

The French refugees in 20th century South African historiographyⁱ

Dolf Britz

Department of Ecclesiology, University of the Free State,
Bloemfontein, South Africa

Abstract

This article traces the portrayal of the French refugees/Huguenots (as a subject of matter) in the South African (church) historiography of the 20th century and tells their story chronologically. The survey reveals a positive evaluation and acceptance of the French refugees in the history of South Africa. The collection and study of primary sources in this regard during the 20th century, however, did not prevent the formulation of contextualised presumptions, suppositions, images and unreliable sociohistorical and religious theories connected to the French refugees in the (church) historiography. It appears that some constitutive-critical and, in particular, theological-critical work still has to be done in order to let the historical reality (concerning the French refugees) come into its own and full right. Taking the historiography into consideration, this article argues that further research on the significance of the French refugees at the Cape thus cannot be executed within the range of limited and traditional questions and presuppositions such as the historical and cultural origin of the Afrikaner people, the development of the political idea of separation, the strengthening of the reformed confession and faith in South Africa, the derivation of a typical Protestant and Afrikaner Calvinism or the accepted and assumed connection between Calvin, France and South Africa.

Introduction

After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 in France, many French Protestants found refuge in the Netherlands. A few years later some 200 of them accepted the offer to acquire a new livelihood at the Cape of Good Hope, a Dutch East India Company refreshment post established in 1652. After their arrival in 1688, the process of adaptation and accommodation into the Cape Dutch corpus Christianum commenced. In the 19th and 20th centuries this was identified as a meaningful historical event in the history of South Africa. It evoked interpretation and study and consequently became an important theme in the (church) historiography.

This article focuses on the portrayal of the French Huguenots in the South African (church) historiography of the 20th century. How was this event interpreted and understood during the 20th century? What were the theological and historical significance and meaning accredited to the French Huguenots? Did the portrayal rest upon a rigorous and critical study of primary sources? Did the 19th century cultural and theological assumptions, images, awareness and expressive conceptsⁱⁱ without more ado continue in the expositions of the next century? Or, did the research-based and critical studies of the 20th century depict a different interpretation and assessment? In order to answer these questions, this essay surveys the 20th century (church) historiography, documents and argues the portrayal of the French Huguenots critically as a contribution to come to terms with the South African past.

Roughly speaking, at the end of the 19th century, South African anniversaries in connection with French Protestant history (1885, 1888)ⁱⁱⁱ stimulated the collection, selection and publication of (sometimes abridged) archival “French Refugee” sources. The works of Leibbrandt,^{iv} Theal^v and Spoelstra,^{vi} as well as the genealogical compilations of De Villiers^{vii} and Colenbrander,^{viii} in this regard indicate the assimilation of the earlier and emerging 19th century historical awareness, as well as the adjustment towards historical sources and subsequently verifiable historiography. The early 20th century (church) historiography,^{ix} which included the French Huguenots in South Africa (as subject matter), were thus intentionally founded on these anthologies.

Continued idealisation combined with colonial and political ulterior aims 1888–1913

As keeper of the Cape Archives, Theal provides a thorough treatment of the French refugees.^x His 1888 *History of South Africa 1486–1691*^{xi} covers, in what would become the outline of a popular

presentation, the French refugees' European background, their arrival at the Cape, their settlement and complaints, the leading role of their minister, Simond, the establishment of their own church and school, as well as their resistance (for justice and liberty) against Governor WA van der Stel. "They may be the poorest", he discloses, without concealing his colonial and theological predispositions,

... but they are not the least courageous or liberty-loving people of any country who go forth to found colonies in distant lands. And assuredly the men who built up the European power in South Africa were, in those qualities which ought to command esteem, no whit behind the pioneers of any colony in the world. They brought to this country an unconquerable love of liberty, a spirit of patient industry, a deep-seated feeling of trust in the Almighty God; and with virtues such as these we can safely leave them to do the work which Providence had marked out for them in the land of their children's home.^{xii}

In that "epoch-making year [1910],^{xiii} South Africans have reached their goal, guided thither by an all-wise Providence, not withstanding diversity in tongue and nationality".^{xiv} Thus wrote Godée-Molsbergen, professor for history at the Victoria College in Stellenbosch, in his *A history of South Africa* (1910).^{xv} His positive account of the Huguenots ("a decided acquisition to the Colony"^{xvi}) resembles that of Theal and is based on Leibbrandt's, Theal's and Spoelstra's archival notes and publications.^{xvii}

In 1913 Theal explicitly discusses the French refugees along the same lines in his *Willem Adriaan van der Stel and other historical sketches*.^{xviii} To his earlier expositions of the French at the Cape, he now adds that they were "Calvinists and practicing the Calvinistic form of worship."^{xix} They did not get along well with the Dutch at the Cape. He accentuates "the ill-feeling between the two nationalities at the Cape"^{xx} ... "for national prejudices kept them from being real friends"^{xxi} The effect of redressing of their mutual grievances and the struggle against Van der Stel, however, "makes them memorable in our history" he notes:

They blended the different nationalities together so firmly that thereafter they were absolutely inseparable. There is nothing that tends more to make men and women sympathise with each other than suffering in a common cause and in this instance Hollander and Huguenot alike had resisted and felt the vengeance of the tyrant^{xxii}

"Our archives tell us," he continues, "that from that day onward there was no jealousy, no ill-feeling of any kind, between Dutchmen and Frenchmen in the colony. There after all were Afrikaners."^{xxiii}

Within the political and national context of reconciliation after the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902), the obvious contemporary significance of Godée-Molsbergen's and Theal's emphasis on the historical achievement of the blending of two nationalities is clear. At the time (i.e. the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910 within the British Commonwealth) the history of the French Huguenots served as an illustrative example to further current mutual aims and national policies. The pre-Anglo-Boer War colonial sentiment, earlier voiced by Theal, shifted to the background.

Serving a pro-nationalistic cause 1900

This historical rendering, supplemented with a pro-colonial and post-union significance and value, was however not shared by all. Among many Afrikaners a divergent historical image was being conceived along non-colonial and pro-nationalistic lines. This self-image depicted the 100 years of British occupation (since 1795) and policies as *A century of injustice*.^{xxiv} This view of history established a differentiated conceptualisation of the *French Huguenots* compared to that of Theal and Godée-Molsbergen. D'Arbez^{xxv} (in 1900), in his *Zuid-Afrikaansche Historie-biblioteek*, is a good example. The French refugees had, he contended, not only exercised a great influence on the "formation of the character of our people", but had also played a decisive role in the "history of our country".^{xxvi} There would have been no 1836 *Trek* in "our history", he tells his readers, were it not for the French.

Trek refers to the emigration of some 6000 mainly Dutch colonists during the 1830s, interpreted as a revolt against the British authority, to settle in the interior of South Africa, where two independent republics were eventually created. At the end of the 19th century this event was interpreted as the historical origin and achievement upon which the republics were founded. The republics were symbols of non-colonial and anti-imperial freedom and stimulated a pro-Dutch and nationalistic sense of history.^{xxvii} The French Huguenots, in contrast to the portrayal of Theal, are here associated with the historical claims of the anti-colonial interpretation.

An addition to the history and a theological preference in the church historiography 1911–1937

In early 20th century historiography, the French refugees/Huguenots were thus preoccupied with divergent historical considerations and significance. Does this also account for the contemporaneous church historiography? In 1911, taking responsibility for the South African part of *The history of the Christian Church*, JD du Toit emphasised that their persecution, flight, suffering and heroic courage distinctively marked their history.^{xxviii} He discloses that the Huguenot congregation at the Cape was an autonomous church which adhered to the Church Order of Dordrecht as well as the Formularies of Unity decided upon at the famous Synod of Dordt in 1618–1619.^{xxix} Du Toit therefore accepted that the *French Huguenots* were bearers of a Dutch reformed tradition and instrumental in strengthening that ecclesiastical cause at the Cape. It was, parenthetically, with this cause and ecclesiastical orientation that the Reformed Churches in South Africa (established in 1859) identified itself. Du Toit, being a member of these Churches, discovers, or rather postulates, theological and historical points of references in the history of the French refugees at the Cape.

Jl Marais, church historian of the larger and national Dutch Reformed Church, edited this church's history up to the Great Trek and published it in 1919.^{xxx} In contrast with Du Toit, he keeps to the interpretation provided by Theal.^{xxxi} The historical and even theological derivations of Theal, however, are lacking in his description. So are the (Reformed) ecclesiastical preferences of Du Toit. In his Utrecht dissertation on the *Geschiedenis van de Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk in Zuid-Afrika*,^{xxxii} Engelbrecht (historian of the third South African reformed church, the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk, established in 1853) is of the opinion that the influence of the *Huguenots* was not negligible. Coming from the best circles in France, they contributed to the mitigation of the decline of morality in the Cape community, as well as the advancement of home industry.^{xxxiii}

A Moorrees, who provided the Dutch Reformed Church in 1937 with an exceptionally thorough and standard history,^{xxxiv} observes (without elucidation or argumentation): "The year 1688 is of the utmost importance also for the history of our church, because of the arrival of the Huguenots, which would have exercised such a commanding and beneficial influence on the future South-African nation."^{xxxv} His rendering of the French Huguenots is extensive,^{xxxvi} and corresponds to the standard exposition along the lines of thought of Theal and Botha.^{xxxvii}

Church historians thus endorsed the French Huguenots as an important addition to the country's history, but avoided any designation of contentious political, cultural or national conceptualisations. Du Toit, though, identified a theological preference that would have a compelling effect on the course of the church's history in South Africa.

Comprehensive exposés and historical identification 1919–1929

The first comprehensive exposé of *The French refugees at the Cape*, "one of the most important and interesting episodes in the history of South Africa"^{xxxviii} came from the press in 1919.^{xxxix} Graham Botha, the author, dealt with matters relating to their settlement at Drakenstein,^{xl} their sufferings in the new context, their church and their language and added a researched list of Huguenot names.^{xli} On close examination, however, his research and presentation is in agreement with Theal.^{xlii} "Of special significance to the contemporary observer", he points out, "is the fusion of the two races in the struggle against WA van der Stel." The French Huguenots therefore "symbolized the unanimity with which the colonists had entered upon the struggle, and the feeling of brotherhood which characterized their conflict with the tyrant. It was a happy augury for the future."^{xliii} He thus joins with the sentiments of Theal and Godée-Molsbergen.

Between 1925 and 1929, Franken, professor of French and French Literature at the (now) University of Stellenbosch, published a series of articles on the French Huguenots in *Die Huisgenoot*.^{xliv} He verified and rectified facts and methodologically furthered the cause (as Botha had done) of historical research.^{xlv} In one of the articles he dealt with "Hendrik Bibault and the rise of a nation".^{xlvi} In 1707 Bibault, from French origin (not a Huguenot, though) exclaimed in Stellenbosch: "I am an Afrikaner!" Franken sees this as documentary proof of the origin of the Afrikaner national consciousness.^{xlvii} "This same exclamation," he asserts, "echoes in the heart of each sincere Afrikaner. The significant scope and range of this will be heard, understood and apprehended as long as the Afrikanerdom will prevail."^{xlviii} Obviously (for the readers of *Die Huisgenoot*) he is actualising the significance of the French at the Cape in terms of the evolving national awareness of the Afrikaner. This, however, corroborated the unverified assumptions of D'Arbez. It indicates that the *French Huguenots* as subject matter were accommodated in the growing historical image of the Afrikaner people. The creation and growth of a common national historical image was one of the most powerful

ways for the defeated Afrikaner nation to come to terms with and assimilate the Anglo Boer War. And, after 20 years, this gained momentum.

A short summary is now applicable. During the first 30 or 40 years of 20th century historiography, both historians and church historians based their accounts of the Huguenots on archival data. As a rule the interpretation portrayed a positive tendency, though reflection on their significance, their influence and legacy differed: this links up with the colonial background and the immediate context of the Union on the one hand and D'Arbez, who connects them to the opposite (anti-colonial) force in South Africa's history, on the other. Franken associates them with the national origins of the Afrikaner people. The church historian, JD du Toit, discovered in their ecclesial life the reformed and orthodox position of the Canons and Church Order of the Synod of Dordt (1618–1619). In the 1920s and in the following decades the different views in respect of the significance of the French Huguenots were argued in a more defined way. In addition, a significant accentuation announced itself in the historiography with an Afrikaner and nationalistic orientation.

New dimensions to the historical image 1922–1927

Early in the 1920s, Van Broekhuizen traced *Die wordingsgeskiedenis van die Hollandse Kerke in Suid-Afrika*.^{xlix} This led him to include the narrative of the French refugees, which he presented in the traditional way.^l However, the fusion of the French and Dutch is qualified. Historically, he says, employing a persuasive image, this first cultivation or moulding of the Afrikaner nation is rooted in the Dutch Beggars of the Sea (*Geuse*) and the French Huguenots.^{li} Their blending in South Africa, he points out, must, however, be considered as the assimilation of a small (French) minority, with the loss of its language and autonomy, into a large (Dutch) majority. The French influence on the Afrikaner was thus limited. They were Calvinists, but so was the (Dutch) church at the Cape. It was the Dutch, he remarks, that provided the Afrikaner “with an untiring consistency toward his church, his Bible, his faith and his language”.^{lii} The Dutch were the pioneers of the Reformation, the promoters and bearers of science, instruments for justice and righteousness, that presented history with heroes and heroines, “on which each Afrikaner, as descendant of the Dutch, may look back with pride and gratitude”.^{liii} Van Broekhuizen's qualification relates to the high esteem in which the Dutch consanguinity and Holland, identified as the country of origin (*stamland*), were held among Afrikaners and Afrikaner academics at the time.^{liv} Within this frame of thought, the significance of the French refugees in the Afrikaner's history and historical rendition was not to be overrated.

D'Arbez, compiling a *Short history of the Huguenots*,^{lv} did not agree. This history is a record of suffering, and therefore must be told, he argues. It is a history with which the Afrikaner, after the misery of the Anglo Boer War, can associate. “The history of the concentration camps”, D'Arbez continues, “is couched in one word: Woman's endurance. Though, never would they have carried the burden of that severe suffering with such courage and tenacity, had their veins not been filled with Huguenot blood”.^{lvi} It is clear: D'Arbez, conceiving a popularised Afrikaner historical image with two pivots (the Great Trek [1836] and the Anglo Boer War [1899–1902]), makes the history of the Huguenots fit into it.^{lvii} “The Huguenots form the core of our Afrikaner nation.”^{lviii} And then: it was desirable that the present Afrikaners should know in which manner the Roman Catholics tried to oppress the faith of the Protestants.^{lix} They left their impression on the character of the Afrikaner – his humour, music, features, perseverance and obstinacy,^{lx} and the high regard for liberty and the rejection of tyranny.^{lxi} The strong adhesion, D'Arbez declares, to their faith and church is derived rather (in opposition to the conviction of Van Broekhuizen) from the French than the Dutch.^{lxii}

During the third decade, D'Arbez and Van Broekhuizen thus included a new dimension in the existing image of the French Huguenots – something that Franken did not do. They stood in opposition to one another, determining the question of the actual role the French played in the formation of the Afrikaner nation. The corporate and inclusive historical awareness and characteristic Afrikaner identification indeed created the atmosphere for historical expression and conceit (or *Einbildung*). The tendency to nationalise the history continued during the next decade. All this occurred on the eve of the acceptance of apartheid as a national strategy to solve the complex and inevitable racial problem of South Africa politically. In this context, the significance of the French Huguenots was linked to a social-religious theory, explaining the development of racial attitudes in South Africa.

Linked to a social-historical and religious theory 1937

ID MacCrone^{lxiii} linked the Huguenots with a social-historical and religious theory inclined to explain the existing *Race attitudes in South Africa*.^{lxiv} According to him, the character of their religion and theology, which was also the creed of their Dutch neighbours,^{lxv} was strictly Calvinistic. It was of an

uncompromising and formidable kind since it was based on the most extreme form of the principle of predestination.^{lxvi} “If such a religion had any influence at all upon the life of the group, it could only be by way of strengthening its religious basis, of emphasizing its exclusive bias, and the confirming of an assured belief in its own superiority.”^{lxvii} The importance of these effects on the development of racial attitudes, he remarked, would become more apparent at a later stage in that development.

MacCrone presumes that the “negative aspects” of the Calvinistic creed, its doctrine of predestination, its emphasis on the community of the elect, the exclusive twist that could be given to its teachings, were all perfectly adapted to the interracial situation of the frontier. The conclusion was readily drawn and applied, he says, that the heathen fell outside the scheme of salvation.^{lxviii}

In his influential *A history of South Africa*,^{lxix} Walker (fellow of St John’s College, Vere Harmsworth Professor of Imperial and Naval History at the University of Cambridge; sometime King George V professor of History at the University of Cape Town) included a chapter on the French refugees.^{lxx} Owing to his approach and questions, he did not find any justice in assigning conspicuous cultural or national value to the French refugees. Neither did he link them with the “native problem”, a contentious theme in the contemporary political debate.^{lxxi} Implicitly though, by not following MacCrone, he raised the question of substantiation of a social-religious theory as explanation for the historical process, or history as reality.

Official commemoration and additional popularisation 1939–1945

The widely recognised and supported commemoration year, 1939^{lxxii} (250-year celebration of the arrival of the *Huguenots* in 1688, postponed to 1939 and overshadowed by the nation-wide centenary of the 1838 *Great Trek*), witnessed the publication of a number of monographs on the Huguenots as well, for example that of Leipoldt^{lxxiii} and Nathan.^{lxxiv} These, as well as the expected flood of supplementary literature^{lxxv} (in journals, newspapers, etc), popularised the image of the Huguenots in the (church) historiography.

Nathan follows the traditional exposition: France, the Netherlands and the settlement at the Cape, and also sees the merging of the “races” as the origin of the Afrikaner people.^{lxxvi} This process was aided by the participation in a common Calvinistic faith, to which the whole population, he assumes, was inalienably attached.^{lxxvii} Leipoldt, like Nathan, maintained the traditional position and exposition by retaining the “central facts”^{lxxviii} of the history of the Huguenots.^{lxxix} The process of adaptation and assimilation was stimulated by the fact that in both the Netherlands and the Cape the Canons of Dordt were recognised as authoritative. This theological position did not differ in principle from the teaching of the French reformed churches. “This then is also the reason why the French refugees, seen as a separate community, had exercised so little influence upon our national existence.”^{lxxx}

The influential Dutch Reformed Church^{lxxxi} approved of the Huguenot festival and articulated its message and significance. Its official journal, *Die Kerkbode*,^{lxxxii} expressed it thus: The arrival of the French Huguenots was an event of utmost significance. It is attributed to the Providence of “the truthful God of our fathers” that led the *Huguenots* to “our shores.”^{lxxxiii} It is an opportunity to bring into remembrance the “affliction of these courageous Protestants that suffered inhuman torture and excruciation at the hands of the Roman Church.”^{lxxxiv} As was the case with the Puritans in England and Scotland and the Beggars of the Sea in the Netherlands, the Huguenots of France in their courageous struggle derived the principles of their justice, courage and power from Calvin.^{lxxxv} In uniting with the descendants of the Beggars of the Sea their contribution to “the edification of our soil, our culture, our ecclesiastical life, the existence of our people and the noblest of our traditions” was inestimable.^{lxxxvi} The commemoration should therefore “impel us to unflinching trust in God, acts of faith and a principled life.”^{lxxxvii} The positive acceptance of the French Huguenots and their influence was thus popularised and placed on record. They were linked to a European image, which was contextualised in South Africa. And, the connection with Calvinism, inaugurated by Du Toit in 1911, had by now become obvious.

The middle of the 1940s saw the compilation of a comprehensive *Kultuurgeskiedenis van die Afrikaner (Cultural history of the Afrikaner)*, which was intended to be the first narrative of the Boer national life (existence) in all its branches.^{lxxxviii} In the first part, FCL Bosman took responsibility for “Die Franse stamverwantskap en kulturele bydrae tot die Afrikaanse volk.”^{lxxxix} The coming of the Huguenots was indeed, he indicates, a search for freedom.^{xc} The Calvinism that they held to was a religious persuasion that adhered strongly to personal freedom and a democratic form of ecclesial government. They were also preoccupied with social and political freedom.^{xci} Thus, he postulates, the Afrikaner is characterised by his outspoken individualism, his powerful spirit of independence, his

affinity for personal and political freedom. But, he ascertains, this is in the first place the legacy of his Dutch ancestors. It was only strengthened by the French refugees.^{xcii}

Historical and theological interpretation 1952

In 1952 the landing of Van Riebeeck and Dutch occupation in 1652 was commemorated throughout South Africa.^{xciii} From all corners of the Union of South Africa, an appraised member of the British Commonwealth, ceremonial coaches took to the main roads to Cape Town. During March and in the first week of April 1952, the “mother city” staged the culmination of the festivities. Exhibitions, displays, cultural festivals and two great pageants portrayed the development of South Africa as a nation. In the Van Riebeeck Stadium, specially shipped from Britain and constructed in Cape Town, approximately 100 000 people saw the spectacular main pageant on 5 April.^{xciv} The pageant included representations of Martin Luther (1517), the Synod of Dordt (1618–1619), the flight of the French Huguenots (1685) and the arrival of Scottish ministers in South Africa (1822).^{xcv} These were powerful expressions of how the interpretation and commemoration were conceptualised in subordination to strong religious and ecclesiastical tendencies.^{xcvi}

In the commemoration book, *Drie eeue: die verhaal van ons vaderland*, Anna Boëseken,^{xcvii} in accounting the significance and government of Van Riebeeck, S van der Stel and WA van der Stel, refers to the arrival of the Huguenots, and remarks that “sons of South Africa’s soil stood shoulder to shoulder with their Dutch and French compatriots in the struggle against Van der Stel. The success with which their first joint action was crowned was a guarantee for future unity and nationhood”.^{xcviii} She follows the traditional historical interpretation and assessment of the Huguenots.

As the “oldest and original church” of the country, the Dutch Reformed Church played a leading role in the celebrations.^{xcix} To commemorate the event,^c a *Gedenkboek by ons derde eeufees* was published. In his contribution on “Our church in the Cape”,^{ci} Potgieter links the *Huguenots* to the Providence of God, notes their integration into Cape society and observes that the blood of the Beggar of the Sea and Huguenot blended to give birth to a new people hallmarked by a pure Calvinistic religion.^{cii} From the shadows of the stake and scaffold they brought into the Dutch Reformed Church the purifying strength of assurance of faith, JCG Kotzé, another leading theologian of the Dutch Reformed Church remarked.^{ciii}

In contrast to his conclusion in the 1920s, Engelbrecht now, in a revised edition of his *Geskiedenis van die Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika*,^{civ} viewed the Dutch as the proper bearers of the culture of the Afrikaner, and not the French Huguenots. Their influence, he observes, is often exaggerated.^{cv} He provides a historical explanation: With John Barrow’s *Travels into the interior of Southern Africa* (1801)^{cvi} began the attempt to engender deprecation among the Afrikaners of their Dutch descent. The aim was to turn them away from the Dutch heritage in order to further the British absorption process. This was the reason why the cultural and religious significance of the Huguenots were largely embroidered, Engelbrecht elucidates. This orientation provided no danger as far as the process of Anglicisation was concerned.^{cvii}

The Van Riebeeck Festival and commemoration (in summary) obviously strengthened the Dutch affinity at the expense of that of the *French* Huguenots.

Within the context of insistence on historical re-interpretation 1961

A decade later, the political and national context again changed. South Africa became (in 1961) a Republic under the leadership of the National Party. The new dispensation was heralded amid rising tension and opposition from black political organisations such as the Pan-Africanist Congress and the African National Congress. Insistence on the reinterpretation of the (church) history of South Africa was debated and advocated.^{cviii} Did this development impact on or change the historical and popular image, assumptions and presuppositions of the French Huguenots? Up until then the South African *Huguenots* were linked to colonial and politically ulterior aims, to the edification of an Afrikaner historical image with its nationalistic assumptions and theological preferences (the Providence of God, Calvinism), as well as a theory to explain the racial attitudes in South Africa.

In demarcating the development of the political thoughts of the Afrikaner, GD Scholtz valued the arrival of the French Huguenots as of “enormous significance” for the Afrikaner people.^{cx} FA van Jaarsveld^{cx} also linked the arrival of the French Huguenots (1688), being reformed and, like the Dutch, adherents to the “Calvinistic faith”, to the establishment and origin of the Afrikaner people, portrayed as a fusion and birth of a new identity.^{cx} However, some fundamental Dutch legacies, such as Calvinism with its doctrine of the sovereignty of God, the idea of election and calling, the belief in the freedom of the individual and the principle of revolt, lived on and became a deep-rooted persuasion.

Why did the whites, being always a minority group, continue to exist as a separate group? Van Jaarsveld finds the answer in their religion: the “Protestant Calvinism.”^{cxii} This was the most powerful instrument for the maintenance of their separateness and differentiated development. Of significance is that he does not link the origin of this Calvinism to the French Huguenots, or their influence, but to the Dutch in the early Cape history.^{cxiii} Van Jaarsveld’s “Calvinism” theory is reminiscent of that of MacCrone (though with an argumentation of its own) and represents the tendency to elucidate the course of history in South Africa in terms of religious factors. His theory met with criticism in the 1990s, when it was challenged on grounds of the lack of evidence from primary sources.^{cxiv}

In *The Oxford history of South Africa*, published in 1969, Katzen observes that the rapid assimilation of the French refugees facilitated the legislative policy at the Cape.^{cxv} Nothing more. CFJ Muller edited another *History of South Africa* and published it in 1982.^{cxvi} In this *History* Anna Boëseken treated the settlement and incorporation of the French Huguenots at the Cape.^{cxvii} She gave a detailed report of the struggle between WA van der Stel and the free-burghers, without assigning any special value to the role the French played in it.^{cxviii}

It seems thus that the insistence on reinterpreting South Africa’s history did not influence the established view on the French Huguenots. No new or critical questions arose. The preceding survey of both the church as well as general historiography reveal that the knowledge and conceptualisation of the French Huguenots in South Africa’s history were by now too fixed and unquestionably standardised.^{cxix}

A church-historical investigation and theological-critical questioning 1976

The first wide-ranging church-historical investigation of the French Huguenots was finished as a doctoral dissertation in 1976 by Pieter Coertzen at the University of Stellenbosch.^{cxx} For the purpose of this essay Coertzen’s study is obviously of key importance. Would he offer new questions, a fresh development and a theological-critical exposition?

The structure of Coertzen’s study is rather traditional: Part I: France 1509–1685, (based on secondary literature, 100 pages); Part II: The Netherlands (40 pages, founded on secondary literature); and Part III: South Africa (secondary and primary sources, 150 pages). The important (and revealing) question of their contribution and influence also appealed to him. They were, like the Dutch, the bearers of “Calvinism”, he argues. Their relationship with Calvin however, was more direct. Calvin provided the French churches with a fixed organisation, confession and reformed view of life. This was also the legacy – and almost the only possession – they brought with them to South Africa. Through them a direct cognitive link was established between South Africa and Calvin.^{cxxi} Here, the reformed faith was strengthened and the principles of the reformed church polity could take effect.^{cxvii} Here a new nation was formed, in which the Calvinistic and reformed faith played a decisive role.^{cxviii} He concludes: “The fact that certain characteristics of the South African national life point to a Calvinistic disposition belongs to the wonders of our history and pleads for the sustainable persistence of the reformed faith.”^{cxviii}

The tri-centenary commemoration of the arrival of the French Huguenots 12 years later offered the opportunity to publish a somewhat supplemented edition of the dissertation as a memorial book *Die Hugenote van Suid-Afrika 1688–1988*, in co-operation with Charles Fenham.^{cxv} Coertzen again concludes that the French Huguenots added a distinctive chapter to the history of South Africa. Through them “we are inseparably linked to John Calvin, France and the reformation in Europe”. They were the bearers of the reformed faith and the Calvinistic worldview.^{cxv} Coertzen portrayed in 1988 the same picture and exposition of the French refugees.

The Third South African Congress on Calvin Research was convened in Stellenbosch in July 1988, and discussed the appropriate theme *Calvin–France–South Africa*.^{cxvii} Coertzen read a paper on “The Huguenots of South Africa, Calvinists in a new Fatherland: Their religious and cultural contribution.”^{cxviii} He maintained that the French Huguenots were the direct link between Calvinism in South Africa and John Calvin, “more directly so than the link which was established via the Dutch”.^{cxviii} Brown considered “The French refugees in South Africa and the historiography of the 19th century.”^{cxviii} He noticed that the influence of the French refugees – in 19th century historiography – “was idealized within the context of distinctive situations, a historical awareness and a historical development”.^{cxviii} He warned that historical images and generalisations are misleading and inhibit critical and theological investigation. Britz^{cxviii} and D’Assonville,^{cxviii} in following the approach of Brown, later argued theological-critically against the accepted and previously unchallenged reformed character and Calvinism of the French refugees.

Earlier in the decade, Kriel was of opinion that the arrival of the French Huguenots was of fundamental significance for the expansion of the church. For his “coloured” reading circle he adds that

they, by their example, their confession and witness (e.g. family prayers) exercised a beneficial influence on those who lived and worked with them.^{cxxxiv} Loff^{cxxxv} and Adonis^{cxxxvi} (both church historians that associated themselves with the radical schools of historiography of South Africa) did not find it necessary to reflect on the French Huguenots. Hofmeyr and Pillay,^{cxxxvii} in their account of the French Huguenots (1994) also did not argue or interpret the event in terms of the church of Christ and the subsequent theological-critical questioning.^{cxxxviii} They kept to the traditional pattern.

Another theory and the urge to be cautious with historical assumptions 1991-2003

In his exposition and explanation of the rising identification of Christian and white in colonial South Africa, JN Gerstner^{cxxxix} corresponds with the theoretical ideas of MacCrone and Van Jaarsveld that religion contributed greatly to the formation of a distinctive identity among the white settlers, and to their conviction of superiority with regard to indigenous peoples and slaves.^{cxl} In particular, he links it to the reformed covenant theology. The frontier had maintained a baptismal practice much closer to the “thousand generation” idea of the Netherlands in which all Europeans and only Europeans were baptised, and this was a reaction against the inclusive policy of baptising “pure heathens” at the Cape. Gerstner reaches the conclusion that the Dutch Continuing Reformation and its view of conversion as a prerequisite to true Christianity, along with the “French Reformed factor”,^{cxli} actually supported the frontier views, although for different reasons.^{cxlii} Gerstner’s assumptions and historical errors in this regard were noted by Biewenga, exposing the dilemmas and unreliability of historical theories.^{cxliii}

Before we end our survey, a quick glance at the portrayal of the French Huguenots in the most contemporary historiography is worthwhile. In their analysis of the early social patterns that shaped Cape society, Hermann Gilliomee and Richard Elphick^{cxliv} conclude that there are serious problems with the argument that Calvinism played a role in the structuring of Cape society. “It has not been shown what aspects of Calvinist doctrine permeated what regions and classes at the Cape, in what forms, and in what eras. It has not been shown that Calvinism was influential at all.”^{cxlv} In addition, they observe, this also applies for the Huguenots fleeing France to preserve their religion.^{cxlvi} Consequently the French Huguenots are seen as part of the white settler community.^{cxlvii}

In 1991 Van Aswegen^{cxlviii} also portrayed a more careful approach. After discussing the arrival and settlement of the *French Huguenots*, he warned that historians should be cautious about judge the motives of the burghers in the struggle against Van der Stel, and in determining the historical significance of the events.

In the past historians were inclined to view this as a liberation struggle to promote democratic ideals, or to typify it as an important event in the development of the Afrikaner nation. These historians have read too much into this struggle ... The struggle was too limited, and its basis too economic to regard it as being an expression of nationalism.^{cxlix}

Boucher^{cl} and Marilet Sienaert-van Reenen^{cli} represented the traditional uncritical view of the French Huguenots. Cameron and Spies^{clii} referred to the Huguenots in so far as they influenced the economic development of the Cape.

In 2003 Hermann Gilliomee’s *The Afrikaners: biography of a people*^{cliii} was published in Cape Town. He considered the French Huguenots and is of the opinion that they did much to stabilize the free burgher population. Without a fatherland to return to, they had to take root or disappear. Religious persecution had made them more determined and more prepared to overcome obstacles. Descendants of the Huguenots were to establish positions of leadership in Afrikaner society out of all proportion to the numbers of the original immigrants.^{cliv}

Herewith our survey of the French Huguenots in 20th century South African (church) historiography has to be ended. We have arrived at the most contemporary renderings. A few concluding remarks remain.

Conclusion

In surveying the topic French refugees/Huguenots in 20th century South African (church) historiography, one is struck by the positive evaluation and acceptance it has received. The collection and study of primary sources, however, did not prevent contextualised presumptions, suppositions, images and unreliable sociohistorical and religious theories. The Calvinism/Calvinistic/Calvin

paradigm especially requires meticulous investigation of primary sources, since it is also connected to the question of Calvin's direct influence in South Africa. This is a subject that has been presented in the past in terms of popular misleading assumptions, based on (questionable) secondary sources.^{clv}

It appears that some critical, and in particular, theological-critical work still has to be done in order to let the historical reality of the French refugees be fully realised in the context of primary sources. In this regard we have to ask: Can we investigate the real influence of the French Huguenots in South Africa's history without considering the (church) historiography of the 20th century? Does its complicated story help us to reach a better understanding of their influence and role? This story cannot be ignored. It reveals too much of the history of the 20th century itself. This account was told within distinctive situations, related to different historical awarenesses, and linked to religious-sociological theories. It expresses and conceptualises an idealised historical development and movement, conditioned by an assumed theological significance and ideological presuppositions. It is a diverse account, and impressive enough to provoke further research. But, this can no longer be executed – and this is the point of the article – within the range of limited and traditional questions and presuppositions.

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Endnotes

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- Karlsruhen: Verlag der Deutschen Hugenotten-Gesellschaft, 2008), 9-33. A slightly revised version is published in SHE with the permission of the editors.
- 2 Cf. E Brown, "The French Refugees in South Africa and the Historiography of the 19th Century." In AD Pont (Ed.), *Calvin-France-South Africa* (Pretoria: Kital, 1990), 92 ff.
- 3 Cf. E Brown, "The French Refugees in South Africa and the Historiography of the 19th Century." In AD Pont (Ed.), *Calvin-France-South Africa* (Pretoria: Kital, 1990), 92 ff.
- 4 HCV Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Journal 1662-1670; 1671-1674 and 1676; 1699-1732; Letters dispatched 1696-1708; Requesten (Memorials) 1715-1806; 7 Vols.* (Cape Town: WA Richards; Cape Times, 1896-1906). *Ibid.*, *Rambles through the archives of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope 1866-1700* (Cape Town: Juta, 1887).
- 5 GM Theal, *Chronicles of Cape commanders; or An abstract of original manuscripts in the archives of the Cape Colony, Dating from 1651 to 1691* (Cape Town: Government Printers, 1882).
- 6 C Spoelstra, *Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der Nederduitsch Gereformeerde Kerken in Zuid-Afrika II Dele* (Amsterdam: HAUM, 1906).
- 7 CC de Villiers, *Geslacht-register der oude Kaapsche familien* (Kaapstad: Van de Sandt De Villiers, 1893); *ibid.*, *Notes on Huguenot Families at the Cape of Good Hope* (Lymington: King, 1895).
- 8 HT Colenbrander, *De afkomst der Boeren. Uitgegeven door het Nederlands Verbond* (1902).
- 9 In this regard, Theal's *History of South Africa 1486-1691*, printed in 1888, may be considered as the publication that actually initiated this new development. See GM Theal, *History of South Africa 1486-1691* (London: Sonnenschein, 1888).
- 10 GM Theal, "De Hugenoten-emigratie naar de Kaap: uit nietgepubliceerde documenten in de archiven in de Nederlanden." In *Het Zuid-Afrikaansche Tijdschrift*, April 1882, 151-168.
- 11 GM Theal, *History of South Africa 1486-1691 ... op. cit.*, Chapter XIV, 337 ff.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 372. In his multi-editioned text book *South Africa* (first published in 1894) he added that, regarding the French, "care was taken, however, to mix them together, so that the nationalities would speedily become blended." See GM Theal, *South Africa* (London: T Fisher Unwin Ltd., 1916, 8th Edition), 51. Regarding the challenges resisting Van der Stel, Theal observes: "And these claims, made in as explicit terms as they could be to-day by an Englishman living in a crown colony, were not challenged by the directors or even the partisans of the late governor, but were accepted by every one as unquestioned." *Ibid.*, 71. The basic historical value that he discovered in the history of the French Refugees at the Cape (for the contemporary time) remained the same.
- 13 It marked the political unification of South Africa after the bitter Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), which ended the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek as well as the Orange Free State. The unification was experienced as the birth of a new South African dispensation, in which national reconciliation received priority.
- 14 EC Godée-Molsbergen, *A history of South Africa for use in schools compiled at the request of the Zuid-Afrikaanse Taalbond, The Zuid-Afrikaanse Onderwijzers Unie and the Afrikaanse Christelike Vrouwen Vereniging* (London, New York, Bombay, Calcutta: Longmans, Green & Co., 1910). He continues: "The story is one to cause the heart of the young Afrikaner to throb with gratitude towards Providence for the favor shown his people, and to thrill with love for his country, and his nation, without necessarily withholding praise from where it is due." *Ibid.*, vii.
- 15 *Ibid.*
- 16 *Ibid.*, 53. See also *ibid.*, 54: "The thought of such brave forefathers as these, who were guided hither by God, helped to build up the Afrikaner nation, thrills every heart with pride." And, *ibid.*: "When their most important grievance was redressed, and the different nationalities lived side by side, they began to intermarry to a large extent, so that after the lapse of two generations, their descendants no longer looked upon themselves as Huguenots, or Dutch, or Germans, but as Afrikaners."
- 17 *Ibid.*, 51 ff.
- 18 GM Theal, *Willem Adriaan van der Stel and other historical sketches* (Cape Town: Thomas Maskew Miller, 1913), 169 ff.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 184.
- 20 *Ibid.*
- 21 *Ibid.*, 181.
- 22 *Ibid.*, 249. See also *ibid.*, 250: "They can look back with pride to the action of their ancestors in resisting corruption so gross and tyranny so outrageous as that of Willem Adriaan van der Stel,

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- and in thinking of the suffering those brave men and women endured, they can thank God that it was not in vain, since it was productive of so much good.”
- 23 *Ibid.*, 250.
- 24 See J de V Roos, *Eene eeuw van onrecht* (Dordrecht: Marks & Geuze, 1899); FA van Jaarsveld, *Die ontwaking van die Afrikaanse nasionale bewussyn 1868–1881* (Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers, 1959); *Ibid.*, *Die Afrikaner en sy geskiedenis* (Kaapstad: Naspers, 1959).
- 25 This is JF van Oordt.
- 26 D’Arbez, *De familie van den ziekentrooster of de Fransche Vluchtelingen. Een historisch verhaal uit de 17de eeuw.* (Amsterdam-Kaapstad: Hollandsch-Afrikaansche Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1900), 117: Hulle het “een seer groote invloed gehad niet alleen op de geschiedenis van ons land, maar ook op de vorming van het karakter van ons volk. Ja, wij durfde zoover gaan om te zeggen, dat zoo de Fransche vluchtelingen niet in deze Afrikaansche kust betreden hadden, er nooit een trek van 1836 zou zijn geweest.” (My translation – DB.)
- 27 See GJ Schutte, *Nederland en de Afrikaners: adhesie en aversie* (Franeker: Wever, 1986).
- 28 See T Hamersma, SO Los & JD du Toit, *De Geschiedenis van de Christelike Kerk* (Potchefstroom: Het Westen, 1911), 277. It was published by the Kalvyn Jubileum Boekefonds and based upon Theal, Spoelstra, and the earlier works of SJ du Toit and Changioun. The refugees are treated within the frame of ‘The Drakenstein congregation of the French Huguenots in South Africa,’ 276–284.
- 29 *Ibid.*, 282.
- 30 JI Marais, *Geschiedenis van de Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk in Zuid-Afrika, tot op de Grote Trek* (Stellenbosch: Het Administratie-Bureau, 1919).
- 31 *Ibid.*, 51 ff.
- 32 SP Engelbrecht, *Geschiedenis van de Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk in Zuid-Afrika: sedert de Groote Trek tot aan die Eerste Annexasie van Transvaal.* Proefschrift ter verkrijging van den Graad van Doctor in de Godgeleerdheid. Universiteit Utrecht, 1920 (Amsterdam: De Bussy, Part I, 1920; Part II, 1925).
- 33 *Ibid.*, 3: “De invloed, die zij op de koloniste hadden, was echter niet gering. Waren vele kolonisten in menig opzicht ruw, mensen die hun bestaan elders moesten gaan zoeken, de Hugenoten hebben veel bijgedragen tot de verzachting van de zeden en de bevordering van de huisvlijt. Dit kon ook niet anders, want velen waren uit de beste kringen van Frankrijk.”
- 34 A Moorrees, *Die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Afrika 1652-1873* (Kaapstad: Bybel-Vereniging, 1937).
- 35 *Ibid.*, 86. (My translation – DB.)
- 36 *Ibid.* Characteristic of Moorrees is his consulting of primary sources. He does not, however, analyse these sources in terms of the church of Christ theological-critically.
- 37 Cf. in this regard also A Dreyer, *Eeufest-album van de Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk in Zuid-Afrika. 1824-1924* (Kaapstad: ZA Bijbelvereniging, 1924), 38 ff., following in Botha’s footsteps. And, by the way, a short survey of the *History of the Christian Church for the use in Catechism Classes*, compiled by a Synodical Commission for the Reformed Church in South Africa says it thus: Huguenots were French Calvinists that became “Afrikaners” simultaneously with the Dutch. See Sinodale Kommissie (1927) JA du Plessis, PJS de Klerk, DG Venter, *Geskiedenis van die Christelike Kerk vir gebruik in katkisasies* (Frankfort: Kalvyn Jubileum Boekefonds), 113.
- 38 CG Botha, *The French refugees at the Cape* (Cape Town: Cape Times Limited, 1919), 1.
- 39 *Ibid.* Botha, keeper to the Cape Archives, begins his book with a list of principal documents and books consulted. In this regard, he mentions i.a. WH Hinde, *The Huguenot settlement at the Cape of Good Hope* (Lymington: King, 1895) and the observations of CC de Villiers, *Notes on Huguenot families at the Cape of Good Hope ... op. cit.*
- 40 *Ibid.*, 13, 16 ff., 20 ff.
- 41 *Ibid.*, 23 ff.
- 42 In his description he did not refrain from a romantic phrasing: “Arriving in a beautiful, extensive and wooded valley where wild animals such as lions and tigers made their lair, where Hottentots in their wild state roamed about ready to plunder the homestead.” *Ibid.*, 13. See also: “With what thankfulness must they not have lifted up their eyes and with their voices praised the One Being who brought them in safety through perils to a land free from religious persecutions, to a place where they could openly confess their faith before man! Yet, like pioneers in all ages, they must have felt the dangers which they would have to encounter on all sides, perils of wild animals and natives. At this time the border of the Colony did not extend

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- very far from where they had settled; for some years after the settlement had been established at Drakenstein, even the corpses buried in the open fields were scratched out by wild animals.” *Ibid.*, 23.
- 43 *Ibid.*, 41.
- 44 These were collected and published in *Argiefjaarboek vir Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis 41* in 1978. Cf. JLM Franken, *Die Hugenate aan die Kaap* (Pretoria: Die Staatsdrukker, 1978). See for bibliographical particulars, BA Verner, *Huguenots in South Africa. A Bibliography* (Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1967), 10–11.
- 45 His sources were i.a. the travel literature of Ovington, Tachard, Kolbe, Valentyn, archival material, church consistory minutes and published archivalia.
- 46 Franken, *op. cit.*, 101 ff. (“Hendrik Bibault of die opkoms van ‘n volk.”)
- 47 *Ibid.*
- 48 *Ibid.*, 107. (My translation – DB.)
- 49 HD van Broekhuizen, *Die wordingsgeskiedenis van die Hollandse Kerke in Suid-Afrika* (Pretoria: JH de Bussy, 1922).
- 50 *Ibid.*, 44-64. In other words, the background in France (revocation of the Edict of Nantes), the arrival, the settlement, an own church, the struggle with Van der Stel and the loss of the French language.
- 51 *Ibid.*, 60-64.
- 52 *Ibid.*, 63.
- 53 *Ibid.*, 63-64. (My translation – DB.)
- 54 See Schutte, *op. cit.*
- 55 D’Arbez, *Kort geskiedenis van die Hugenate deur D’Arbez in Afrikaans oorgesit deur TJ Kruger onder toesig van Eerw. A Dreyer sendeling van die Ned. Ger. Kerk in Suid-Afrika. Met prente* (Pretoria: HAUM De Bussy, 1927).
- 56 *Ibid.*, 3. (My translation – DB.)
- 57 See in this regard also FA van Jaarsveld, *Die Afrikaner en sy geskiedenis ... op. cit.*
- 58 D’Arbez, *Kort geskiedenis ... op. cit.*, 79. (My translation – DB.)
- 59 *Ibid.*, 4: “Maar buitendien is dit wenslik dat die teenswoordige geslag van die Afrikaners weet op watter gruwelike manier die Rooms-Katolieke probeer het om die Protestantse geloof te onderdruk.”
- 60 *Ibid.*, 2.
- 61 *Ibid.*, 89.
- 62 *Ibid.*
- 63 ID MacCrone, *Race attitudes in South Africa; historical, experimental and psychological studies* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, [1937], 1957).
- 64 It had become necessary to assess the underlying historical and psychological strata of the “racial situation as it exists in South Africa today” because it “has become almost an obsession in the minds of many both within as well as to some extent beyond the borders of the Union.” *Ibid.*, v. This involved the explanation of certain principles which have hitherto been regarded as fundamental to the civilisation of which the European in South Africa is at present the chief representative. Religion, prized as the highest social heritage, played a constitutive role in the race attitudes. *Ibid.*, 126 ff.
- 65 Like the Puritans in England, the Huguenots were much more keenly conscious of their religion as a vital thing than were the Dutch; they had actually suffered persecution on their own persons for its sake. *Ibid.*, 87.
- 66 In this respect he refers to AJ Grant, *The Huguenots* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1934), 18: The principle stated (according to his assumption) by Calvin was: “In conformity to the clear teaching of scripture we assert that by an eternal and immutable counsel of God hath once for all determined both whom he would admit to salvation and whom he would condemn to destruction.” *Ibid.*, 87.
- 67 *Ibid.*, 87–88
- 68 *Ibid.*, 129.
- 69 EA Walker, *A history of South Africa* (London, New York, Toronto: Longmans & Co., 1940). His history was first published in 1927 and revised for the 1939 edition. Methodologically, he did not make the traditional development of self-government and Union, nor the struggle between the British and Afrikaners, the main theme of his *History*. He opted to focus on the humane adjustment of mutual relations of western civilisation, tribal Africa and theocratic Asia; three cultures in the mixed society of South Africa – the interaction of which represents one of

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- the outstanding problems that face the world, especially the British Commonwealth. Therefore, the history of South Africa is of far more than local importance since it accounts for the “proper relations” of whites and non-whites that are held by European South Africans. These ideas and the experience behind them must at least be understood before the necessary adjustment can be made on a continental scale, he wrote. *Ibid.*, v–vi.
- 70 Referring to the Huguenots that had to abandon France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and where King Louis XVI was clamping down with increasing severity on those of the reformed faith, and their stay in the Netherlands, he says, they followed up on the opportunity to migrate to the Cape of Good Hope (*ibid.*, 53.) They made up about one-sixth of the free burgher population of the Cape, “but economically and socially their influence was out of all proportion to their numbers” (*ibid.*, 54). The political risk in admitting them to the Cape, the subsequent ecclesiastical insistence and economic (“the demand for a share in the government of the colony only came much later” (*ibid.*, 69) struggle did not prevent their amalgamation into the Cape society. The Company decided not to send more emigrants to the Cape. The period of settlement was now over and there was no more assisted immigration worth speaking of until the coming of the English settlers in 1820 (*ibid.*, 55 ff).
- 71 It may be of interest to take note of GS Were’s (Professor of History, University of Nairobi in Kenya) *A history of South Africa* (London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1942). Were is much aware of the edification and proper development of colonies within the Commonwealth. In discussing the arrival of the French Huguenots he promptly informs his readers that they “enriched the colony with their valuable commercial experience and knowledge (*ibid.*, 28). WA van der Stel was bent on getting rich quickly, regardless of how he acquired his wealth. He concentrated all economic power and privileges in his own hands and the colonists were faced with a critical situation. After he was recalled, the colony made noticeable progress (*ibid.*, 28–29).
- 72 See Verner, *op. cit.*, Huguenot Monuments and Memorial Celebrations, 26–28.
- 73 CL Leipoldt, *Die Hugenote* (Kaapstad: Nasionale Pers, 1939).
- 74 Manfred Nathan, *The Huguenots in South Africa* (South Africa: Central News Agency Limited, 1939).
- 75 Franken again provided interesting articles on the French Huguenots. (Reprinted in 1978, originally written for *Die Huisgenoot* and *Die Burger*.) He is guarded and reserved on their influence and significance: The French element helped to form a people, the “Afrikaanse,” he observes, that was already, at the time of the French establishment, in a process of origination. JLM Franken, *Die Hugenote aan die Kaap. Argiefjaarboek vir Suid-Afrikaanse Geskiedenis ... op. cit.*, 182 ff., 189.
- 76 *Ibid.*, 124: The merging of races was so complete that the Huguenots were soon entirely one in thought and in patriotism with the rest of the population.
- 77 *Ibid.* The Salisbury schoolmaster HE Pegg found the Huguenots “a very valuable addition to the population of the Cape, not only for their sturdy, independent, thrifty character, but also for their experienced knowledge of growing vines and making wine.” Cf. HE Pegg, *A history of Southern Africa* (London, Cape Town, New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1942), 29.
- 78 Leipoldt, *op. cit.*, Voorwoord. Again: The French and Dutch background (*ibid.*, 1–179), followed by the sea journey, the settlement at the Cape, their initial poverty, grievances and eventual association (*ibid.*, 180–242).
- 79 “In ons later geskiedenis kan ons nie meer ‘n onderskeid maak tussen Hugenoot en nie-Hugenoot nie; die vlugteling was nou deurgaans Afrikaners, wat as sodanig hul belange vereenselwig het met dié van hul medeburgers” (*ibid.*, 236). “... ons kan hulle beskou as deel van die Afrikaanse volk wat hulle so volkome aangepas het dat daar nooit meer twyfel kan wees oor hulle wettige reg om as Afrikaners aangesien te word nie” (*ibid.*, 236–7).
- 80 *Ibid.*, 241–242. (My translation – DB.) This also applies for the religious development “of our nation”. There is no proof that they directly influenced the religious devotion “of our people”. Cf. Leipoldt’s finding: “Dit geld ook vir hulle aandeel in die godsdienstige ontwikkeling van ons volk. Die godsdienstige van ons volk wat direk deur hulle beïnvloed sou word, is ‘n veronderstelling waarvoor geen geskiedkundige bewys is nie (*ibid.*, 244).
- 81 In a *Handleiding vir die studie van die kerkgeskiedenis met afdelinge oor sendingsgeskiedenis, kerkregering en erediens* (Potchefstroom: Pro-Rege, 1941–1958), S du Toit only mentions that the Huguenots in unity with the Dutch, eventually grow into the South African nation. *Ibid.*, 130. A subsequent church history (that of B Spoelstra), *Beknopte kerkgeskiedenis vir katkisasie* (Potchefstroom: Pro Rege, 1960–1980), kept to the same lines of thought concerning the Huguenots.

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- 82 In its edition of 13 September 1939, *Die Kerkbode* devoted its attention to the Huguenots and the commemoration of their arrival.
- 83 “Die Hugenote fees en sy boodskap.” In *Die Kerkbode LVIII (37)*, 13 September 1939, 21. (My translation – DB.)
- 84 *Ibid.*, 21. (My translation – DB.) Cf. also the article of EE van Rooyen, “Lyding en worsteling van die Hugenote in Frankryk.” In *Die Kerkbode LVIII (37)*, 13 September 1939, 33 ff. Van Rooyen concludes: The commemoration of the arrival of the Huguenots is an obligation and debt of honor to all Dutch speaking Afrikaners. This can only be achieved by the revitalization of the pure reformed faith and holy principles that the Calvinistic-thinking Huguenots stood for (*ibid.*, 39). (My translation – DB.)
- 85 *Ibid.*, 21. These assertions are based on the foreword of AA van Schelven to the Dutch translation of Otto Zoff’s work on the Huguenots. Cf. O Zoff, *The Huguenots: fighters for God and human freedom* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1943).
- 86 *Ibid.*, 22. (My translation – DB.)
- 87 *Ibid.* The message of the commemoration festivity is therefore: “Adhere to what you have ...” (Revelation 2:25). (My translation – DB.)
- 88 CM van den Heever & P de V Pienaar (Eds.), *Kultuurgeskiedenis van die Arikaner. III Parts* (Kaapstad, Port Elizabeth, Bloemfontein: Nasionale Pers, 1945).
- 89 *Ibid.*, 185-218. (“The French kinship and cultural contribution to the Afrikaner people.”) (My translation – DB.)
- 90 *Ibid.*, 192.
- 91 *Ibid.* Cf. the following: “Die Hollanders wat na Suid-Afrika gekom het was Calvinistiese Protestante; die Franse dieselfde, maar in nog sterkere graad. Immers, Frankryk was die land van oorsprong van die Calvinisme; Jean Cauvin of Johannes Calvyn was ‘n Fransman; die Hugenote moes nog meer en langer ly vir hulle geloof in Frankryk as die Hollanders in Holland. Dit is dan ook geen wonder nie dat die Hollandse Kerke in Suid-Afrika so ‘n sterk stempel dra van die Calvinisme nie ... Dat die Hugenote met hul sterk geloof en vaste oortuigings veel sal gedoen het om hierdie stempel op die Calvinisme af te druk en te bestendig, hoef geen verdere betoog nie.” *Ibid.*, 196. This is an unproved postulation.
- 92 It is thus clear that Bosman embraced the view of Gie, representative of a younger Afrikaans generation of historians: The Huguenots were indeed strong where the Dutch already revealed strength, and had enhanced the direction and power of the development of the Afrikaner people. The merger of two eminent, equivalent and mutually sympathetic races always bears magnificent fruit. See SNF Gie, *Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika I* (Kaapstad: Naspers, 1925).
- 93 See in this regard PH Kapp, “Ons Volksfeeste”. In PW Grobbelaar (Ed.), *Die Afrikaner en sy kultuur III* (Kaapstad: Tafelberg-Uitgewers, 1975), 121.
- 94 Cf. in this regard the official publications: *The Festival in pictures: a pictorial record of the Van Riebeeck Festival (1952)* (Parow: CNA, 1952); *The Van Riebeeck Festival: pictorial souvenir* (Parow: Cape Times Ltd., 1952).
- 95 See *The Festival in pictures...* 6, 7, 9, 14.
- 96 See Kapp in Grobbelaar (Ed.), *op. cit.*, 121 ff.
- 97 AJ Böeseken, ‘Van verversingspos tot volksplanting.’ In AJ Böeseken, DW Krüger & A Kieser (eds.), *Drie eeue. Die verhaal van ons vaderland. V Parts* (Kaapstad: Nasionale Boekhandel: 1952), Part I, 97 ff.
- 98 *Ibid.*, 147. (My translation – DB.) In this regard, reference must also be made to the standard work of AJH van der Walt, A Wiid & AL Geyer, *Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika* (Kaapstad, Bloemfontein, Johannesburg: Nasionale Pers, 1951), which portrays the arrival and significance of the French Huguenots along the same lines.
- 99 See RM Britz, “Reflections on the ecclesiastical interpretations of the 6th April 1652 as a South African symbolic date.” In *Palabres Vol V No 1, 2003: Ecritures et Histoire en Afrique du Sud*, 145 ff.
- 100 See the leading article in *Die Kerkbode LXIX (11)* 12 March 1952, 492: “Ná Driehonderd Jaar” (“Áfter three hundred years”). With integrated strength Church and State, motivated by a common ideal, should foster together the Christian civilization in this country, the editor noted. In another editorial (*Die Kerkbode LXIX (14)* 2 April 1952, 678) it was thought that the particular role of the Church was to reveal to the people the spiritual significance of the commemoration.
- 101 TN Hanekom (ed.), *Ons Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk. Gedenkboek by ons derde eeufees 1952* (Kaapstad: NG Kerkuitgewers, 1952), 24 ff.

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- 102 *Ibid.*, 39.
- 103 Van Riebeeckkommissie van die NG Kerk: *Ons bou 'n nasie. Feesboodskap aan ons kerk en volk* (Kaapstad: NG Kerk-Uitgewers, 1952), 27. Cf. also “Die Hugenote uit Frankryk, die Puriteine en Presbiteriane uit Skotland, die sg. Gereformeerde Piëtisme van die beroemde Calvinistiese teoloog, Gysbert Voetius en sy geesverwante in Nederland, en in die 18de eeu die Presbiteriane soos Jonathan Edwards in Amerika – dié almal het op ons kerklike lewe ingewerk, en ons daardie warme evangeliese sin gegee, waarvoor ons die Here dank” (*ibid.*, 16). See also D Lategan, “Na driehonderd jaar.” In *Die Gereformeerde Vaandel XX (2)* April 1952 43–97: “Met innige en opregte dankbaarheid pas dit ons as nasate van Geus en Hugenoot om die ryke Gereformeerde erfenis te erken wat deur die koms van Van Riebeeck en die Hugenote ons deel geword het” (*ibid.*, 47).
- 104 SP Engelbrecht, *Geskiedenis van die Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika* (Kaapstad, Pretoria: HAUM – JH de Bussy, 1953). Obviously he took counsel with E Conradie, *Hollandse skrywers uit Suid-Afrika* (Pretoria: Nasionale Pers, 1934), 75 ff., who played an important role in establishing the foundation for a ‘Dutch’ interpretation of the Afrikaner’s history.
- 105 *Ibid.*, 20.
- 106 J Barrow, *Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa. 2 Vols.* (London: Cadell & Davies, 1806, 2nd edition).
- 107 Engelbrecht, *op. cit.*, 20-21.
- 108 See FA van Jaarsveld, *Ou en nuwe weë in die Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedskrywing* (Pretoria: UNISA, 1961).
- 109 GD Scholtz, *Die ontwikkeling van die politieke denke van die Afrikaner. Deel I 1652-1806* (Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers, 1967), 57. They had been fully absorbed in the Afrikaner people. *Ibid.*, 59.
- 110 FA van Jaarsveld, *Van Van Riebeeck tot Vorster 1652-1974. 'n Inleiding tot die Geskiedenis van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika* (Johannesburg: Perskor-Uitgewery, 1974). Cf. also FA van Jaarsveld (Ed.), *Die herverslanking van ons geskiedenis. Simposium met referate van FA van Jaarsveld, T van Wyk, CFJ Muller en GD Scholtz* (Pretoria: UNISA, 1963).
- 111 *Ibid.*, 67 ff.
- 112 *Ibid.*, 69.
- 113 Frank Welsh, *A History of South Africa* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1998) for example, without theorising the history of South Africa, believed that the Huguenots were firm Calvinists, and that they added a powerful dose of upright Calvinism to the previously relaxed moral order at the Cape. (*Ibid.*, 52.)
- 114 See RM Britz, “Die begrip ‘Calvinisme’ in die Afrikaanse geskiedskrywing. ‘n Oorsigtelike tipering.” In *Skrif en Kerk 15 (2)*, 1994, 196–218.
- 115 M Wilson & L Thompson (eds.), *The Oxford history of South Africa* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 196.
- 116 CFJ Muller (ed.), *Five hundred years: a history of South Africa* (Pretoria: Academica, 1982).
- 117 *Ibid.*, 43.
- 118 *Ibid.*, 43–49.
- 119 The Anglican church historian Hinchliff (cf. P Hinchliff: *The Church in South Africa* (London: SPCK, 1968), 6-7) echoes the known data, and does not interpret it in a nationalistic way or sensing. Van der Watt (PB van der Watt, *Die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk 1562–1824* (Pretoria: NG Kerkboekhandel, 1976), 20) kept to the traditional interpretation: The arrival of the French Huguenots had lasting consequences: economically, culturally and above all, religiously. They were “Calvinistic protestants” which they applied to all spheres of life. This philosophy of life find a ready response with the already existing reformed religion of the Cape colonists, and would thus strengthen this particular national character of the Afrikaner. John de Gruchy, in 1979, followed suit: The French were Calvinists, and part of the settler church. (See J de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa* (Grand Rapids, Cape Town: William Eerdmans, David Philip, 1979, Reprinted 1986, 2005, 1.)
- 120 P Coertzen, *Die Franse Hugenote in Suid-Afrika: 'n kerkhistoriese studie* (Unpublished DTh Dissertation, University of Stellenbosch, 1976).
- 121 *Ibid.*, 242. In this regard he relies on G. Besselaar, “Calvinisme en Nasionale Reaktie, vooral in Suid-Afrika.” In *Anti-Revolutionaire Staatskunde 8*, 1934, 157.
- 122 *Ibid.*, 246 ff. On this matter, he follows in fact EPJ Kleyhans, *Die kerkregtelike ontwikkeling van die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Afrika* (Bloemfontein: NG Sendingpers,

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- 1974), 77. In his turn, Kleynhans puts his trust in H Bouwman, *Gereformeerde Kerkrecht I* (Kampen: Kok, 1934), 256.
- 123 Coertzen, *op. cit.*, 248.
- 124 *Ibid.*, 244. (My translation – DB.)
- 125 See Pieter Coertzen, *Die Hugenote van Suid-Afrika 1688–1988 met medewerking van Charles Fenchem* (Kaapstad: Tafelberg, 1988).
- 126 *Ibid.*, 151–152.
- 127 AD Pont (ed.), *Calvin-France-South Africa ... op. cit.*
- 128 *Ibid.*, 123–133.
- 129 *Ibid.*, 125. Coertzen surveyed their religious and cultural involvement. Under last mentioned he identified their contribution to a growing population, to a new language, to race relations, to South Africa and its history, and to a new culture.
- 130 *Ibid.*, 83–100.
- 131 *Ibid.*, 93.
- 132 See RM Britz, “Hoe gereformeerde was die Franse Hugenote?” In *NGTT XXXI (3)* September 1990, 348-356.
- 133 See VE d'Assonville, “The angle of incidence of Paul Roux's Catechism – a study on theology of a French Refugee at the Cape.” In *Acta Theologica 23 (2)*, December 2003, 26–42.
- 134 CJ Kriel, *Die eerste eeu. Geskiedenis van die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk in Suid-Afrika 5 Oktober 1881-5 Oktober 1981* (Kaapstad: NG Sendingkerk, 1981), 7.
- 135 C Loff, *Dogter of Verstoteling? Kantaantekeninge by die geskiedenis van die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk in Suid-Afrika* (Kaapstad: Predikante Broederkring, 1981).
- 136 JC Adonis, *Die afgebreekte skeidsmuur weer opgebou. Die verstrengeling van die sendingbeleid van die NG Kerk in Suid-Afrika met die praktyk en ideologie van Apartheid in historiese perspektief* (Amsterdam: Radopi, 1982).
- 137 JW Hofmeyr & GJ Pillay (Eds.), *A History of Christianity in South Africa Volume 1* (Pretoria: HAUM Tertiary, 1994).
- 138 Cf. *ibid.*, 13–15.
- 139 See JN Gerstner, *The Thousand Generation Covenant. Dutch Reformed Covenant Theology and Group Identity in Colonial South Africa 1652-1814* (Leiden, New York, Copenhagen, Köln: EJ Brill, 1991).
- 140 See R Elphic & R Davenport (Eds.), *Christianity in South Africa. A Political, Social and Cultural history* (Oxford: James Currey, 1999), 16: “The identification of Christian and settler on the South African frontier, clearly flows out of the internal-holiness version of covenant theology. (*Ibid.*, 20.)
- 141 Gerstner notes that one must be careful not to overestimate the impact (both numerically and theologically) of the French Huguenots, as e.g. Livingstone did in the 19th century, and Afrikaners did in the twentieth. Gerstner, *op. cit.*, 219. “David Livingstone and twentieth century Afrikaners would both speak of all the Afrikaans settlers as having settled in South Africa to escape religious persecution.” This remark is based on a citation of Du Toit (*op. cit.*, 945) and a reference to the memorial book, edited by Hanekom (*op. cit.*), without indication of a page number. Referring to the reformed church in France at the end of the seventeenth century, he reminds us that the status of this church was far from idyllic from an orthodox reformed point of view. Neither must it be accepted that the flight for one’s religion was the only motivation. *Ibid.*, 220.
- 142 *Ibid.*, 219 ff. “The second was the presence of believers of the French Reformed tradition, most notably the Huguenots who immigrated to the colony after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes” (*ibid.*). Baptism was in the French church never as central to it as it was for the Dutch churches. As a minority they never were a state church and never had to maintain unity through a common reformed baptism. *Ibid.*, 222. The literal application of the thousand generation covenant was unknown in the French reformed church. “The French comforter of the sick at Drakenstein, Paul Roux, would follow this French tradition in his catechetical work which is very brief on infant baptism, and only in that one brief question on infant baptism the term ‘covenant’ is used.” *Ibid.*, 221.
- 143 AW Biewenga, “Kerk in een volksplanting: De Kaap de Goede Hoop.” In GJ Schutte (Ed.), *Het Indisch Zion. De Gereformeerde kerk onder de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002), 201 ff.
- 144 R Elphic & H Gilliomee (Eds.), *The shaping of South African society, 1652–1820* (Cape Town: Longman, 1979).

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- 145 *Ibid.*, 363.
- 146 *Ibid.*
- 147 See in *ibid.*: “The White Settlers, 1652–1780” by Leonard Guelke, 43, 187.
- 148 HJ van Aswegen, *History of South Africa to 1854* (Pretoria: JL van Schaik, 1991).
- 149 *Ibid.*, 89.
- 150 M Boucher, *French speakers at the Cape in the First Hundred Years of Dutch East India Company Rule: the European background* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1981).
- 151 Marilet Sienaert-van Reenen, *Die Franse bydrae tot Africana-literatuur 1622–1902* (Kaapstad, Pretoria: Human & Rousseau, 1989).
- 152 S Cameron & SB Spies (Eds.), *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika in woord en beeld* (Kaapstad, Pretoria: Human & Rousseau, 1986), 65 ff.
- 153 Hermann Gilliomee, *The Afrikaners: biography of a people* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2003).
- 154 *Ibid.*, 11.
- 155 See e.g. footnote 91 above. Cf. in this regard also RW Holder, “Calvin’s heritage.” In DK McKim (Ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 252–253.