



UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

HISTORY WORKSHOP

STRUCTURE AND EXPERIENCE IN THE MAKING OF APARTHEID

6 - 10 February 1990

AUTHOR: Martin Orkin

TITLE: Contesting and Reproducing Apartheid and Colonialist
discourse in The Dam and The Dove Returns

AFRICANA LIBRARY

a white who wrote a number of successful plays mainly about black Americans. This group seems to have been an attempt by the communists to help build a popular base through popular theatre.³

This account, of the African National Theatre, based on reports of performances of plays which, in the case of indigenous attempts, significantly do not appear to have survived in published form, provides a nice contrast with the activities and interests of the National Theatre, formed within the ruling classes, again significantly, with government funds in 1947. From its inception this organisation had no place for black creative participation, although reliance upon black labour for the carrying out of all menial tasks was not dispensed with. Members of the Board of Governors as well as actors together with all other theatre practitioners were white: despite the appellation 'national' the two companies formed were Afrikaans and English playing to white audiences only. Within a few years, the initial loan given to the company was waived and, further, a grant of ten thousand pounds was made, increased in April 1949 to fifteen thousand pounds per year and in 1957 to twenty five thousand pounds annually.⁴ The organisation also attempted to foster interest in the drama amongst the 'youth' - which one of its chroniclers takes to mean white pupils under the aegis of education departments for whites in the Transvaal and later the Cape and Natal. It risked two productions of Shakespeare, a *Macbeth* translated into Afrikaans in 1950 and *Twelfth Night* in 1953. Whereas from 1948-1962 those Afrikaans plays selected for production were often indigenous, only about five of over forty plays performed in English were by South Africans, and none of these by any member of the oppressed classes. An active member commented on the evident Afrikaans bias in the selection of indigenous plays for performance:

South African playwrights were constantly encouraged to submit their plays. Sadly this policy of promoting indigenous plays seldom payed off, this being particularly true where it affected the English-speaking population. While plays by W.A. de Klerk and comedies by Gerhard Beukes became hits on the platteland, those by Guy Butler and Anthony Delius met with a luke-warm response. The exception was a rewritten version of *Seven Against the Sun* set in East Africa during the second world war by James Ambrose Brown.⁵

But when it is recalled that theatres were segregated, and that the National Theatre in its behaviour, like the Nationalist Party government, seemed to mean by 'South African' only 'white South African', the National Theatre Organisation's record clearly appears to have been biased. It was prompted by disinterest in and in practice, discouragement or suppression of any alternative discourses - coming either from possible dissident white or from black theatre practitioners - rather than by audience disinterest in the work of those English dramatists who were acceptable to the National Theatre Organisation Board.

As compared with a dramatist such as Dhlomo, Butler was privileged in a variety of ways. A member of the ruling classes, he was born to a prosperous Cape family, descended from Quakers well disposed to the Afrikaans, and with connections through his mother to England.⁶ After serving on the Western Front during the Second World War, he took a degree at Oxford and returned to a lifetime of service in tertiary education in South Africa, becoming, after a brief spell at Witwatersrand University, Professor of English Language and Literature at Rhodes University, Grahamstown. By the end of the fifties he was 'a member of the English-language establishment' (p.15) editing the *Oxford Book of South African Verse* which contained not a single black poet.⁷

Like Dhlomo, Butler - particularly as he was situated within the colonialist-oriented discourses of University English departments - was,

in the very attempt to write plays about South Africa, contesting prevailing attitudes. Moreover, against the predilections of many of his colleagues, well into the seventies he argued for the importance of the study of South African literature. This impulse was coloured however by the discourses on which it drew.

Dhlomo's attempt to engage in his plays with his world involves the construction of ruling class subjects whose lawless greed for power and land counteridentifies their alleged allegiance to Christianity and pretensions to ordered government. Dhlomo often chose the frontier image in his plays in order to probe relations between dominant and subordinate classes. His choice of the frontier predicates a fluid situation in which there is still chance for the subordinate subject to be constructed with a positive cultural identity in positions of resistance and hostility to the colonial invader. Moreover, colonial and non-colonial space is there to be occupied, seized, fought for, stolen, appropriated and, if lost, crucially by implication, to be regained.

Butler's concern, by contrast, is with a time and space in which ownership of the land by ruling class whites is an accomplished fact, treated in language that continually seeks to naturalise that possession. Thus *The Dam*, performed for the first time as I noted at the Little Theatre in Cape Town in 1952, and *The Dove Returns*, first performed in 1955 in Natal,⁸ construct the white subject, primarily as member of patriarchal landowning farming families. In *The Dam* the patriarchal figure Douglas Long comments to his family when his Dam has finally been built:

We stand here, on this particular place
Important to the history of our hearts;
And at a particular hour when the dusk
Draws all the mountains close to our shoulders:
We feel we belong; this bit of the world is ours,
Individually, and as a family. (p.66)

Coetzee notes that in Afrikaans literature about the farm, by 'shedding his sweat or blood on the land' the farmer establishes or reconfirms his family's 'natural right' over it⁹ - a view expressed too by the Englishman Jim Shaw in *The Dove Returns* when he asserts 'my family belongs to this soil./Has paid for it with its courage, its work, its blood' (p.79), and this claim to 'natural right' is given direct expression elsewhere when Sarah van Heerden tells her husband Karel, 'You own this farm,/You planted that orchard, sunk the bore hole' asseverating too that:

Man lives in families,
And families live in limited spaces, houses, towns,
So many morgen of land. (pp.10,32)

Farm ownership and the labour of farming families is also mingled with a vision of progress that draws on Christian discourse. *The Dove Returns*, which depicts relationships between English and Afrikaans farming families during and after the Boer war, culminates in a scene of reconciliation taking place, in the final act, on Good Friday, 1905. Dramatic emphasis is placed firmly upon the capacity, within the characters, to grow as Christians, in this case especially, their need to practice Christian forgiveness. Their reconciliation is moreover enacted not only through the marriage between the Afrikaans daughter of the van Heerden and the English Jim Shaw but through the promise that their oldest son will inherit the van Heerden farm of which Karel van Heerden, the patriarch who has lost his own son in the war says 'This farm has been a van Heerden farm since the [eighteen] forties./It takes time to know a farm: like a woman (sic)' (p.80). Marriage ensures the continuation of the farm's existence within the familial line, 'sanctified' and blessed by a loyal and faithful serf figure, the 'coloured'

servant Simon at the end of the play. Such presentations parallel what Coetzee has detected in Afrikaans farm literature, the construction of each farm as 'a separate kingdom ruled over by a benign patriarch, with, beneath him a pyramid of contented and industrious children, grandchildren and serfs'.¹⁰

In 1951, Horton Davies, who was at that stage, like Butler, at Rhodes University in Grahamstown published a book entitled *Great South African Christians*, describing eighteen white personalities together with one black. His introduction confirms the enduring strand, in South Africa, of an energetic, proselytising and paternalist Christianity. Thus, he indicates that amongst those chosen for attention, some:

were the first to apply old ideas in a new country. They were the pioneers who endured the dangers and discomforts of wild animals and savages for the sake of the gospel of Christ... Yet others were notable champions of the underprivileged Coloured and African people, enduring persecution and criticism for Christ's sake... Great Christians, in the writer's view, must be faithful, fearless, compassionate and humble.¹¹

So evident in Mary Waters's plays decades earlier, this strand is present in Butler's plays as well. *The Dam's* primary concern is to foreground the interiority of Douglas Long, whose work is presented not only heroically but in religious terms, as a personal service to his God. When the first attempt to construct the dam ends in catastrophe, Long stands alone in the koppies, suicidal, and cries to his God for a sign. Saved, as he sees it, from despair by the arrival of his 'coloured' servant Kaspar who tells him his family wait for him, he acquires a newer, if still equivocal, understanding of those who serve him:

Do I matter so much to them? And you,
You have come after me like a faithful dog.
I have thought only of myself; you have thought of me
God forgive me. His light is upon me.
I begin to see myself and I am ashamed.
It was my selfwill, always my will, my will. (p.50)
O God, help me to bear the sight of myself. (p.50)

This curious mixture of religiosity and, at best, insensitivity, is followed by Butler's movement into the final coda of his play. Long's climactic understanding, helped by a loyal serf, quickly moves away from awareness of the subordinate classes altogether and into his own personal growth towards a better Christian consciousness, and the acquisition of a measure of humility, conveyed, for instance in his comment, 'those who sign themselves with the sign of the Cross are not surprised at pain' (p.62). The echoes of Eliot at this point in the text, as elsewhere, are inescapable. It discovers providential significance in choric verses that proclaim 'In the beginning was the Word... The Word that found the heart of a man/A year ago today' (pp.59-60). What Coetzee finds in Afrikaans farm literature is thus true of constructions of the white subject here: the production of a particular kind of self-realisation, a 'realisation of the self not as individual but... the transitory embodiment of a lineage' that 'becomes tied to landownership and to a particular kind of spiritual experience available only to landowners'.¹²

What is striking about such moments of 'learning' from materialist or anti-colonialist perspectives as well as from a Christian one, is the way in which, despite any endeavour elsewhere in the text to engage with the blacks who also inhabit the land, this impulse towards Christian compassion and love is contained. Applicable to the Long family and primarily to Douglas Long, it is also held in check by that discourse deriving in part from white settler colonialist and racist/segregationist

formulations. Despite the intense religious commitment of these farming families, the history that lies behind their 'white proclamation of homestead walls' (p.8) is, accordingly, never interrogated. Secure within the colonialist and missionary discourse in which it operates, it presents the former resisters of the settlers always negatively. Their ghosts have retreated to the kloofs, which remain haunted by 'Batsi the stubborn chief' who 'trapped at last, / Coughed out blood and curses between the cliffs' (p.8).

It is worth recalling here that the black sense of injustice over the Land Act of 1913 had not been lessened by the slight increase in land allotted for black ownership, in Hertzog's segregationist legislation. When, just over a decade later, after the war the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948 and replaced segregation with apartheid, the problem intensified. Now that the land had for decades been secured for mining and agricultural capital, the state turned its attention to what it saw as the urgent task of formalised separation particularly in urban areas, not only where the interaction of human bodies was concerned but in terms of the spaces which those bodies would be permitted to occupy. Legislation was passed aiming at 'the complete separation of the various races, African, Coloured and Asian from each other and from the whites, in separate residential areas in all urban areas throughout the country'.¹² Such legislation was also directed at removing black inhabitants living within or next to white areas, including Sophiatown in Johannesburg, and placing them in often specially created locations or townships. Other laws restricted the use of facilities - places such as beaches, as well as the areas where blacks might live, trade and work. Furthermore, all blacks throughout the country, in terms of the cynically named Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act of 1952, were required by law to carry documents or passes validating their presence in white urban areas. This was to be extended in time to women. No black was permitted to be in an urban area for longer than 72 hours unless she or he had permission stamped in her or his passbook to be available day or night for police inspection. Neglecting to carry a pass was defined as a criminal offence. One of the points which Nelson Mandela developed at his trial focused on apartheid ownership and control of space and movement:

We want to be part of the general population and not confined to living in our ghettos. African men want to have their wives and children to live with them where they work, and not to be forced into an unnatural existence in men's hostels. Our women want to be left with their men folk, and not to be left permanently widowed in the Reserves. We want to be allowed out after 11 o'clock at night and not to be confined to our rooms like little children. We want to be allowed to travel in our own country, and seek work where we want to, and not where the Labour Bureau tells us to. We want a just share in the whole of South Africa; we want security and a stake in society.¹³

II Butler's Representation of Labour

There are, it is true, several moments when *The Dam* addresses the existence of numerous non-English peoples, seen as part of a worrying other, who also inhabit this space and who, in the words of his character Dr Robert prompt 'demands upon our sympathy'. Robert, disturbingly a spokesman elsewhere in the play, for 'common sense' speaks here not only of 'the Afrikaners who find us alien and proud; / The immigrants who find us hard and bright; / The Jewish refugees who dream at night / Of Julius Streicher or of Zionism' but also of

The Coloureds with the bloods of half the world
Fermenting in their veins; the Indians
Intelligent and small, chewing betel nut;

And all the motley tribe of ragged blacks
 Playing a blind-man's buff between the mine-dump
 And the mud-hut the war chant and the blues -(p.35)

The stereotyping evident in this passage is paralleled early in the play when Douglas Long, gazing at the land, sees his black labourers:

O God of stars and stones and us between them
 Touch these semi-savage things that sweat for me,
 Half-warriors without a chief, still held
 To the tribal womb by a tattered chord...
 These migrant muscles in rags...
 Touch them, dear God, touch me, and let us know
 Your common touch. O let us hear one heart
 Beat over the breadth of Africa, one heart...
 O God let them not hate me,
 Let not my dam
 Be left as a futile relic here, to join
 The bare Zimbabwe ruins as more dead evidence
 Of another race that Africa defeated. -
 A noisy white experiment which failed. (p.26)

The emphasis on a 'half-savage' condition together with admission of the contentious issues of land and migrant labour only in the alliterative side-glance of the balanced phrase 'migrant muscles' reflects what Alvarez Peyreyre has noted as Butler's constant predilection elsewhere, at least during this period, for the term "tribesman"...to designate the African commenting that Butler 'persists in talking of 'primitivism' to describe the [black] mode of life and civilisation'.¹³ Such sentiments, notes Alvarez-Peyreyre, fitted in well with the governing class's attempt to portray the blacks as a dependant and permanently subordinate race. E.G.Jansen, who became a minister of Native affairs observed in the mid forties that while 'the Boer regarded the Native as someone for whom he was responsible and from whom he would receive the labour expected from him' the blacks 'regarded the Boer not only as his Master, but also as a friend and helper to whom he could turn for help and advice in times of difficulty'.¹⁴ This was a view essentially shared by the white United Party, which lost power after 1948 and was, throughout the fifties, the official Opposition in the Houses of Parliament. The endeavour in both of Butler's plays to argue for reconciliation between English and Afrikaans may be said to complement or parallel United Party attempts to regain lost influence, if not power.

Yet historians have shown that labour realities were more complex than those suggested by the construction of blacks in Douglas Long's language. Indeed, within the urban landscape, blacks had provided nearly two thirds of the increase in the labour force during the course of the second world war.¹⁷ Industry depended on them for goods strategically important or vital to the economy including foodstuffs, footwear, clothing, cement, coal, iron, gold, chemicals, explosives and munitions. The number of blacks employed in manufacturing rose continually so that 'at the end of 1948 they accounted for 80,8 per cent of unskilled employees, 34,2 per cent of the semi-skilled and 5,8 of the skilled in occupations regulated by wage determinations'. Wages remained consistently lower than estimated basic needs throughout the period and in the decade preceding the appearance of Butler's play, strikes were on the increase (pp.554-5). One of the most significant of these was the miners strike in August 1946 which in turn provoked a bill in 1947 seeking to make trade unionism illegal, and to outlaw all strikes. 76000 miners came out on strike, while the response of the Chamber of Mines, according to Simons and Simons, can be seen to draw on the very resonance of savagism and paternalism which Butler's language in Long's prayer evokes:

Encouraged by the willingness of white workers to scab, the Chamber refused to negotiate with the African miners' union. Migratory, tribal, peasant miners, the gold producers' committee argued... were 'not yet sufficiently advanced for trade unionism'. They did not want a trade union, 'had fallen an easy prey to control by alien interests', and showed 'a serious element of irresponsibility demanding 10s. a day.

In reality, the mine owners crushed every attempt by the men to think for themselves, follow leaders of their own choosing, and act collectively for the achievement of aims freely adopted. The Chamber, said the committee, pursued the national policy of European trusteeship and the preservation of tribal society. 'Conflict between the allegiance demanded by a trade union and those owed to the tribe would tend to disrupt tribal life, a result diametrically opposed to the basic principle of national policy'. This was an astounding and impudent distortion of the actual policy, adopted by a gigantic organisation that over the years had sucked millions of men, at the height of their manhood, into the degrading life of compounds. (pp.573-4)

Within the rural landscape, in the reserves peasant resistance to government attempts to implement rehabilitation measures and encourage cattle-culling had also increased in the decade before Butler's play. As one spokesman observed:

Today our people are disease-ridden because of malnutrition; they haven't the oxen to plough; the majority of babies do not survive the first year because the mothers are too starved to be able to feed them... [African] have far too few cattle for their requirements. It is not that the cattle are too many, but that the land is too small. There is an appalling shortage of land.¹⁸

The fight against government policy intensified - annual reports of the Native (later Bantu) Affairs Department between 1948 and 1952 speak each year of "considerable organised opposition", "semi-secret organisation", "alarming reverses...serious retardation" of policy due to "malicious agitators" - which was to continue until a blanket of silence was draped over the topic by the new Minister, Verwoerd.¹⁹

III Enter the Townships

The Dam's recognition of Long's labourers was however itself significant. This contested the practice in much farm literature of marginalising black agricultural labour - in reality crucial to the farm system in producing the wealth of farming families. And when not totally ignored, in such literature, the existence of the oppressed class was usually admitted, as I have noted briefly, in the form of submissive, loyal but peripheral serf figure. But elsewhere *The Dam* expresses concern over the development of 'difference too deep for us to shift' while 'within our walls of privilege we whites/live in a state of siege' (p.36), and as the play draws to its close, it addresses urban space in a way that recognises that there may be looming problems in the land within which these farming families have found their sense of mutual understanding and religion. Susan Long describes the townships she encountered on a visit to Johannesburg:

the violence; and smells,
Degradation, the lurid colours, the dark
Of a primitive human storm. - How sweet
The air is here, how spacious, how secure
In the cities at this hour, and every day
Trains and trams pour out their thousands

Into space one tenth the size of this farm;
 A horde of hovels hedged between a white
 And well-lit suburb on two sides
 And mine-dumps, depots, coal-yards on the other.

People
 Press down unlit, treeless streets, to meet
 In houses struggling vainly to be homes,
 Where twenty sleep in a room the size of our kitchen,
 And love is violent, and laughter hard, and hatred
 Rises like steam. (p.65)

It is likely that this passage is based upon Butler's own experience of Sophiatown, during his brief period as a lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand, through his friendship with Father Trevor Huddleston, to whom he dedicates the published version of *The Dam*. But despite the thrust towards sympathy, in the daughter's phrase 'the dark of a primitive human storm' or, a little later, in the way she describes the labourers celebrating the building of the dam with their 'grotesque heads thrown back, their mouths/Wide and moaning at the indifferent stars' (p.67) it is difficult not to detect, strands of the more paternalist aspects of assimilationist discourse. Moreover, the effort to poeticise, to find the apt image, - hatred that 'rises like steam' - itself contributes to a certain beatification of the suffering it presents. It is true she refers to the workers in a brief phrase, as the dispossessed inhabitants of a 'seasonless land' but, watching the labourers celebrating the completion of the dam, she also reflects:

The Coloureds see it
 As a white man's undertaking, big and bold
 As usual, but with a curse upon it,
 Linked with the grave of Batsi the Chief.
 And the blacks see it as a source of work,
 Of sweating and swinging, and singing to falling picks.
 And the promise of meat and mealie-meal;
 And the lands below it are waiting its water.
 Wild duck will find it, returning each season
 And the south-west breeze like silver paper
 Between smooth shadows of these hills. (p.64)

These lines suggest as they unfold, the coloniser's and the proprietor's gaze which encompasses not only the landscape but the inhabitants on it, assumes that the (untranslated) voices of the oppressed denote harmonious and joyful subjection, provides a version of the labourer's needs that positions them at a very elementary level of aspiration, swinging their falling picks rhythmically, dreaming of earnings in kind. The easy movement to the final image suggests that, seen as the ducks and the waters of the dam are seen, they are part of an integrated, poetic, if slightly lugubrious, pastoral, property of the gazer.

What appears in the play to herald a broadening consciousness in the text, is in other ways too, held in check and contained. Against apparent expression of guilt and concern in this South African English farming family, may be set the level of awareness about urban blacks that the language here, and the play as a whole suggests, when set against, again, what we may learn from the discourse of historians. Living conditions, on which Susan concentrates exclusively, were indubitably almost uniformly bad, in most of the black townships throughout South Africa. But there were also, to mention only one of many other important facts, in the period when the play was written episodes of resistance to the system that was producing those conditions in many parts of the country. Moreover, the black urban areas of particularly the eastern Cape, where Butler lived and worked, as well as the East Reef area were in the late forties and early fifties notable sites of struggle.

Port Elizabeth, the home of South Africa's motor industry - through which people must usually pass from the relatively nearby Grahamstown to visit, for instance, Johannesburg - began to develop a black work force in the late 1930s and 1940s and, by 1951, over 60000 blacks lived there.²⁰ Conditions were bad - for instance, Korsten, by the 1930s a huge 'rack rented, shanty village' had grown rapidly, until, by 1948:

many of its inhabitants had to rent miserable rooms constructed from packing cases in which motor-car parts had arrived. Such dwellings were being built at the rate of 60 a month, with one 9' by 7' room housing as many as thirteen people. The problem worsened as farmers to evict squatters and workers dependants from their land... In 1946 a local survey showed that Port Elizabeth - of six major urban centres - had the poorest African population; and by 1949 it was reckoned that Port Elizabeth shared with East London the worst tuberculosis rate in the world. (pp.49-50)

Trade union consciousness and popular political participation was strong in Korsten, New Brighton, and elsewhere - evidenced in a number of strikes and in the bus boycott of 1949 which lasted for nearly four months in response to an increase in the bus fare (p.52). In 1952 when a number of groups including the African National Congress announced the Defiance Campaign - which entailed various acts of civil disobedience - as a result of the Government's refusal to respond to its demands that crucially oppressive laws be abolished, the reaction in Port Elizabeth was particularly strong. Moreover, by the beginning of August, in the eastern Cape the Campaign had spread from Port Elizabeth to Grahamstown and elsewhere.

It is in such contexts, that Susan Long's need to travel up to Johannesburg to bring back news about black urban conditions to the Long family - of which any farmer or inhabitant of the towns in the eastern Cape might have received at first hand from her or his own area - should be seen. Moreover, the kind of Christianity to which Douglas Long in his prayer about his migrant workers, and the enduring survival of his 'white experiment' is given, was not the only version of Christianity possible in the eastern Cape of the time as Tom Lodge's account of the struggle in the Grahamstown-Port Elizabeth area makes clear:

A mood of religious fervour infused the resistance, especially in the eastern Cape. When the campaign opened it was accompanied by 'days of prayer', and volunteers pledged themselves at prayer meetings to a code of love, discipline and cleanliness. Many of the members of church-based township women's welfare groupstrbt. wore their uniforms and accompanied Congress speeches with solemn hymn singing, and even at the tense climax of the campaign in Port Elizabeth - where there were strong syndicalist undercurrents - people were enjoined on the first day of the strike to 'conduct a prayer and a fast in which each member of the family will have to be at home'; and thereafter they attended nightly church services'. (pp.43-4)

And it is in this context too that the poeticised and spiritualised response Susan has to the townships - one which freezes the image of the urban African ignoring episodes of increasing resistance to suggest, by contrast, an icon of passivity - may also be understood. The language Butler gives her it may be argued seeks no discourse of resistance, but chooses rather to sanctify, an ideal that while it ministers to suffering remains unconcerned with attempts significantly to diminish or eradicate it. Susan ends her description of this space by noting that

also - at this moment -
The Angelus bell is ringing. All on the Mission
Pause; hands, fresh from tending the sick and the hungry

Rest on the heart of the Incarnation; and here
 And there, halting in a purple mist of smoke,
 A dark heart beats in unison with the bell
 Of God's own heart still beats and pleads. (pp.65-6)

- and this awareness finds its resolution in her personal decision to tend to that suffering by joining a mission.

In *The Dove Returns*, written after the Nationalist Government had won a second more convincing election victory in 1953, and after its thrust against English economic dominance was intensifying, Butler's concern with the oppressed classes, only, at best, secondary to his major themes in *The Dam*, diminishes, becoming in the process even more equivocal. Urban space disappears while the black presence on the rural landscape is explored only through the sporadic presence of a minor Griqua servant, conforming to the faithful serf figure commonplace in much farm literature, speaking language that fixes him in position finally as the defeated inhabitant of a reserve trying to avoid with difficulty prevailing racist discourse.

Butler held from the fifties and still holds an influential and highly respected position in South African education. In 1959, discussing the lack of any ballads in the South African literary tradition, he could observe lightly with little apparent concern that 'one possible explanation for this silence (as for so much else) is the presence of cheap indigenous labour: it meant that the lonely ruminative jobs of herding sheep and cattle were done by others',¹ he could note in some of the poetry he read 'it is fairly easy for a European poet to write sympathetically about a Zulu mother or a coloured child dancing beside a bus queue, but he becomes less sure of himself when faced with groups, with primitive rituals or barbaric customs' (xxxii) and in other poems addressing blacks he identified without further comment a 'civilised bewilderment in the presence of barbarism' (p. xxxii).

Such views in his critical writing as well as in his plays makes it perhaps not surprising that unlike Herbert Dhlomo's difficulties with the performance and publication of his work, Butler had no problem with the two plays which he wrote in the fifties. It seems likely that Douglas Long's prayer together with its general emphasis - as later in *The Dove Returns* - upon the need for co-operation between English and Afrikaans farm owners expressed also in language indicating acceptance of much prevailing paternalist and segregationist discourse, were in Butler's favour, in the matter of prize giving, as well as in the choice of his play for performance by the first state subsidised theatre.

NOTES

- ¹ The programme is lodged with the Human Sciences Research Council Library.
- ² Coplan, *In Township Tonight*, p.204.
- ³ Couzens, *The New African*, pp.187-8.
- ⁴ Stead, Rina, 'The National Theatre Organisation 1947- 1962' in

- Hauptfleisch, Temple, ed, *The Breytie Book*, Randburg: The Limelight Press, 1985, p.66.
- ⁵ Stead, 'The National Theatre Organisation', p.67.
 - ⁶ Alvarez-Pereyre, Jacques, *The Poetry of Commitment in South Africa*, tr. Wake, Clive, London: Heinemann, 1984, p.15.
 - ⁷ Butler, Guy, *A Book of South African Verse*, London: Oxford University Press, 1959.
 - ⁸ Butler, Guy, *The Dam*, Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1953; Butler, Guy, *The Dove Returns*, London: The Fortune Press, 1956.
 - ⁹ Coetzee, J.M., *White Writing*, Sandton: Radix, 1988, p.85.
 - ¹⁰ Coetzee, *White Writing*, pp.6-7)
 - ¹¹ Davies, Horton, *Great South African Christians*, London: Oxford University Press, 1951, pp.iv-vi.
 - ¹² Coetzee, *White Writing*, p.87.
 - ¹³ Roux, *Time Longer Than Rope*, p.372.
 - ¹⁴ cited in Meer, Fatima, *Higher Than Hope*, Johannesburg: Skotaville, 1988, p.194.
 - ¹⁵ Alvarez-Pereyre, *The Poetry of Commitment*, p.16.
 - ¹⁶ cited in. O'Meara, Dan, *Volkskapitalisme*, Johannesburg: Ravan, 1983, p.173.
 - ¹⁷ H.J and R.E.Simons, *Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969, p.554.
 - ¹⁸ cited in Bundy, Colin, 'Land and liberation: popular rural protest and the national liberation movements in South Africa, 1920-1960', in Marks and Trapido, *Politics of Race*, p.269.
 - ¹⁹ Bundy, 'Land and liberation', p.274.
 - ²⁰ Lodge, Tom, *Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945*, Johannesburg: Ravan, 1983, pp. 48-9.
 - ²¹ Butler, *A Book of South African Verse*, p.xix.