Paradigm-shifting events and anniversaries: Postage stamps as national identity markers

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Abstract

For most countries or nations, there are certain years that evoke collective memories of epoch-making events, to be commemorated whenever anniversaries occur. Postage stamps issued on such occasions provide a reflection of the selfimage of the country or nation in question. Most unusually, South Africa in 1988 experienced three major anniversaries which were celebrated with the issuing of commemorative postage stamps, viz. Bartolomeu Dias' voyage around the Cape of Good Hope in 1488, the arrival of the Huguenot settlers in the Cape Colony in 1688, and the Great Trek in 1838. The narrative of the European colonization of the sub-continent is the common denominator of these anniversaries. Incidentally, the year 1988 also saw the 40-year anniversary of the unbroken rule by the National Party and its apartheid regime - an anniversary that did not call for any such celebration, and which by then was soon to be brought to an end. The change of the political system in 1994 brought a paradiam shift which also affected the national self-perception. Would this cause a deconstruction of the "white" paradiam and its narratives, to be replaced by an "African" perspective? Such a development might not have been entirely unexpected, as the "Rainbow Nation" of today conveys an image of self-perception which differs distinctly from that which was the case under the apartheid regime. Nevertheless, some elements of continuity seem to prevail. A political or social system may be relegated to history's "horror file", but that may not necessarily wipe out the memories of past events that shaped – for better or for worse – the preconditions that caused today's reality, nor does it necessarily preclude the acknowledgement thereof.

Keywords: Paradigm-shifting events and anniversaries, national identity markers, South Africa, postage stamps

INTRODUCTION: HISTORICAL ANNIVERSARIES AND POSTAGE STAMPS

Together with festivals of all conceivable characters and contents, jubilée celebrations, observance of historical anniversaries and the wide range of manifestations of commemoration have evolved into one of the most notable growth industries of the modern world (Brottveit and Aagedal 2005: 80, 94-95, MacAloon 1984). This phenomenon, which apparently is affluence-related as well as linked to general trends of globalization, has so far mainly attracted the attention of sociologists and anthropologists (Johnston 1991, Handelman 1990). In a broader inter-disciplinary context, it should however also provide a fruitful field of study for political scientists – and historians as well.

Obviously, anniversary celebrations have always served as markers of identity – on the level of individuals as well as on the broader societal level. But rather than being a temporary fad, this phenomenon seems to have attained the status of a long-term trend, with an increasing character of permanency. In any case, we are here looking at reflections of a broader pattern, which includes our propensity as human beings for observing and displaying – collectively and in festive or solemn gatherings – our remembrance of historical events as well as "meta-events" of a more or less dubious hue.

Bold pretexts for throwing a party can be cooked up: Ample evidence (including ludicrous and preposterous claims) may testify to the experience and our understanding of history-building as a creative process. But in a number of cases, we are beholding genuine articles of anniversaries which commemorate events that changed the course of history or put its indelible imprint on the society and its subsequent development.

For most countries or nations, there are certain years which are associated with significant or epoch-making events in the history of that country or nation. Occasionally, such historical markers may be linked to national tragedies or catastrophies, more often to events which can be viewed and projected in a positive light, but the common denominator would in any case be the extent to which the event may be ascribed a sufficiently spectacularly seminal and page-turning significance. For example, even today – and although almost a millennium has passed since the Norman Conquest – most Englishmen would immediately recognize that there is something particularly important about the year 1066. Likewise, many would still be able to acknowledge 1215 as the year of the Magna Charta. And for the Americans, 1776 is automatically associated with their Declaration of Independence. These are events that decisively changed the course of history. But also other, lesser historical milestones may stand out as endowed with such importance in

a given nation's collective consciousness that they become the object of various remembrance ceremonies, festivals or jubilée celebrations whenever a sufficiently "round" anniversary (such as a centennial) turns up. Appropriate acknowledgement of such anniversaries frequently includes the issuing of *commemorative postage stamps*. (The fact that many countries with increasing frequency also tend to issue commemorative stamps on the occasion of ever more trivial and non-significant "events", is a matter outside the scope of this article). Such stamp issues constitute a useful source of knowledge and insight concerning the events commemorated in this way – or the persons thus honoured. It may, furthermore, also provide a source of deeper understanding of the rôle of such events in the historical consciousness, self-image and perceived identity of the country or nation in question.

THE POSTAGE STAMP'S FUNCTION AS A SOCIETAL MESSENGER

In the basic sense, a postage stamp is merely a receipt for pre-payment of a postal consignment. In addition, these small bits of paper have assumed or been assigned a host of secondary functions, which cause stamps to be issued for completely different reasons than the original postal ones (Skagestad 2011a). They represent, among other things, the jurisdictional authority of the issuing state. As such, they are, in effect, a state's most prominent "visiting card". States use the issuing of new stamps as an opportunity to present their country in such a way that they would like to get across (domestically, but above all to the international audience). Thus, what we see is an expression of what is termed "public diplomacy", which includes building a favourable reputation/opinion or project a favourable image of one's country in the minds of the outside world (Leonard and Small 2003: 8). This is an exercise which most countries indulge in, and the postage stamp is an object which is uniquely well equipped for performing this particular function (Skagestad 2011b: 6-8).

Exploring this topic further, one would notice that the postage stamp may perform a number of different, but mutually interrelated, functions: As a state symbol, as a national symbol, as a tool in the endeavour of nation-building, as an instrument in support of "worthy causes", as a vehicle for expressing, preaching or disseminating the common or shared values of the society, as a medium for political propaganda or as an ideological programme – advanced by the state on its own behalf or on behalf of the nation with which it is identified or which it identifies itself with. The extent to which this is explicitly recognized by the South African authorities may be illustrated by the following quotes from official sources:

"Stamps are an acknowledged medium for the national propaganda of a country and should, wherever possible, present its broad spectrum of cultures, concerns and achievements in a positive light" (Setempe 1996: 9);

"Stamps are tiny ambassadors of our country as they reflect the beauty of our flora and fauna, the vibrancy of our culture, the triumphs of our people, the riches of our land and significant national and international events" (Philatelic Services 2010: 33); and

"Stamps are, of course, a very subtle way of promoting a particular image or message. (...) There are many themes that could be used for promotions in this manner, including (...) stamps with political themes" (Van Wyk 2011: 5).

Every single postage stamp conveys a story, which again forms a part of a greater narrative. Collectively, the postage stamp issues of a given country convey a reflection of the values, the past events and occurrences, and the over-reaching identity markers which taken together constitute its national paradigm.

Thus, the kind of events which a given country chooses to commemorate with dedicated postage stamp issues will also represent a significant statement on that country's perceived identity, i.e. its self-perception and self-image.

SOUTH AFRICA – A UNIQUE CASE IN POINT

With higher or lesser degree of predictability, such major anniversaries — which are highlighted with issues of commemorative stamps - may occur more or less frequently. However, when it comes to the really great, history-changing events in a nation's history, it is rather unusual to see a string of such anniversaries happening in one particular country within the span of one and the same calendar year.

But there are exceptions. A unique case in point would be South Africa and the year of 1988. Three historical events – each one of decisive importance and epochmaking magnitude – stood out as especially memorable (*SA Philatelist* 1998a: 8-11):

- 1488: The Portuguese seafarer Bartolomeu Dias completed the first circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope and made the first landing on South African soil (at Algoa Bay).
- **1688:** The arrival in the Cape Colony of the French Huguenot settlers.
- **1838:** "The Great Trek": The epic migration of the Boers (the Afrikaner "Voortrekkers") into the sub-continent's wild and unknown interior.

The following is a short account of how these anniversaries were observed by the South African Post Office's stamp issuing programme.

The 500th Anniversary of the Discovery of the Cape by Bartolomeu Dias

The Portuguese seafarer **Bartolomeu Dias** was one of the truly Great Explorers in the Age of Great Discoveries. His adventurous 1488 voyage around the Cape of Good Hope (which Dias himself originally named "the Cape of Storms") was to become one of the epoch-making expeditions of the entire world history, - an accomplishment of the same level as those of Columbus and Magelhães. Dias's spectacular, trail-breaking expedition was the precursor of Vasco da Gama's subsequent (1498) discovery of the sea route to India. It opened up for new trade routes between Europe and the East, and was a necessary precondition for the eventual European colonization of Southern Africa. In South Africa, the celebrations of the 500th anniversary of Dias's achievement took form of a "National Festival" which also – naturally – included the issuing of commemorative postage stamps.

Thus, on 3 February 1988 the S.A. Post Office issued a series of four stamps, with face values of 16, 30, 40 and 50 cents respectively (see attached illustrations). In the authoritative South African ("semi-official") postage stamp catalogue, these stamps are listed with catalogue numbers 643, 644, 645 and 646 (SACC 2010: 100). The 16 cent (standard letter postage) stamp shows a portrait of the Explorer himself (SA Philatelist 1998b: 57) – keenly forward-looking against a background picture including an astrolabe (a navigational instrument) and an image of the Cape itself (more specifically, the "Cape Point"). The 30 cent stamp shows the "Kwaaihoek Memorial" – a monument placed on the very spot near Mossel Bay where Dias made his first landing and where he erected a stone cross. The Memorial, which was inaugurated in 1941, is a replica of the original stone cross, the remnants of which are now to be found in the Witwatersrand University Library in Johannesburg. The two ships of the Dias expedition – the caravels São Cristóvão and São Pantaleão in full sail – are depicted on the 40 cent stamp. The 50 cent stamp is a representation of of the so-called "Martellis Map" – a world map drawn by the German/Florentine cartographer Henricus Martellus Germanus, showing inter alia the southern coastlines of Africa. The map was published in 1489 – merely one year after Dias had completed his expedition!

In addition to the four stamps, a miniature sheet which included the 50 cent stamp was issued for the benefit of the Philatelic Foundation (a South African charity). The sheet, which also commemorates the 150th anniversary of the city of Pietermaritzburg, has been allocated catalogue number 646a (SACC 2010: 166).

And as if this was not enough, the 16 cent stamp was re-issued on 3 March in the same year with a 10 cent surcharge to assist flood victims in the Natal province. The stamps were overprinted with a text alternating in English and Afrikaans – viz. "NATAL FLOOD DISASTER" and "VLOEDRAMP NATAL" (making for continuos *sê-tenant* pairs). The individual stamps were given catalogue numbers 647 and 648 (SACC 2010: 100).

The Tercentenary of the Arrival of the Huguenots at the Cape

The French Huguenots (the term commonly used to denote the French, mainly Calvinist, Protestants of the Reformation epoch) were persecuted in their homeland on account of their religious faith. Since 1598 they had enjoyed certain albeit severely restricted right in terms of a special decree – the so-called Edict of Nantes - which made it possible for them to live in specified districts in France. In 1685, however, the king Louis XIV made the fateful decision to revoke the Edict of Nantes and declare a total ban on Protestantism. This made the situation untenable for the Huguenots, who were forced to emigrate. With their reputation as thrifty and industrious people, they were welcomed in a number of European countries as well as in overseas colonial settlements - especially in communities where Calvinism was entrenched as the predominant faith. Thus it came about that a group of some two hundred Huguenots in 1688 arrived in the Cape Colony, in order to build a new future as farmers and colonizers on the African continent. This event was to usher in an era of extensive European colonization on the southern tip of Africa. In the course of a few generations, the Huguenots were assimilated into the colony's mostly Dutch-speaking European population, and their numerous descendants became an important constituent element in the gradually evolving "Boerevolk" or "Afrikaner" people (Bakker 1998: 63-66).

The Cape Colony, which at the outset only included the city of Cape Town and its immediate vicinity, had been established in 1652 by the Dutch East Indian Company. The local vernacular would, however, eventually develop into a distinct indigenous variety of Dutch, which in the early 20th century became known as "Afrikaans". In addition to being recognized by the "Boerevolk" as their own national language ("Die Taal"), Afrikaans is also the mother tongue of millions of people from other population groups – whites as well as non-whites – in Southern Africa.

But the arrival of the Huguenot settlers was an event of great significance not only for this particular, narrow segment of the diverse population of Southern Africa. It was an event which would shape the development of the country as a whole up to the present time. Already half a century earlier, the then 250-year anniversary was seen

to be an occasion well worthy of being observed by the issuing of commemorative postage stamps.² Such was also to be the case at the 300-year anniversary in 1988.

The Huguenot stamps were issued on 3 April 1988 as a series of four stamps (illustrations attached herewith), with face values of 16, 30, 40 and 50 cents - catalogue numbers 650, 651, 652 and 653, respectively (SACC 2010: 100). The blue 16 cent stamp shows the Huguenot Monument which was erected in 1949 in Franschhoek (meaning "the French Corner" in Afrikaans), some 80 km to the northeast of Cape Town. This is the valley where the first Huguenot settlers in 1688 were given farmland – now an idyllic rural community in the heartland of the country's prime wine district. The 30 cent stamp shows a map of France, where the regions where the settlers came from are highlighted in red colour. The 40 cent stamp is a representation of the front page of the so-called French/Dutch Bible from 1672, a book which above all embodied the core values of Huguenot culture and spiritual life. The theme of the 50 cent stamp is the St.Bartholomew's Day Massacre on the night of 24 August 1572. This atrocity, which is also known as "The Paris Blood Wedding", started the country-wide wave of mass murders of Huguenots in France.

As in the case of the Dias anniversary stamps, a part of the Huguenot issue was also overprinted with a 10 cent surcharge for the benefit of flood victims – this time not only in the Natal province, but a subsequent country-wide flood disaster. Thus, each of the four stamps were issued as whole sheets with each stamp overprinted with a text alternating between English and Afrikaans – viz. "National Flood Disaster" and "Nasionale Vloedramp" (making for continuous *sê-tenant* pairs). Thus each of the four stamps got two additional catalogue numbers: The 16 cent stamp nos. 654 and 655, the 30 cent stamps nos. 656 and 657, the 40 cent stamp nos. 658 and 659 and the 50 cent stamp nos. 660 and 661 (SACC 2010: 100-101).

The 150th Anniversary of the Great Trek

The **Great Trek** is the commonly used term for the migration waves in the 1830's, when groups of Boers (later to be known as "Voortrekkers") left the British-ruled Cape Colony and ventured out into the uncharted wilderness and the unknown hinterland. Thus, between 1834 and 1840, some 15 thousand farmers – with their families, servants and livestock – left their homes in the eastern frontier regions of the Colony, and went searching for new grounds to settle, outside of British jurisdiction. The epic tales of their painstakingly arduous and dangerous travels and heroic accomplishments in the face of enduring hardships including encounters with hostile indigenous tribes, were to secure a special place in the national mythology of "die Boerevolk". Above all, the narrative of the Battle of the Blood River on 16 December 1838, when 400 Voortrekkers held their own against an overwhelming

force of 12 thousand Zulu warriors, was subsequently to be remembered as a miraculous proof of a sacred covenant between God and His "chosen" Boer people, and as a heroic high point in their history (Michener 1980). It became a remembrance which would also serve as a building-block in the development of a national identity, to be cultivated and worshiped with great intensity as a defining element of their cultural heritage with its peculiar religious dimension. This was an element which would turn out to have divisive effects vis-à-vis other population groups – something which would leave deep and damaging marks in the South African society (politically, socially, economically and culturally) up to the present time. Nevertheless, in retrospect the Great Trek would appear as a history-changing and destiny-shaping event of such a magnitude that the 150th anniversary would justify the issuing of commemorative postage stamps – just as the case had been with the centenary commemoration fifty years previously.³

In the present context, it would however be worth noting that the celebrations that took place in 1988 were considerably more modest, muted and less spectacular than was the case with regard to the Great Trek centenary in 1938 (Johnson 2004: 124), something which could easily be seen as indicative of broader trends in the evolution of the national self-perception.

Nevertheless, the 150th anniversary of the Great Trek was duly observed by the issuing on 21 November 1988 of a series of four stamps with face values of viz. 16, 30, 40 and 50 cents (SACC 2010: 100-101), see attached illustrations. The first stamp in the series (no.687) shows a map with the main Great Trek routes which the Voortrekkers traversed, - journeys which would subsequently lead to the establishment of the Boer republics of Orange Free State and Transvaal. The theme of the 30 cent stamp (no.688) is the preparations for the departure of the Voortrekkers from the their old homes in the Cape Colony. The scene - appropriately called "Exodus" - is part of a series of pictorial tapestries which adorn the interior walls of the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria. This also is the case with regard to the 40 cent stamp (no.689): Many of the trekkers had to cross the wild Drakensberg mountain range, where the ox-wagons had to be pulled over steep abysses and across roadless mountain passes. This strenuous and dangerous endeavour is depicted on the 40 cent stamp. The 50 cent stamp (no.690) shows the artist Jacob Hendrik Pierneef's painting of "The Church of the Vow" – a church erected in Pietermaritzburg in 1841 to commemorate "the Vow", i.e. the covenant allegedly concluded in 1838 between God and His chosen people. This church building has later been accorded the status of a National Monument, and is now a Voortrekker museum.

THE WINDS OF CHANGE4

To sum up: In one single country within the span of one and the same calendar year, one could witness the issuing of three postage stamp series to commemorate three separate events which had taken place viz. 500, 300 and 150 years earlier, each one of which had caused a decisive turn in the wheels of history. And each one of the individual stamps could be seen to convey a message telling a part of the Great Story. Taken together, these three events – and how they in 1988 were commemorated with postage stamp issues – represent an invaluable key to the understanding of the complex and diverse history of South Africa and its complex society and communities.

This – strictly speaking – concludes the story of major, seminal historical markers in the South African stamp year of 1988. But History does not stop at one's command, nor does it necessarily recognize arbitrarily designed numerical frameworks of comprehension and interpretation. Furthermore, in retrospect, what did *not* happen may sometimes seem almost as significant as the occurrances which in fact *did* take place.

As a case in point: The present narrative would be incomplete without the mentioning of yet one more anniversary occurring in 1988 – significantly enough an event which was not to be observed or honoured with a postage stamp issue, but nevertheless one which would leave its destructive and still-lasting imprint on South Africa's modern history: In 1988 the ruling National Party could celebrate their 40 years of unbroken rule of the country. The party came to power after the 1948 election, having campaigned under the slogan "Apartheid" (Afrikaans for "separateness") - a programme and an ideology which was to entail a policy of systematic race discrimination and brutal oppression of the non-white population groups (Welsh 2010, Giliomee 2012: 22-23, 33-39). In the course of these forty years, the Afrikaner-nationalist authorities - apparently with no great qualms managed to issue a hefty amount of postage stamps honouring or commemorating a number of their own causes and heroes. But this particular 40-year anniversary was possibly felt to be a bit too sensitive to be celebrated in such a self-congratulatory way. Or, perhaps, the National Party had other, more pressing concerns to be faced and addressed? Actually, in 1988 the regime was rapidly approaching the brink of doom. The values and beliefs that lay at the basis of the apartheid programme had largely come to be seen as obsolete, false and untenable, and its political leadership had increasingly become ideologically demoralized. The government had the guns, but in the long run, raw power is not sufficient to sustain a political or social system. With the fall of the Berlin Wall in the heart of Europe in 1989 and the subsequent demise of the Cold War, "white" South Africa found itself at a crossroads where

the winds of change could no longer be ignored. Anyhow – by 1988 the National Party had already started dismantling core elements of its apartheid programme, and six years later its rule over South Africa was history. But this particular piece of history left behind a baggage which the country still carries with it, and which it will struggle with and suffer under for a long time to come.

CONCLUSION

But in 1988, South Africa was still a society where its white minority was in charge of the commanding heights and calling the shots – politically, economically, socially and culturally. It may seem reasonable to suggest that the events which have been described in the present discussion, are first and foremost the common heritage of the white minority – those of European descent. It is the European colonisation of the sub-continent which is the subject of these narratives and of the corresponding commemorations. In these narratives the country's non-white majorities are virtually invisible, apart from acknowledging that the appropriation of the land – during the Great Trek in particular – occasionally brought the brave settlers into contact with (largely hostile) native tribes. It might be fair to assume that the latter folks – and their descendants – could have acquired and inherited a different perspective on the same events.

The change of political system (and the resulting regime change) in 1994 brought a paradigm shift which also affected the prevailing national self-perception and self-image. Bearing this in mind, it would seem legitimate to ask whether the narratives of Dias's voyage, the arrival of the Huguenots and the migration of the Boers – the three history-changing events which in 1988 were commemorated with the issue of postage stamps – would have been the object of such high-profile celebrations if those anniversaries had happened under the present ANC regime (or any other government based on the country's African majority population). Or would one, perchance, rather have seen a deconstruction of the "white" paradigm and its narratives, to be replaced by a "African" or "black" perspective?

With all due caution which such a counterfactual premise necessitates, there is nevertheless ample reason to assume that things would not necessarily have turned out radically differently. The way the Centenary of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) was observed might serve as a pointer. The Anglo-Boer War was an event with a historic significance of a magnitude comparable to the ones whose anniversaries were observed in 1988. Like these, the Anglo-Boer War was an issue between the country's white tribes: The colonial power (the British) pitted against the descendants of the earlier colonizers (the Boers). In this struggle, the African majority were accorded the rôle of third parties or bystanders, who nevertheless had

to bear the brunt of whatever "collateral damage" the combatants managed to visit upon the land. So, one might ask, to the extent that the ANC government would care to observe such an anniversary, would it be conveyed under a distinctly "African" perspective? Significantly, this was not to be. The Centenary of the Anglo-Boer War was observed with the issuing of three series of postage stamps, with altogether six stamps, plus one miniature sheet, all of which were also re-issued collectively in one booklet.⁵ Taken together, the stamps represented a balanced and broadly composed account of the main events of the war, including persons who had played prominent rôles in connection with the war. Thus, through its stamp issuing programme, the South African postal authorities demonstrated that the Anglo-Boer War narrative is not the exclusive heritage of the population segment of European descent, but belongs to the nation as a whole.

It is received wisdom that the victors write the history, and it is a trivial fact that a country's and a nation's past may be interpreted, re-interpreted and re-written in the light of what may be considered politically correct or fashionable (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1984). This, however, does not mean that history's long lines – its power lines or arteries of decisive cause-and-effects relations – just disappear. A regime may be relegated to history's "Horror File" or its "Hall of Shame", a political or social system likewise. But that does not necessarily wipe out the memories of those watershed-like events that once upon a time took place and shaped – for better or for worse – the preconditions that caused today's reality, nor does it necessarily preclude the acknowledgement thereof.

NOTES

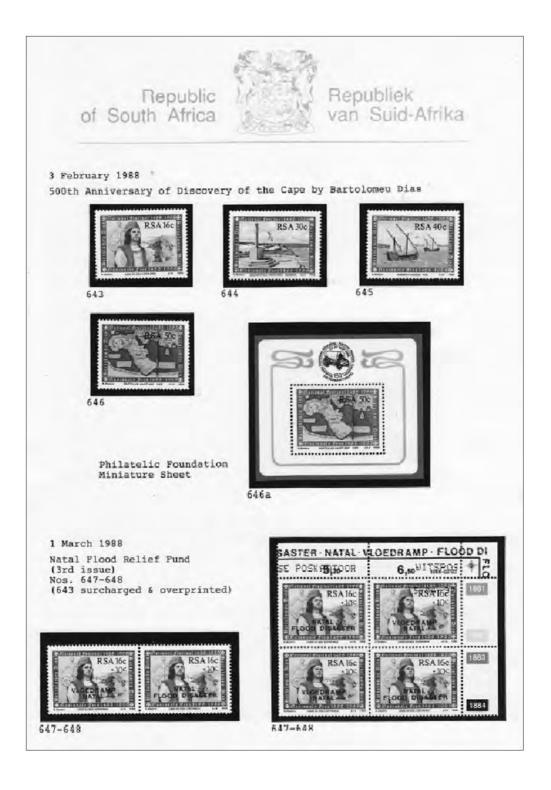
- A well-known example with disturbing political consequences would be Serbia, with its recurring, self-tormenting and obsessive worshipping of their collective memory of the defeat in the Battle of Kosovo Polye in 1389.
- 2 One series of three stamps (SACC catalogue nos. 81, 82 og 83, surcharged for the Huguenot Commemorative Fund) was issued in 1939.
- A series of four stamps surcharged to finance the Voortrekker Memorial Fund (catalogue nos. 51, 52, 53 and 54; cf. *SACC*, p.43) was issued already in 1933. Two separate series of postage stamp commemorating the Voortrekkers were issued in 1938 one series of four stamps (nos. 75, 76, 77 and 78, also surcharged to finance the Voortrekker Memorial Fund), and another series of two stamps (nos. 79 and 80); cf. *SACC*, p.46. It should also be noted that yet another series of three stamps relating to the Great Trek was issued in 1949 on the occasion of the inauguration of the Voortrekker memorial (nos. 130, 131 and 132; cf. *SACC*, p.102).
- 4 Expression with provenance esp. ascribed to the British Prime Minister Harold Macmillian's "Wind-of-Change" speech to the South African Parliament in Cape Town in 1960, where he warned against the consequences of the country's Apartheid policies.

The Boer War commemoratives comprised the following issues: Two stamps on 11 October 1999 (catalogue nos. 1247 and 1248, *SACC*, p.133); two stamps on 25 October 2000 (cat. nos. 1291 and 1292, *SACC*, p.134); two stamps on 23 August 2001 (cat. nos. 1432 and 1433, *SACC*, p.144); and one miniature sheet on 17 May 2002 (cat. no. 1490, *SACC*, p.146). All these issued were also re-issued as a booklet with catalogue no. 1491.

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Republic of South Africa



Republiek van Suid-Afrika

13 April 1988 300th Anniversary of Arrival first Prench Huguenots at the Cape









13 April 1988 National Flood Disaster (Nos 650-653 surcharged & overprinted)







654-655



656-657



660-661

