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The History of English Language Attitudes within the Multilingual Ecology of South Africa

Susan Coetzee-Van Rooy and Bertus Van Rooy

1. Introduction

The English language is regarded very favorably by most South Africans living in the early twenty-first century (Dalvit and De Klerk 2005; De Kadt 1993, 2005; De Klerk 1999; Alexander 2000; Bowerman 2000; Kamwangamalu 2002), and despite its equal status as one among eleven official languages, it is by far the most widely used language outside the home domain. English is the principal language in education, government, business, and industry. Although it appeared to be a matter of debate in the 1980s and early 1990s in the build-up to the political transition that culminated in the election of a new government in 1994 (Du Plessis 1985; Prinsloo 1985; Reagan 1984, 1986; Reagan and Ntschoe 1987; Alexander 1989; Eastman 1990; Beukes 1992; Cluver 1992; Webb 1994, 1996, 1999; Heugh 1995; Titlestad 1996), it became clear in the latter half of the 1990s that the role of English would be extensive and other languages could not compete with English, not even in education, or as Rudwick and Parmegiani (2013: 92) put it, “the hegemony of English has become entrenched in the post-apartheid state.”

Prior to the 1990s, statements of attitude by politicians and educationalists can be found easily, and opinion pieces or position statements also exist, but empirical research on language attitudes was not pursued, with the exception of Vorster and Proctor (1976) on the attitudes of black university students towards English and Afrikaans, and HSRC work on the language loyalties of white South Africans (Hauptfleisch 1977, 1979). The early 1990s also saw a surge in research activity into language attitudes. Three main strands of research can be identified. One set of studies, continuing the earlier work by Vorster and Proctor (1976) and Hauptfleisch (1977, 1979), focuses on “attitudes towards English,” often in comparison with other languages. De Kadt (1993) records very favorable, but instrumentalist, attitudes towards English among students and domestic workers who were native speakers of isiZulu. In a matched-guise experiment, De Klerk and Bosch (1994, 1995) find the most positive attitudes are reserved for English in comparison to Afrikaans and isiXhosa. English doesn’t replace the home language and other indigenous languages from the repertoire, though. For purposes of social cohesion, languages other than English are still regarded very favorably (Coetzee-Van Rooy 2012).

A second strand of research focuses specifically on attitudes towards English and other languages in “particular domains,” among which the domain of education is particularly important (Barkhuizen and Gough 1996; Granville, Janks, Mphahlele, Reed, Watson, Joseph and Ramani 1998; Alexander 2000, 2003; Mclean 1999; Plüddemann 1999, 2015; Banda 2000; Heugh 2000, 2002, 2013; Desai 2001; Coetzee-Van Rooy 2018). Rudwick and Parmegiani (2013) present the typical finding that students who speak isiZulu have strong affinities for their home language and lament the limitations on the use thereof, but still favor English as language of education and public life, while their affinity for isiZulu is limited to its use in private domains.

A third strand of research concerns the study of attitudes towards different “varieties” of English, and possible shifts in attitudes. Cooper (1989) investigates attitudes towards “Conservative” (British-oriented) and “Extreme” (locally-oriented) native white SAfE and finds a consistent preference for the Conservative guise in her matched-guise experiment among Black participants in the second last year of secondary school. Lanham (1996: 27) claims, based on his experience going back to the 1960s, that “Queen’s English” is strongly favored as target variety by black South Africans. Subsequent research points to a shift in attitude. Smit (1996) records changes in attitudes towards varieties of English that are consistent with changes in the social status of speakers that happened from 1994 onwards. Van Rooy, Van Rooyen and Van Wyk (2000) find that some forms of Black South African English (BSAfE) are regarded as favorably (mesolectal BSAfE) or more favorably (acrolectal BSAfE) to black listeners, although English and Afrikaans-speaking white South African listeners still favor the variety of the white native-speaker of SAfE in the experiment. Coetzee-Van Rooy and Van Rooy (2005) report that black listeners regard native-speaker WSAfE and acrolectal BSAfE equally highly, but also report favorable attitudes towards an Indian native-speaker of acrolectal Indian SAfE.

At the same time, a “critical strand” of inquiry can be detected, focusing not so much on the empirical analysis of language attitude data sampled from the general population, but on the analysis of texts and publicly communicated viewpoints that seem to support the colonial project, and included in the scope was an examination of the role of English in the colonization of South Africa (e.g., De Kock 1996; Higgs 1997). For instance, in keynote addresses to the English Academic of South Africa, Mphahlele (1984) and Ndebele (1987) call for a more critical attitude towards the English language on the eve of political liberation. More recently, empirical research on and critical discussions of language in education policy also point to the negative effect that the use of English has on students’ understanding of the work and progress through the education system (for school education, see Pretorius 2000, 2002; for higher education see Favish 2005; Ncgobo 2009; Huysamen 2000; De Beer 2006; Downs 2005; Barnes, Dzansi, Wilkenson and Viljoen 2009; CHE 2010; Van Rooy and Coetzee-Van Rooy 2015), and the stifling effect that the presence of English has on the development of African languages in education and other public domains (Desai 2001; Probyn 2004, 2009; Koch and Burkett 2005; Webb 2004, 2013; Webb, Lafon and Pare 2010; Wildsmith-Cromarty 2012; Makoe and McKinney 2014; Antia and Dyers 2016).

Studies of the attitudes of black South Africans towards English since the 1990s are reasonably comprehensive, but studies of language attitudes from the preceding

centuries are under-represented. What evidence there is comes from detailed case studies of particular individuals or political movements, and such evidence is contested. Some analysts find evidence for a critical opposition to the extending role of English, but other evidence points to a very favorable (if uncritical) attitude towards all things English.

This chapter aims to answer the historical question of what the attitudes of Black South Africans have been toward English since they first came into contact with the language, and whether these attitudes show signs of change over time. A better understanding of the past, and of developments into the present, can shed light on current attitudes that are still being lamented as extensively favorable towards English, to the detriment of the development of indigenous African languages in higher status domains. Language-in-education policy scholars are struggling to interpret the overt discrepancy between multilingual policies for education and the lack of implementation of these policies in the post-1994 South Africa. At least four lines of argumentation have emerged to explain the lack of implementation. Lack of political will to implement multilingual policies in education has been mentioned. The lack of clear language plans that would enable the implementation of multilingual policies in education has been raised. Some arguments focus on the unassailable prominence of English in high status functions in the society that inhibits the development of indigenous African languages. Lastly, there is the argument that the heritage of colonization and Apartheid simply makes it impossible for Black South Africans to imagine quality education in a language other than English.

It is with this last reason offered as explanation of the discrepancy between overt multilingual education policies and the lack of implementation of these policies that this chapter wants to engage. If we believe that language attitudes are embedded in the past, then it is imperative that we undertake historical studies to deepen our understanding of how the language attitudes of Black South Africans developed and how it contributes to an explanation of current language attitudes. The next section of the article presents the historical context in which the data should be situated. This is followed by a description of the corpus data and the method of analysis, before the results are presented and conclusions drawn.

2. Historical Context

Historical study of the attitudes of the indigenous black community of South Africa towards English has received attention in the course of historical or literary studies of important authors and/or politicians, but the focus is mostly on the work and political engagement of the individual, such as Higgs' (1997) study of DDT Jabavu, or White's (1993) study of ZK Matthews. Likewise, biographies and autobiographies offer detailed perspective on language issues, such as Mphahlele's *Down Second Avenue* (1959) and Frieda Matthew's *Recollections* (1995) that are in part autobiography and in part biography of her husband ZK Matthews. Older work on language in education policy (e.g., statements, letters, and unpublished papers by ZK Matthews, examined by White 1993) and closer to the present, the study by Hirson (1981) can also be identified. The

general thrust of these studies is the view that English has been viewed very favorably as the language of education, but because of the education and the advantages in terms of employment, and the promise of future political and economic equality held, what Higgs (1997) terms the “ghost of equality.”

White (1993: 197) and Higgs (1997: 48) both point out that the mission-trained African elite of the early to mid-twentieth century were assimilationist and gradualist in their political views. They accepted the dominant position of Europeans in the South African society as a given in the specific time that they lived, and aimed to assimilate and fit into that society, while expecting that the complete assimilation of the entire African population will happen over the course of several generations. In the assimilation, English had a very important role to play, as ZK Matthews explained to a fellow leader of the liberation struggle, W. G. Champion, in a letter in 1944: he accepted the unavoidable presence of Europeans in South Africa, and therefore, to participate in the broader society, access adequate education, and become part of the (white-defined) society, English had to play an important role in education.¹ Matthews (n.d.) argued for the use of the vernacular in the lower levels of education, but pointed to the limited reading matter available in the indigenous languages, and also qualified the call for the use of the vernacular languages by stating that it should not displace adequate access to the official languages. In higher education, Matthews (1959) advocated strongly for the continued use of English, both to accommodate students from several mother tongues in the same university (to avoid becoming an ethnic college), and more importantly for access to knowledge of the developed countries, in order to fast-track the educational development of people who had been left behind in the progress of world-wide formal education. Several decades later, Ndebele (1987: 14) lamented such equation of English and education, and called anew for a different language in education dispensation.

Much of the favorable view of the English language derived from the association between the language and its speakers, particularly the so-called “friends of the natives,” who were settler politicians in the nineteenth century Cape parliament that appeared to promote the franchise and broader interest of educated Africans (Higgs 1997), alongside the missionaries who brought Christianity and formal school education to the indigenous population (Woeber 2012). In contrast to these “friends of the natives” stood the white Afrikaners, who were brutal in their repression of black South Africans and their fear to allow them any political rights. Frieda Matthews (1995: 35) notes that her husband ZK Matthews believed “that the Afrikaner in South Africa is ruthless in his deep-seated fear of the Black man having some power of any kind.” However, there was also an awareness by prominent black leaders of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries that the English settlers and missionaries were also racist and did not ultimately believe in the equality of the indigenous South Africans (De Kock 1996: 84; Matthews 1995: 43). Yet, the prospects were always perceived to be better under English rule than under Afrikaner rule (Higgs 1997: 6–7).

By contrast to the mission-educated Black elite, white Afrikaans speakers have held negative attitudes towards English in the corresponding period. Van Rooy (2020) traces this attitude back to the nineteenth century. Attempts by the English colonial government since the 1820s to anglicize the white Afrikaans community has not just failed, but has engendered a counter-reaction of Afrikaner nationalism (White 1993:

34) with fierce insistence on the use of Afrikaans. When the Afrikaner gained complete control of the South African government in the middle of the twentieth century, it embarked on a range of policy measures to curtail the influence of English, especially in education for black South Africans, under the policy of Bantu Education (White 1993: 36–7; Matthews 1995: 98). White (1993: 42–6) analyzes the public position articulated by the architect of Bantu Education, H. F. Verwoerd, in the 1950s, and notes that Verwoerd set out to reduce the influence of English and its speakers on education for black South Africans. Verwoerd, according to newspaper reports from the time (*Voice of the City* 1957; Whittock 1957), wanted to ensure that black students would not “be educated into Black Englishmen to struggle against the Afrikaner.”

Researchers are confronted with the question of whether the African literate elite of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were naïve in their unquestioning support of the colonial cause. De Kock (1996: 123) poses the question explicitly and answers in the negative, with reference to texts by JT Jabavu that show the understanding of the moral ambiguity and deceit of the missionaries. De Kock (1996: 63) nonetheless concedes that Jabavu and others had to wage the battle in borrowed terms. However, Hirson (1981: 222) has a less favorable reading of the evidence and views of JT Jabavu as proxy for the liberal interest. Switzer (1997) likewise refers to the mission-educated elite of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, whom he calls the Black petty bourgeoisie, as believers in a Western-oriented future. They attempted through constitutional petition and independent newspapers to oppose government steps to limit the franchise or opportunities for the educated Black elite, but their “petitionary protest” (Switzer 1997: 21) was shown to be a failure by the 1930s, when the Herzog acts to remove black voters from the voter’s role was passed, thereby ending the ideal of becoming assimilated into the dominant society. This marked a watershed moment, after which a more confrontational form of resistance emerged in the liberation movements, and the old guard lost their controlling influence over Black political organizations.

One way of understanding the development of Black people’s response to colonization and the introduction of English into the linguistic ecology of multilingual South Africa, is to view the progression as that from tutelage, to protest, to resistance. This idea is developed in Visser and Couzens (1985) in their analysis of the collected works of H. I. E. Dhlomo. Visser and Couzens (1985: xi) argue that “‘Progressivism’ is the basis of much of Dhlomo’s earlier writing.” “Progressivism” included a positive attitude towards Western education and “it meant most of all a position of tutelage for black writers and politicians” (Visser and Couzens 1985: xi). “Tutelage” entailed the advantages of sponsorship and guidance provided by white South African liberals who took an interest in the development of a specific kind of Black elite. Visser and Couzens (1985) argue that Dhlomo’s oeuvre displays an early phase of tutelage (where he displayed rather naïve positions in his writing that all progress is good). The next phase of his writing could be viewed as a gradual disillusionment where he discovered and articulated the implications of tutelage which included the development of “protest” against the “control” exercised by white liberals (Visser and Couzens 1985: xi). The final phase of his writing could be seen as a phase of “resistance” where he focused increasingly on “contemporary themes and conditions” (Visser and Couzens 1985: xiii). This development trajectory demonstrated in the writing of the pioneer of black

African drama in South Africa, from tutelage to protest to resistance, provides a productive frame for the analysis of attitudes towards English in the historical corpus of Black South African writing analyzed in this chapter.

In order to deepen our understanding of the past, we undertake a thematic analysis of the historical corpus of Black South African English, analyzing the attitudes towards English expressed by the writers of the texts in this corpus, extending back to 1867. The corpus was originally developed to enable research on language change in Black South African English, but given its size and diversity of texts, it turned out to provide a good number of relevant statements that offer insight into the development of attitudes towards English over time. Such use of a historical linguistic corpus for a thematic analysis is in keeping with recent work at the intersection between corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis, along the lines of Baker (2006), and Baker and McEnergy (2015).

3. Method

3.1 Description of the Corpus

We use the historic corpus of Black South African English (BSAE) writing that was compiled at the North-West University in South Africa in 2012–2014 (see Piotrowska 2014 for the most complete description). The corpus consists of English writing done by Black South African people ranging from 1867 until 2010. The corpus includes 663,695 words (Piotrowska 2014: 88) that consist of several types of texts (Piotrowska 2014: 85–6). The “newspaper writing” (414,718 words in total) includes: (a) writing from the *Imvo* (for the periods 1884–1888, 1914–1918 and 1944–1948); (b) writing from the *Drum* magazine (1951–1952); (c) writing from the *Sowetan* newspaper (1996, 2006); and (d) newspaper articles taken from newspapers edited by Sol Plaatje in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The “fiction” (136,426 words in total) included in the corpus consists of extracts from novels and short stories in the periods of 1920, 1930 and 1940 by writers such as Sol Plaatje, H. I. E. Dhlomo and R. R. R. Dhlomo (Piotrowska 2014: 85). Short stories were sourced from issues of the *Drum* magazine in the period 1951–1959; fiction from the *Staffrider* for the period 1991 to 1996; and additional samples of fiction by different authors in the period 1970 to 2000 (Piotrowska 2014: 85). The “letters” (112,551 words in total) in the corpus amount to 439 letters in total (from the period 1867 to 1965) and consist of personal, business and application letters (Piotrowska 2014: 85–6).

The corpus cannot be taken as representative of the opinion of the entire indigenous South African population. It represents, to the extent that archival data could be accessed, a diverse selection of authors over time, who were sufficiently literate to write letters or publish newspapers and fiction in English. Thus, especially before the middle of the twentieth century, the corpus largely represents the work of the mission-educated elite. However, they were the political leaders and the major players in shaping an African response to the development of the colonial and early apartheid order, until the rise of the more militant resistance of the ANC Youth League leaders and representatives of industrial workers from the middle of the twentieth century (see Higgs 1997).

3.2 Analysis

The first step in the analysis was to identify all texts in which the word “English” is used, which was done in WordSmith (version 8). In this manner, 51 texts were identified, which were subjected to the second step of the analysis, a thematic analysis done in ATLAS.ti (version 8.0). We analyzed the thematic content of the word “English” as used in the texts to investigate the attitudes of the writers toward English as a language and the English people in their lives. The content analysis of the attitudes expressed towards English in the texts in the historic corpus of BSAE writing provides us with a historic perspective of the attitudes of the writers whose work was included in the corpus from the nineteenth century to the present.

A very simple coding structure was followed in the content analysis of the identified texts in the corpus. The broad codes “attitudes towards the English ‘language’” and “attitudes towards English ‘people’” were the starting point for the analysis. In other words, upon reading of the specific sections in texts where the word “English” was contained in the corpus, we first of all tried to see if the content could be coded as, for example, “a positive attitude towards the English language” (or conversely a negative attitude). As the coding process developed, additional codes emerged related to the writers’ “perceptions of English language proficiency.” These codes were easy to identify because writers, for example, specifically referred to their own (or others’) proficiency in “writing English” or “reading English” etc. The third set of codes relate to references in the texts by the writers that refer to societal language practices like interpreting, translation, language mixing and bilingualism. The last set of codes refers to attitudes expressed by the writers in the corpus towards the use of languages in education in South Africa or the development of literacy in English or the African languages. The codebook that was developed for each of these codes, their definitions and the frequencies of each code in the corpus are presented in Table 7.1 in the Appendix.

4. Findings and Discussion

Writers’ attitudes towards “English people” and their customs was the more frequent association with the word “English” that emerged from the data analysis. The majority of the references expressed a positive attitude towards English people. Although these attitudes do not relate to the English language in the first instance, understanding the attitudes of the writers in the corpus towards English people, the speakers of the English language, informs our understanding of the power relations between people present in the society. As Bourdieu (1991: 503) observes, the power of an utterance in a language is not determined in linguistic terms alone, but also depends on the social power of its users. In other words, languages do not have power—people have power, and the languages used by powerful people are perceived as important because of the power of the people using these languages.

Three specific themes emerged when a finer analysis of this code was conducted. First of all, there are several examples where the writers in the corpus express their “loyalty” towards the English nation. The chief of the Amangwane, Nowadi

Luhlongwane, who resided in the Upper Tugela region, is reported to have said to the Upper Tugela Magistrate, Douglas G. Giles, on September 13, 1899:

- (1) I told Umzakaziwa I was wedded to the English. [1899 Luhlongwane interpreted decl N45]²

In the same year, James Magubelu, expressed his loyalty in a letter to Dr. Stewart at Lovedale College:

- (2) I consider that it is a folly for the Native People to separate themselves from the English. What would we have been had it not been for the English. One has no words to describe the condition of the Native People, if the English had not come and lifted us up to what we are. [1899 Magubelu Letter C167.28 Pgs2C_docx]

The following report in the *Imvo* newspaper describes the passionate loyalty demonstrated by the Imidushane people who attended a meeting at their “Great Place at Tamara” on February 19, 1915 to discuss the request of the British Government for the people of the tribe to go to Prieska to assist with the building of the railway.

- (3) Three cheers were given for the King, and also for our Magistrate. An amusing incident occurred at the end. The strong wave of loyalty carried one heathen man to suggest that we must all join in singing the song the English used to sing during the Boer war, when they were drivers of wagons and leaders. He meant God save the King. Of course, it was sung, the great concourse of heathens humming with big voices as if they were singing their war songs. It was a fitting occasion. Thus ended one of the most patriotic meetings held by the Natives of the Imidushane tribe. [Imvo1915]

These positive attitudes should be interpreted in the context of the late nineteenth century political history of the Cape Colony, where the constitution granting self-rule to the colony extended the franchise to all literate men who met the property and/or income qualification. This meant in practice that a minority of black men gained the vote, which they retained until the second quarter of the twentieth century, when the Herzog laws led to the withdrawal thereof (Higgs 1997). The franchise represented symbolically (because its real political power was limited) the possibility of acceptance in the mainstream of the middle class for the “New African,” alongside opportunities offered by education and the promise of white-collar employment. The favorable image of the English was often in contrast to the Afrikaner, under whom black South Africans were given no rights, and their legal ability to earn property was gradually eroded in the twentieth century by the land reform acts (Higgs 1997; Matthews 1995). The introduction of Bantu education by mid-century served to further strengthen the positive attitude towards the English vis-à-vis the Afrikaner (Matthews 1995; White 1993).

In addition to these very positive attitudes of loyalty towards the English people, the writing in the corpus also expresses admiration for some of the “social habits” of

English people and admiration for English officials. In the section “Native Opinion” in the *Imvo* (1885), the virtue of punctuality is related to English people and the native people are judged negatively for not being punctual:

- (4) Punctuality is said to have been taught to the English by the railways, and if so we may live in hope of being more regardful of time in South Africa; but at present the native people of this colony are notoriously unpunctual. [Imvo1885_docx]

The virtues of justice and equality are valued by some of the writers in the corpus. The case of the dismissal of Chief Mbovane Mabandla and his treatment by the Ministry of Native Affairs was discussed in the *Imvo* (1885). The case was brought to the Secretary of Native Affairs (a Mr De Wet) for investigation and the commencement of this process was reported in the *Imvo*.

- (5) In interesting ourselves in the case of this Native chief we have been urged only by a desire to see that justice, which is the boast of every Englishman, and which Natives are no[t] incapable of understanding or being grateful for, measured out to one of Her majesty’s liege subjects. And as we have known the present Secretary for native Affairs for years as a man keenly sensitive of committing an injustice we knew we would not appeal to him in vain. We shall watch, as every Native will do, the progress and result of the inquiry with rapt interest, only fervently desiring that justice may be done. [Imvo1885_docx]

While justice is highlighted in extract (5), the English are also hailed as champions for the equality of all citizens in a report in *Imvo* on September 20, 1888, dealing with elections in the King Williamstown region. Specific candidates are commended for the principles that they uphold:

- (6) The chief characteristic of the principles they avow consists, so far as we can see, in this; that in the administration of public affairs they would know no Dutchman, Englishman or Native, neither Bond nor Free; but would still insist upon the fundamental principles of the British Constitution, broad-based in the equality of the citizens in the eyes of the Government as the only safe-guard and condition [o]f the peace, contentment, and prosperity of the Colony. [Imvo1888_docx]

In this report, the virtue of the equality of all citizens is ascribed to the English nation via their constitution. A general admiration of English civilization is in evidence in the historical sources, especially in the early phases of missionary education (De Kock 1996), before the turn towards industrial education in the late nineteenth century, which gradually shifted the aim of education towards the needs of the white-dominated economy (Switzer 1997: 24). However, several decades after the reorientation, ZK Matthews (1926) would write about Adam’s College, of which he was principal at the time, that there were two strands of thought about African education—an industrial

and an academic route. The possibility of a liberal education was still entertained by an influential figure such as Matthews—the first black school principal in South Africa, and later deputy principal of Fort Hare, the first university for black students. The English values inculcated in the education received by the early generations of African students seemed to have made a lasting impression and remained a model to emulate for a long time to come. White (1993: 48) refers to the nostalgia for the old mission schools and what they represented that developed anew in the middle of the twentieth century as the apartheid government was in the process of implementing the system of Bantu education.

Lastly, there are numerous examples in the historic corpus of BSAE where the writers express their admiration for specific English Government “officials.” For example, on January 11, 1916, *Imvo* reported on the annual honours bestowed on members of the British Empire, and said the following about the Knighthood of Sir Umhlali Reynolds:

- (7) The other South African Knighthood is that of Sr. F. Umhlali Reynolds who, last election, had the singular distinction of being the only S.A. Party member retained unopposed for the Natal constituency, of UMzimkhulu; and moreover is of the useful kind of Englishmen in that most English Province, who are leading their race to political co-operation with those of other races. As Natives we rejoice to have a Knight with a Native name. Sir Umhlali is very satisfactory. [Imvo1916_docx]

While the attitudes towards the English nation and the English people are positive overall, some negative attitudes are also present in the data. In *Imvo* of October 15, 1918 the German treatment of native people is discussed. The views of an “esteemed European correspondent” on the matter are reported as follows:

- (8) An esteemed European correspondent who has been reading an account of the treatment of Natives in German East by the Bishop of Zanzibar, not during the war, but in the normal life of the Colony, calls our attention to it. Some of the English actions in dealing with Natives have been questionable, but at least we have as a nation meant to be fair and the majority of us wish to give them a share in our knowledge and civilization and Religion. It will be well to give our people some idea of the German methods to compare them with the English. It will at any rate comfort them a little when they are rubbed the wrong way by rough people, or have a real hardship to beat—to think how infinitely harder their lot will be if ever the German gets hold of South Africa. [Imvo1918, emphasis added]

Although this expression of negative attitudes towards the English nation or English people are not expressed by a Black South African writer, the editors of the *Imvo* allowed this view to be included in the newspaper which speaks to an attempt to present a balanced view of English virtues. Criticism of English actions can be found across various historical studies and biographies. Frieda Matthews (1995: 43) remarks

on the advantage that the South African English took of their racial privilege during the twentieth century, knowing that the “laws” and the Afrikaner will be blamed.

The social power and the attractiveness of the characteristics of the English nation and English people are overtly present as a theme in the historic BSAE corpus, and this provides the basis for the positive attitudes towards the “English language” also expressed in the writing investigated in this chapter. The attitude to the people gradually lost some of its strong positive overtones from the 1930s onwards, but in contrast to the Afrikaner, the English always seemed more favorably disposed towards Africans.

The second major theme that emerged from the analysis is the attitudes towards the English language, especially, very positive attitudes towards “knowledge of the English language” and one’s ability (language proficiency) to use English effectively. The positive attitudes towards the high status of English in the society are expressed in fiction and in newspaper reports. An illustration of the attitude that English is related to upward social mobility is presented in a short story by Dyke H. Sentso that was published in the *Drum* in June 1951 where a young character discusses the progress that he observed when a young man from the village returned for a visit from Johannesburg:

- (9) -Father . . . !
 -Yes, son . . . ?
 -Did you see Molole’s son?
 -Yes, my boy.
 -He is well dressed father, is he not?
 -Yes, my son.
 -He speaks English and jingles money in his pockets.
 -Yes, my son.
 -He is a pride to be a man’s son, he not?
 -Yes, my son. [Drum 195106 fiction]

The juxtaposition of the visitor’s fancy clothes with the money in his pockets and the fact that he speaks English expresses the positive views that English is associated with upward social and economic mobility in this short story.

In a brief report entitled “No more quacks?” in *Drum*, a traditional medicine man by the name of L.S. Khontsiwe is predicting the co-existence of Western and African medicine in the near future:

- (10) SOONER or later medicine men (African version) and lily-white jacketed, Western-trained medical doctors may find themselves competing to save souls in the same wards in our national hospitals. That’s exactly what’ll happen if the Rand’s primitively-garbed, hairy, barefooted, L S Khontsiwe, African Doctors Associations’ mastermind who speaks English with an Oxford accent under his tribal blanket, is the shrewd judge of time and events that he seems to be. [Drum 195211 reports]

The magazine’s comment about Khontsiwe’s “Oxford English” is associated with his wisdom about the nature of how medicine will be practiced in the future in South

Africa, and contrasted with his primitive way of dressing, his unkempt hair and the fact that he goes barefoot.

The very positive attitudes towards knowledge of English are expressed in two ways in the corpus. On the one hand, some of the writers report on “advanced proficiency” in English skills such as reading, writing or speaking. On the other hand, the “lack of English skills” in reading, writing or speaking is expressed as a problem by some writers. From both these types of expressions, we can infer that the presence of skills in English is viewed positively. This evidence from the corpus is consistent with the historical importance attached to English proficiency. The English language was key to educational opportunities, which in turn provided access to better employment. Comaroff (1999: 10–11) notes that an acknowledged linguist and polyglot such as Sol Plaatje became active in the South Africans Improvement Society in Kimberly in 1895, to improve his speaking and writing skills in English, which contributed to his employment as court interpreter in Mafeking in 1898. For example, in the following excerpts, writers in the corpus lament their seeming “lack of English abilities” and beg the forgiveness of their readers for this shameful condition:

- (11) P.S. Please don't be discouraged because I have not written with my own hand, I am not quite up to the mark in English letter writing. [Letter written by W. Soyi to Dr. Steward at Lovedale College on 3 September 1984] [1874 Koyi Letter C252.4 Pg2C_docx]

- (12) I am sorry to say I have no best news to tell you, here, but I feel very kind to speak with you with a letter. The only thing that is pity is, that I am very poor in English and in spelling English words, I hope that you shall take great trouble in reading this letter, I cannot express my heart about you farther, I can simply say all the privilege I have got here, I have them on account of you. Dearest Sir, pray for us and that we should pray for you also . . . I hope that you will excuse me, Sir for my bad English in writing I remain with kind regards to you all. [Letter written by Ias Mashologu at Lovedale College to Dr. Stewart who is travelling to Scotland with his family on 20 May 1893] [1893 Mashologu Letter C252.25 Pg2C_docx]

- (13) Dear Sir please be merciful on me about what I am going to ask. I ask any Daily Soul's bread from you, which is the blood of Christ and Body. I ask my religious London Congregational.
And please give it to me or let me in you don't know the day I'll be summoned at. Let me in let me in let me in. I am only sorry because I am short in English.³ [1898 Cindi Letter C252.33 Pg1C_docx]

The extent of the proficiency constraint for some writers is quite evident in the following extract, in which the writer, who is already employed as teacher, laments the limitations of his own education, and articulates his desire to have been able to study for longer:

- (14) Since I had left the Lovedale I am getting on well, but only one thing which I am not pleased for it, that I am had left school without get education, now I am wish to be back Lovedale again it is because I am very shame to have half education from high school such as Lovedale how I am still teaching a children of Spande Kroon Missionary Station Umzinga Natal.
- I had been commence my school at the first day of August last and Dr Dalzell gave me that work and I am teacher there only Zulu and English, but I have many children in my school 54 children although I am the teacher there I not pleased my heart like very much to have more education I have nothing to say now god may be with you and bless you and all your family, may God bless also all the Lovedale people and increase the Lovedale education more than before. Remember me when you pray, I am remember you. I send my good compliments to you and all Lovedale's people. [1890 Zulu letter C252.24]

Particularly noticeable is the lack of verb inflection and very rudimentary mastery of tense, aspect and modality in the passage (“am had left,” “without get education,” “had been commence”). Articles are also used in inconsistent ways, both in cases where the article would not conventionally be used (“the Lovedale”) or where it would conventionally be used (“to have half ___ education from ___ high school such as Lovedale”). Repetition and lack of punctuation indicate a writing style that is very close to oral interaction, and serves as further testimony to the limitations that this teacher had in expressing himself.

The opposite sentiment is also present in the corpus, where writers reflect on the good writing abilities of writers in English, for example, in a letter to the editor of *Imvo*:

- (15) A Gospel Minister of long standing and considerable experience in South Africa thus writes us on the 15th December “I write a line to say that my copies of Native Opinion have duly reached me, and also to say that the articles and get up are good. I can only speak of the English part, and I am bound to say that I think it highly creditable. What is written is in good English, and the spirit and tone are of that moderate firm tone to which no one can fairly object, and if the same course is continued all well-wishes of the natives will approve and commend the publication.”⁴ [Imvo1884_docx]

The third prominent theme that emerged from the coding process is related to attitudes towards “specific language practices” in the society of the writers. There are instances in the corpus where writers refer to the bilingualism in the society and language practices like interpreting and translation that are used often. These attitudes indicate an awareness by the writers in the corpus (and the members on the society) of the linguistic diversity and complexity of the South African context. There is evidence in the corpus of the widespread use of bilingual addresses at events in the society. For example, at an event in the Libode district in 1918, the Governor was addressed by the Regent of Western Pondoland, Mangala Ndamase. The following excerpt from *Imvo* in 1989 indicates what language arrangements were made at the event to ensure that all attendees were able to understand the address:

- (16) His Excellency then sat down with his Party (Lady Buxton, Miss XXX⁵ His Aid-de Campe and the Chief Magistrate's Chief Clerk—Colonel Muller). The latter introduced His Excellency to the Natives and Europeans present. His Excellency then asked Chief Magala to come under the verandah near His Excellency which he did. Colonel Muller narrated this history of the Buxton family, their philanthropic spirit towards the Natives and backward nations, after which His Excellency made a lengthy speech which was, however attentively listened to. Before His Excellency's speech, addresses were read out in Kafir and English by Messrs I.G. Mtingane and R.G. Ntloko respectively (as space will not allow of the Kafir address being published as it is the same as the one in English). [Imvo1918]

From this excerpt it is clear that bilingualism prevailed at this public address and reports in the *Imvo* (1918) also depended on a bilingual audience who would be able to read the English version of the address.

The omnipresence of the multilingualism of people in the society and the practice of interpretation at events and translation of documents are also present in the corpus. On October 26, 1953, Elliott Koza writes a letter to the Town Clerk in Kimberley to request consideration for the job of interpreter:

- (17) I hereby beg for admission into your department, as an interpreter clerk or Beer Hall Manager.
I am married and 24 years of age, the following languages, I can speak read and write, Setswana, Sotho, Afrikaans and English.
The only language, I am weak is Xhosa; but not that I can't hear and speak it.
[1953 Koza Letter N57.5 Pg1C_docx]

Half a century earlier, Sol Plaatje was appointed court interpreter in Mafeking, on the back of his fluency in English, Dutch, isiXhosa, German and Sesotho, alongside his native Setswana (Comaroff 1999: 11). The same form of deep individual multilingualism is reported in the obituary of Isaiah Budiwana Mbelle, Plaatje's contemporary and his brother-in-law, who passed away on July 16, 1947:

- (18) A Short Review of Bud Mbelle's Life Story
In the humble town of Burghersdorp, Cape Province, in the year 1870 was born on June 24 Isaiah Budiwana Mbelle who became South Africa's greatest African pioneer clerk interpreter. On his early days he attended the Wesleyan Methodist Primary School, and showed great promise. From 1886 to 1888 he was a student at Healdtown where he distinguished himself as a scholar and passed the Teacher's Examination with Honors.
For five years he taught in Herschel and in Colesberg. In both places he won the hearts of his pupils and the community at large. In those days a teacher had to play many parts in the life of the community especially in church affairs. Thus that love of work and church became part and parcel of his life. To quote Inspector Satchel's words Mr Mbelle was not "a Walking cabbage," but sought to

improve himself every day. In 1892 he was the first African to pass the Cape Civil Service Examination. He passed in English, Dutch (Afrikaans) Xhosa, Sesotho, Sechuana and Zulu. [Imvo1947]

The language repertoire of Elliott Koza looks similar to the multilingual repertoires of urban citizens in the Gauteng Province in the present, where Sotho and Nguni languages as well as Afrikaans and English form part of the repertoires of citizens of Johannesburg (Coetzee-Van Rooy 2012, 2016).

In the societies that the writers of the corpus lived in and wrote about, multilingualism seems to have extended to white people who lived and worked in South Africa at that time as well. In a speech by Reverend John Knox Bokwe on July 21, 1916 to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the opening of the Lovedale College, he proposed the following language arrangements:

(19) IN ENGLISH

Chairman of the Gathering!

Since I have been chosen to speak at this Anniversary in the name of the NATIVE PEOPLE, I feel that I must speak what I have to say in my Native Xosa instead of using a strange language. Therefore I request the Rev. B.J. Ross to translate for me. [1916 Bokwe Letter BC293 B22.3 Pg11C_docx]

The reference to English as a “strange language” indicates some distance between the language and Bokwe, but the letter also shows his confidence that a white minister was competent to interpret from isiXhosa to English.

In 1910, Manyaki Renge in Queenstown wrote a letter to his Chief Magistrate, Mr. Walter Stanford. The first part of the letter is written in part in English and the larger second part in isiXhosa, a clear case of code-switching, which is premised on the ability of the magistrate to read both languages:

(20) Know that I shall mix English and Kafir,⁶ because you are XakaXaka. [1910 Renge Letter BC293 B174 Pg2C_docx]

The excerpts discussed in this section provide evidence of the widespread bi- and multilingualism in the societies that the writers of the historic BSAE corpus write about.

The fourth theme that emerged from the coding process is not quantitatively prominent, but in terms of gravitas, it cannot be ignored in this discussion. As is clear from the frequencies of codes reported in the Appendix, there are a small set of references to the issue of “languages in education” in the society of the writers included in the corpus. There are two prominent passages in the corpus that discuss the issue of language in education policies, both written by D. D. T. Jabavu, the first African who became professor at the University of Fort Hare (and hence in all of South Africa) in the *Imvo* of November 1916 and May 1918. In both of these texts, Jabavu maintained that native children should be taught literacy in their home languages, and that English and/or Dutch should be added to their repertoires only after literacy in the home

language was achieved. The argument for literacy in the home language was built by first of all referring to the success of early missionary education, as viewed by Jabavu:

- (21) The salient feature of their system [early missionary education] was the education of the Natives in their mother tongue, until pupils had mastered the reading of the Scriptures, which were then, as now, the only advanced text book in the language. The pupil dared not be allowed to begin the Alphabet in English or Dutch, where those were the alternative languages, before they had shown proficiency in their own lingo. [Imvo1916_docx]

Jabavu specifically lamented the influence of Dr. Thomas Muir (Superintendent-General of Education in the Cape Colony, later the Cape Province, from 1892 until 1915) on the language in education arrangements made in missionary education:

- (22) It is a thousand pities Missionary bodies allowed themselves to be dictated to by Dr Muir in this [decisions about the language of teaching and learning in missionary schools] and in the matter of taking unconverted Teachers for Mission Schools. For the result has simply been deplorable. Dr Muir commenced with pragmatic contempt of the pupils' mother tongue when he insisted on Native children being examined only in Standard made for European pupils. The result has been that a type of educated Native has been produced which has been taught from infancy to look down upon its own language and is either unable to read it intelligently or will not read it at all. On the other hand these Natives have received but the smattering of the English language, and nothing more. How, in the circumstances, was a Native lad or lass to be expected to be grounded in the Scriptures when he or she was not particularly versed in any of the languages in which they are written? [Imvo1916_docx]

Jabavu's description of the lack of proficiency of pupils in neither the home language, nor English, is eerily similar to definitions of the now criticised concept of "semilingualism," defined as having a "low level [of proficiency] in both languages" known (Valadez, MacSwan and Martínez 2000: 238).

In a second passage in the data, Jabavu defended the value of African languages in comparison to English and Dutch, as part of his critique of Loram's (1917) book, *Education of the South African native*. He focused his attention on the section titled, "The Ultimate Supremacy of the European Language" in Loram (1917) and he specifically challenged Loram's (1917) ideas about the fate of the Bantu languages. Jabavu took issue with Loram's (1917) claim that African languages in South Africa would not be maintained and that people would eventually shift to English or Dutch. He offered an example of the maintenance of African languages in the Eastern Cape, despite co-existence with white people for a long time.

- (23) In districts thickly populated by Natives like Bechuanaland, Swaziland, Transkei and Pondoland it is certain that English and Dutch will never oust the Bantu

language as a means of intercourse any more than they have done in Kaffraria where the white man's occupation extends over two centuries. [Imvo 1918]

Next, Jabavu questioned Loram's (1917) claim that white people would not acquire and learn African languages. He called into question the empirical basis of Loram's (1917) claims, and provided insights into the language attitudes towards bi- and multilingualism of the society of his time.

- (24) That all Europeans are unwilling to learn them [African languages] is yet to be proved. In Basutoland there is hardly a Frenchman who is unable to speak se-Suto as well as any mo-Suto. Dutchmen who live in Native areas in the Cape Province generally know Xosa well. It is Englishmen who are notorious for their unwillingness to learn even other European languages. [Imvo 1918]

The unwillingness of white English-speaking South Africans to acquire or learn additional languages (neither African languages nor European languages) described by Jabavu above is also reported in language attitude studies in the 1970s in South Africa. Hauptfleisch (1979: 42–3), for example, found that English-speaking South Africans were not interested in being proficient in a second language in general, even though they were positive about the idea of bilingualism.

Thirdly, Jabavu reminded readers of the Loram (1917) text that although there were some topics which could not yet be described and discussed in African languages, there were also many topics which could be described and discussed more effectively in African languages than in English or Dutch.

- (25) Granting that they “are not capable of expressing the ideas which the new civilization has brought to the country” it is a fact acknowledged by Bantu scholars that the European languages on the other hand cannot express many ideas peculiar to the African mind. Just as Chopin cannot take the place of Mozart so English and Dutch can never be substitutes for the XXX and eloquence to be found in Xosa. [Imvo 1918]

Jabavu concluded that for as long as the African languages carried the identity of its people, these languages would be maintained.

- (26) To abolish the present bilingual system amongst the Europeans would be child's play to any attempt to destroy the Native languages. The survival of Welsh in Wales or of Polish in Poland is proof enough that the Bantu languages will persist as long as the Bantu maintain their racial identity. [Imvo 1918]

The importance of African home languages as carriers of cultural identity in South Africa today (see for example Coetzee-Van Rooy 2012) vindicates the arguments made by Professor Jabavu one hundred years ago.

The evidence presented in the analysis makes it clear that the writers of the historic BSAE corpus valued the use of African languages in education and predicted that

African languages will be maintained in the presence of English and Dutch (later Afrikaans). These attitudes position English as an important language in the repertoires of multilingual African home languages speakers in South Africa across almost 150 years.

One should mention briefly that the views articulated by Professor Jabavu in the extracts above are juxtaposed to the very different view of his colleague and second African professor at Fort Hare, Z. K. Matthews. Although the corpus does not include examples of the writing of Professor Matthews, it is important to consider his view about the language in education policy here briefly in the interest of a balanced picture.

On the one hand, Matthews was extremely clear that he valued and respected African languages and culture. In response to the use of African languages as media of instruction proposed by the Nationalist government in the 1940s in South Africa, Matthews wrote the following in a letter to the Natal Congress leader (W.G. Champion):

- (27) Of course it will be argued that any opposition to this emphasis upon Bantu Language is based upon a disrespect for our languages. Nothing is further from the truth. (Hirson 1981: 226)

Furthermore:

- (28) The serious defect of early native education was the use of a foreign language as a medium of instruction. It was believed—as it is in many respectable quarters today—that the Native child had to learn English as early as possible [if] its future education was to be successful. The Natives aided and abetted this attitude by insisting that they sent their children to school, not to learn the vernacular, which they claimed could best be learnt at home and from themselves rather than from the representatives of a foreign culture, but to learn to read and write English and to assimilate some of the white man's ways of doing things (Hirson 1981: 224)

These statements clearly indicate that Matthews valued African home languages and viewed them as the most appropriate media of instruction in the early years of education. On the other hand, Matthews clearly favored the use of English after the completion of the early years of school education:

- (29) It is therefore of the utmost importance that the vernacular should receive its proper place in Native Schools. And yet nothing ought to be done to give the Native the impression that he is to [be] denied the opportunity of learning the official languages. Nothing is calculated to destroy interest in the Native languages among them than an attempt to minimise the importance of learning English and Afrikaans and to disparage their efforts in this direction . . . The present system in which the vernacular is the medium of instruction in lower classes and a subject of study in the higher classes seems to me highly commendable. (Matthews, n.d.)⁷

In conclusion, one is reminded that Matthews' views about language clearly indicate the political objectives of African people of his day: successful access to political and economic empowerment rightfully dwarfed all other issues, including the language question.

5. Conclusion

We combined a corpus study with a close textual reading of historical documents identified as relevant through a pre-screening of the data using a corpus retrieval tool. The selection of fifty-one texts offered a number of insights, some of which could have been expected on the basis of historical research, but some are new. The combination of corpus data with close attention to detail from a qualitative perspective appears to be profitable to yield a kind of balanced picture that might allude conventional scholarly methods for selecting texts to understand viewpoints historically.

The most important insights are the favorable attitudes towards a language which are closely related to favorable attitudes, or even loyalty, towards the people who speak that language. This loyalty has complex political and socio-economic causes, but the evidence from the data shows that issues of political freedom and economic opportunity were far more pressing in the history of Black South Africans' contact with English than the language issue as such. Thus, while attitudes are conveyed towards language, the political and economic dimensions drive the attitudes towards language. Even as far as education is concerned, the desire for the best possible education usually weighs more than the language in which that education is offered, and only enhances the need and intent to improve proficiency in the language of education.

Attitudes towards English people, and through that towards the English language, were influenced by the presence of Afrikaans people and the Afrikaans language (including its earlier, colonial Dutch, forms). Because of the comparatively more favorable interaction with English people, and because of deliberate steps taken by an Afrikaans government to limit access to English, the attitudes towards Afrikaans were comparatively unfavorable, and increasingly so over time, but conversely, attitudes towards the English language became increasingly more favorable.

Attitudes towards the indigenous African languages were not unfavorable. The value of using these languages especially in the early phases of education was expressed overtly by two authors (see extracts 21, 22, 28 and 29), although this was not a prominent concern articulated in the corpus. However, due to external factors of an educational, economic, and political nature, these languages were just not deemed useful after the early phases of education or ultimately as potential vehicles for economic mobility and obtaining political rights. They remain a part of the linguistic ecology of South Africa, counter to the expectation of Loram (1917), for reasons aptly explained by Professor D.D.T. Jabavu in 1918. These languages still perform important attitudinal and identity functions today.

Appendix

Table 7.1 Codebook for the Analysis of Attitudes towards English People and the English Language in the Historic Black South African English Corpus

Broader theme	Code	Definition	Freq.
Attitudes towards English people [total occurrences=50]	Positive attitudes towards English people	Any reference by the writer that indicates positive attitudes towards English people.	39
	Negative attitudes towards English people	Any reference by the writer that indicates negative attitudes towards English people.	11
Attitudes towards the English language [total occurrences=38]	Positive attitudes towards the high status of English	Any <i>positive</i> reference to the high status of English, or expressions that being able to speak English is a symbol of upward mobility or modernity.	9
	Negative attitudes towards English language proficiency concerning writing	Any reference by the writer towards her/his own inability or negative writing proficiency in English; or the ineffective writing proficiency in English of fellow South Africans.	7
	Positive attitudes towards English language proficiency concerning talking	Any references by the writer that he/ she can talk English well.	4
	Positive attitudes towards English language proficiency concerning writing	Any reference by the writer towards her/his own good ability or positive writing proficiency in English; or the effective writing proficiency in English of fellow South Africans.	4
	Positive attitudes towards English language proficiency concerning reading	Any reference by the writer towards her/his own effective reading proficiency in English; or the effective reading proficiency in English of fellow South Africans.	3
	Positive attitudes towards knowledge of English	Any reference by the writer about the knowledge of his own English or the knowledge of the English of fellow South Africans. In this specific case, knowledge of English is seen as a positive element that might influence the employability of people or might demonstrate their allegiances towards English people / the English government.	3
	Negative attitudes towards English language proficiency concerning reading	Any reference by the writer that he/ she or fellow South Africans cannot read English.	2

	Positive attitudes towards English language proficiency concerning expressing views	Any reference by the writer that he/she or fellow South Africans can express their views well/effectively in English.	1
	Negative attitudes towards English language proficiency concerning talk	Any reference by the writer of a "deficiency" to express oneself in English.	1
	Negative attitudes towards the status of English	Any negative reference by the writer about the high status of English and how using English in inappropriate contexts is not socially acceptable.	1
	Attitude towards standard English	Any reference to "standard English."	1
	Attitude towards English as an international language	Any reference by the writer of the use of English in an international context.	1
	Attitude towards South African English	Any reference by the writer of typical characteristics of SA English.	1
Attitudes towards language practices [total occurrences=17]	Attitudes towards bilingualism with English	Any reference by the writer of attitudes towards bilingualism in the pair with English, for example, Dutch English bilingualism.	4
	Attitudes towards interpretation ability	Any reference by the writer about her/his positive ability to do interpreting between languages that include English.	3
	Attitudes towards translation from or to English	Any reference by the writer that expresses an attitude towards the translation of English texts into other languages.	3
	Attitudes towards Afrikaans and English requirements	Any reference by the writer that knowledge of Afrikaans and English are requirements for a position.	2
	Attitudes towards multilingual language proficiency	Any reference by the writer of her/his or a fellow South African's multilingual abilities.	2
	Attitude towards the necessity of interpretation	Any reference by the writer that it is necessary to interpret into a specific language.	1
	Attitude towards the presence of interpretation in the community	Any reference by the writer that interpretation was done in the community or at a specific event.	1
	Attitude towards language mixing	Any reference by the writer that language mixing will occur with the implication that this is natural and positive.	1
Attitudes towards languages in education [total occurrences=6]	Attitudes towards the usefulness of languages in education in South Africa	Any reference by the writer of the usefulness of different languages in education in SA.	3

Broader theme	Code	Definition	Freq.
	Attitude that English for education is not good enough	Any reference by the writer that his/her level of education, including her/his education in English, is not enough or should be advanced.	1
	Attitudes towards English literacy classes	Any reference by the writer to English literacy classes.	1
	Attitudes towards African languages literacy classes	Any reference by the writer to literacy classes in African languages.	1

Notes

- 1 Extracts from Matthews's unpublished 1944 letter are quoted at length in both Hirson (1981: 226) and White (1993: 201), from where the summary above has been formulated.
- 2 Each quotation from the historic corpus of Black South African English writing is referenced to assist researchers to find the same document if they analyze the corpus. The reference includes the date of publication and, where applicable, additional referencing information from the original archives from where the document was sourced.
- 3 Letter written by Andrew Cindi to a Magistrate in Mafikeng on March 22, 1898 to beg forgiveness for smoking dagga which he did not know was a sin.
- 4 Comment reported in the Native Opinion section of the *Imvo* in December 1884.
- 5 XXX in the transcript represent illegible text in the source document that could not be transcribed.
- 6 No adjustments are made to the original source texts to accommodate the contemporary judgement of taboo values of words used by historical authors.
- 7 Undated manuscript, which can be dated to approximately 1940 based on the information and historical references in the text.

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