries. Even though middle class women were beginning to work outside the home in greater numbers during the 1950s, the professions which attracted the most women were what may be termed "the nurturing professions" such as teaching and nursing.⁸⁶ The motherhood discourse also appears to have been lived

⁸³ Sarie Marais, 19 February 1958, pp.8 - 9, see article about how one should not abandon one's children to the care of black nannies.

⁸⁴ R.J. Raath, Die Anker van 'n Volk: Die Gesin as Kerneenhed, p.127.

⁸⁵ J. Cock, Maids and Madams: A Study in the Politics of Exploitation, p.1.

⁸⁶ C.P. Van der Merwe and C.F. Albertyn, Die Vrou, Deel II, p.353.

out by Afrikaner middle class women.⁸⁷

At the same time however, a new breed of career women appears in the pages of women's magazines, and there is even mention of the church allowing women to hold office. The fact that Afrikaner upper and middle class women were moving out of the domestic sphere and into the public one can be confirmed by sources other than the magazines examined. Both the rising divorce rate and the falling birth rate among Afrikaners were cause for concern in 1948.⁸⁸ The Commission of Enquiry appointed by the Dutch Reformed Church in 1948 blamed both these phenomena on "Die veranderde status van die vrou, en haar toetrede tot die publieke lewe".⁸⁹

The marked rise in the divorce rate after each of the two world wars (one in seven marriages ended in divorce in 1948)⁹⁰ may also have left middle class Afrikaner women with a feeling of economic insecurity. This may have been one reason why male discourses were perpetuated, as for many of the women, male domination would also have meant financial security. It is interesting to note that a large proportion of the divorces in South Africa occurred on the Witwatersrand (thus in the Johannesburg area). In 1944, 3 121 divorces were granted in the whole of South Africa. Of these,

⁸⁷ D. Prinsloo, Interviews with middle class Afrikaner women. For an analysis of these interviews, see Chapter 4.

⁸⁸ J.R. Albertyn, P. Du Toit and H.S. Theron, Kerk en Stad: Verslag van die Kommissie van Onderzoek van die Gefedereerde N.G. Kerke na Kerklike en Godsdienstige Toestande in die Nege Stede van die Unie van Suid Afrika, pp.220 - 234.

⁸⁹ J.R. Albertyn, P. Du Toit and H.S. Theron, Kerk en Stad: Verslag van die Kommissie van Onderzoek van die Gefedereerde N.G. Kerke na Kerklike en Godsdienstige Toestande in die Nege Stede van die Unie van Suid Afrika, p.235.

⁹⁰ J.R. Albertyn, P. Du Toit and H.S. Theron, Kerk en Stad: Verslag van die Kommissie van Onderzoek van die Gefedereerde N.G. Kerke na Kerklike en Godsdienstige Toestande in die Nege Stede van die Unie van Suid Afrika, p.234.

1 571 were granted in the Witwatersrand region.⁹¹

Finally it may be concluded that economic, social and political changes both cause and are caused by discourses. (For example, the economic upward mobility of Afrikaners gives rise to a consumerist discourse. This discourse in turn entrenches economic upward mobility.) The relationship between events and discourses therefore seems to be one of reciprocal causality.

⁹¹

J.R. Albertyn, P. Du Toit and H.S. Theron, Kerk en Stad: Verslag van die Kommissie van Onderzoek van die Gefedereerde N.G. Kerke na Kerklike en Godsdienstige Toestande in die Nege Stede van die Unie van Suid-Afrika, p.222.

Chapter Four

Alice Through the Looking Glass: Afrikaner Middle Class Women's Organisations and Their Ideologies 1948 and 1958

1. Aims and scope of the chapter

The aim of this chapter is to ascertain whether the discourses produced by middle class Afrikaner women in 1948 and 1958 were similar to the discourses produced in the magazines discussed in Chapters Two and Three. In this chapter, discourses will be accessed through the Afrikaans women's organisations which existed in Johannesburg during 1948 and 1958, and also through an analysis of interviews conducted with some members of those organisations. These discourses will be analysed in an attempt to ascertain whether the written ideologies this thesis has uncovered were also materialised in practise.¹

2. Placing the discourses in context: Some background to the Afrikaans community in Johannesburg

By 1958, Afrikaners had become urbanised, so much so that in 1957 a commission was appointed to investigate the depopulation of the platteland.² Many of these urbanised Afrikaners had made their homes in

¹ C. Mouffe (Ed) Gramsci and Marxist Theory, p.186.

² E.L.P. Stals, "Afrikaners in die Goudstad, Deel II, 1924 - 1961", p.7.

Johannesburg and by 1949, some 54 150 Afrikaners were economically active in Johannesburg (as opposed to 129 209 economically active English speakers.)³ Of the Johannesburg population, 22 335 were Afrikaans housewives,⁴ many of whom were members of the Afrikaner women's organisations to be studied here.

Most of these Afrikaans women belonged to the middle class and were well educated, economically secure, staunch supporters of the National Party and members of one of the mainstream Afrikaner churches (most often the Dutch Reformed Church). Most families in this group owned their own houses, and were interested in art and culture. Many of the women had trained as teachers, and when they married, had often married professional men such as doctors, lawyers or pastors. This group had a strong national consciousness, but was also well aware of class distinctions.⁵ (This class consciousness is borne out by the interviews, where some of the women make reference to the "snobbish" Maria van Riebeeck women's organisation.)⁶

The women's organisations to which many of these middle class women belonged, played an active and important role in the lives of the urban Afrikaner in Johannesburg. Not only did the Afrikaans women's organisations counter the harmful influences of the big city through practical means such as the setting up of hostels, and the helping of those

³ E.L.P. Stals, "Afrikaners in die Goudstad, Deel II, 1924 - 1961", p.105.

⁴ E.L.P. Stals, "Afrikaners in die Goudstad, Deel II, 1924 - 1961", p.105.

⁵ E.L.P. Stals, "Afrikaners in die Goudstad, Deel II, 1924 - 1961", p.47.

⁶ D. Prinsloo, interview with Mrs Takkie Schutte, 28 August 1990. Mrs Schutte refers to the Maria van Riebeeck club as a "snobs" club. D. Prinsloo, interview with Mrs Ina de Villiers, 2 May 1990. Mrs de Villiers makes a similar statement.

Afrikaners who were down and out with food and clothing parcels, but these organisations also supported Afrikaners culturally, and provided them with a positive self-image.

On the practical front, organisations such as the Suid- Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie provided boarding houses for young Afrikaans girls to protect their virtue (while the NG church did the same for young Afrikaans men) and other church and women's organisations provided houses for young Afrikaans unmarried mothers. Social workers for these organisations (often voluntary) sought work for unemployed Afrikaans men who had lost their jobs during the Second World War.

These women's organisations also generated powerful discourses, which were to an extent lived out by the middle class Afrikaner women who belonged to the organisations. Often having a nationalistic bias, the discourses helped the National Party in Johannesburg to consolidate, and even increase its support during the decade in question⁷ and played a significant role in bolstering the self image of Afrikaners living in Johannesburg.

2.1 A brief history of Afrikaner women's organisations in Johannesburg up to 1948

The first Afrikaner women's organisations can be traced back to the South African war of 1899 - 1902, when organisations such as the Afrikaanse Christelike Vroue Vereniging (formed in 1903) were started in order to

⁷ E.L.P. Stals, "Afrikaners in die Goudstad, Deel II, 1924 - 1961", p.234. The National Party did not achieve a majority in Johannesburg during this decade: in 1948 the NP fought 7 constituencies in the city and won only 3; in the 1953 election 4 seats were won by the NP, and on 16 April 1958 5 seats were won.

distribute food and clothing to concentration camp victims.⁸ Many of the discourses of that time state that the well-being of the Afrikaner nation was in the hands of its mothers and daughters, and these early women's organisations focused on rehabilitating the ailing Afrikaner nation through charitable and social work. Some organisations retained this social welfare bias, but by the 1950s, women's organisations existed for other reasons as well.

By 1948, the well educated and economically secure middle class Afrikaner women living in Johannesburg had the time and inclination to belong to a variety of women's organisations which inter alia provided education, upliftment for the Afrikaner community, entertainment for their members and an opportunity to socialise. Thus by 1948, while some women's organisations still did social welfare and charitable work, others had a purely social function, providing places where middle class women could meet, chat and have tea. Organisations also functioned as cultural clubs, where Afrikaans culture was discussed and built up. (Some such organisations were the Afrikaanse Dameskring, under Martie van den Heever and the Maria van Riebeeck club).

The Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie remained an organisation dedicated to social upliftment though, and was given official recognition for the work that it did. This organisation and others like it, was voluntary ("Vrywillige organisasies wat die ideale en strewe van baie mense beliggaam"⁹), but the work that it did was recognised by the Department of National Welfare: "[hulle] speel 'n waardevolle rol in ons nasionale lewe; hulle ressorteer onder ons nasionale instellings en weerkaats die krag van

⁸ A.P. Van Rensburg, Moeders van Ons Volk, p.98.

⁹ A.P. Van Rensburg, Moeders van Ons Volk, p.108.

ons volkskarakter."¹⁰ The organisation was partially subsidised by the Department of National Welfare, but supported its own institutions through its charity fundraising.¹¹

Although the National party had a women's branch, neither it, nor any of the other organisations were seen as political in nature "in wese was die Afrikanervrou nog nooit 'n politieke mens nie."¹² The giving of the vote to Afrikaans women was seen as a reward for their unstinting service to the nation, and unfailing patriotism, and not as a response to feminist demands: "Nooit sou die Afrikanervrou oorsese feministe probeer naboots nie, maar in die krisisure waar dit die voortbestaan van haar volk gegeld het, het sy pal gestaan en haar invloed laat geld."¹³

A brief overview of some Afrikaans women's organisations in Johannesburg follows. This overview is not comprehensive, but deals with those organisations that were most prominent in Afrikaner middle class circles, and can thus be assumed to have been an integral part of middle class life for women in Johannesburg in the 1940s and 1950s.

2.1.1 The Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie

This was one of the biggest and most influential Afrikaans women's organisations during the decade in question. It was a national organisation, founded on 19 October 1904. The organisation was founded with the purpose of rebuilding the country and the Afrikaner nation after

¹⁰ A.P. Van Rensburg, Moeders van Ons Volk, p.108.

¹¹ SAVF reports for 1948, pp.28 - 41, RAU Archives, File No. A88.

¹² A.P. Van Rensburg, Moeders van Ons Volk, p.99.

¹³ A.P. Van Rensburg, Moeders van Ons Volk, p.110.

the 1899-1902 war¹⁴ and it also wanted to unite Afrikaans women.¹⁵ These ideals are spelled out in the organisation's song:

"Volg wandelaars, dieselfde spoor
Met hart en hand verenig
Om nood en smart te lenig".¹⁶

By the 1940s, the organisation had become one of the most powerful women's organisations in South Africa, and saw itself as the mouthpiece of Afrikaner women.¹⁷

The first chairperson in the Transvaal was Mrs Louis Botha, wife of the first prime minister of South Africa. Unlike many of the women's organisations of the time whose functions were mainly social, the SAVF was not afraid to become involved in politics, and had close ties with the Department of Welfare and on occasion petitioned ministers. The organisation stated its goals as follows: "[om vir] die behoud en vooruitgang van die Suid Afrikaanse volk op geestelike, sedelike, verstandelike en stoflike gebied te ywer".¹⁸ The organisation watched over "die gevalle gedeelte van die Afrikaanse volk" and kept a watchful eye

¹⁴ in Diens van die Volk, p.3. Pamphlet in RAU Archives, File No.A88.

¹⁵ A.P. Van Rensburg, Moeders van Ons Volk, p.101. Van Rensburg quotes one of the aims of the organisation upon its formation: "om alle Afrikaner vroue die hulle land liefhadden en tot hulle tuis gekoos hadden, saam te trekke in een bond".

¹⁶ "Constitution of the Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie", p.2, Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie collection, RAU Archives, File No. A88.

¹⁷ Besluite van en inrigtingsverslages aan die 42ste jaarkongres van die SAVF gehou in die stadsaal, Krugersdorp op 13 - 17 September 1948, p.25, Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie collection, RAU Archives, File No. A88/1.

¹⁸ Vyfzig Jaar van Sien, (SAVF pamphlet commemorating 50th anniversary), p.10. Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie Collection, RAU Archives, File No. A88.

on the "taal, sedes en gesondheid van die Afrikaners."¹⁹

A reading of the SAVF constitution of 1938 shows the organisation to have a Christian base (with a protestant bias),²⁰ and a commitment to promoting Christian National education and the Afrikaans language. The organisation was also committed to guarding and promoting the rights and interests of women and children,²¹ although membership was not limited to women as white Christian men could also be admitted as members. The organisation started (and supported) hostels for young Afrikaners who had come to Johannesburg for jobs; it also founded homes for unmarried mothers, old age homes, maternity hospitals, nursery schools and community halls. In 1929, a school which taught home economics to girls was founded in Pretoria.²² The organisation also did fundraising for events which were considered to support Afrikaner culture and national interests, such as fundraising for the Paardekraal Monument, and the Vrouemonument in Bloemfontein.²³ It also set up subsidy schemes to help various centres, recreation clubs, feeding schemes, and a bureau for legal aid. The organisation also helped pay salaries and travelling expenses for social workers.

¹⁹ Introduction to the Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie collection, p.1, Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie Collection, RAU Archives, File No. A88.

²⁰ Besluite van en inrigtingsverslages aan die 42ende jaarkongres van die SAVT gehou in die stadsaal, Krugersdorp, 13 -17 September 1948, Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie Collection, RAU Archives, File No. A88/1. This source records a speech at the 1948 congress where a delegate stated her preference for protestantism.

²¹ Constitution of 1938, p.1, Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie Collection, RAU Archives, File No. A88.

²² In Diens van die Volk, p.45, Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie Collection, RAU Archives, File No. A88.

²³ In Diens van die Volk, p.86, Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie Collection, RAU Archives, File No. A88.

During 1948, the management of the organisation was made up entirely of married women. During this year, the chairperson of the organisation was Mrs S.B. Broers, and the vice-chair Mrs S.M. Raath. There were seven women on the management board, two being from the Witwatersrand area. The minutes and institutional reports, taken from the 42nd Annual Meeting of the organisation, reflect that the organisation spent the year doing work with needy families, collecting food and blankets for them.

By 1948, the organisation had 26 branches in the Witwatersrand area, and employed some district nurses, five full time social workers, and 14 part-time social workers. It supported various community centres, old age homes and maternity homes, and produced a magazine Vrou en Moeder in conjunction with similar organisations in other provinces. The Witwatersrand district met twice a year, while the branches of the organisation in the Witwatersrand met monthly. The members in the Witwatersrand area totalled 293 in 1948.²⁴ At branch meetings, work parties were held, and sometimes speakers addressed the branches about relevant topics.

2.1.2 The Afrikaanse Dameskring

The "Dameskring" began on the 4th of April 1933, under the leadership of Mrs Martie van den Heever. This was primarily a social club, whose aim was the "bevordering van 'n gesonde gees van vriendskap en samewerking onder sy lede."²⁵ The organisation held monthly meetings, where talks

²⁴ Besluite van en inrigtingsverslage aan die 42ste jaarkongres van die SAVF gehou in die stadsaal, Krugersdorp op 13 - 17 September 1948, tables, p.4, Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie Collection, RAU Archives, File No. A88.

²⁵ Johannesburgse Afrikaanse Dameskring Collection, p.1, RAU Archives, File No. A35.

were held on "interesting and educational topics."²⁶

2.1.3 The Maria van Riebeeck Klub

Mrs van den Heever started this organisation as a "bymeekaarkomplek vir die ontwikkelde Afrikaanse dames van Johannesburg."²⁷ The organisation began on 24 February 1940. It was primarily a social club, whose goal was to build up a positive image of Afrikaans women in Johannesburg. It engaged in cultural activities such as lectures on topics of interests, but also had some interest in charity work, and did fundraising for needy causes. It was named after Jan van Riebeeck's wife who the organisation identified as being the first white woman in South Africa.

2.1.4 The Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouesendingbond

The Vrouesendingbond began in 1890 as the Vrouwen Zending Bond. The organisation was made up of Dutch, and later Afrikaner women whose task it was to do missionary work and help those Afrikaners in need of support. The group met once a month, under the guidance of a dominee, and also produced a monthly pamphlet containing inspirational writings, which was distributed free of charge.

2.1.5 The Nasionale Vroue Party

This branch of the National Party was founded on 21 July 1915 at a public meeting held in the Scotia hall in Braamfontein. Mrs Johanna Brand was one of the founder members, and later in July other meetings were held

²⁶ Johannesburgse Afrikaanse Dameskring Collection, p.1, RAU Archives, File No. A35.

²⁷ Maria van Riebeeck Klub Versameling, p.1, RAU Archives, File No. A41.

in Melville where Mrs J. Basson was chosen as the first chairperson. The aims of this organisation were to give support to the National Party, but it also saw itself as having a social work role, as it wanted to help needy children, and also to free the rebels imprisoned after the 1914 rebellion.

3. Analysis of the literature put out by the Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie in 1948 and 1958

The Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie was chosen as the focus of this chapter for two reasons, firstly because it was one of the largest and oldest organisations in Johannesburg and saw itself as the mouthpiece of Afrikaner women, and secondly but more importantly, because it was the only organisation which produced a magazine which could be compared with the other magazines analysed in Chapters 2 and 3. (The Vrouesendingbond also produced a monthly pamphlet, but this was mainly evangelical in nature.)

3.1 The history and composition of the Vrou en Moeder magazine

The Vrou en Moeder magazine was started in 1936 as the mouthpiece of the Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie, Oranje Vrouevereniging, Natalse Christelike Vrouevereniging and Rhodesiese Christelike Vrouevereniging. Each of the organisations had its own section of the magazine. Prior to this, from 1921, the SAVF published one page of official business in the magazine Die Boerevrou. However, in 1932, Die Boerevrou ceased publication, and from 1932 to 1936 a publication called Federasie-Nuus was produced.²⁸ From 1936 onwards, the magazine called Vrou en Moeder was produced, the editorial staff of which was made up entirely of women.

²⁸

In Diens van die Volk, p.89, pamphlet in Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie Collection, RAU Archives, File No. A88.

During 1948 and 1958, the magazine deals with some business such as annual reports, branch reports and congress reports, as well as reports from the various institutions under its control. It also contains editorials and articles from which most themes analysed here were taken. Only the section of the magazine devoted to the Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie was examined.

3.2 Analysis of discourses contained in the Vrou en Moeder magazine - 1948

Some of the discourses present in this magazine were also present in the magazines examined in Chapters 2 and 3. The discourses similar to those present in the early magazines will be examined first, and then discourses which deviated from the pattern examined earlier will be analysed and accounted for.

One of the most dominant discourses here, as in the other magazines examined, was the volksmoeder discourse. Pamphlets and minutes of the Suid Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie are steeped in this discourse. On the fiftieth anniversary of the organisation, for example, the president, Mrs J.M. Raath, described a member of the organisation as "'n Boerevrou, die hand nog vaster gryp in saamgesnoerde vrouekrag, die blik nog wyer werp, die arm nog verder reik in toegewyde liefdediens, dat sy die knie nog dieper buig in Godsafhanklikheid."²⁹ Similar imagery appears in the Vrou en Moeder magazine.

Volksmoeder imagery is used when discussing the establishment of a "moedersbond", a maternity hospital: "Die toekoms van die volk eis

²⁹

50 Jaar van Seën, Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie Collection, p.8, RAU Archives, File No. A88.

dit".³⁰ In this article, the care of mother and child is seen as crucially important, the language is assertive and demanding in tone, and women are portrayed as volksmoeders in order to further the case for the building of the moedersbond (the building of the hospital is not only in the interests of women, but in the interests of the nation as a whole).

Volksmoeder imagery is also used when wishing readers a happy new year, and the role of Afrikaner women as protectors and nurturers of the nation is emphasised as readers are wished "sukses op u onderneming van die volk deur ons Suid Afrikaanse Vroue-Federasie."³¹ Similarly, in an article about Mrs. Broers, the chairperson of the organisation recently deceased, the author refers to her as "'n volksmoeder" and calls for "'n volksbegrafnis vir hierdie volksmoeder."³² The cover of the June issue of the magazine features a voortrekker woman in national dress with the Jan Celliers quote "Ek sien haar win want haar naam is Vrou en Moeder".³³ Later in the same issue of the magazine, the education of girls is discussed, and a call is made for girls to learn about mothercraft, families, cooking, dressmaking, health, diet, and first aid at school. Basic economic principles should also be encouraged so that girls are able to manage the household economy effectively,³⁴ and all this education is in the interest of producing a happy, stable Afrikaner nation. In the September issue, the cover features the crest of the organisation which contains an ox-wagon, and symbols of health and care-giving. The editorial of the September issue also mentions the volksmoeder theme: "Dit is

³⁰ Vrou en Moeder, March 1948, p.3.

³¹ Vrou en Moeder, March 1948, p.4.

³² Vrou en Moeder, March 1948, p.8.

³³ Vrou en Moeder, June 1948, cover.

³⁴ Vrou en Moeder, June 1948, p.41.

welbekend dat die moeders van ons volk nog altyd die opvoeding van die kind en sy voorbereiding om 'n eerbare bestaan te kan maak van die vernaamste onderwerpe van bespreking op kongresse, sowel as 'n doelwit vir die moeders was."³⁵ The cover of the November issue of the magazine features a drawing of a woman in a kappie looking steadfastly forward, holding a baby while a farmhouse burns in the background. This picture is a reference to the suffering undergone by Afrikaner women in the South African war.³⁶

Another familiar theme is that of motherhood. However, here this is dealt with differently to the way it was dealt with in previous magazines examined. In the magazines examined in Chapters 2 and 3, mothers were depicted as passive and submissive, deferring to the fathers when making decisions. Here mothers are seen as decision makers. The Vrou en Moeder presents them with information in order that they may make the correct decisions. Several articles are written about children and education, for example, where mothers by implication play a crucial role in helping their child to choose the correct career, or obtain expert help for a child who is struggling at school.³⁷

In the September 1948 issue of the magazine, there is a discussion of the children's charter,³⁸ and the rights contained in it for children; here mothers are seen as guardians of justice and fighters for truth (roles similar to those of the volksmoeders, but also roles which are never

³⁵ Vrou en Moeder, September 1948, p.1.

³⁶ Vrou en Moeder, November 1948, cover.

³⁷ Vrou en Moeder, September 1948, pp.2 - 4, article giving advice to mothers whose children are busy choosing careers. Vrou en Moeder, September 1948, pp.8 - 10, article about the "Kinderleiding Instituut" of the University of Pretoria. The Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie also established maternity hospitals, one of which was the popular "Moedersbond" in Pretoria.

³⁸ Vrou en Moeder, September 1948, p.7.

passive).

Women are also hailed here as problem solvers. In the magazines analysed in Chapters 2 and 3, unpleasant societal problems were rarely mentioned. Here concern is voiced in several issues of the magazine about social problems, for example the high divorce rate.³⁹ The magazine also suggests solutions, and advocates reform, for example, better maternity facilities for mothers are discussed in a report of "Die Bond van Afrikaanse Moeders en Kraamdienste op die Platteland."⁴⁰ In the magazines analysed previously, some articles dwelt on women's faults, suggesting that they may be the cause of the problem in their families. Here, rather than being the cause of the problems, women are seen as the problem solvers.

In various places in the 1948 issues of the magazine, norms are questioned and discontent is voiced, which is also very dissimilar to those magazines examined earlier. For example, when calling for a state funeral for Mrs Broers, a member of the organisation says bitterly "President Kruger kry 'n staatsbegrafnis - maar 'n staat is so veranderlik en wisselvallig."⁴¹ The magazine also does not hesitate to ask a series of questions of various government departments, and make suggestions for their implementation, such as the administering of the salary of an alcoholic man in order to protect his family from economic want.⁴²

The magazine also discusses topics which today would be classified as

³⁹ Vrou en Moeder, March 1948, p.4, article analysing the reasons for the high divorce rate. It is attributed to the breakdown in Christian values and the viewing of marriage as a purely social contract. It voices concern for the children, and suggests that divorced men be forced to pay maintenance. Vrou en Moeder, September 1948, p.12, article on divorce.

⁴⁰ Vrou en Moeder, November 1948, p.7.

⁴¹ Vrou en Moeder, March 1948, p.8.

⁴² Vrou en Moeder, March 1948, p.10.

women's rights issues. For example, in the September 1948 issue, the legal rights of a married woman are examined.⁴³ The article also mentions that the organisation had previously lobbied the government to pass legislation on this score and so better married women's legal position.

During 1948 there is an ongoing debate about whether the SAVF should come under the auspices of the Dutch Reformed church, as both organisations are concerned with social work. This debate provokes some very outspoken comments about men. For instance, at the 1948 Krugersdorp congress, "In die eerste plek is die onderhandelings alreeds in hierdie sin moeilik: n.l. waar 'n vrouevereniging as liggaam met 'n liggaam wat uitsluitlik uit mans bestaan moet onderhandel en dit op spesifiek kerklike terrein - daar sal die onderhandeling nie 'n gelyke, maar 'n ongelyke wees."⁴⁴ Later in the same speech the following comment is made: "Tot dusver het die vrou in die SAVF haar volle reg as persoon gehandhaaf en haar status verhef bokant die wat enige sustersvereniging van 'n kerk ooit kan beklee of verkry."⁴⁵

This debate is continued in the pages of the Vrou en Moeder. Reservations are expressed about the organisation coming under the authority of the church because this will deprive the women in the organisation of their power: "Ons kerkwette gee aan vrouelidmate geen seggenskap in kerklike bestuursliggame nie - nóg Sinode, Ring of kerkraad."⁴⁶

⁴³ Vrou en Moeder, September 1948, p.2.

⁴⁴ Besluite van en inrigtingsverslages aan die 42ste jaarkongres van die SAVF gehou in die stadsaal, Krugersdorp op 13 - 17 September 1948, Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie Collection, RAU Archives, File No. A88/1.

⁴⁵ Besluite van en inrigtingsverslages aan die 42ste jaarkongres van die SAVF gehou in die stadsaal Krugersdorp op 13 - 17 September 1948, RAU Archives, File No. A88/1.

⁴⁶ Vrou en Moeder, March 1948, p.3.

As in the magazines examined previously, there are few overtly political articles; however, support is expressed in places for the segregationist policies of the government. For example, there is a plea that the government fill governmental posts first with white males, in order to combat the unemployment in that sector.⁴⁷

3.2.1 Conclusions

The only theme which is substantially the same as that in magazines previously dealt with is the volksmoeder theme, and this would confirm that women had a definite and important role to play in the Afrikaner nationalist movement, which was strong at the time. Although other similar themes appear, such as motherhood and health issues, the way in which these themes are handled are different; the language is more assertive, and women are shown as able and competent rather than as passive victims. Altogether new is a sharp political awareness of women's issues, and an unashamedly critical stance. Issues tackled are also more concrete, problems have to do with lack of facilities or a high divorce rate. Difference in approach is probably due to a different point of view being held by women writers and editors; whereas the magazines discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 were controlled in the main by men.

Although there are no overtly career oriented articles in the magazine, in effect all women belonging to the organisation are unpaid social workers, and the magazine's approach is therefore a professional one, treating women as part of the workforce.

⁴⁷ Vrou en Moeder, June 1948, p.35.

3.3 Analysis of discourses contained in the Vrou en Moeder magazine - 1958

The 1958 issues of the magazine are in most respects very similar to those of 1948. The magazine is still divided into different sections for the different organisations, and the editorial committee is still made up only of women. The magazine continues to contain reports on SAVF institutions and work, and the same four covers are used for the quarterly issues. The only difference in format is that a literature review is now included in the magazine.

Articles appearing in the 1958 issues of the magazine include the following: Articles on education⁴⁸, health⁴⁹, articles on the history of the Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie⁵⁰, literature reviews,⁵¹ an article on

⁴⁸ Vrou en Moeder, July 1958, p.22, article on "Kleuterskole". Vrou en Moeder, December 1958, pp.10 - 11, article about how society should deal with boys and girls who are on the verge of leaving school ("Die Grootword Proses"). Vrou en Moeder, December 1958, pp.15 - 16, article about the SAVF's "Kinderleiding instituut" ("Hoe werk ons in the kinderleidinginstituut, Universiteit van Pretoria").

⁴⁹ Vrou en Moeder, December 1958, pp.12 - 14, article on food poisoning and what should be done about it ("Voedselvergiftiging").

⁵⁰ Vrou en Moeder, July 1958, pp.18 - 23, reprint of the first "voorsittersrede" of 8 November 1906. Vrou en Moeder, October 1958, p.1, reprint of the speech given by Ds. Klopper at the first Annual Congress of the SAVF held in 1905. Vrou en Moeder, December 1958, p.9, reprint of the lecture given by K. Malherbe at the SAVF congress in 1923 on "Afrikaanse Kleredrag."

⁵¹ Vrou en Moeder, April 1958, pp.23 - 24, reviews of the books "Daardie swierige hoed, maak dit self" and "The Last Trek". Vrou en Moeder, July 1958, p.25, book reviews. Included in these reviews are a poetry book, a book about Albert Schweitzer, a book called "Die Bantoe van Suid Afrika" and "The Little Prince". Vrou en Moeder, October 1958, pp.7 - 10, book review, ("An Alcoholic's Story").

alcoholism,⁵² an article about volksmoeders,⁵³ an article about self-help catering on the railways,⁵⁴ and an article about the evils of communism.⁵⁵

3.3.1 Conclusions

As in the magazines analysed in Chapters 2 and 3, there is here a decline of volksmoeder imagery. There is also less emphasis on people's rights. This could be due to the fact that facilities for white Afrikaners had improved by 1958, and generally they were in a better position socially, economically and politically than they had been in in 1948. There is more emphasis on the arts than there was in the 1958 magazines of previous chapters as well. Also similar to previous magazines is the anti-communism trend.

The improved social and economic position of the Afrikaner is thus reflected here (witness the interest in the catering arrangements of the railways as evidence of an economically improved position; people are now taking an interest in the quality of the food, and are dining out for entertainment purposes), as it was in the previous magazines examined. However there is not as marked a change between the discourses of 1948 and 1958 as there was in the other magazines examined. The declining

⁵² Vrou en Moeder, July 1958, p.26.

⁵³ Vrou en Moeder, October 1958, pp.3 - 5, article about the restoration of the site of the Irene concentration camp ("Verslag van die inwyding van die Irene Kampkerkhof op 31 Mei 1958 om 10 uur vm").

⁵⁴ Vrou en Moeder, October 1958, pp.6 - 7.

⁵⁵ Vrou en Moeder, April 1958, p.17, article about the dangers of communism ("Het ons waarlik die lewe lief?"). The article spells out how communism is directly opposed to Christianity: "want die Kommuniste berus op die opvatting dat God deur die mens geskape is; nie die mens deur God nie", p.17.

nationalist discourses (volksmoeder discourses) are not here replaced by more materialistic ones, but by cultural discourses in the form of book reviews, and there are no references here to women as consumers. The reason for this may have been that the Vrou en Moeder was not a commercial venture as were the women's magazines in which consumer discourses appeared. The Vrou en Moeder was therefore not obliged to pander to commercial interests.

Although some articles still appear on social evils, the fact that the organisation is able to publish articles about its own history points to the fact that the social problems are diminishing, and the organisation now has time to focus on more cultural activities.

The organisation is still supporting the government though, as can be seen in the discourse against communism. The decline in nationalist discourses and switch to anti-communist discourses is also evidence of the fact that the National Party felt itself firmly in power, and no longer in need of the strong nationalist sentiment which helped to put it in government. It should be noted once again that middle class women were strongly supportive of the National Party. There is also evidence in the magazine that the organisation was supportive of the apartheid policies of the National Party. One of the articles in 1948 supports segregation wholeheartedly, and advocates the issuing of monthly passes to black servants working in white areas.⁵⁶

The conclusion can therefore be drawn that the discourses examined here were both class and gender specific. The power of national interests must also be noted, for although women saw fit to criticise both men and social institutions, nowhere is nationalism challenged.

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Vrou en Moeder, March 1948, p.13.

4. "Lived ideology" an analysis of interviews with middle class Afrikaner women

The final section of this chapter is an attempt to discover whether, as Gramsci states⁵⁷ ideology was materialised in practise. In other words, were women living out the discourses of 1948 and 1958 uncovered by this thesis? Eight interviews with Afrikaans middle class women who were resident in Johannesburg during these years were examined in an attempt to discover this. The interviews were conducted by Dr Dione Prinsloo of the University of South Africa. Many of the women interviewed here were members of the women's organisations already discussed.

4.1 Description of the women and their lifestyles

The eight women interviewed were: Johanna Terburgh (see photograph in Appendix), Mrs Takkie Schutte, Miss Magda Wessels, Mrs Ina de Villiers, Mrs Veronica de Villiers, Mrs Elizabeth Albrecht, Miss M.M. Theron and Mrs Sophie Meiring. They were all interviewed by Dr. Prinsloo during 1990.

The women interviewed all lived in Johannesburg during the period in question,⁵⁸ and most of them were married to professional men.⁵⁹ None of

⁵⁷ C. Mouffe (Ed), Gramsci and Marxist Theory, p.186.

⁵⁸ Interview between Johanna Terburgh and Dr D. Prinsloo, 24 October 1990. Johanna Terburgh states that she moved to Johannesburg in 1936, where she became part of the Westcliff community.

Interview between Mrs Takkie Schutte and Dr D. Prinsloo, 28 August 1990. Mrs Schutte moved to Johannesburg after her marriage, and taught in Kensington in the late 1930s (she remembers riding on an ox-wagon in Bez Valley during the 1938 Great Trek Centenary celebrations). In 1950 Mrs Schutte moved to the Auckland Park, Melville area where she lived until 1957 (in the interim she had lived in Brakpan and Pretoria).

Interview between Miss Magda Wessels and Dr D. Prinsloo, 20 September 1990. Miss Wessels came to Johannesburg in 1939.

Mrs Ina de Villiers lived in Johannesburg from 1939 onwards. Interview between Mrs Ina de Villiers and Dr D. Prinsloo, 2 May

the women had been born in Johannesburg, and two of them state that they moved to Johannesburg for financial reasons.⁶⁰ The women belonged to the upper and middle classes, and were cultured, often displaying talents in the arts.⁶¹ Two of the women had studied or worked overseas.⁶²

1990. Mrs de Villiers states that the family had moved to Johannesburg as that was where the money was to be made. She lived at first in Parkview, and later moved to Auckland Park.

Interview between Mrs Veronic de Villiers and Dr D. Prinsloo, 22 November 1990. Mrs Veronica de Villiers lived in Johannesburg during the 1940s and 1950s in the Hyde Park area.

Interview between Mrs Elizabeth Albrecht and Dr D. Prinsloo, 21 August 1990. Mrs Albrecht lived in Johannesburg from 1938 onwards, after the family had relocated here because of the business opportunities.

Interview between Miss M.M. Theron and Dr D. Prinsloo, 17 August 1990. Miss Theron lived in Johannesburg during the 1950s, and in 1956 became the headmistress of Helpmekaar school.

Interview between Mrs Sophie Meiring and Dr D. Prinsloo, 20 August 1990. Mrs Meiring moved to Johannesburg in 1920.

59 Interview between Mrs Ina de Villiers and Dr D. Prinsloo, 2 May 1990. Mrs Ina de Villiers was married to an advocate.

Interview between Mrs Veronica de Villiers and Dr D. Prinsloo, 22 November 1990. Mrs Veronica de Villiers was married to a doctor.

Interview between Mrs Elizabeth Albrecht and Dr D. Prinsloo, 21 August 1990. Mrs Elizabeth Albrecht was married to a businessman.

Interview between Mrs Takkie Schutte and Dr D. Prinsloo, 28 August 1990. Mrs Takkie Schutte was married to a pastor in the Dutch Reformed Church.

60 Interview between Mrs Ina de Villiers and Dr D. Prinsloo, 2 May 1990. Mrs Ina de Villiers states that her family moved to Johannesburg as that was where money was to be made.

Interview between Mrs Elizabeth Albrecht and Dr D. Prinsloo, 21 August 1990. Mrs Elizabeth Albrecht states that her husband moved his family to Johannesburg in order to open a business.

61 Interview between Miss Magda Wessels and Dr D. Prinsloo, 20 September 1990. Miss Wessels studied singing in Berlin, wrote Afrikaans textbooks and helped to set up language laboratories at the Johannesburg Technikon. She also worked with the South African Broadcasting Corporation.

All the women were well educated⁶³ and many of them had trained to

Interview between Mrs Ina de Villiers and Dr D. Prinsloo, 2 May 1990. Mrs Ina de Villiers studied the piano and organ at university level, and occasionally played for church and other groups.

Interview between Mrs Veronica de Villiers and Dr D. Prinsloo, 22 November 1990. Mrs Veronica de Villiers wrote books and articles for magazines such as Die Huisgenoot, Garden and Home, Landbou Weekblad and Sarie Marais.

Interview between Mrs Elizabeth Albrecht and Dr D. Prinsloo, 21 August 1990. Mrs Albrecht also helped to design gardens, but did not charge for this. Mrs Elizabeth Albrecht was a journalist on the Cape Times before her marriage.

⁶² Interview between Miss Magda Wessels and Dr D. Prinsloo, 20 September 1990. Miss Wessels studied singing in Berlin.

Interview between Mrs Elizabeth Albrecht and Dr D. Prinsloo, 21 August 1990. Mrs Albrecht had worked on the British newspapers, the Richmond Times and the Twickenham Times.

⁶³ Interview between Johanna Terburg and Dr D. Prinsloo, 24 October 1990. Johanna Terburg attended the Onderwyskollege in Potchefstroom.

Interview between Mrs Takkie Schutte and Dr D. Prinsloo, 28 August 1990. Mrs Takkie Schutte began studying for her BSc degree at Potchefstroom University, left to get married, but continued her education at the Normaal College where she trained to be a teacher.

Interview between Miss Magda Wessels and Dr D. Prinsloo, 20 September 1990. Miss Magda Wessels studied at the Normaal College in Bloemfontein and here obtained her education diploma.

Interview between Mrs Ina de Villiers and Dr D. Prinsloo, 2 May 1990. Mrs Ina de Villiers studied music at Stellenbosch University.

Interview between Mrs Elizabeth Albrecht and Dr D. Prinsloo, 21 August 1990. Mrs Elizabeth Albrecht studied psychology and languages at Stellenbosch University.

Interview between Mrs Sopie Meiring and Dr D. Prinsloo, 20 August 1990. Mrs Sophie Meiring studied to become a teacher.

Interview between Miss M. Theron and Dr D. Prinsloo, 17 August 1990. Miss M. Theron attended Bloemfontein University, and after this became a teacher.

Interview between Mrs Veronica de Villiers and Dr D. Prinsloo, 22 November 1990. Mrs Veronica de Villiers does not mention any

become teachers. Several of the women emphasise in their interviews how important education was to them.⁶⁴ (Johanna Terburgh in her interview at one point says "Kennis is mag").⁶⁵ The importance of the Helpmekaar school in the life of the Johannesburg community should also be noted. Two of the women interviewed were teachers at this school (one became a headmistress of the school)⁶⁶ and one of the women mentions that her children attended this school.⁶⁷

Most of the women interviewed were married, and did not pursue careers because of this. Mrs Ina de Villiers describes in her interview how married middle class women spent their time. They held tea parties, and arranged flowers for functions, hotels and competitions. Sometimes lessons in flower arranging were given or attended. Much time was also devoted to sewing, as women made clothes for their families, and also hats for themselves. It was also considered important that women be at home for

tertiary training in her interview with Dr Prinsloo, but she was clearly an educated person as she wrote books and articles for Die Huisgenoot and Garden and Home magazine.

⁶⁴ Interview between Johanna Terburgh and Dr D. Prinsloo, 24 October 1990. Johanna Terburgh states that education was extremely important to women.

Interview between Mrs Sophie Meiring and Dr D. Prinsloo, 20 August 1990. Mrs Meiring also underlines the importance of education.

⁶⁵ Interview between Johanna Terburgh and Dr Dione Prinsloo, 24 October 1990.

⁶⁶ Interview between Miss Magda Wessels and Dr D. Prinsloo, 20 September 1990. Miss Wessels taught at Jan Celliers Primary School, but taught extramurals at Helpmekaar high school.

Interview between Miss M.M. Theron and Dr D. Prinsloo, 17 August 1990. Miss Theron taught Latin, Afrikaans and History at Helpmekaar high school and later became a headmistress of Helpmekaar high school.

⁶⁷ Interview between Mrs Ina de Villiers and Dr D. Prinsloo, 2 May 1990.

their children. Mrs de Villiers states that it was a woman's duty to support her husband,⁶⁸ and later in the same interview she states that she never learned to drive because her husband was opposed to this.

The single women pursued careers and excelled in them (Miss Theron became the headmistress of the respected Helpmekaar school; Miss Wessels became the head of the Afrikaans Department at the Johannesburg Technikon). Although a volunteer, Johanna Terburgh describes herself as the first Afrikaans social worker.⁶⁹ She is also a founder member of the Rand Afrikaans University.

4.2 Discourses present in the interviews

4.2.1 The volksmoeder discourse

Few of the women, with the exception of Johanna Terburgh, talked about their beliefs, so conclusions about whether they were living out discourses can only be drawn from the actions which they took. Johanna Terburgh, however, underlined her concern for the poor Afrikaners in Johannesburg, and related how often they were forced to volunteer to fight in World War II simply in order to get food.⁷⁰ She states that although she did not get paid for her social work, she felt duty bound to help those of her own nation who were less privileged than herself. This clearly is living out the volksmoeder discourse. She subscribes to this discourse even more explicitly when she describes the work she did in hospitals. Here she says that she felt concern for the spiritual welfare of the nurses

⁶⁸ Interview between Mrs Ina de Villiers and Dr Dione Prinsloo, 2 May 1990.

⁶⁹ Interview between Johanna Terburgh and Dr Dione Prinsloo, 24 October 1990.

⁷⁰ Interview between Johanna Terburgh and Dr Dione Prinsloo, 24 October 1990.

in the hospitals. She observes that English was often the only language spoken in these institutions and says at one point: "Dit is die toekomstige moeders van ons volk wat daar so heeltemal los geraak het."⁷¹ At another point in the interview Johanna Terburgh also subscribes to volksmoeder imagery when she states her belief that women protect men.⁷²

Although the remaining women interviewed do not explicitly state their views, many of them belonged to organisations working to uplift the poorer Afrikaner.⁷³ The fact that most of them had strong links with the Dutch Reformed Church and strongly nationalistic Helpmekaar school suggest that they were to an extent living out volksmoeder ideology.

4.2.2 The nurturer discourse

The women also subscribe to the discourse of women as nurturers. All married women stayed at home to be with their children, while the unmarried women chose careers in nurturing fields such as teaching or social work.

⁷¹ Interview between Johanna Terburgh and Dr Dione Prinsloo taped on 24 October 1990.

⁷² Interview between Johanna Terburgh and Dr D. Prinsloo, 24 October 1990.

⁷³ Interview between Johanna Terburgh and Dr D. Prinsloo, 24 October 1990. Johanna Terburgh worked for the Armsorgraad and the Vrouehulpdiens of the Dutch Reformed Church and also belonged to the Maria van Riebeeck club which collected food parcels and clothes for poor Afrikaners.

Interview between Mrs Ina de Villiers and Dr D. Prinsloo, 2 May 1990. Mrs Ina de Villiers belonged to the Suid Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie.

Interview between Mrs Veronica de Villiers and Dr D. Prinsloo. Mrs Veronica de Villiers belonged to the Maria van Riebeeck club.

Interview between Mrs Elizabeth Albrecht and Dr D. Prinsloo. Mrs Elizabeth Albrecht belonged to the Maria van Riebeeck club.

Interview between Mrs Sophie Meiring and Dr D. Prinsloo. Mrs Sophie Meiring belonged to the Suid Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie.

(There seems also to be a clear divide here between married and unmarried women: If you were unmarried you devoted yourself to your career, and this was also the only way you could have an effective career, thus having no time for women's organisations, whereas if you were married you devoted yourself to your family, but also had time to belong to women's organisations). Mrs Ina de Villiers explicitly states that women were expected to serve husband and children.⁷⁴ The women's commitment to cultural organisations and cultural pastimes such as music, writing, gardening or flower arranging suggests that they were cultural carriers (thus "living out" another discourse present in some of the magazines).

4.2.3 The working woman discourse

Many of these women were effective leaders and career women, able to act positively and decisively to solve problems in the Afrikaans community. Those who pursued teaching careers reached high positions⁷⁵, while some of the married women became the chairpersons of women's organisations.⁷⁶ All explain and describe their lives clearly and fluently, demonstrating their

⁷⁴ Interview between Mrs Ina de Villiers and Dr Dione Prinsloo, 2 May 1990.

⁷⁵ Interview between Miss Magda Wessels and Dr D. Prinsloo, 20 September 1990. Miss Wessels became the head of the Afrikaans Department at the Johannesburg Technikon.

Interview between Miss M.M. Theron and Dr D. Prinsloo. Miss Theron became the headmistress of Helpmekaar High School.

⁷⁶ Interview between Mrs Elizabeth Albrecht and Dr D. Prinsloo, 21 August 1990. Mrs Albrecht was the chairperson of the Maria van Riebeeck club on four different occasions.

Interview between Mrs Ina de Villiers and Dr D. Prinsloo, 2 May 1990. Mrs Ina de Villiers was the chairperson of the Dameskring.

Interview between Johanna Terburgh and Dr D. Prinsloo, 24 October 1990. Johanna Terburgh was a founder member of the Maria Malan club.

education and effectiveness as speakers.

4.3 Conclusions

It can be stated that the volksmoeder and nurturing discourses were materialised in practice by these women, that these women were strong supporters of Afrikaner nationalism,⁷⁷ that they were clearly middle class (exhibiting middle class concerns with money, education and culture), and supporters of the church⁷⁸.

However other discourses present in the magazines do not seem to have been lived out. No reference is made in the interviews to fashion or the more materialistic consumerist discourses (although reference to money in Johannesburg does occur). Interestingly enough though, Dr Prinsloo states that Veronica de Villiers, Elizabeth Albrecht and Ina de Villiers were trend setters in Johannesburg during the 1940s and 1950s, and took an

⁷⁷ This is demonstrated by their charity work to aid poor Afrikaans families, their support for the Afrikaans church, and the work they did for Afrikaans educational institutions. Interview between Miss Magda Wessels and Dr D. Prinsloo, 20 September 1990. Miss Wessels trained the staff of companies to speak Afrikaans, wrote Afrikaans text books and set up Afrikaans language laboratories. Many of the other women were also trained as teachers in the Afrikaans Christian National tradition.

⁷⁸ Interview between Johanna Terburgh and Dr D. Prinsloo, 24 October 1990. Johanna Terburgh did charity work for the Armsorgraad and the Vroue Hulpdiens of the Dutch Reformed Church; (she also expresses concern about the spirituality of Afrikaans nurses in her interview).

Interview between Mrs Takkie Schutte and Dr D. Prinsloo, 28 August 1990. Mrs Takkie Schutte worked for the Dutch Reformed Church in her own parish.

Interview between Mrs Elizabeth Albrecht and Dr D. Prinsloo, 21 August 1990. Mrs Elizabeth Albrecht's father was a pastor in the Dutch Reformed Church.

Interview between Mrs Sophie Meiring and Dr D. Prinsloo, 20 August 1990. Mrs Sophie Meiring also did work for various church organisations.

intense interest in clothing and fashion.⁷⁹ Women dressed up in order to attend dinners and luncheons. Dr Prinsloo also recounts a story told by Miss van der Linde that she and her sister shared a pair of church shoes in order to look smart.⁸⁰ Therefore, even though the discourses used in the interviews do not indicate an interest in clothing and fashion, such an interest was present, so this discourse was also "lived out."

It should also be remembered that the interviews were shaped by different representational politics. The women interviewed were presenting themselves as important figures in the Afrikaner community in Johannesburg. The interviews thus provide a different, partially complementary perspective to that provided by the discourses in the magazines.

5. A tentative portrait of Afrikaner middle class women

The magazines and interviews examined here paint a picture of women who were competent, aware of political issues and social problems and were as much supporters of National Party policy as were the writers of the magazines analysed in Chapters 2 and 3. These middle class women were interested in social issues, literature, culture and education. They were both assertive and articulate, and not afraid to question the status quo. However, interests of gender remain subordinate to Afrikaner national political interests.

The discourses uncovered here also reveal a clear class divide between those women writing (and reading) the magazine, who were educated middle class women; and those working class Afrikaner women who were the subject matter of the magazine. This supports Cloete's conclusions that Afrikaner women participated "in the oppression and exploitation of women

⁷⁹ D. Prinsloo, Written communication, November 1997.

⁸⁰ D. Prinsloo, Written communication, November 1997.

from other ethnic groups as well as from other economic classes".⁸¹ Finally, the discourses reveal that middle class women were active participants in the creation of some discourses, such as the volksmoeder discourse, and also created discourses which helped to determine the boundaries of class and gender. Middle and upper class Afrikaner women seem to have been engaged in a complex struggle within the discourses uncovered here. In this struggle, nationalist, class and gender interests all played a role.

⁸¹ N. Yuval Davis and F. Anthias, Woman-Nation-State, p.2.

Chapter Five

The End of the Rainbow:

Conclusions

This thesis focused on ideology and gender as historical concerns in an attempt to extend the method and scope of history. The thesis used magazines as primary sources and analysed the discourses informing the magazines to draw conclusions about the role and status of Afrikaner women in society in 1948, 1949 and 1958. The thesis also analysed discourses which informed Afrikaner women's speech through deconstructing and analysing a series of interviews conducted with Afrikaans middle class women who had lived in Johannesburg during 1948, 1949 and 1958.

The various discourses present in the magazines and interviews were identified, compared and analysed. Where possible, discourses were related to events of the time and changes over time were accounted for. The present chapter details the conclusions drawn about the identity and role of middle class Afrikaner women. It also reflects on the nature of ideology and its relevance for history, and the importance of gender as a historical category.

1. Discourses about Afrikaner middle class women prevalent during 1948, 1949 and 1958

1.1 The volksmoeder discourse

The most dominant discourse that informed writing in the magazines examined was the volksmoeder discourse. This discourse presents women as

rallying points for the Afrikaner nation, as nurturers of Afrikaner culture and nationhood and the embodiment of an Afrikaner moral order.¹

The volksmoeder discourse structured the writing in some women's magazines,² church magazines, education magazines and the magazines put out by the Vrouefederasie. This discourse animated the writing during the 1948 - 1949 period and the 1958 period, although its presence in women's magazines during 1958 was far less marked.

It was also found that this discourse was materialised in practice, and that all the middle class women interviewed subscribed to it through their beliefs or their actions. These actions included supporting charitable institutions which helped unfortunate Afrikaners, belonging to organisations which promoted the Afrikaner nation, supporting the nationalist Dutch Reformed church and sending their children to, or teaching in, educational institutions whose aim it was to build up the Afrikaner nation.³ Many of the women also described how important it was to help the Afrikaner nation, and one⁴ used the term "moeders van ons volk" in the interview.

So dominant was this ideology that it was used even when women were

¹ For a more detailed explanation of the term volksmoeder see the work of T. Moodie, The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner Civil Religion, p.17; E. Cloete, "Afrikaner identity: Culture, tradition and gender", Agenda, No.13, pp.42 - 56; E. Brink "Man-made women: Gender, class and the ideology of the Volksmoeder" in C. Walker (Ed), Women and Gender in South Africa from 1945. Also see the explanation of the volksmoeder in Chapter 1 of this thesis.

² Volksmoeder imagery was strongly present in the Sarie Marais of 1949; however it was not present in the 1948 issues of Die Huisgenoot or Rooi Rose that were examined.

³ An example of such as school is the Helpmekaar Hoër Meisieskool in Johannesburg.

⁴ Interview between Johanna Terburgh and Dr. Dione Prinsloo, 24 October 1990.

critical of the status quo.⁵ During the periods in question, volksmoeder discourses were a central way in which Afrikaner women were defined, both by themselves and by others. However, it should be noted that the volksmoeder discourse was used differently in the two sets of magazines. The different use of this discourse will be examined in the section of this chapter which draws conclusions about the nature of ideology.

1.2 The motherhood discourse

This discourse was prominent during 1948, 1949 and 1958. The motherhood discourse is related to the volksmoeder discourse through its identification of women as nurturers, yet it lacks the distinct nationalist character of the volksmoeder discourse. Both in 1948-1949 and in 1958, women's magazines contain articles on childbirth, childcare, family health and nutrition. Die Kerkbode often addresses women as mothers, and Die Onderwysblad vir Christelike en Nasionale Onderwys en Opvoeding states that women were particularly suited to teaching as they were by nature nurturers.⁶ Mothers are honoured in the Helpmekaar school magazines.⁷ Patrys (an educational magazine for children) describes an Afrikaans girl as follows: "Die skooldogter wat so lief is vir diere en klein kindertjies, is die moeder van die toekoms."⁸ Special importance is attached to the education of women, as women are the mothers of the

⁵ Vrou en Moeder, March 1948, p.8, article protesting the refusal to give a state funeral to a prominent Afrikaner woman.

⁶ Onderwysblad vir Christelike en Nasionale Onderwys en Opvoeding, 1 May 1948, p.16.

⁷ Helpmekaar 50 Jaar Gedenkboek, p.15.

⁸ Patrys, March 1958, p.1 of girls' section.

future.⁹ In many places, the boundaries between the motherhood discourse and the volksmoeder discourse are blurred, and women's role as mothers of children and mothers of the nation are conflated.

The Vrou en Moeder magazines see mothers as playing a powerful role in the family, and examination of the interviews conducted with middle class women indicate that motherhood played a central role in their lives. Middle class women who were married did not work, but took care of their families, while the two unmarried women interviewed both pursued careers in teaching (a nurturing profession).

1.3 The morality discourse

Much of the writing is informed by a morality discourse. Like a coin, this discourse has two sides to it. Women's magazines, church magazines and education magazines address Afrikaner women firstly as moral guardians who are expected to be pure and uphold the morals of the Afrikaner nation. However, women are also hailed as sinners, who are condemned for their weaknesses.¹⁰ This discourse is similar to the madonna-whore complex in psychology, where women are expected to either be pure and virginal, or sluttish in their behaviour.

The morality discourse confines women within specific moral

⁹ S. Sen, "Motherhood and Mothercraft: Gender and Nationalism in Bengal". Gender and History, Vol.5, No.2, p.235. Sen states that women in nationalist movements have to be inculcated with "a self-conscious responsibility for the nation's future", p.235.

¹⁰ R.E. Lapchick and S. Urdang, Oppression and Resistance: The Struggle of Women in Southern Africa, p.256. An example of this condemnation was the campaign of the Dutch Reformed Church against Bettie du Toit, an organiser for the Garment Workers' Union who was active during the 1940s. Du Toit was an Afrikaner, but she organised women into unions on a non-racial basis. The Dutch Reformed Church then campaigned to have her reviled as a "promiscuous and terrible viper", p.256.

boundaries, and criticizes them when these boundaries are transgressed.¹¹ This discourse reveals itself in the many articles on etiquette and the correct way to behave. Moral strictures are at their most stringent when Afrikaner nationalism is being discussed. (See for example the moral imperatives surrounding a woman dressed in national costume.)¹² Thus the morality discourse is closely allied to the volksmoeder discourse, as it helps to determine the rules and boundaries of Afrikaner nationalism, and elevates nationalism to the status of a religion.

The moral standards upheld in this discourse are impossible to emulate in real life; this discourse transforms women into holy icons of Afrikanerdom¹³ on the one hand; on the other hand it implies that women are weak and need to be surrounded with rules and strictures in order to secure the wellbeing and morality of the nation.

The morality discourse is absent from the Vrou en Moeder magazine; however a moralistic tone is adopted in certain of the interviews with middle class women. One woman refers to women "wat los geraak het",¹⁴ and another makes reference to moral boundaries, saying that women in those days had a duty to support their husbands and stay home to look after their children.¹⁵ This would seem to demonstrate that some middle class women

¹¹ Sarie Marais, 29 October 1958, p.6, article which says that one should not feel sorry for the wife of an alcoholic, as she could be the cause of his plight.

¹² Sarie Marais, 26 October 1949, p.12, article which chides women for drinking and smoking while wearing national dress.

¹³ Die Kerkbode, 28 July 1948, p.168, article describing motherhood as a "heilige roeping". Die Onderwysblad vir Christelike en Nasionale Onderwys en Opvoeding, February 1948, p.3, article where teaching is described as a "heilige plig."

¹⁴ Interview between Johanna Terburgh and Dr Dione Prinsloo, 24 October 1990.

¹⁵ Interview between Mrs Ina de Villiers and Dr Dione Prinsloo, 2 May 1990.

at least had internalised this discourse, and were living it out during the period in question.

1.4 The health conscious care giver discourse

Women are also hailed as health care workers and cooks in women's magazines, and in the Vrou en Moeder magazine. Many articles appear about health issues in women's magazines, and these range from childbirth to psychological problems (although the psychological problems only manifest with significance in 1958). The Vrou en Moeder magazine deals more with social work issues, such as alcoholism, which affect health.

1.5 The cultural carrier discourse

In many of the magazines, women are identified as cultural carriers, that is, as people who perpetuate and support cultural traditions. There is evidence of this in both women's magazines and the magazines of the Vrouefederasie, which contain articles on art, music and literature. This discourse is not present in church and education magazines, however. This discourse may also be seen as promoting nationalist interests, as interest in Afrikaans language, literature and art would strengthen nationalism and educate the youth in a specific tradition. Women here are the people who "carry" Afrikaner culture from generation to generation.

1.6 The fashion discourse

This discourse is prominent in women's magazines, where Afrikaner women are addressed as followers of fashion and beauty. None of the other magazines are informed by this discourse, however. Rooi Rose, through an obsession with Americana, provides an interesting variation of the discourse. Within the issues examined are articles about Hollywood,

filmstars, American kitchens and clothing. The women's magazines also show a trend towards consumerism in 1958, and to some extent this is echoed in the Vrou en Moeder magazine through articles on where to eat out. This discourse is allied to the post-World War II trend in consumerism and the growing economic prosperity of the Afrikaner.

1.7 The good wife discourse

There are also many articles about marriage in women's magazines, church magazines and the Vrou en Moeder magazine. This discourse sees women as wives, and marriage as the natural goal of any woman's life. The various magazines cover all aspects of this marriage, and dispense advice on how to be a good wife. The women's magazines focus on weddings, fashions for the bride, and advice to brides and wives. Large sections of the magazines are devoted to romantic love in the form of fiction, quizzes and advice columns. The church magazines feature gold and silver wedding anniversaries, whereas the Vrou en Moeder magazines examine the legal implications of being married for a woman.¹⁶ As all except two of the women interviewed were married, clearly this discourse was materialised in practice.

In this discourse, marriage provides a women with fulfilment and happiness, and if these are not attained, the women is seen to be at fault, as it is her job as a wife to flawlessly maintain the institution of marriage. Concern is expressed in the Vrou en Moeder magazine about the rising divorce rate, but this is seen mainly as a religious problem. If a woman is a good Christian, she will also be a good wife.

¹⁶ Vrou en Moeder, September 1948, p.2.

1.8 The independent agent discourse

Occasionally in the magazines, women are hailed as agents independent of men. An independent agent may be defined as a woman who earns money independently of a man, or who achieves something of note independently of a man. This discourse informs some articles in women's magazines in the period 1948-9. The articles feature women who have unusual careers, or have achieved in their chosen field¹⁷.

This discourse is absent from church magazines, where patriarchal discourses are strong, but both the education magazine Onderwysblad vir Christelike en Nasionale Onderwys and the Vrou en Moeder magazine address women as independent agents, capable of professional actions. However, no article focuses specifically on the achievements of these women.

During 1958 the independent agent discourse is more prominent, possibly because by this time more women were economically active. During 1958, Sarie Marais contains 21 articles on women and their careers. This trend is not however, echoed in the other magazines.

The independent agent discourse also informs some articles about politics. In most of the magazines examined, women are not seen as capable of wielding political power, and women and politics are seldom linked. Women are linked to politics generally through their roles as nurturers, who support and inspire their men.

¹⁷ Sarie Marais, 6 July 1949, p.20, article about a wine-maker who is a woman. Sarie Marais, 28 September 1949, p.3, article about a woman who does pregnancy tests in a laboratory. Sarie Marais, 5 October 1949, p.3, article about a woman who keeps bees. Sarie Marais, 26 October 1949, p.3, article about a woman who works at a petrol station. Sarie Marais, 28 December 1949, p.3, article about women who are the wives of whale hunters. Die Huisgenoot, 13 February 1948, p.43, article about Marie Curie. Rooi Rose, February 1948, p.26, article about Marie Curie. Rooi Rose, March 1948, p.12, article about a South African lion tamer who is a woman.

The Vrou en Moeder magazine, however, demonstrates a keen awareness of political power¹⁸ and also discusses the rights of women and children, and hails women as independent agents in these articles. In these articles, women are not only seen as being capable of action independently of men, they articulate concern at proposals that the male dominated church be given power over a women's organisation. These articles demonstrate that middle class Afrikaner women were conscious of themselves as independent agents and had an awareness of gender issues.

1.9 Conclusions

After analysing the identified discourses, the following conclusions may be drawn. Firstly, the primacy of Afrikaner national interests should be noted. In most magazines the nationalistic volksmoeder discourse informs much of the writing, so that nationalist issues take precedence over those of gender and class. Most of the other discourses identified: Motherhood, morality, health conscious care-giver, cultural carrier and good wife discourses, are supportive of this nationalist discourse. The only two discourses which in no way contribute to Afrikaner nationalism are the fashion discourse and the independent agent discourse.

Nationalist discourses also here define gender roles, as is the case done in other parts of the world. Samita Sen has researched the role of women as nationalist icons and moral beacons in Bengal: "The good woman, the chaste married wife/mother, empowered by a spiritual strength, became the iconic representation of the nation."¹⁹ She goes on to explain that

¹⁸ Vrou en Moeder, March 1948, p.8, article where the struggle for autonomy of the organisation within a merger with the Dutch Reformed Church is discussed.

¹⁹ S. Sen, "Motherhood and mothercraft: Gender and nationalism in Bengal". Gender and History, Vol.5, No.2, p.232.

in Bengal, the moral health of the nation was felt to depend on different gender roles, and that if these roles were violated it would be a short step to moral degeneracy and the collapse of the social order.²⁰ Similar conclusions can be drawn here regarding nationalism. While Afrikaner women had a central role in nationalist discourse, those discourses also prescribed moral boundaries which defined clear-cut gender roles.

The discourses examined here also reveal a hierarchy of power. Within the discourses, men judge women, and middle class women judge working class women. However, although there is a awareness of male domination (and very occasionally, a protest against this domination through the independent agent discourse), it is clear that women participated in male discourses about themselves. This may be explained by the fact that women saw themselves primarily as Afrikaners, and thus participated in discourses promoting Afrikaner nationalism. Issues concerning gender or class seem to have been regarded as being of secondary importance.

Of relevance here is Adam and Giliomee's observation that ruling groups which disagree about some issues will co-operate if a crisis is present and their power is threatened.²¹ In nationalist discourses examined in this thesis, class and gender differences have been ignored. Afrikaners from different classes and genders all participated in nationalist discourses in order to keep Afrikaners in power.

However, despite attempts to prevent the development of class consciousness amongst Afrikaners (Adam and Giliomee cite the formation of the Reddingsdaadbond as one attempt to prevent Afrikaner workers from

²⁰ S. Sen, "Motherhood and mothercraft: Gender and nationalism in Bengal" Gender and History, Vol.5, No.2, pp.233 - 234.

²¹ H. Adam and H. Giliomee, Ethnic Power Mobilized: Can South Africa Change?, p.202.

developing as a class distinct from other Afrikaans classes), discourses reveal that class consciousness did develop to a degree amongst Afrikaners. This is especially apparent when studying Afrikaans women's organisations. The upper and middle class women who belonged to these organisations were acutely aware of their class status and felt it was their duty to help those Afrikaners less fortunate than themselves.

The women interviewed also revealed an awareness of class by emphasizing their education, and the professional status of their spouses. Their awareness of etiquette and fashion also betrays their middle class origins.

It is also interesting to note that few discourses hail women as political beings. However, some Afrikaner women were involved in politics at this time. Johanna Terburgh, for example, was on the management committee of the National Party (Florida branch).²² Women also display an astute political consciousness in the Vrou en Moeder magazine. The absence of political discourses may therefore be ascribed to the male domination of power structures in politics at the time.

2. The role of ideology in history: Some comments and observations

This study suggests that primary sources such as magazines and interviews may contribute to the historical record when analysed from an ideological perspective. This may be useful in areas such as gender studies where there is a dearth of other primary source material. Discourses and ideologies contribute to an understanding of the beliefs, value systems and power structures of a society, and because of this are worthy of study as entities in themselves.

However, historians should be aware of the nature of ideology, its

²² Johanna Terburgh Collection, RAU Archives, File No. A52.

inherent contradictions and irrationalities. Every endeavour should be made to complement ideological studies with other historical evidence, as ideology has a tendency to ignore that which it does not wish to see. Historians should be aware of the ideological bias in the material they study, and should try to determine the purpose behind ideological discourses. Further conclusions about the nature of ideology are detailed below.

2.1. Ideology is time and place specific

Ideology changes over time. For example, by 1958 the volksmoeder theme no longer dominated women's magazines, but was being supplanted by a consumerist discourse, which earlier had not been apparent; in 1948 and 1949 there were few articles about career women²³ but by 1958 the Sarie Marais magazine featured 21 articles on women and their careers. By 1958, women's magazines also make some mention of women in politics²⁴ a theme which was almost entirely absent previously.

Thus discourses, although purporting to be timeless, reveal themselves as time and place specific, and as such are valuable tools for documenting changes in society. Discourses are also inextricably bound up with politics, economic trends and social mores. For example, the consumerist discourse appeared to be linked to the rising economic fortunes of the Afrikaner middle classes, while the nationalist discourse waned after the Nationalist Party had attained power.

²³ Die Huisgenoot, 13 February 1948, p.43, article about Marie Curie. Rooi Rose, February 1948, p.26, article about Marie Curie. These two articles are the exception to the rule.

²⁴ Sarie Marais, 5 March 1958, p.15, article about Bertha Solomen. Sarie Marais, 12 November 1958, p.6, article about women in Russia who were imprisoned for their political beliefs. Sarie Marais, 24 December 1958, p.10, article about women in Russia.

The chronology of the relationship between the "real world" and ideology varies; for example, certain ideologies may precede an action, helping to cause it, while others may evolve as a result of circumstances. (It is also possible that some ideologies make no discernible impression on society, existing purely in the realm of the media, while others are powerful forces). The fact that ideology is timebound makes it a legitimate historical subject. In fact, discourses in the past are more accessible than those in the present as in the present we are "inside ideology" and thus cannot view it objectively.

2.2 Ideology has a purpose

This study demonstrates that similar discourses can be articulated for different purposes, for example, the different twists given to the volksmoeder discourse in this study. (Some of the Vrou en Moeder magazines studied used this discourse as a rallying point for political action²⁵; in other magazines the discourse idealises women as Afrikaner icons, pure and virginal.)²⁶ The different texts informed by the discourse and the different political positions of the authors of those texts may subtly change the discourse itself. Historians need to become aware of these nuances, and the hidden purpose of ideology in order to preserve an accurate historical record.

²⁵ Vrou en Moeder, March 1948, p.8, article discussing the issue of a state funeral for a volksmoeder is discussed. Vrou en Moeder, March 1948, p.3, article containing the debate about whether the Vrouefederasie should become part of the Dutch Reformed Church, where the point is made that women will not be given as much power as men. These articles point out the inequalities which existed between women and men, and urge Afrikaner women to fight for their rights.

²⁶ Die Kerkbode, 28 July 1948, p.168, article where motherhood is described as a "heilige roeping". Die Onderwysblad vir Christelike en Nasionale Onderwys en Opvoeding, February 1948, p.3, article where teaching is described as a "heilige plig."

Another example of how a discourse is changed by its purpose is the motherhood discourse uncovered here. In women's magazines, mothers were often portrayed as incompetent and subservient, whereas the Vrou en Moeder magazine revealed middle class mothers as excellent organisers, who were educated and active caregivers. Thus the different purposes behind discourses can reveal class or gender divisions, or other tensions in society.

2.3 Ideology is irrational and contradictory

It has already been pointed out that important differences existed in the ways in which different magazines handled the same ideology, but it should also be borne in mind that contradictory discourses can exist simultaneously. Although materialism and nationalism seem to be contradictory discourses (this is openly stated in one of the Helpmekaar school magazines)²⁷ and materialism and consumer discourses tended to replace nationalistic volksmoeder ones, during 1958 both materialist and nationalist discourses existed side by side in magazines.

This contradictory, and essentially illogical nature of ideology should be borne in mind by historians. On a superficial level, discourses do not always make sense, but on a deeper level they are indicators of different conditions and aspirations in society, which once investigated and corroborated, may contribute something unique to the historical record. Thus two apparently contradictory discourses point to the fact that both material aspirations and nationalism were present in Afrikaner society.

²⁷

O. Geysers, Die Helpmekaar-Hoerskole 1921 - 1971, p. 102. Miss Theron, headmistress of Helpmekaar Hoër Meisieskool says: "In a tyd van vervlakking en materialisme is dit my wens dat ons op Helpmekaar dogters sal kweek met vaste lewensbeginsels, bereid vir onbaatsugtige diens aan ons land en medemens - suiwer van hart en gees, waar en trou as Afrikaners."

Although ideology may not always appear rational, it has its own logic.

2.4 Ideology both mirrors and contradicts the real world

Discourse analysis can lead to a fuller understanding of important trends and value systems in any society. However, contradictory discourses may construct any written source at one time. In order to fully understand the workings of any discourse, that discourse therefore needs to be linked to events outside itself.

This study related the consumerist discourse to the rise of the Afrikaner middle class, citing examples of Afrikaner economic advancement into the business and commercial sector.²⁸ Similarly, the hailing of Afrikaner women as career women was related to the growing numbers of women entering the workforce in the 1950s.²⁹ The study also endeavoured to determine, by means of interviews, to what extent the various discourses were lived out by Afrikaner women. Discourses which are "lived out" will be deeply entrenched in society, such as the volksmoeder discourse in this study; other discourses may be ephemeral, such as the Americana discourse.

This study found that many of the discourses were lived out. Women participated in the volksmoeder discourse through articulating the discourse in writing and in speaking about themselves, as well as acting out the discourse. There was a similar finding with regard to the motherhood discourse, with women putting their duties as mothers before their careers, and even when working, participating in nurturing professions such as teaching and nursing. It was found that the discourse about fashion and beauty could be linked to discourses about etiquette, and

²⁸ D. O'Meara, Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party, 1948 - 1994, p.80.

²⁹ C.P. Van der Merwe and C.F. Albertyn, Die Vrou, Deel II, pp.353 - 357.

that dress was an important part of self-representation for middle class women.

It should also be remembered that seemingly contradictory discourses may exist simultaneously. In this study, a moralistic nationalist discourse existed simultaneously with a consumerist discourse. This may be related to the events of the time. The nationalist discourse hailed Afrikaners and its articulation enabled Afrikaners to celebrate and consolidate their political gains. The consumerist discourse may be linked to the upwardly mobile Afrikaner middle class. Superficially the two discourses may seem disparate (the one redolent with spirituality and patriotism, the other materialist in the extreme) however when related to events of the time, both discourses articulate the rising fortunes of the Afrikaner. One is an expression of aspirations to political power, the other of aspirations to prosper economically.

3. The importance of gender as a historical category

As Helen Bradford has pointed out, when gender is ignored as a historical category, fundamental misinterpretations of history may occur.³⁰ This thesis has demonstrated the relevance and importance of using gender as a historical category through highlighting the role Afrikaner women played within the nationalist movement. In doing so, some gaps in the historical record for the period have been revealed. Observations and conclusions have also been reached about the use of gender as a historical category. These are detailed below.

³⁰ H. Bradford "Women in the Cape and its frontier zones, c1800 - 1870: A critical essay on androcentric historiography", p.3.

3.1 The relative importance of class and gender interests

The study focuses on the relationship between class and gender interests during 1948, 1949 and 1958. In the discourses studied here, middle class Afrikaner women did not acknowledge their gender as a common bond between all women. Many of the discourses involving Afrikaner women were exclusivist in nature, pointing to divides between women of different classes, races and languages. Discourses appealed to an Afrikaner nationalism and an Afrikaner culture, as well as middle class values. Working class Afrikaner women were to be given charity as they were Afrikaners, but were not to be welcomed into the social circles in which the Maria van Riebeeck club operated. Thus for middle class Afrikaner women at this time, class and race cut across gender interests.

This relationship between class, race and gender may not hold true in all instances. It has been noted that Betty du Toit, a working class Afrikaner woman, was reviled in the Afrikaner community for organising multi-racial trade unions.³¹ Further research needs to be undertaken to determine whether this organising was undertaken on a class basis only, and what role, in any, gender issues played in this process.

Class, race and gender seem to have a complex interaction as historical categories which may change radically over time. This interaction should be further explored. Only once women become an integral part of the historical record will the role which gender plays in society become fully apparent.

³¹

R.E. Lapchick and S.Urdang, Oppression and Resistance: The Struggle of Women in Southern Africa, pp.125 - 126.

3.2 The relationship between gender and ideology

Ideology has the ability to invest gender issues with different meanings for different sections of the community. Discourses which informed the writing in the first set of magazines could be distinguished in several aspects from the discourses informing the second set of magazines.

For example, the first set of magazines all contained strong moral imperatives for women, which are absent from the Vrouefederasie's Vrou en Moeder magazine. In this magazine, women are neither blamed for problems, nor told how to act in order not to cause problems; instead the magazine offers solutions to social problems, sometimes criticizing society when doing so.³² The moral imperatives which do exist in this set of magazines are expressions of sympathy for other women who have fallen, and thus betrayed the Afrikaner nation.

The first set of magazines constantly refer to women as refined creatures, easily led astray and in need of moral guidance. The fact that women are subservient to men is emphasised. In the Vrou en Moeder women are shown as resourceful, strong and assertive; in places the authority of the state is questioned and discontent is voiced.³³ The magazine chronicles the actions which they have taken in order to make Afrikaner society a better place. Women here are the guardians of justice, and the upholders of the rights of women and children.³⁴

³² Vrou en Moeder, March 1948, p.10. article containing the suggestion that a government department administer the salary of an alcoholic in order to protect his family from want.

³³ Vrou en Moeder, March 1948, p.8 and p.10.

³⁴ Vrou en Moeder, September 1948, p.7, article on the Children's Charter of the United Nations. There are also several other instances in the magazine where women's rights, such as their

In the first set of magazines, women accept the status quo and hardly ever raise their voice in protest or opposition. The Vrou en Moeder magazine has no such scruples however, and in places even exhibits what might be called a feminist consciousness. Although the organisation champions marriage, it does not expect the same subservience to men as was evident in other women's magazines.³⁵ (Here it should be noted that in some education magazines, and also in the magazines put out by the Vrouefederasie, women sometimes raised rebellious voices over various issues, some of which challenged discourses the women's magazines put forward.)³⁶

It is thus clear that discourses are shaped according to gender perspectives, and that like race and class, gender plays a definitive role in society. Discourses highlight different attitudes towards gender, different gender roles, and tensions with regard to gender issues.

legal rights in marriage are upheld.

³⁵ Die Huisgenoot, 23 January 1948, p.43, article where a father takes all the decisions as to whether a child should be allowed to walk to school on her own. Vrou en Moeder, March 1948, p.3, article where reservations are expressed about the Vrouefederasie coming under the control of the Dutch Reformed Church. The author of the article is of the opinion that the men in the church will treat the women unfairly, and will expect to make all the decisions.

³⁶ Die Onderwysblad vir Christelike en Nasionale Onderwys en Opvoeding, 1 May 1948, p.16, article where a woman teacher expresses the view that the fact that women are paid less than men and are obliged to leave permanent teaching posts when getting married, is unfair. Vrou en Moeder, March 1948, p.8, article where discontent is voiced about the way women are treated when the decision made by the state not to give a state funeral to a woman the organisation regards as a "volksmoeder" is discussed. Vrou en Moeder, March 1948, p.10, article questioning the decisions of various government departments as these decisions impact negatively on women.

3.3 Gender does not indicate a unity of interests

As has previously been pointed out, women were divided through different class and race interests. Thus any conclusions reached with regard to the identity of Afrikaner middle class women in this decade should not be viewed in a stereotypical light. The magazines have shown that women did occasionally oppose the status quo, through a critical stance towards gender roles.³⁷ The articles about women who did not conform to the stereotypes which appeared in women's magazines³⁸ should also serve as a reminder that not all women participated in or lived out the discourses reflected in the magazines. It should be remembered that gender is a broad historical category whose particular use needs constantly to be defined.

³⁷ Besluite van en inrigtingsverslages aan die 42ste jaarkongress van die SAVF gehou in die stadsaal, Krugersdorp op 13 - 17 September 1948, RAU Archives, File No. A88, where opposition is voiced about the proposed amalgamation of the SAVF and the Dutch Reform church. Vrou en Moeder, March 1948, p.8, article demanding a state funeral for Mrs Broers.

³⁸ Sarie Marais, 6 July 1949, p.20, article about a woman whose job is a wine maker. Sarie Marais, September 28 1949, p.3, article about a woman who works in a laboratory doing pregnancy tests. Sarie Marais, 5 October 1949, p.3, article about a woman who keeps bees. Sarie Marais, 26 October 1949, article about a woman who works at a petrol station. Sarie Marais, 28 December 1949, p.3, article about women who are the wives of whale hunters. In the Sarie Marais of 1949, there are nine articles about women who do unusual things. Sarie Marais, 19 March 1958, p.20, pictures of women architects and builders. Sarie Marais, 16 April 1958, pp. 8-9, article about the richest woman in the world. Sarie Marais, 16 April 1958, pp.24, article about Dr Martha Moernich of the Royal Geographical Society. Sarie Marais, 30 April 1958, p.28, article about two women tramps. Sarie Marais, 11 June 1958, p.18, article about woman breeder of angorra rabbits. Sarie Marais, 9 July 1958, p.20, article about South African woman who walked around the world. Sarie Marais, 6 August 1958, p.32, article about a Finnish woman doctor and surgeon. Sarie Marais, 3 September 1958, p.13, article about woman doctor in Nigeria. Sarie Marais, 10 December 1958, p.80, article about a woman who started a school for the blind in Southern Rhodesia.

3.4 Women sometimes participated in their own oppression

The Vrou en Moeder magazines and the interviews with women revealed that women participated in discourses which oppressed them as women. Women participated in the volksmoeder discourse, the motherhood discourse, the caregiver discourse, the cultural carrier discourse and the good wife discourse; all of which limited their ability to act as independent agents and confined them within particular gender roles. Although the discourses were at times distorted, as when the volksmoeder discourse informed the opposition to give a state funeral to Mrs Broers,³⁹ in the main women participated in their own oppression.

It has already been pointed out that women's allegiance to the nationalist cause was one reason for their participation in gender oppressive discourses; women clearly felt more oppressed as Afrikaners than they did as women. The women interviewed lived economically secure and comfortable lives and they were active socially and well educated. By living out the discourses they were able to feel fulfilled rather than exploited. Their economic position freed them from the necessity to work, and although they did not participate in politics, they were able to vote, and occupy leadership roles in women's organisations and education. Still very much "inside" ideology, these women were not yet conscious of gender as a political category.

It may also have been that women were only able to live economically secure lives if they participated in these discourses. During the 1940s and 1950s the divorce rate for white South Africans rose dramatically.⁴⁰

³⁹ Vrou en Moeder, March 1948, p.8.

⁴⁰ J.R. Albertyn, P. Du Toit and H.S. Theron, Kerk en Stad: Verslag van die Kommissie van Ondersoek van die Gefedereerde N.G. Kerke na Kerklike en Godsdienstige Toestande in die Nege Stede van die Unie van Suid-Afrika, p.220.

The high divorce rate may have made women feel economically insecure, and caused them to participate in discourses which hailed them as the central figure in family life, thus ensuring an economically secure existence for them. It should be remembered that men were in a position of greater economic power than women, and participation in oppressive discourses may have been one way of sharing in that economic power.

4. The end of the rainbow

In the last few decades, it has been the task of historians to explore the silences in history. Recognising that "individuals do not speak language but that language speaks through them",⁴¹ this historical study has used language to explore silence. In doing so, it uncovered the discourses surrounding a particular group of women, and drew conclusions about gender and ideology, and their importance for historical studies. Hopefully these areas of historical study will continue to be explored.

⁴¹ R. Tallis, "A cure for theorrhea", Critical Review, Vol.3, No.1, p.20.

Appendix

Cover of Sarie Marais, 6 July 1949, illustrating volksmoeder discourse.



Voortrekker competition, Sarie Marais, 19 October 1949, p.2.

ONS VOOR- TREK- KER- WED- STRYD



HET u al 'n feesaandenking vir u nageslag?

Laat dadelik 'n foto van uself (of u dogtertjie) in Voortrekkerdrag neem, en wen sommer terselfdertyd 'n prys van £50.

U het nog 'n maand tyd om hierdie foto's te laat neem en aan SARIE MARAIS te stuur vir die VOORTREKKERWEDSTRYD wat reeds vroeë in ons kolomme aangekondig is.

Ons leseresse sal die geleentheid hê om die drie beste foto's van 'n vrou (moeder), nooientjie en dogtertjie in Voortrekkerdrag te kies.

£50 of 'n seereis om ons kus of 'n treinreis na die Victoria-waterval vir die persoon wie se foto as Voortrekkervrou gekies word.

£50 of 'n seereis om ons kus of 'n treinreis na die Victoria-waterval vir die persoon wie se foto as Voortrekker-nooi gekies word.

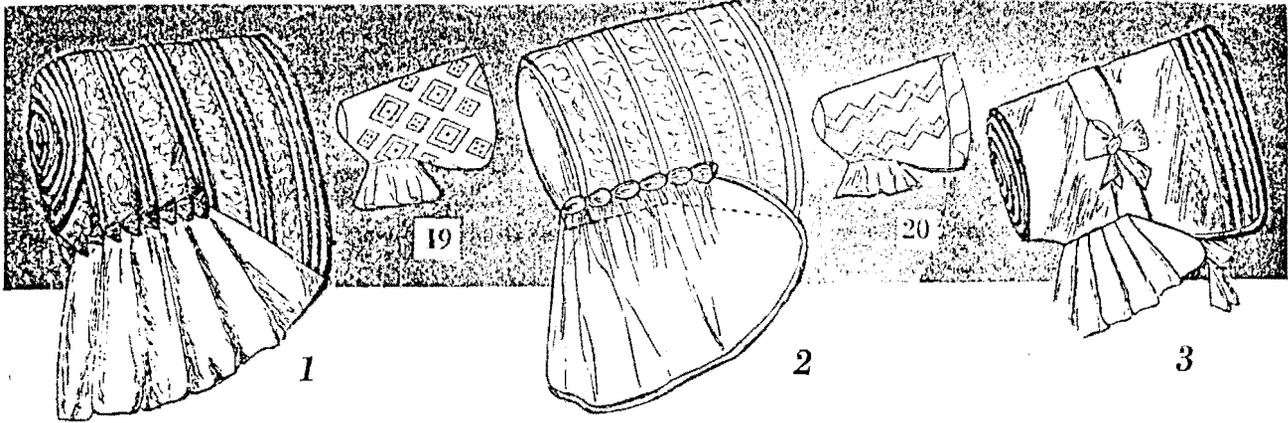
£25 vir die dogtertjie wie se foto gekies word as Voortrekkerdogtertjie.

£75 aan pryse van verskillende bedrae aan lesers en leseresse wat die pryswinnende foto's in die regte volgorde plaas.

VOORWAARDES

1. Die laaste inskrywings vir foto's word op 12 NOVEMBER ontvang.
2. Alle inskrywings moet geskied op die koeponne, soos onderstaande, wat ons van tyd tot tyd publiseer.
3. 'n Keurkomitee sal alle inskrywings nagaan en uit elke afdeling tien foto's kies wat na hul mening die ideale Voortrekkervrou, -nooi en -dogtertjie voorstel. Hierdie foto's versayn in ons uitgawes van 7 en 14 Desember sodat lesers die foto's in volgorde van geslaagdheid kan plaas en die pryswinners kan aanwys.

Article about voortrekkerkappies, Sarie Marais, 24 August 1948, p.33.



die Voortrekkerkappie

Deur KOTIE ROODT-COETZEE

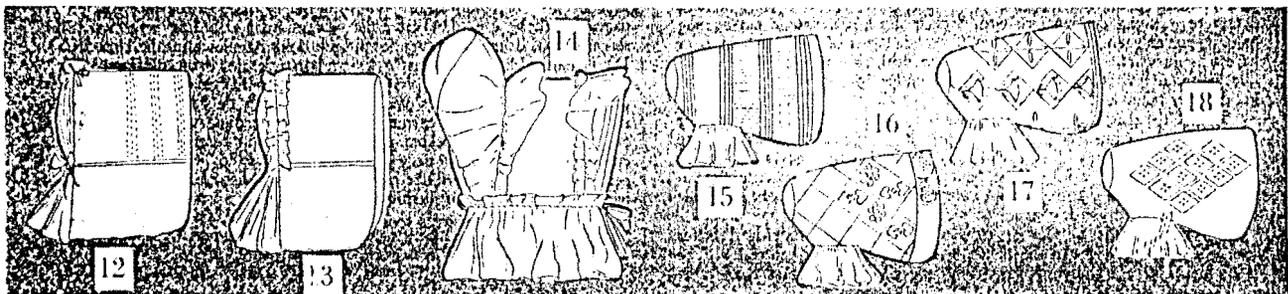
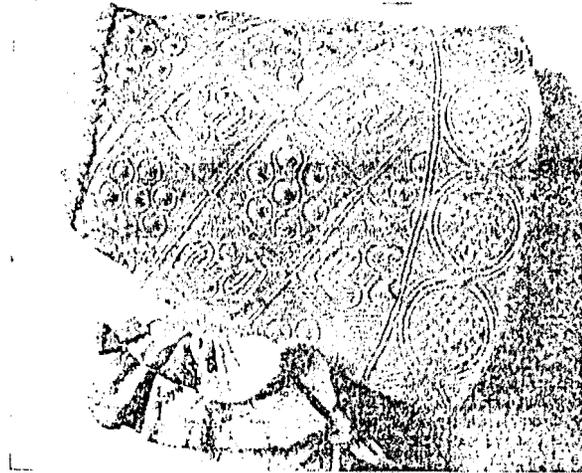
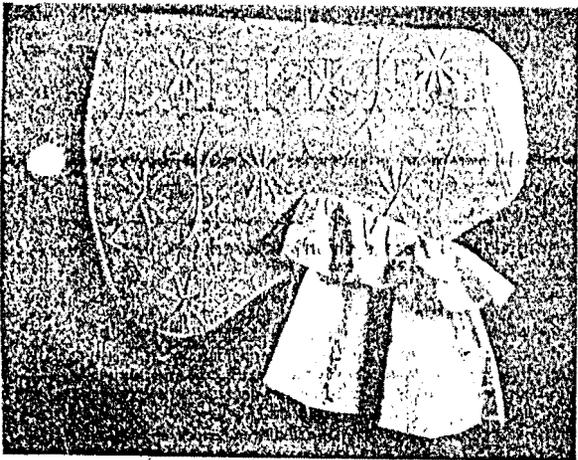
Voortrekkerkledingstukke word die rokke altyd bewonder om hul sierlike styl, deftige materiale en keurige en netjiese afwerking. Maar meer as die rok of as enige ander kledingstuk is die kappie die deel van die drag waarin deeglikheid, kunssin en oorspronklike skepping van die Voortrekkevrou op sy beste vertoon word.

Daar is baie mense wat nog nie 'n egte Voortrekkerkappie gesien het nie: ek het vroue ontmoet wat so om 1870 gebore is en wat die Voortrekkerhantkappie wat met die hand deurgestik is, nie ken nie. Vandat hulle maar

kan onthou, het hulle 'n ander soort kappie -- die polka- of die kissing-loop-kappie of d'ê met die groot valle voor aan d'ê kop-ruk -- gedra. Ander mense wat wel die Voortrekkerkappie by 'n vlugtige besoek aan 'n museum gesien het, het 'n vae indruk van deurgestikte kappies wat almal eenders lyk. Gedeeltelik is hulle reg. By alle volkskuns kry 'n mens by die eerste aanblik 'n indruk van eenvormigheid. In werklikheid is daar 'n ryke verskeidenheid. Eers wanneer die een stuk na die ander noukeurig bestudeer word, blyk dit hoeveel kleiner, persoonlike verskille daar onder die skynbare eendertie d

Die wit hantkappie, soos al die ander met die hand gemaak, is omtrent 100 jaar oud. Voortrekkermuseum, Pietermaritzburg.

Die kappie het aan Anna Catharina, dogter van die Voortrekker Jacobus Ignatius de Wet, behoort. Dit is 1950 deur mev. Becker, van Kestell, aan die Voortrekkermuseum, Pietermaritzburg, geskenk.



Article about Meisieskool Oranje, Sarie Marais, 17 August 1949, p.36.



Terwyl ander kursusgangers die hoenders kos gee, koeie melk en die babas versorg, is Lina, Rita en René besig met die voorbereiding van die aandete.

Daar is net een plek in Suid-Afrika waar die opleiding van jong dogters al die veelsydige take van huisvrou en moeder insluit. Oor hierdie inrigting, die Huisbestuurgebou van die Meisieskool Oranje in Bloemfontein, het die bekende opvoedkundige A. S. Neil hom as volg uitgeleat: „Daar is min opvoedingssentra in Amerika wat by die plek kan kers vashou! Wat my veral tref is die manier waarop meisies van jongs af op natuurlike wyse met die ontwikkeling en liggaamsprosesse van die mens kennismaak.”

Antoinette sit doodtevrede in die skandiel. Sy bely eintlik vir Petro haar broer. Die verpleegster is besig om te demonstree hoe so'n heel kleinjie gehal moet word.



hier leer hulle die VROU en MOEDER se werk

ENIGSTE INRIGTING VAN
SY SOORT IN DIE LAND

DIS sesuur in die namiddag; hoenders kekkel, 'n koeie bulk, mense weskaf in die kombuis, en 'n babetjie huil. Dit klink soos 'n groot bedrywigheid in 'n plaashuushouding — maar dis eintlik in die hartjie van die Vrystaatse hoofstad. En dis ook nie die boer wat op die werf en die vrou wat in die huis doenig is nie; dis 'n klompie jong dogters wat in al die bedrywighede betrokke is.

Twee dogters is besig om twee babas te bad en vir die nag te versorg; twee is besig om die koeie te melk, en twee ander het die hoenders gaan kos gee en die eiers uitgehaal. In die kombuis is 'n paar ander besig om die aandete vir 'n twintigtal voor te berei.

So gaan dit elke dag in die Huisbestuurgebou, want dis hier waar jong dogters voorberei word vir hul taak as vrou en moeder. Enige meisie wat

Article about the volksmoeder, Rachel Steyn, Sarie Marais, 27 July 1949,

p.48.



'n swaardige Lewensbeskrywing

TEMIDDE van die gedagtenisse en herinneringe en "onder die koestering van haar volk se liefde, daal die aand van die lewe sag en teer vir haar," so skryf Nellie Kruger oor mev. M. T. Steyn. Haar lewensbeskrywing van die eggenote van die Vrystaat se geliefde president, 'n vrou wat lang jare na sy heengaan nog simbool bly van die gloed van trots en liefde waarmee 'n volk aan 'n heldetyd in sy geskiedenis dink, is so pas van die pers.

Op 9 Augustus sal een van die keurige uitgawes aan die 83-jarige mev. Steyn oorhandig word.

Die biografie is op aandrang van die Oranje-vrouevereniging wat mev. Steyn gestig het en waarvan sy sedert 1909 erevoorsitster is, deur die skryfster aangepak. Sy het dit gedoen, skryf sy in die voorwoord, nie met geskiedkundige pretensies nie, maar as een wat saam met die vroue van die Vrystaat dankbaar voel dat mev. Steyn, nog altyd ons waardige presidentsvrou, die volk met 'n gevoel van trots en eenheid besiel en deur haar lange lewe heen 'n geseënde werktuig van die geskiedenis was."

In dié gees neem ons dit aan.

Uit die oorvloedige besonderhede wat die skryfster in die loop van lang, rustige gesprekke op Onze Rust van mev. Steyn self verneem het, uit 'n reeks intieme

Advertisement for "correct" voortrekker clothing, Sarie Marais, 24 August 1949, p.38.

Sarie Marais-kappies **Korrekte Voortrekkerdrag**

Goedgekeur deur mej. Trudie Kestell van die F.A.K.

Sagte strool in wit, swart, pastelkleure en ligte strookleur, versier met linte en 'n val om die rand.



★

Feesdae

★

Van sierlike strool en kan omskep word vir alledaagse drag deur die rand terug te vou.



★

Alledaags

★

Lys van handelaars sal eersdaags bekend gemaak word.

Navrae:

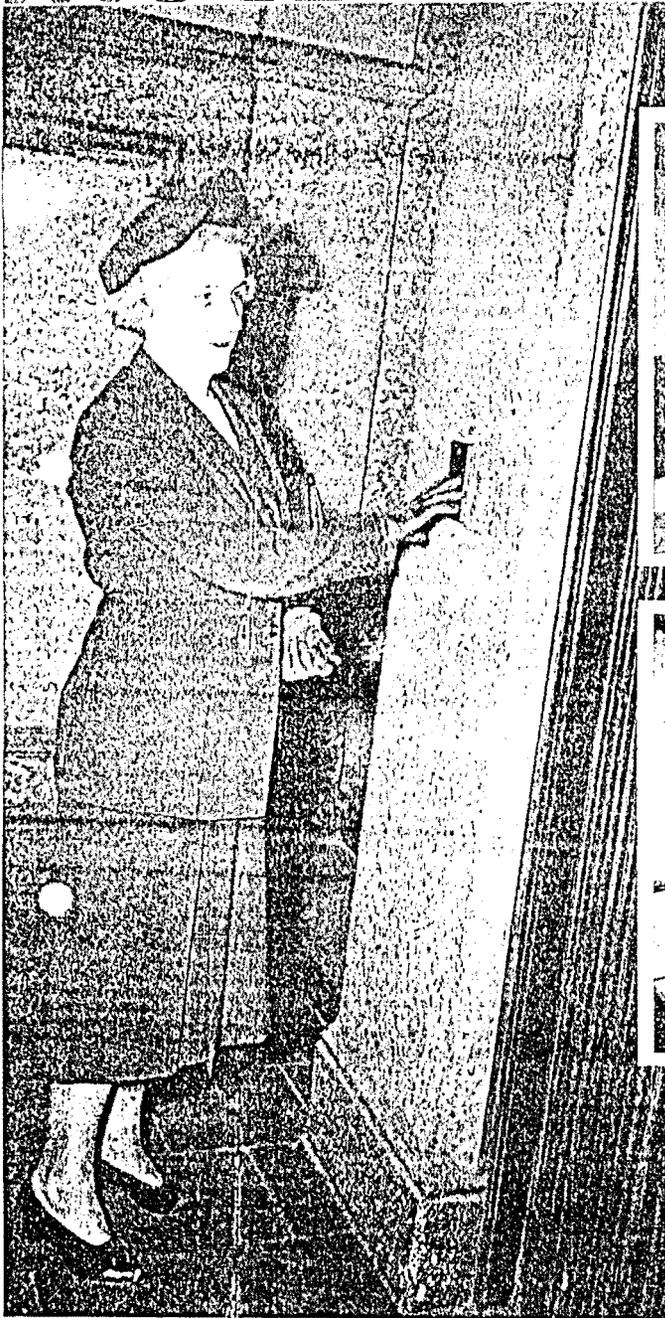
BABS KRUGER-MODES
Troyestraat 62, Johannesburg

Article illustrating fashion and beauty discourse, Sarie Marais, 3 August 1949, p.36.

MOEDER

besoek 'n skoonheidsalon

Ouder: „Sal dit nie baie ongerieflik wees nie, en hoe lank moet ek wag?” wil sy weet. „Nee, dit sal baie aangenaam wees en ons begin sommer (oflekk.)” stel die vriendlike juffrou wat haar ontvang teen gerus. Nou het sy ook die eerste twyfel moedigheid oorwin.



Die: In die afskorting sit sy nou rustig agteroor, buis en skouers met handdoeke bedek. Dit ook maklik om onder sulke omstandighede te ontspan, want die sagte, vlinke bewegings van die dame wat haar wikkbrone onder bande nedein, is gerusstelend. Sy voel nie eens hoe die haartjies een vir een verwyder word om 'n netjiese lyn te gee nie.

In al haar vyftig lewensjare het hierdie dame met die grys hare nog nooit na 'n skoonheidsalon gegaan en 'n hele skoonheidsbehandeling ontvang nie. Maar sy het haar van haar dogter laat ooppraat wat die behandeling vir haar as verjaardaggeskenk gee. Sy lui die hyserklokke maar taanlik onseker terwyl sy wonder of sy op haar leeftyd nie van dié lawwe idees moet afsien en reguit luis toe gaan nie!

Article illustrating women-as-cultural-carrier discourse, Sarie Marais, 23

November 1949, p.81.

Wat moet ons kinders lees?

Deur ANNA UYS

Studente van die Fakulteit vir Opvoekkunde van die Stellenbosse Universiteit het onlangs 'n baie interessante uitstalling van kinderboeke gehou. Uit die versameling van die universiteit en met die medewerking van 'n paar uitgewersmaatskappye is 'n groot aantal kinderboeke byeengebring en uitgestal. Die doel hiervan was om die Afrikaanse kinderboek te vergelyk met goeie kinderboeke van ander lande en om wenke te gee vir diene wat met die keuse van kinderboeke gemeed is. Veral ouers het baie belang gestel in hierdie wenke, en na aanleiding daarvan het die redaksie mej. Anna Uys gevra om hierdie artikel op te stel.



„EN TOE?”

VIR die volle ontwikkeling van enige kind is boeke 'n noodsaaklikheid. Dis boeke wat vir hom die deur tot alle ervarings oopmaak, wat sy verbeelding prikkel en sy lewensuitkyk verbreed, en wat hom die onmisbare agtergrond vir sy latere lewe gee. Daar is tog nie ouers wat sal toestaan dat hul kinders vir hul liggaamlike groei sommer met enige voeding wat hulle toevallig teekom, moet tevrede wees nie. Daar word so goed moontlik gesoek vir die regte voedingstowwe en 'n gesonde balans. Maar hoe skraal is die voedsel waarmee baie ouers tevrede is vir hul kind se ontlukkende gees, en hoe dikwels word die kind se leesstof maar aan die toeval oorgelaat!

In elke stadium van 'n kind se ontwikkeling soek sy ges gesedurig na meer as wat sy onmiddellike omgewing bied. Eers is dit die verbeelding wat groei en wat aanhoudend oeffenings soek; dan weer die intellek wat elke geleentheid vir boestening gemet; en na die twaalfde jaar is dit w. . . . Die gevoelslewe wat deur ervarings koers soek. Hoe kan ons waarborg dat die alledaagse lewe genoeg sulke geleenthede gaan bied? Maar waar die onmiddellike omgewing kortskiet, kan boeke in die behoeftes van die kind voorsien en sy lewe verryk. Juis hierom is dit nodig om van jongs af die regte gesindheid teenoor boeke en die regte leesgewoontes by 'n kind aan te kweek. Dis tog nie te betwyfel nie dat die dinge waaraan ons in ons kinderjare gewoon raak, 'n belangrike invloed op ons later lewe uitoeten. Dis tog die argument wat ons aanvoer as ons die kinders van klens af goeie maniere, nethed, eerlikheid, ens. leer. So behoort ons 'n kind te leer om reg met 'n boek om te gaan en dit so te gemet dat dit 'n deel van sy lewe word.

As ons 'n kind met die uiters sensasionele strookprentjies laat grootword, is dit vanselfsprekend dat hy ook later die sensasionele sal vra. Maar daar is talle en talle goeie kinderboeke wat gebaser is op mooi en interessante dinge uit die alledaagse lewe, vol gesonde pret en lewenslus. Dit vra nie eens baie moeite van ouers om te sorg dat hul kinders goeie gewoontes ten opsigte van leesstof opbou nie. Hulle moet net sorg dat die kind 'n redelike toevoer van die beste boeke binne hul bereik kry, dan hoef hulle nie bekommerd te wees oor die minder goeties wat so af en toe bykom

nie. My raad aan ouers is ook verder; gesels soms met die kinders oor die stories. Lag saam oor Pensie se frase (*Pensie deur Boerneef*), oor Patrys se katekwaad (*Patrys Hulle* deur E. B. Grosskopf); wees saam verwonderd oor Jan Harmse se avonture in die wonderlike natuur (*Die Vreemde Ondervindings van Jan Harmse* deur dr S H. Skaife). As die regte geleentheid hom bied, wys dan ook op die verspotte oordreueheid van die sensasionele. So help u die kind in sy strewe na regte waardes en verhoudings en kweek by hom die gewoonte aan om boeke intelliget te lees.

Een van die interessantste afdelings van die boeke-tentoonstelling was die historiese afdeling. Daar was 'n paar facsimile-uitgawes van ou Hollandse boekies (1778, 1781 en 1860) naas 'n tipiese moderne kinderboek. Die oues was vol versies wat sedeprekes bevat, en die prentjies was van stywe, preutse kinders. Dis duidelik dat die boekies bedoel was vir „klein grootmense”. Die moderne kinderboek is groot van formaat (14 duim by 12 duim) en vol gekleurde prente. Die prente is vol lewe, handeling en pret en hulle is nie ingeperk nie. As 'n lang ry mense voorgestel word, loop 'n prent somer oor twee hladsyfel

In hierdie afdeling by die onlangse uitstalling van kinderboeke op Stellenbosch, is die kontras tussen goeie en slegte illustrasies aangetoon.



Picture showing the suffering of Afrikaner women, Die Kerkbode, 10 March 1949, p.527.

10 MAART 1948

DIE KERKBODE

527

Swygende kamerade, watter invloed het julle nie! Watter besielende krag bring julle nie, veral die skoonste onder julle — „die Boek van God.” Waardevoller as alle goud, sterker in krag as die wêreld se maghebbers, ewig-blywend teenoor verbygaande boodskappe van wysgere.

Meestal toon die lewe ons net die laste van sterweling en — selde die momente van geluk en vreugde. Tog bloei daar elke dag op uit die harte van die aardbewoners tonele wat skoon is en heilig. In sulke oomblikke word 'n adel en liefde gesien wat alle lippe verstom. In die teenwoordigheid daarvan versterf alle ander waardes. Veiligheid, posisie, geld, aansien, kennis en mag, hulle word soos niks — klanke sonder inhoud. Selfs die wêreld van swoeë en leed word vergeet by so 'n verheewe spel.

het sy haar kind probeer voed en stilhou. Oor hom het haar hande, van sorg moeg, swaar gerus. Stil en woordeloos het sy gesit. Geen spore van kommer of verwyd was te bespeur. Geen bitterheid of misnoeë met haar lot is ver-raai. Dit was asof 'n stroom van onsigbare krag haar vermaerde liggaam deurdring het. Geen vreugde was hier behalwe die saamwees met 'n brekende lewe... Niemand het geroer of gepraat nie. Die enigste beweging was 'n kindermoud wat brand van koors en af en toe tevergeefs sy dors wou les aan 'n moeder wat haar voedende krag verloor het. Haar hol oë deur eie siekte en ellende verteer, het nou en dan op die kind geval en dan in die verte gestaar.



Teen die donker agtermuur op die bed het twee mensewesens gesit: 'n moeder met 'n kind wat sterf

In 'n kamer in 'n agterplaas het dit gebeur — Mer waar vroeër die swart bedlendes van 'n ryk gesin gewoon het en nou blankes 'n onderdak moes vind. Die vertrek was alles — slaapvertrek, eetkamer en kombuis. Karig was die meubelstukke, stowwerig die vloer, bevek die mure, gehawend die beddegoed en benoud die lig. Die armoede en swaarkry kon jy ruik. Hier was nie die rykdom wat geld en mag bring nie, maar 'n rykdom wat die slei oorstelp en tot 'nane dwing.

Teen die donker agtermuur op die bed tehurk, het twee mensewesens gesit: 'n moeder met 'n kind wat sterf. Beide was bleek en yl gekleed. Weinig was die bewyse van sorg. Teen

Hier was 'n rykdom van liefde en berusting, wat smartlik verruk het. Uit watter bronne sou hierdie krag opwel om soveel leed te ly, só te offer, só te bemin, het ek gewonder. Ons swak geslag speel voor die donker eindlot so lig die lafaard... Meteens het my oog op 'n stoel geval. 'n Bybel daarop het oopgelê. Dik onderstreep en dikwels gelees kon ek sien, was die woorde, die voedende bron van haar heroïsme: „God is vir ons 'n toevlug en sterkte, as hulp in benoudhede is Hy in hoë mate beproef.”

Swaar het ek die vertrek verlaat. Deur die nag se eensaamheid, met die lig van die sterre daarboen die herinneringe aan momente te diep vir woorde, is ek huis toe om nie te slaap nie, maar te roep vir die woorde van God daar

Article about a Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie institution, Sarie Marais,
13 July 1949, p.30.

Die Gelukkige groepie kleuters
in die tuin van die Armstrong-
Berning-tehuis.



Die Sonde van die Vaders

MAAR DIS DIE MOEDERS EN KINDERS WAT BOET

door S.A.V.F. KORRESPONDENT

Om die ongeloude moeder 'n kans te gee om haarself te rehabiliteer en om haar kind die wêreld in te stuur sonder die stigma van ongeregtigheid, dit is die doel van die Armstrong-Berning-tehuis in Pretoria. Wens die intieme aard van die werk weet min mense iets van die lewe agter die tehuis se mure. Dis met spesiale vergunning van die S.A.V.F. se Hoofbestuur, aan wie die inrigting behoort, dat in hierdie artikel 'n duideliker beeld gegee mag word van die werk wat daar gedoen word.

NIE ver van die sentrale deel van Pretoria, in Bloedstraat, is 'n groot tweeverdiepinggebou met die naam Armstrong-Berning-tehuis. Die meesreys bygangers wat die naam lees, die groen grasperke en rustige palms voor die deur sien, het nie die vaagste idee van die donker stroom van verdriet, smart, teleurstelling en angst wat jaar in en jaar uit deur die daardie hoëmuur vloei, nie en kan nie 'n denkbeeld vorm nie van die tragedie van elke lewe wat daar deur die barmhartigheid van 'n klein aantal vroue beskerm en versorg word. Om te seëdis 'n toevlugsoord vir meisies wat oor die tou getrap het, soos dit gewoonlik oppervlakkig vertel word, is te min gesê. Want

betekenis en werk van die inrigting met verloop van jare veel groter geword.

Ondanks die feit dat die verjaardag van die inrigting jaarliks met 'n openbare funksie in die gebou gevier word, en die genooide gaste dan toegelaat word om die huis te besoek, kry hulle niks meer te sien as mure, meubels, babas, kleuters en miskien 'n paar jong dogters wat besig is met 'n werkie nie. Omdat die werk van so 'n uiters vertroulike aard is, word baie seld en dan slegs onder spesiale omstandighede toegang verleen tot die intiemer atmosfeer, die gees en siel van die huis. So 'n geslotenheid is noodsaaklik, anders sou die bestuur nie die beskermings-, herstel- en opheffingswerk wat beoog word, kon uitvoer nie.

HIER is die kindjie van Eunice, al 'n paar jaar oud, maar nog hulpeloos en swak, omdat dit blind gebore is en nie op die gewone leeftyd kon leer om oor die weg te kom nie! In die afdeling van die swakste babas moet dit jare lank versorg word totdat dit sterk en oud genoeg sal wees om na die Skool vir Blindes op Worcester, verplaas te word. Eunice was maar veertien jaar toe sy die kindjie ontvang het deur verkragting van 'n ouer broer. 'n Mens kan jou die smartvolle tonele van ontugtering, verwyt, rusie, straf, kommer en sorg wat in die ouer-huis plaasgevind het maklik voorstel — en wat 'n verlossing dit vir die arme kind was toe sy deur 'n tante van die Armstrong-Berning-tehuis gehoor het en daarheen kon vlug!

Nadat die bestuur, soos in alle gevalle gedoen word, 'n grondige ondersoek na die huislike omstandighede ingestel het, het dit gebleek dat die kinders deur gebrekkige opvoeding en slegte voorbeelde in die ellende verval het. Daar is by die hof aansoek gedoen om sowel Eunice as die kind te kommitteer, en sy is onder die beskerming van die inrigtingsbestuur geplaas tot haar agtiende jaar. Uit die aard van die saak moes sy kosteloos opgeneem word.

Deur te help met die versorging van die kleintjies in die inrigting en

Photograph of Mrs Johanna Terburgh, E.L.P. Stals, Afrikaners in die Goudstad, Deel II, 1924 - 1969, p.31.



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