

**The History of Physical Education at Stellenbosch University,
1937-2019**

by

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Declaration

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Abstract

This thesis offers a nuanced dissection of the rise and development of physical education, later reimagined as sport science, as a department and as an academic discipline at Stellenbosch University from its inception in 1937 to 2019. Located within a complex institutional history, the thesis foregrounds the extent to which the university's ethos of conservatism and traditionalist values influenced departmental shifts over the course of eight decades. In tracing the discipline's intellectual legacies, the thesis examines the ways in which strata such as race, class, gender and geography shaped the trajectory of physical education, both within the context of the university and on a national scale. At its core, the thesis foregrounds the extent to which the university played a crucial role in the politics of nation-building across the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. By analysing the ways in which political and social drivers have influenced institutional decision making throughout the segregationist, apartheid and democratic eras, the thesis presents three key arguments. First, as an established leader in the national physical education standardisation movement of the early to mid-twentieth century, the thesis argues that Stellenbosch University played an integral part in the advancement of Afrikaner nation-building. The second argument traces the discipline's strategic quest for legitimacy and the *scientification* of physical education. Here too the thesis foregrounds the political undertows of 'race betterment' and how physical education was employed as a tool of 'citizen making'. Furthermore, the thesis demonstrates that in aiding the national physical education standardisation movement of the 1930s and 1940s, prominent physical educationists based at Stellenbosch University pushed the discipline towards science. The third central contention highlights the state of physical education within the context of the 'new South Africa'. In the era of democracy, the post-1994 regime did not consider physical education as a matter of national concern in the same way as before. Following South Africa's readmission into the international sports arena, sporting 'mega events' now serve as a means through which to forge the foundations of the new nation.

Key words: physical education, sport science, discipline, institution, university, field, sub-field, nation-building, nationalism, segregationist, apartheid, democratic, Stellenbosch University, science, *scientification*, standardisation.

Opsomming

Hierdie proefskrif bied 'n genuanseerde bespreking van die ontwikkeling en ontstaan van die Liggaamlike Opvoedingsdepartement, wat later herbenoem is na die Departement van Sport Wetenskap vanaf 1937 tot 2019. Aan die hand van 'n komplekse institusionele geskiedenis, word die soeklig veral gewerp op die mate waarop die universiteit se etos van konserwatisme en tradisionele waardes departementele verskuiwings deur die loop van bykans agt dekades beïnvloed het. In hierdie ondersoek na die dissipline en intellektuele nalatenskap van die departement, fokus hierdie tesis op die manier waarop die trajek van liggaamlike opvoeding onderlê word deur strata soos ras, klas, geslag en geografie binne die konteks van die universiteit en op 'n nasionale skaal. Die proefskrif toon in sy kern die maniere waarop die universiteit 'n deurslaggewende rol gespeel het in die politiek van nasiebou oor die twintigste en vroeë een-en-twintigste eeue. Deur 'n kritiese analise van die politieke en sosiale invloede institusionele besluitneming onder die segregasie-, apartheid- en demokratiese eras, identifiseer hierdie proefskrif drie gevolgtrekkings. Eerstens, as 'n gevestigde leier in die nasionale standaardisering beweging van die vroeë tot middel twintigste eeu, is bevind dat die Universiteit Stellenbosch 'n integrale rol gespeel het in die bevordering van Afrikaner nasiebou. Die tweede gevolgtrekking fokus op die dissipline se strategiese soeke en strewende na legitimiteit en die *verwetenskapliking* van liggaamlike opvoeding. In die verband is hierdie tesis ook beduidend op die politieke onderdrukking van 'rasverbetering' en hoe liggaamlike opvoeding aangewend is as 'n instrument van 'burger maak'. Verder demonstreer hierdie tesis dat prominente liggaamlike opvoedkundiges, wat verbonde was aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch, rigtinggewers was in die nasionale liggaamsopvoeding-standaardisering beweging van die 1930's en 1940's. Die derde sentrale gevolgtrekking belig die stand van liggaamlike opvoeding binne die konteks van die 'nuwe Suid-Afrika'. In die era van demokrasie, het die nuwe staat nie liggaamlike opvoeding as 'n saak van nasionale belang beskou nie. Na Suid-Afrika se hertoelating tot die internasionale sport, dien sport-'mega-byeenkomste' nou as 'n brugbouer en dryfveer in die stimulering van 'n nuwe nasietrots.

Sleutelwoorde: liggaamlike opvoeding, sport wetenskap, dissipline, universiteit, veld, subveld, nasiebou, nasionalisme, segregasie, apartheid, demokraties, Stellenbosch Universiteit, wetenskap, wetenskap, standaardisering.

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Dedication

To my mother, Elizabeth Beverly Ewertsen. Mammie, your love, undying support and prayers has kept me together all my life.

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Chapter One: Introduction, Literature Review and Methodology

This research was born out of controversy. In March 2019 a Stellenbosch University study from its Sport Science Department, examining the cognitive functioning of “coloured” women, sent shockwaves through the country.¹ Academics and the broader public alike expressed shock and disgust at both the existence of the study as well as its findings. The most senior author, tried to defend the article and argued that their project did not study intelligence, but rather ‘specific higher functions of the brain’.² A petition³ signed by more than 10,000 people, both academic and lay, denounced the research.⁴ The article was retracted and the university rallied – hosting conversations on a formal and informal level to try to find out what had gone wrong.⁵ When news of this study broke, I was in the final year of my Masters, conducting research on *volkekunde* photography in southern Africa.⁶ I was drawn in by the urge to understand why a study of this nature – one seeped in ideas of race essentialism, classism and sexism – could have been published almost twenty years into the new century and in a post-apartheid dispensation. This study, based in a community that is not in any way different to my own, compelled me to examine the history and science behind this type of research. Furthermore, in analysing this history, the thesis will engage intellectual discourses and discussions surrounding the socio-political implications of knowledge production as well as the process

¹ See M. Adhikari, *Burdened by Race: Coloured Identities in Southern Africa* (Cape Town, UCT Press, 2009), pp. 2-25.; M. Adhikari, *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough: Racial Identity in the South African Coloured Community* (Athens, Ohio University Press, 2005), pp. 98-133.; C. Hendricks, ‘Debating coloured identity in the Western Cape’, *African Security Studies*, 14, 4, (2005), p. 119.

² Z. Dano, ‘Stellenbosch study on coloured women ‘draws on colonial stereotypes’’, Cape Argus, 29 (April 2019), available at <https://www.iol.co.za/capeargus/news/stellenbosch-study-on-coloured-women-draws-on-colonial-stereotypes-22166233>, retrieved 9 May 2020.; L. Hendricks, S. Kramer and K. Ratele, ‘Research shouldn’t be a dirty thought, but race is a problematic constructs’, *South African Journal of Psychology*, 49, 3, (1981), pp. 308–311.; P. Phakgadi, ‘Psych society denounces study claiming coloured women have low cognitive functioning’, News24, 26 (April 2019), available at <https://www.news24.com/news24/psych-society-denounces-study-claiming-coloured-women-have-low-cognitive-functioning-20190426>, retrieved 9 May 2020.

³ B. Boswell, ‘Letter to the Editorial Board of *Aging, Neuropsychology and Cognition*’, *Awethu*, 23 (April 2019), available at <https://awethu.amandla.mobi/petitions/letter-to-the-editorial-board-of-aging-neuropsychology-and-cognition-1> retrieved 10 May 2020

⁴ K. Wild, ‘How long-discredited “race science” research got published from two South African universities’, Quartz, 29 (July 2019), available at <https://qz.com/africa/1676892/race-science-published-from-stellenbosch-cape-town-universities/> retrieved 10 May 2020.

⁵ S. Nieuwoudt, K. Dickie, C. Coetsee, L. Engelbrecht, and E. Terblanche, ‘Retracted article: Age-and education-related effects on cognitive functioning in Coloured South African women’, *Aging, Neuropsychology, and Cognition*, 27, 3 (2019), pp. 321-333.

⁶ See A. Daries, ‘Visualizing Volkekunde: Photography in the Mainstream and Dissident Tradition of Afrikaner Ethnology; 1920-2013’ (MA thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2019). See also A. Daries, ‘Monica Wilson (1908-1982) and Frans Hendrik Boot (1939-2010): A Comparative History of the Social Anthropology Departments of UCT and UWC’ (Honours thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2017).

surrounding the rise and development of academic disciplines.

In the wake of the controversy surrounding the 2019 sport science article, Handri Walters, a lecturer in the Stellenbosch University Social Anthropology Department, who had studied the politics within twentieth century disciplines that employed the study of human measurements, ⁷ contextualised the research premise and contended that this was not an anomaly. Walters observed that, “While ... [in 2018] Stellenbosch University gave precedence to celebrating its 100-year existence, maybe ... [2019] should be dedicated to critically reflect on the history of science at this institution. A starting point could be a critical engagement with the practices and assumptions that informed the controversial article.” ⁸ At a colloquium following the furore, Stellenbosch Professor of Education, Jonathan Jansen, said: “I am surprised that you are surprised.”⁹ He alluded to the university’s history of race science in various disciplines. As a means to address this history and its contemporary repercussions, Jansen and Cyril Walters published an edited collection titled *Fault Lines: A Primer on Race, Science and Society*.¹⁰ In the Foreword to the book, Nico Koopman,¹¹ noted that the 2019 sport science article “prompted Stellenbosch University to reflect afresh upon the challenges of transforming our institutional culture.”¹² Drawing attention to the underlying prejudices that lurks throughout the institution, he called for a reassessment of the “structures, systems, policies, processes and practices” that permeate throughout the university, past and present.¹³ Writing from the standpoint of the Sport Science Department and in direct response to the “vexed article”,¹⁴ Francois Cleophas, who is a Senior Lecture in the Stellenbosch University Sport Science Department, asserted:

“the sports science curriculum... concerns itself narrowly with the technologies of sport

⁷ H. Walters, ‘Tracing Objects of Measurement: Locating Intersections of Race, Science and Politics’ (PhD thesis, Stellenbosch University, 2018), p. 17

⁸ H. Walters, ‘Race haunts the halls of Stellenbosch University’, Daily Maverick, 8 (May 2019), available at <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2019-05-08-race-haunts-the-halls-of-stellenbosch-university/>, retrieved 9 May 2020.

⁹ A. Haupt, ‘The Humanities can cure our colonial, patriarchal hangover’, The Mail & Guardian, 28 (May 2019), available at <https://mg.co.za/article/2019-05-28-00-the-humanities-can-cure-our-colonial-patriarchal-hangover/>, retrieved 9 May 2020.

¹⁰ See J. Jansen and C. Walters (eds), *Faultlines: A Primer on Race, Science and Society* (Stellenbosch, African Sun Media, 2020)

¹¹ Professor Nico Koopman in the Vice-Rector of Stellenbosch University’s Social Impact, Transformation and Personnel Department.

¹² N. Koopman, ‘Forward’, in J. Jansen and C. Walters (eds), *Faultlines: A Primer on Race, Science and Society* (Stellenbosch, African Sun Media, 2020), p. X.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ F. J. Cleophas, ‘Race and Politics in Sports Science’, in J. Jansen and C. Walters (eds), *Faultlines: A Primer on Race, Science and Society* (Stellenbosch, African Sun Media, 2020), p. 191.

performance, giving little consideration to the role of ideology and politics in the field.... [the 2019] study...makes the coloured body central to the discipline's fixation on measurement; so, for example, the study cites theories that ascribe "the accelerated and unfavourable [cognitive] decline of women" to factors including "smaller head size ... [and] lower cardiorespiratory fitness levels". The cardiovascular health of the coloured women subjects was a factor in sampling decisions and their coloured bodies were lined up – as in the anthropometric studies of the past – for measurement purposes, this time for standard calculations of body mass index. All of this raises the critical question... "How did black bodies become a problem in the first place?"¹⁵

This dissertation is situated within a complicated institutional history. Drawing on the works of the aforementioned authors, this study seeks to make sense of physical education's-later reimagined as sport science- fixation with bodily measurement and the 'scientification' of the discipline. In doing so, this thesis reveals that the methodological "impulse to measure"¹⁶ was deeply rooted in ideologies of racial purity and preservation as well as notions of nation-building and the civilising of the body, as propagated by the segregationist and later apartheid state. In reckoning with Stellenbosch University's institutional past, this thesis examines the theoretical, political and social underpinnings that informed the development of physical education and sport science from 1937 to 2019. While using "Age-and education-related effects on cognitive functioning in Coloured South African women"¹⁷ as a point of entry into a growing discourse that interrogates complex institutional and disciplinary legacies, the thesis does not seek to impose a teleological perspective, nor does it simply assume that the 2019 Sport Science article was an inevitable product of this past. Instead, the thesis is interested in a nuanced dissection of the development of sport science as a department and as an academic discipline at Stellenbosch University over the course of eight decades. Moreover, in engaging the history of physical education within the framework of an institution of higher learning, the thesis seeks to investigate and question the types of scientific interventions employed by the discipline's practitioners. Moreover, the thesis seeks to interrogate the shifting contours of physical education as an academic discipline, outline the ideological and theoretical frameworks that informed physical education over time and in turn analyze its place in the university today. In framing this investigation against the backdrop of Stellenbosch University, this thesis argues that the establishment and institutionalisation of physical education was deeply political, and its rise and development was structured along nationalist lines. In using

¹⁵ Cleophas, 'Race and Politics in Sports Science', p. 192.

¹⁶ B. Boswell, 'Producing the black woman's body as the deviant, degenerate "other"' in J. Jansen and C. Walters (eds), *Faultlines: A Primer on Race, Science and Society* (Stellenbosch, African Sun Media, 2020), pp. 163-174.

¹⁷ Nieuwoudt, Dickie, Coetsee, Engelbrecht, and Terblanche, 'Retracted article: Age-and education-related effects on cognitive functioning in Colored South African women', p. 1-17.

Stellenbosch as a lens through which to engage the history of a discipline, the study will outline the extent to which social, political and economic conditions dictated the trajectory of the physical education.

From *Volksuniversiteit* to ‘Forward Together’

In shedding light on the extent to which “colonial, patriarchal and capitalist ideologies and practices”¹⁸ remained unchanged in the post-1994 university context, Mabone Lerato Kgosiemang argues that, the so-called ‘Fallist movements’, such as Fees Must Fall and Rhodes Must Fall, played a crucial role in facilitating new conversations surrounding transformation in higher education.¹⁹ Within the context of the institutional legacies of physical education and sport science, Cleophas states that “when the student protests...called for the Africanisation of the science curriculum, the sport science fraternity did not respond.”²⁰ Although intensified in the wake of national student protest,²¹ the move towards interrogating curricula structure within the university had long featured in discourses surrounding pedagogy and the state of the curriculum in the democratic age.²² As illustrated by Jonathan Jansen in “The Curriculum as an Institution in Higher *Education*”, the process of curriculum reform had treaded along slowly post 1994. Speaking from his position as (then) Dean of Education at what he described as an “academically conservative institution”,²³ Jansen argues that a means to address the lack of reform within previously white institutions is by viewing the curriculum as an institutional matter. According to Jansen, the process of evaluating the state of the curriculum illuminates the fact that knowledge is not merely “something codified within specific subjects and disciplines...”²⁴ but instead should be deemed as the “underpinning ideological, epistemological and indeed political assumptions”²⁵ that informs the ethos of an academic institution. In locating the genus of physical education at Stellenbosch University and tracing

¹⁸ M. L. Kgosiemang, ‘University transformation re-imagined’, in W. Ngcaweni and B. Ngcaweni (eds), *We are No Longer at Ease: The Struggle for #FeesMustFall* (Auckland Park, Jacana, 2018), p.173.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 167.

²⁰ F. J. Cleophas, ‘Shaping a Decolonised Sport History Curriculum through the National Question’, *Yesterday and Today*, 20, 20 (2018), p. 151.

²¹ See T. Barnes, *Uprooting University Apartheid in South Africa: from Liberalism to Decolonization* (London, Routledge, 2019), pp. 7-11.; F. Nyamnjoh, *#RhodesMustFall: Nibbling at resilient colonialism in South Africa* (Cameroon, Langa Research and Publishing CIG, 2016), pp.18-21.

²² J. Jansen, ‘The Curriculum as an Institution in Higher Education’, in E. Bitzer (eds), *Higher Education in South Africa: A Scholarly Look behind the Scenes* (Stellenbosch, Sun Press, 2009), p. 123.

²³ Professor Jonathan Jansen served as Dean of Education at the University of Pretoria from 2001 to 2007. See Anon, ‘UP Experts (Jonathan Jansen Collection)’, University of Pretoria, available at <https://repository.up.ac.za/handle/2263/108> retrieved 30 June 2021.

²⁴ Jansen, ‘The Curriculum as an Institution in Higher Education,’ p. 152

²⁵ Jansen, ‘The Curriculum as an Institution in Higher Education,’ p. 152

its theoretical and practical shift, this thesis seeks to draw on Jansen’s conceptualisation that positions university curricula and syllabi as the building blocks of the academy as a whole.

Formerly known as Victoria College, Stellenbosch University was awarded its university status over a hundred years ago in April 1918.²⁶ The institution’s transition from college to university came about as a result of the 1916 University Act, passed by the Union of South Africa, as well as a generous legacy donation of £100 000 from local benefactor Jan Marais.²⁷ As *Volksuniversiteit*,²⁸ the institution “offered white students nation-wide the chance to receive tuition in Dutch (the more popular term ‘Hollands’) in addition to English, as well as the opportunity to help anchor and develop the emerging Afrikaans language as a fully-fledged academic language.”²⁹ While the university catered for the educational needs of the broader white population in South Africa, the institution’s core identity remained intertwined with the history of Afrikaner nationalism. In outlining the University’s place and purpose in the latter half of the twentieth century, then Rector, Hendrik Bernardus Thom,³⁰ stated “*die feit bly egter staan dat die Universiteit van Stellenbosch uit die nood van die Afrikaner gebore is.*” (the fact remains that Stellenbosch University was birthed out of the need of the Afrikaner.)³¹ Commending the extent to which the Afrikaner *volk*³² contributed to the expansion of the university, Thom asserted that Stellenbosch University was created for and strengthened by the Afrikaner nation. Arguing that the university served as an exemplary beacon for the country, Thom stated that while Stellenbosch as an institution had its shortcoming, the university had an inherent responsibility to reciprocate the Afrikaner *volk*’s investments by advancing its

²⁶ Anon, ‘Timeline’, Stellenbosch University, available at <https://www0.sun.ac.za/100/en/timeline/1918/>, retrieved 20 May 2022.

²⁷ See Anon, ‘Historical Background’, Stellenbosch University, available at <http://www.sun.ac.za/english/Pages/Historical-Background.aspx>, retrieved 7 July 2022.

²⁸ [Translation] The Peoples University.

²⁹ H. Heese, ‘The Origins of Stellenbosch University’, in A. M. Grundlingh, H. Oosthuizen and M. Delpont, (eds), *Stellenbosch University 100: 1918-2018* (Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch University, 2018), p.3; F. J. Cleophas, ‘Race and Politics in Sports Science’, in J. Jansen and C. Walters (eds), *Faultlines: A Primer on Race, Science and Society* (Stellenbosch, African Sun Media, 2020), p. 192. See F. J. Cleophas, ‘A political-institutional history of the Stellenbosch University physical education department, 1936–1939’, *Sport in Society*, (2021), pp. 1-14.

³⁰ Rector of Stellenbosch from 1955 to 1969, Prof Hendrik Bernardus Thom was born on 13 December 1905 in the Eastern Cape. Thom commenced his undergraduate studies at Stellenbosch University in 1924 and would continue his studies in Berlin, Paris and Amsterdam. Re-joining the Stellenbosch University fraternity as a lecturer in the History Department, Thom was promoted to full professorship in 1937. See S. du Toit, ‘SU Chancellor 1983 and SU Rector 1955–1969’, Stellenbosch University, available at <https://www0.sun.ac.za/100/en/team/prof-hb-thom/> retrieved 21 August 2022.

³¹ H. B. Thom, “n Paar Gegadtes oor Stellenbosch as Volksuniversiteit”, SUNDigital Collection, H. B. Thom Collection, 16 (May 1969), available at <https://digital.lib.sun.ac.za/handle/10019.2/3433/discover>, retrieved 27 October 2021.

³²[Translation] People or nation

³³ H. B. Thom, “n Paar Gegadtes oor Stellenbosch as Volksuniversiteit”, SUNDigital Collection, H. B. Thom Collection, 16 (May 1969), available at <https://digital.lib.sun.ac.za/handle/10019.2/3433/discover>, retrieved 27 October 2021.

interest.³³ As will be discussed in Chapters Two and Three of this thesis, the desire to support the interest of the Afrikaner nation served as a core impetus behind the introduction of physical education as an academic discipline. Standardised physical education was implemented as an instrument to address the socio-political plight of the Afrikaner nation, through the means of physical, mental and moral optimisation.



Figure 1.1.: Upon the death of Jan Marais in May 1915, Victoria College received a legacy donation of a £100 000.³⁴

³⁴ Anon, 'Timeline', Stellenbosch University, available at <https://www0.sun.ac.za/100/en/timeline/1918/> , retrieved 20 May 2022.



Figure 1. 2.: The statue of Jan Marais, “ons weldoener”,³⁵ was erected on the Rooiplein³⁶ situated on Stellenbosch University’s main campus. Occasionally students take the liberty of adorning ‘Oom Jannie’ in placards.

The origins of Stellenbosch University and its predecessor, Victoria College, stretch as far back as 1683,³⁷ when educational institutions were first established in the town.³⁸ More formally, following the establishment of the Theological Seminary of the Dutch Reformed Church in 1859, higher education became the hallmark of Stellenbosch. Students from former the Afrikaner republic were drawn to the Seminary and in turn helped to shape Stellenbosch’s unique student-centred academic character.³⁹ By 1863 the foundations of the Stellenbosch Gymnasium were laid and following its completion the institution provided preparatory studies for theology students prior to their official admission to institutions of higher learning.⁴⁰ In less than a decade following the opening of the Stellenbosch Gymnasium, the institution's Arts Department was founded and by the late 1870s teaching facilities were further expanded. By November 1886 the new buildings were inaugurated and Stellenbosch Gymnasium was

³⁵ [Translation] The benefactor

³⁶ [Translation] Red square

³⁷ See Anon, ‘Historical Background’, Stellenbosch University, available at <http://www.sun.ac.za/english/Pages/Historical-Background.aspx>, retrieved 7 July 2022.

³⁸ Heese, ‘The Origins of Stellenbosch University’, p.3.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ In the nineteenth century the only institution of higher learning in the then Cape Colony was the South African College. See *Ibid.*, pp. 3-5

⁴¹ See Anon, ‘Historical Background’, Stellenbosch University, available at <http://www.sun.ac.za/english/Pages/Historical-Background.aspx>, retrieved 7 July 2022.

renamed Victoria College in 1887 in honour of Queen Victoria's golden jubilee.⁴¹ Between 1897 to 1900 Victoria College boasted the construction of various facilities including a physics laboratory, the Christian Marais Library as well as the construction of official buildings for the departments of Education and Science. Moreover, by the 1910s, Research Chairs in zoology, botany, history and applied mathematics were established and the first professor of Education was appointed.⁴²



Figure 1.3.: Programme for the University's Opening Celebrations.⁴³

In 2018 Stellenbosch University commemorated its centenary. In the Centenary address the Vice Chancellor, Wim de Villiers, discussed the university's past, present and future.

Emulating Stellenbosch's 'forward together, *siya phambili, saam vorentoe*' slogan, De Villiers

⁴² *Ibid.*
⁴³ Ained the university's achievements in terms of research and graduate output, international

rankings, as well as the university's ability to enjoy relative stability, despite the turbulent and #FeesMustFall movements in which students called for the decolonisation of university curricula and the end of economic and financial exclusion among other pressing issues related to the condition of higher education in the post-apartheid context. See W. de Villiers, 'Centenary Commemoration of Stellenbosch University', Stellenbosch University, 23 (March 2018), available at [https://www.sun.ac.za/english/management/wim-de-villiers/Documents/20180323%20Wim%20de%20Villiers%20-%20Centenary%20\(FIN\).pdf](https://www.sun.ac.za/english/management/wim-de-villiers/Documents/20180323%20Wim%20de%20Villiers%20-%20Centenary%20(FIN).pdf), retrieved 7 July 2022. See also E. Costandius, I. Nell, N. Alexander, M. McKay, M. Blackie, R. Malgas, and E. Setati, '# FeesMustFall and decolonising the curriculum: Stellenbosch University students' and lecturers' reactions', *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 32, 2 (2018), pp. 65-85.; Nyamjoh, '#RhodesMustFall: Nibbling at Resilient Colonialism in South Africa'.

higher education over the past year.”⁴⁴ Beyond the focus on the university’s triumphs, he sought to acknowledge the institution’s past by calling for greater nuance with regard to the assessment of Stellenbosch University’s history. In arguing that the notion of Stellenbosch as the ‘cradle of apartheid’ was a gross oversimplification, De Villiers sought to paint a complex picture by acknowledging the university’s affiliation both staunch proponents of nationalism and segregation as well as prominent Afrikaner dissidents.⁴⁵ Encapsulated within this call for nuance, De Villiers highlighted Stellenbosch University’s inability to escape or conceal its connections to South Africa’s colonial, segregationist and apartheid past. As large sections of central campus “stand tall over the ruins of *Die Vlakte*⁴⁶ and ... the former Lückhoff School,⁴⁷ which served as the first Afrikaans secondary school for coloured children in the Boland”,⁴⁸ he draws attention to the extent to which South Africa’s dark history had been woven into the very architecture of the university. In considering the fact that while research for the aforementioned 2019 sport science article was most likely being conducted in the midst of the university’s 2018 centenary celebration, it is imperative to interrogate Stellenbosch University’s ethos whilst analysing the development of physical education and sport science as academic disciplines. As will be demonstrated in this thesis, knowledge is not produced in isolation. An institution’s culture dictates its decision making, which in turn manifests in the courses and programmes it has to offer. Therefore, this study seeks to not only interrogate the history of physical education- as discipline and nascent *science*- but it seeks to complement this history by analysing larger institutional shifts and transitions.

Literature Review

Writing a Disciplinary History in an Institutional Context

As the study is located within the university context, my research is situated within literature that examines South African institutional and disciplinary histories. The study intends to cover

⁴⁵ W. de Villiers, ‘Centenary Commemoration of Stellenbosch University’, Stellenbosch University, 23 (March 2018), available at [https://www.sun.ac.za/english/management/wim-de-villiers/Documents/20180323%20Wim%20de%20Villiers%20-%20Centenary%20\(FIN\).pdf](https://www.sun.ac.za/english/management/wim-de-villiers/Documents/20180323%20Wim%20de%20Villiers%20-%20Centenary%20(FIN).pdf), retrieved 7 July 2022.

⁴⁶ Located between modern-day Banhoek Road and Victoria, Bird and Joubert streets, “Die Vlakte” (which translates to “The Flats”) was identified as a predominantly ‘coloured’ area. The residents of Die Vlakte were forcefully removed from their homes in the wake of the Group Areas Act of 1950. See also H. Biscombe, *In Ons Bloed*, (Stellenbosch, Sun Press, 2006)., A. Stone, ‘Verlange na Die Vlakte’, *MatieMedia*, 20 (July 2018), available at <https://www.matiemedi.org/verlange-na-die-vlakte/>, 20 July 2022.

⁴⁷ See A. Pietersen, ‘A History of Lückhoff High School 1932 – 1969’, (Honours Thesis, Stellenbosch University, 2015) Anon, ‘Historical Background’, Stellenbosch University, available at <http://www.sun.ac.za/english/Pages/Historical-Background.aspx>, retrieved 7 July 2022.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

an extended period that witnessed many shifts in term of political, social as well as economic transition and well as trends in knowledge production processes. The work of Howard Phillips serves as an example of an in-depth investigation into the history of an academic institution—drawn from an extensive array of sources including oral interviews, archival material and photograph. Phillips also sheds light on the social, intellectual, and cultural transitions that the University of Cape Town has undergone and in turn cultivates a nuanced retelling of the history of the university.⁴⁹ With regard to constructing a narrative that examines the origins of an institution of higher learning, the study will also draw from the work of Bruce Murray, who recreates the formative years of the University of Witwatersrand, from its origin in the South African School of Mines in 1896 to its inauguration as a university in 1922 to its period of expansion following World War II.⁵⁰ Both scholarly works are relevant as they provide a detailed overview of institutional development over an extended period.⁵¹ Moreover in drawing on these works, the thesis will employ a more nuanced approach as it balances both the narrative of an institution and a discipline. Through inserting a micro-history in a larger story, this thesis seeks to illustrate a comprehensive historical investigation.

This study contributes to research that examines the history of physical education in Africa. Moreover, as the thesis is situated within an institutional context, the thesis seeks to foreground a complex history. In moving away from progressive and heroic narratives celebrating the history of English-medium universities under the apartheid regime,⁵² Terri Barnes explored aspects related to the legacies of liberal institutions, such as the University of Cape Town, and argues that they were complicit in the maintenance of segregation in South Africa.⁵³ Continuing this investigation by focussing on the limitations of transformation within formerly segregated universities, Francis Nyamnjoh's 2016 book, *#RhodesMustFall: Nibbling at Resilient Colonialism in South Africa*, written in the wake of the 2015 national student protests, is a thoughtful dissection of the lack of reform within tertiary education. Nyamnjoh's book engages with discussions surrounding the decolonisation of South African institutions. Moreover he deals with the implications of contemporary student led movements such as #FeesMustFall and

⁴⁹ H. Phillips, *UCT Under Apartheid: From Onset to Sit-In: 1948–1968* (Cape Town, Jacana Media, 2019), pp. 11-15.

⁵⁰ B. K. Murray, *Wits : the Early Years: a History of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg and Its Precursors, 1896-1939* (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1982), pp. 10-24.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² See F. Hendricks and P. Vale, 'The Critical Tradition at Rhodes University: Retrospect and Prospect', *African Sociological Review*, 9, 1 (2005), p. 2.

⁵³ T. Barnes, *Uprooting University Apartheid in South Africa : from Liberalism to Decolonization* (London, Routledge, 2019), pp. 7-9.

⁵⁴ See Nyamnjoh, *#RhodesMustFall: Nibbling at Resilient Colonialism in South Africa*.

#RhodesMustFall by avoiding a romanticised view of student uprisings.⁵⁴ As part this thesis intends to explore the place of physical education and sport science in the university and broader South African twenty-first century context, these works are important as they provide commentary on the state of higher education in the contemporary moment. In expanding on these bodies of work, the thesis evoke the legacies of nationalism, race essentialism, patriarchy and conservatism in the post-apartheid dimension.

Disciplinary Histories as related to ‘Sciences to do with the Body’

As this study intends to focus on the development and expansion of physical education, it is informed by existing literature that traces the rise of disciplines that centralised the study of the human body, racial types and ethnic groups. By extension, the thesis will be situated within literature that explores the history of anthropology– in particular *volkekunde*, race science and education within the South African context. In reference to the rise of *volkekunde*, this history is particularly relevant as it relates to the adaptation of European academic disciplines within the South African context. With regard to the establishment and expansion of *volkekunde*, the work of Sarah Pugach and Andrew Bank offers insight into the German roots of the discipline. By tracing the academic lineages of the key figures responsible for the establishment of the *volkekunde* paradigm,⁵⁵ Pugach succeeds in identifying the extent to which the German legacy of paternalism, Christian nationalism, race science and philology came to be entrenched in *volkekunde* theory, pedagogy and practice.⁵⁶ In a series of essays, Bank argues that the *volkekunde* tradition was characterised by its bond with *volksdiens* (civil service) and politics, forged by figures such as Werner Willi Eiselen.⁵⁷ Both Pugach and Bank outline the rise of an academic discipline in a systematic way. First, the authors locate the source of intellectual rhetoric. Second, in expanding their narratives the authors focus on the institutionalisation of a particular set of ideologies and theories. Third, they analyse the effects of the discipline on the process of knowledge production. This thesis draws on similar methodological approaches. It locates the genus of the disciplines political and intellectual driving forces. In doing so, the

⁵⁵ See C.S. van der Waal, ‘Long walk from volkekunde to anthropology: reflections on representing the human in South Africa’, *Anthropology Southern Africa*, 38, 3 (2015), pp. 216-234.

⁵⁶ S. Pugach, *Africa in Translation: A History of Colonial Linguistics in Germany and Beyond, 1814-1945* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2019), pp. 5-20.

⁵⁷ Werner Willi Eiselen is considered to be the ‘founding father’ of *volkekunde* and later architect of apartheid policy See A. Bank, ‘The Berlin Mission Society and German Linguistic Roots of Volkekunde: The Background, Training and Hamburg Writings of Werner Eiselen, 1899-1924’, *Kronos*, 41, 1 (2015), p. 2.; A. Bank, ‘Broederbande [Brotherly Bonds]: Afrikaner Nationalist Masculinity and African Sexuality in the Writings of Werner Eiselen’s Students, Stellenbosch University, 1930-1936’, *Anthropology Southern Africa*, 38, 4 (2015), pp. 1-5.

thesis employs a chronological and periodised approach- tracing shifts, expansions and divergences within of the discipline.

The thesis is also positioned within literature that centralises the historical context of science- particularly those related to race science and human development. One of the forerunners in the field of nineteenth and twentieth century histories of race science and physical anthropology in southern Africa, Saul Dubow, has explored the underlying current of race science within academic disciplines,⁵⁸ such as genetic science in the post-Sharpeville apartheid era.⁵⁹ In a similar vein, Walters attempts to identify the intellectual origins that informed the pseudoscientific practices presented in race science theory, anthropometric practices and physical anthropology.⁶⁰ Both their analyses' offer an investigation into the historical context of scientific practices, ideologies and theories that evokes discussions surrounding the social implications of academic disciplines. Additionally, their work highlights the ways in which racist rhetoric remained an underlying force in the formation of scientific theory. This thesis closely aligns with the objectives and findings of their work. In not only drawing on the historical approaches they used, this thesis focusses on the ways in which larger social patterns contribute to the shaping of sciences.

As physical education was initially introduced in tertiary institutions as a subject that would train prospective teachers, the study will also be situated within literature that analyses the history of physical education in schools. In *Physical education in South Africa: have we come full circle?*, Hermanus Bloemhoff, Johnnie Hay and Leonie Stroebel analyse Physical Education's transition from a stand-alone subject to being incorporated into Life Orientation and Like Skills. The study examines the ways in which the implementation of the Outcome Based Education curriculum impacted the status of Physical Education and how the Department of Basic Education's 2011 announcement regarding the promotion of mass school sport participation impacted the status afforded to physical education. This study is relevant as it analyses the effects of curriculum reform and the extent to which the parameters of physical education are rendered malleable with regard to new legislation.⁶¹ Considering the effects

⁵⁸ See S. Dubow, *Illicit Union: Scientific Racism in Modern South Africa* (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1995), pp. 17-23.

⁵⁹ S. Dubow, 'Racial Irredentism, Ethnogenesis, and White Supremacy in High-Apartheid South Africa', *Kronos*, 41, 1 (2015), p. 238.

⁶⁰ Walters, 'Tracing Objects of Measurement', p.10.

⁶¹ H. Bloemhoff, J. Hermanus and L. Stroebel, 'Physical education in South Africa: have we come full circle?', *South African Journal for Research in Sport, Physical Education and Recreation*, 38, 3 (2016), pp. 215-228.

caused by the “phasing-out” of physical education in South African public schools, Cora Burnett analyses how external agencies have worked to fill the void caused by curriculum changes. Burnett claims that due to the limited resources offered by the state, schools in impoverished communities bear the brunt.⁶² This study is significant as it not only evaluates the effects of legislation with regard to physical education and sport culture, it analyses the impact that curriculum changes has on impoverished communities and under-funded schools. At its core, this thesis foregrounds the ways in which the university has played a crucial role in nation-building across the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In doing so the thesis outlines political and social forces that influenced institutional decision making throughout the segregationist, apartheid and democratic eras. While the majority of the thesis is located within the segregationist and apartheid contexts, the thesis also draws attention to ways in which the nation’s transition to democracy impacted the standing of physical education in the post-1994 dispensation.

Global Shift in the Development of Physical Education

The history of physical education extends to classical times.⁶³ This study however seeks to enter this historiographical conversation at the point of national standardisation that transpired in South Africa in the 1930s. On a global scale, historiographical accounts credits the work J.C.F. Gutsmuth, Frederik Jahn, Per Henrik Ling and Jan Spies as the foundational creators of gymnastics and formal physical education. As discussed by Roland Naul, translated versions of Gutsmuths 1793 text, *Gymnastics for Youth*, were not only widely distributed, but served as a key “stimulus for the practice of physical education within school curricula in across a range of European countries.”⁶⁴ Beyond gymnastics based physical training, the concepts of sportsmanship, competitive games, and militarised physical training infiltrated the southern

⁶² C. Burnett, ‘Relevance of Olympism Education and Sport-for-Development Programmes in South Africa’, *South African Journal for Research in Sport, Physical Education and Recreation*, 38, 3 (2016), pp. 15-18.

⁶³ A. Mubita, ‘A History of Physical Education in Zambia’, *Physical Culture, Sport Studies and Research*, 76, 1, (2017), pp. 47-54.

⁶⁴ While GutsMuths’ syllabus held sway in official circles, Jahn, who served as a teacher in the city of Berlin, began developing a more patriotic system of German gymnastics, *Turnen*, from 1811. Jahn’s syllabus quickly surpassed GutsMuths’ gymnastics in popularity, both publicly and politically. While drawing from GutsMuths’ syllabus, Jahn and his supporter main focus was centred upon ideas of nationalism, the unification of German states and ultimate liberation from French occupation. Over time the Swedish system, which was rooted in the work of Ling, gained foothold, particularly in the military context. Following an ideological clash between supporters of German and Swedish gymnastics, the Swedish system was substituted by a Swiss-German admixture developed earlier by Spies which gained prominence between 1870 and 1914. Beyond the implementation of gymnastics based programmes, English games and sporting codes became more prominent from the 1870s. See R. Naul, ‘History of sport and physical education in Germany, 1800-1945’, in K Hardman and R Naul (eds), *Sport and Physical Education in Germany* (New York, Routledge, 2002), pp. 15-19.

African context from the early days of British imperialism. Particularly within the British context, Peter McIntosh notes that two distinct traditions were prominent in the nineteenth century, namely, public school organised games-which centralised notions of character building-⁶⁵ and Swedish-inspired military drills.⁶⁶ While Naul highlights the impact of political shifts within the broader European context, McIntosh's work is completely devoid of a socio-political consciousness. As this thesis will demonstrate, physical education was transformed into a matter of national interest. As a result the formation of national systems became a central fixation for many nation, and South Africa was no exception. In aligning more closely with Naul's analysis, this thesis will examine the ways in which European physical education systems informed the development of the subject in the South African context.

As will be discussed in this thesis, what came to be understood as the national *Poor White Problem*,⁶⁷ served as a key impetus for the introduction of formal physical education in South Africa. This focus on improving the condition of the 'white' population through the means of physical education, was not unique to the South Africa context. In "The Body as a Political Space: Comparing Physical Education under Nazism and Stalinism", Barbara Keys discusses the strategies employed by the Nazi and Stalinist dictatorships, which included the centralisation of standardised physical education as a means to inculcate the characteristics of model citizenry.⁶⁸ Apart from the use of popular mediums such as film, literature, architecture and political posters, these regimes also "targeted the body as a means of reaching the mind".⁶⁹ Physical education was enforced in schools to influence the population's perception and ultimately intended to cultivate favourable psychological characteristics that promoted the

⁶⁵ Games such as cricket, football and rowing were initially regarded as the spontaneous recreational activities of boys. Over time 'organised games' received recognition by authorities as an effective tool in the education of the sons of the middle and the upper class and subsequently became a feature in all public schools. P. C. McIntosh, *Physical education in England since 1800* (London, G. Bell and Sons, 1968), p. 12.

⁶⁶ Swedish-inspired military drill included callisthenics and gymnastics. Moreover, McIntosh draws attention to the combination of "indigenous" practices of organised games and gymnastics systems that developed in other European countries, such as Sweden and Germany. *Ibid*, pp. 11-12.

⁶⁷ See J.F.W. Grosskopf, *The poor white problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission. Part I. Economic Report: Rural Impoverishment and Rural Exodus* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932). ; R.W. Wilcocks, *The poor white problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission. Part II. Psychological Report: The Poor White* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932). ; E.G. Malherbe, *The poor white problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission. Part III. Educational Report: Education and the Poor White* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932).; W. A. Murray, *The poor white problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission. Part IV. Health Report. Health Factors in the Poor White Problem*, (Stellenbosch: Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932). ;J.R. Albertyn and M.E. Rothmann, *The poor white problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission. Part V. Sociological Report: (a) The Poor White in Society (b) The Mother and Daughter in the Poor Family* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932).

⁶⁸ B. Keys, 'The Body as a Political Space: Comparing Physical Education under Nazism and Stalinism', *German History*, 27, 3 (2009), pp. 395–413

⁶⁹ Keys, 'The Body as a Political Space', pp. 395–413

⁷⁰ *Ibid*.

state's agenda.⁷⁰ This use of psychology in physical education is closely examined in Chapters Four and Five of this thesis. As the discipline was determined to mould the individual in his (or her) entirety, psychology became a central feature in physical education theory. Moreover, akin to the rise and development of South Africa's physical education system, physical education in the United State of America also exclusively drew from a range of European systems. Beyond this element, in considering the fact that racial segregation permeated both contexts, physical education was used as a means to preserve and uphold notions of racial hierarchies in both societies. In the American context, physical education was only enforced in schools in the early twentieth century-gaining a foothold in the schooling system after World War I. Within the racially segregated school system, young boys and girls at the primary school level exercised together. At high school level, white boys participated in military drills whereas girls practiced calisthenics,⁷¹ the same held true for 'black' students.⁷² Similarly physical education was only implemented as an obligatory subject in school for white South Africans and broader South African public was largely. In examining the history of physical education in a previously white, Afrikaans-medium university – now admittedly well on its way to a more equitable dispensation – inequality permeates this narrative. Thus, in considering larger political conditions, this thesis reveals the close alignment between the implementation of physical education and advancement of the white South African population.

The Rise of Formal Physical Education in South Africa Before the 1930s

In tracing the development of standardised physical education prior to the 1930s, historiographical accounts hold that the foundations of formal physical education programmes in South Africa can be traced back to the late eighteenth century.⁷³ In considering the Cape Province as the place where the national recognition and advancement of physical education programmes began, Jan Kelder outlined the development of physical education across South Africa from the eighteenth century to the 1920s.⁷⁴ In his account, the connections between

military pedagogy and physical education is prominent. Kelder notes that the Swedish system-
Calisthenics is largely comprised of body weight exercises which do not rely on the use of equipment.

⁷² M.H. Verbrugge, *Active Bodies: A History of Women's Physical Education in Twentieth-Century America* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 5-13.

⁷³ M. Jooste, 'n Beknopte Oorsig van die Ontwikkeling van Liggaamlike Opvoeding in Suid Afrika: 1652-1936', *Vigor*, 8, 2 (1954), p. 52

⁷⁴ J. C. Kelder, 'Die Historiese Ontwikkeling van Liggaamsoefeninge in die Onderwysdepartemente', in *Report of the First South African Congress for Physical Education: 9-12 January 1945* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1945), p 114.

⁷⁵ In providing an outline that details the dispersion of the subject across the country, Kelder reveals the unevenness at which the subject was distributed, both at a provincial and national level. See J. C. Kelder, 'Die Historiese Ontwikkeling van Liggaamsoefeninge in die Onderwysdepartemente', p 114. See also Jooste, 'n Beknopte Oorsig', p. 52.

integrated in South Africa.⁷⁵ In offering a closer examination of specific European systems that became embedded in the South African context, Johannes Wilhelmus Willemse's 1969 Master's thesis and Cleophas's 2018 book chapter, both outline the transplantation of global trends and systems in the country. In outlining the integration of the Swedish system of physical education, Willemse argued that the origins of Swedish physical education was bolstered by both the military and the medical milieu.⁷⁶ The author notes that "South Africa, as a young country, had to take notice of the system. The system was not brought directly to this country but reached it via a number of other countries [including England, Denmark, the Netherlands and Germany] with which South Africa had closer relations."⁷⁷ In Cleophas's examination of the influence of European physical education in South Africa, he assesses the rise of physical education in Britain as well as the integration of the British physical education in South Africa. Two world views set the tone for the advancement of physical education in Britain during the nineteenth century, namely, social Darwinism and Muscular Christianity.⁷⁸ Moreover Cleophas interrogates the militarisation of physical education in Britain and holds that the spread of the British system was an extension of British imperialism and colonialism.⁷⁹ As evidence in the aforementioned bodies of work, the authors focus is far more generalised as they examine the broader national integration of the physical education across South African society. In closely considering national shifts, this thesis offers a more detailed and nuanced commentary as it traces the development of physical education as an academic discipline and burgeoning science.

While Stellenbosch was the first university in Africa to introduce a physical education course, it was not the first institution of higher learning to do so. The Training College for Teachers, in Mowbray, Cape Town, was the first institution to introduce physical education teacher training

⁷⁶ J. W. Willemse, 'Die invloed van Sweedse Stelsel van formele oefeninge op die Ontwikkeling van Liggaamlike Opvoeding in Suid Afrika' (MA thesis, Potchefstroomse Universiteit vir Christelike Hoër Onderwys, 1969), p. 203.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ F. J. Cleophas, 'A historical account of physical education in South Africa', in F. Cleophas, D. du Toit, D. Kruger, A. Lewis, J. P. Roussouw, C. J. Roux, N. van der Merwe, F. Willemse, S. Krog and R. Naidoo, (eds), *Teaching Physical Education and Sports Education* (South Africa, Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 17-20.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Receiving her initial training at the Liverpool Gymnastics College and Silkeborg in Denmark, Black was a Senior Lecturer in physical education at the Training College for 26 years. Arriving in South Africa in 1921, Black became the first woman to start a physical education course in the country. Apart from physical training, the course curriculum included anatomy and physiology lectures presented by lecturers from the University of Cape Town, among them Professor Matthew Drennan. Beyond this, the course included hygiene studies; educational gymnastics; remedial gymnastics as well as pedagogical training. See M. C. Black, 'The training of Physical Education Teachers', in *Report of the First South African Congress for Physical Education: 9-12 January 1945* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia- Drukkery, 1945), pp. 123-127.; Anon, 'A Career of Untiring Service', *Vigor*, 2, 1 (1948), p. 28. See also Walters, 'Tracing Objects of Measurement', pp. 70-75.

course for white women in 1921 under the guidance of Margaret Black.⁸⁰ In thinking about the history surrounding the development of physical education as an academic discipline, Andre Ludwig Boshoff's 1981 Master's thesis, provides a historical analysis of the development of the Stellenbosch University Physical Education Department from 1936 to 1975.⁸¹ Boshoff's dissertation draws on university records such as Senate minutes and yearbooks. Extended sections of the thesis directly incorporates these sources with little to no critical engagement. Moreover, the thesis is written in an uncritical, triumphalist nature and serves to merely celebrate the department's achievements.⁸² Beyond a departmental focus, Rosalie Irene de Klerk's 1986 doctoral thesis presents an analysis of the construction of South African physical education by foregrounding contributions made by leading figures in the discipline, who primarily conducted their work in the university context.⁸³ Likened to Boshoff's approach, De Klerk's analysis of the discipline's progression displays a lack of critical considerations as their work does not comprehensively address the impact of broader social and political shifts. The approach adopted in this thesis more closely aligns with Cleophas's 2021 article which examined the history of physical education prior to its launch as an independent department. Cleophas traces the ways in which Stellenbosch University's broader institutional culture and Afrikaner nationalist ethos operated at a departmental level. While this thesis shares similarities to all three aforementioned works, particularly in terms of subject matter, the dissertation diverges in important ways. Beyond an extension on the chronological timeline,⁸⁴ this thesis places a greater emphasis on the impact of international and national political, social and disciplinary shifts. In doing so it particularly expands beyond Boshoff and De Klerk's work as it seek to foreground the ways in which the department, and by extension the university, had played a crucial role in the politics of nation-building across the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. In doing so, the thesis analyses political and social drivers that influenced the institution's trajectory throughout the segregationist, apartheid and democratic eras.

Theoretical Points of Departure

⁸¹ A.L. Boshoff, 'Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch: 1936-1975' (MA thesis, Stellenbosch University, 1981), pp. 19-27

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ R. I. de Klerk, 'Die Bydrae van Enkele Liggaamlike Opvoedkundiges tot die Ontwikkeling van die Vak in Suid Afrika vanaf die Twintigste Eeu'(PhD thesis, Potchefstroomse Universiteit vir Christelike Hoër Onderwys, 1986), pp. 1-6.

⁸⁴ Both Boshoff and de Klerk analyses does not progress beyond the 1980s. Additionally, Cleophas's analysis only examines the mid to late 1930s.

This dissertation is located within research that analyses the process of knowledge production as it pertains to the construction of *sciences*. As examined in Chapters Four, Five and Six of this thesis, practitioners in the field of physical education began to push the discipline towards ‘applied science’ as a means to bolster the fields overall legitimacy. In order to understand the emergence of applied scientific sub-fields within the discipline, as well as physical education’s ultimate transformation into sport *science*, this thesis draws on the concept of ‘scientification’. As discussed by the Jon Bond, the addition of word *science* in an academic discipline implies the use of scientific method.⁸⁵ The push toward applied science in physical education was coupled with the implementation of established sciences within the physical education curriculum such as, anthropometry, chemistry, biology, mathematics, zoology and botany. Moreover Bond notes that with regard to the ‘scientification’ of an academic discipline, a pre-existing relationship between the aspiring scientific discipline and ideologies surrounding science⁸⁶ should be evident, arguing that “the scientific method is a journey in search of truth... the mark of the scholars thirst to know more-to correct errors and discover even more questions.”⁸⁷ While the expansion of intellectual curiosity was certainly evident in the disciplinary progression of physical education, physical education’s pathway to sport science was a journey marked by an undercurrent of nationalism, shrouded in a desire for scientific recognition.

The impact of global and local political and economic influences prevails throughout the narrative progression of this thesis. Nationalism, which is considered to be “one of the most powerful forces in the modern world”,⁸⁸ is an ever-present phenomenon in this dissertation. The thesis, therefore, reveals deep-seated connections between the institutionalisation and development of physical education and the ideology of nationalism. Conceptually, studies that draws on nationalism as a theory tend to converge with discourses surrounding “race and racisms, fascism, language development, political religion, communalism, ethnic conflict,

⁸⁵ J. R. Bond, ‘The scientification of the study of politics: some observations on the behavioural evolution in political science’, *The Journal of Politics*, 69, 4 (2007), p. 897. See also. M. Everson and E. Vos, ‘The scientification of politics and the politicisation of science’, in M. Everson and E. Vos, in *Uncertain risks regulated* (Cavendish, Routledge, 2009), pp. 21-38; C. Stratilatis, ‘University and the scientification of social sciences and humanities’, *Ethics in Science and Environmental Politics*, 13, 2 (2014), pp. 177-192.; A. Michaels and C. Wulf, *Science and Scientification in South Asia and Europe* (London, Routledge, 2020), pp. 3-13.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 905.

⁸⁸ J. Hutchinson and A. D. Smith (eds), *Nationalism* (Oxford University Press, New York, 1994), p. 3.

⁸⁹ *Ibid* See also C. Young, ‘The Colonial Construction of African Nation’, in J. Hutchinson and A. D. Smith (eds), *Nationalism*, (Oxford University Press, New York, 1994), pp. 225-230.; B. Neuberger, ‘State and Nation in African Thought’ in J. Hutchinson and A. D. Smith (eds), *Nationalism*, (Oxford University Press, New York, 1994), pp. 231-235.

international law, protectionism, minorities, gender, immigration [and] genocide”.⁸⁹ In foregrounding an institutional and disciplinary history, this thesis considers the academic manifestations of nationalism. Furthermore, it closely analyses, the metamorphosis of nationalism throughout the segregationist and apartheid dispensations.

Key Research Aims

- To unpack the social, economic and political conditions that led to the institutionalisation of physical education.
- To explore the ways in which the national standardisation movement influenced and was influenced by Stellenbosch University.
- To question how the ideologies of a race and gender conscious society impacted curricula and departmental structures in the Stellenbosch University Physical Education Department.
- To examine the way in which more established science were used to buttress physical education theory and ultimately lead to specialisation in the field.
- To analyse the pathways to professionalism and commercialisation of the discipline in the age of Sport Science.
- To investigate the ways in which nation building of the segregationist, apartheid and post-apartheid periods shaped and transformed the discipline’s intellectual objectives.

Research questions

- What were the social, economic and political drivers behind the launch and institutionalisation of standardised physical education?
- What were the social implications of the physical education standardisation movement?
- How has sports culture at Stellenbosch University impacted the Sports Science Department?
- In what ways has physical education and sports science contributed to our understanding of the human body?
- What are the core theoretical foundations that influenced practical applications within the discipline and in what ways has practical applications of physical education and sports science changed over time?
- How has the medicalisation and specialisation of fields within sports science affected the discourse within the discipline?
- As sport science encompasses many facets, what is the core purpose of the field?

- How has the phasing out of physical education in schools impacted the trajectory of physical education and sport science?

Research Design and Methodology

The study is largely based on archival research which has been supplemented by interviews and email correspondence. As the study explores the history of the Physical Education Department, now known as Sport Science, the majority of the primary resources used in this thesis have been accessed through the Stellenbosch University Archives, the SUNDigital Collection, Compact Storage and the Africana section in the Stellenbosch University Library. To access information about the academic staff, student body and curriculum, the university calendars, and academic records, held at the Stellenbosch University Archive and on the SUNDigital platform were central in this study.

Research for this study revealed that the Stellenbosch University Archive has early records on the Physical Education Department listed under Inventory Filing Department Documents. The documents are dated from 1938–1943 and 1960–1981. Furthermore, the Academic Departments and Divisions Collection has records on Matiesport that are dated 1946, 1985, 1992-1995 and 1998. These records consist of newsletters and articles from news sources such as *Die Matie*, *Die Stellenbosse Oudstudent*, *Die Coetzenburger*, *Matiesport*, *Pro Libertate* and the *Sport Performance Institute Newsletter*. Beyond these records, the collection of the Stellenbosch University Physical Education Department, *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education* journal published from 1939 to 1946 and its successor *Vigor*, published from 1947-1961, was accessible through the Sport Science Department Compact Storage in the Stellenbosch University Library and through inter-library loans.

Structure and Layout

The thesis is comprised of seven chapters. This introductory chapter presents the rationale behind the study as well as the existing historiography. Chapter Two examines how an anticipated demand for trained physical education teachers led to an increase in the number of formal physical education training programmes across the country. It examines the events surrounding Ernst Jokl's employment and abrupt dismissal from his position as lecturer of Physical Education. In analysing the proceedings surrounding Jokl's brief nine-month tenure at the university, the chapter reveals a critical contradiction between the 'scientific' practices Jokl imposed and the conservative ideals and ethos of the university. Despite his significant

contribution to the establishment of the discipline at Stellenbosch, as well as the fact that he was qualified to conduct the medical examinations of physical education students, the chapter contends that Jokl's position as lecturer within an academic fraternity such as Stellenbosch University dictated the boundaries of his scientific exploration.

Chapter Three commences in the wake of Jokl's dismissal and traces the ways in which the department tried to recover from the loss of its only lecturer of physical education. As a means to fill Jokl's vacancy, Anthon Obholzer was employed as Department Chair in August 1937. Obholzer received national recognition for his contributions to the development of standardised physical education as well as his advocacy for the restoration of the Afrikaner people in South Africa. Obholzer and his assistant, Oskar Gornetz, were interned in December 1939 on 'suspicion of Nazi related activities.' These events once again flung the university into a hasty search for a new Department Chair.

Chapter Four is situated within the period of the interwar years and examines the ways in which established sciences and disciplines were used to buttress the theoretical foundation of physical education theory. In 'Talking Science', the chapter examines transitions and conflicts within the broader standardisation movement of the 1940s. In doing so, the chapter outlines a fight for recognition, both within the context of the discipline and the extended academic fraternity.

Chapter Five is situated within Danie Craven's tenure as department Chair. This chapter engages in a broader discussion surrounding specialisation and the development of distinct branches within the discipline. While contending for subject recognition, as a science, academic discipline and school subject, the period of 1947 to 1970 showcases the core conflicts of the discipline, which were both internal and external. Beyond this, the chapter outlines the continued ways in which the discipline's core objectives of 'race betterment' shaped the field's trajectory on a national scale. In drawing on more established sciences as a means to bolster the theoretical framework of physical education, this chapter engages a history that led to the development of disciplinary subsets such as kinesiology, biokinetics and sport psychology.

Chapter Six traces the department's progression from Physical Education to Sport Science. The chapter seeks to investigate this evolution by analysing the centralisation of sport and recreation that facilitated the first significant shift away from the department's original 'teacher training' identity. Furthermore, the chapter examines intellectual changes in the discipline by

highlighting the impact that two socio-political shifts had on the development of physical education and sport science, namely South Africa's readmission into the international sports arena in the early 1990s as well as the impact that the phasing out of physical education from the school curriculum had on the discipline. In considering these disciplinary transitions, the chapter intends to demonstrate, that physical education, and later sport science, was and remains a matter of national interest, impacted by political and academic conditions.

Chapter Seven concludes and offers a synopsis of the thesis, suggesting further avenues of research for future projects.

Chapter Two: Physical Education in the *Volkuniversiteit*: Conservatism, the Gendered Body and the Pursuit of ‘Objective Science’, c. 1935-1937’.

Stellenbosch University was the first university in Africa to introduce a dedicated physical education course in 1936.⁹⁰ In outlining the department’s intended purpose, the first Head of Physical Education, Dr Ernst Jokl, stated: “*Dit is ten slotte die doelwit van hierdie Departement om Stellenbosch die erkende sentrum vir wetenskaplike liggaamlike opvoedkunde in Suid-Afrika te maak.*”⁹¹ (In conclusion it is the aim of this Department to make Stellenbosch the recognized centre for scientific physical education in South Africa). Renowned for his work as a physical education specialist, Jokl was recruited specifically for the position at Stellenbosch University in 1935.⁹² Apart from designing a programme to train teachers who sought to specialise in physical education, Jokl hosted afternoon fitness classes on the Coetzenburg sport field for the university staff and student body. These ‘*jokkel*’ sessions proved to be a popular attraction on campus, drawing crowds of 200 to 300 students and staff members – among them the university’s Rector, Professor Raymond William Wilcocks.⁹³ Jokl’s contributions to the institutionalisation of physical education at the university as well as the overall promotion of physical culture⁹⁴ proved to be so noteworthy that a neologism *jokkel*, meaning ‘to exercise’ was used to refer to physical education courses, even long after Jokl’s departure.⁹⁵

Despite playing such a pivotal role at the university, Jokl’s tenure was terminated abruptly, a mere nine months into his new job. As this chapter will show, it followed controversy

⁹⁰ Sport Science Department, ‘Department of Sport Science celebrates 80th birthday’, Stellenbosch University Sport Science Department, 25 (July 2016), available at <http://www.sun.ac.za/english/Lists/news/DispForm.aspx?ID=4035>, retrieved 7 May 2020.

⁹¹ E. Jokl, ‘Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch’, *Die Stellenbosche Oudstudent*, September 1936, p. 17.

⁹² E. Jokl, *South African Reminiscences* (Stellenbosch, S.I. Jokl, 1988), p. 4.

⁹³ Sport Science Department, ‘Department of Sport Science celebrates 80th birthday’, Stellenbosch University Sport Science Department, 25 (July 2016), available at <http://www.sun.ac.za/english/Lists/news/DispForm.aspx?ID=4035>, retrieved 7 May 2020.

⁹⁴ The origins of the term ‘physical culture’ can be traced back to the late eighteenth century. Its rise in popularity came in the latter half of the nineteenth century and was employed as an umbrella term for “exercise, fitness, and the pursuit of health.” See D. Kirk, ‘Physical Culture, Physical Education and Relational analysis’, *Sport, Education and Society*, 4, 1 (1999), pp. 63-73.; J. Todd, ‘Reflections on Physical Culture: Defining Our Field and Protecting Its Integrity’, *Iron Game History*, 13, 2 (2015), pp. 5–6.

⁹⁵ Sport Science Department, ‘Department of Sport Science celebrates 80th birthday’, Stellenbosch University Sport Science Department, 25 (July 2016), available at <http://www.sun.ac.za/english/Lists/news/DispForm.aspx?ID=4035>, retrieved 7 May 2020.

surrounding the methods he employed in the obligatory medical examinations of physical education students. According to Francois Cleophas, growing anti-Semitism of the 1930s served as the chief reason for Jokl's dismissal.⁹⁶ While taking the rise of anti-Semitic rhetoric and policies intended to curb Jewish immigration into South Africa in the early twentieth century into account,⁹⁷ this chapter argues that Jokl's identity as a Jewish immigrant was not the only reason behind his dismissal. Instead, this chapter argues that the main cause of the controversy that led to Jokl's dismissal was the fact that he had examined women students in "various states of undress",⁹⁸ which transgressed the traditionalist values of the university and by extension the Afrikaner *volk* it represented. In outlining the events that led up to Jokl's dismissal, this chapter has four aims. First, it examines and expands upon the existing historiography that investigates the establishment of physical education in South Africa. Second, it outlines the reasons behind the introduction of physical education as an academic discipline in institutions of higher learning. Third, it discusses both the university's and Jokl's proposed vision for the Physical Education Department. Last, it analyses the controversy that led to Jokl's dismissal.

In analysing the events surrounding Jokl's appointment and subsequent dismissal, this chapter argues that Stellenbosch University's conservative ethos informed its vision for the department and also informed the university's stance with regard to Jokl. Operating within a larger network of Afrikaans-medium universities across the country, Stellenbosch University served as both a home of and leader in Afrikaner intellectual culture and nascent nationalism. Within this context, the chapter examines the extent to which 'Afrikaner ideals', particularly with regard to gender, were engrained in, and in turn helped contour physical education. Thus, while acknowledging that the racialised body was centralised in the discipline from its conception as Cleophas suggests that,⁹⁹ ideologies regarding the gendered body were fundamental to the foundation of the discipline. These are most evident in its curricula and course structure, as this chapter will demonstrate. The chapter argues that in positioning gender as a key component, the discipline was inherently constructed to cater to the idealised realities of the white, largely

⁹⁶ F. J. Cleophas, 'Race and Politics in Sports Science', in J. Jansen and C. Walters (eds), *Faultlines: A Primer on Race, Science and Society* (Stellenbosch, African Sun Media, 2020), p. 192. See F. J. Cleophas, 'A political-institutional history of the Stellenbosch University physical education department, 1936–1939', *Sport in Society*, 2021, pp. 1-14.

⁹⁷ See M. Shain, *A perfect storm: Antisemitism in South Africa 1930-1948* (Jonathan Ball Publishers, Cape Town, 2015).

⁹⁸ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Voorlopige Rapport van Komitee i/s Mediese Onderzoek van Studente van Liggaamsopvoeding. p. 18.

⁹⁹ Cleophas, 'Race and Politics in Sport Science', p. 192.

Afrikaans-speaking, student body and the society they represented. After all, as will be discussed in this thesis,¹⁰⁰ physical education was introduced at Stellenbosch University shortly after the release of the 1932 Carnegie Commission Report on *The Poor White Problem in South Africa*.¹⁰¹ Presented as a physically and mentally ‘unfit’ subset of white society, the five volume *Poor White Problem* not only reported on the state of the poverty stricken and largely rural white population, but forged a plan to redeem them.¹⁰² In essence, this chapter argues that while the introduction of physical education was intended to signify a move toward more ‘modern’ scientific explorations within the university, the maintenance of the institution’s traditionalist values and its determination to propagate a certain kind of ‘ideal Afrikaner’ citizen remained at the forefront of the university’s concerns.

Exercising Conservative Ideals in ‘Objective-Science’ : A Historiography

The disgraceful and rightly condemned 2019 article from the Stellenbosch University Sport Science Department, ‘Age-and Education-Related Effects on Cognitive Functioning in Colored South African women’¹⁰³ not only resulted in public outcry¹⁰⁴ but also served as a major catalyst in the upsurge of historiographical research exploring the development of physical education. Among a collection of essays published in *Fault Lines: A Primer on Race, Science and Society* edited by Jonathan Jansen and Cyril Walters, Cleophas explores the depth of race

¹⁰⁰ See Chapter Three of this thesis.

¹⁰¹ See J.F.W. Grosskopf, *The poor white problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission. Part I. Economic Report: Rural Impoverishment and Rural Exodus* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932). ; R.W. Wilcocks, *The poor white problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission. Part II. Psychological Report: The Poor White* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932). ; E.G. Malherbe, *The poor white problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission. Part III. Educational Report: Education and the Poor White* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932).; W. A. Murray, *The poor white problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission. Part IV. Health Report. Health Factors in the Poor White Problem*, (Stellenbosch: Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932). ;J.R. Albertyn and M.E. Rothmann, *The poor white problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission. Part V. Sociological Report: (a) The Poor White in Society (b) The Mother and Daughter in the Poor Family* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932).

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ S. Nieuwoudt, K. Dickie, C. Coetsee, L. Engelbrecht, and E. Terblanche, ‘Retracted article: Age-and education-related effects on cognitive functioning in Coloured South African women’, *Aging, Neuropsychology, and Cognition*, 27, 3 (2019), pp. 321-333.

¹⁰⁴ Z. Dano, ‘Stellenbosch study on coloured women ‘draws on colonial stereotypes’’, Cape Argus, 29 (April 2019), available at <https://www.iol.co.za/capeargus/news/stellenbosch-study-on-coloured-women-draws-on-colonial-stereotypes-22166233>, retrieved 9 May 2020.; L. Hendricks, S. Kramer and K. Ratele, ‘Research shouldn’t be a dirty thought, but race is a problematic construct’, *South African Journal of Psychology*, 49, 3, (1981), pp. 308–311.; P. Phakgadi, ‘Psych society denounces study claiming coloured women have low cognitive functioning’, News24, 26 (April 2019), available at <https://www.news24.com/news24/psych-society-denounces-study-claiming-coloured-women-have-low-cognitive-functioning-20190426>, retrieved 9 May 2020.; K. Wild, ‘How long-discredited “race science” research got published from two South African universities’, Quartz, 29 (July 2019, available at <https://qz.com/africa/1676892/race-science-published-from-stellenbosch-cape-town-universities/> retrieved 10 May 2020.

essentialism in the history of physical education and the extent to which it is perpetuated in present day sport science.¹⁰⁵ When discussing the establishment of physical education at Stellenbosch University, Cleophas notes that “during the 1930s, there were...anti-Semitic sentiments at play at Stellenbosch University, and in 1937 the student newspaper *Pro Libertate* claimed that the newly appointed Head of Department for Physical Education, Dr Ernst Jokl, who was Jewish, had vacated the position “under a dark cloud of anti-Jewish sentiments”.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore Cleophas mentions that Jokl was replaced by the German academic, Anton Obholzer, who asserted that race should be a key component of analysis in physical education research.¹⁰⁷ As explained in this chapter, Jokl joined the Stellenbosch University fraternity upon request and in order to ensure his appointment, the university sourced funding from the Carnegie Cooperation to finance his position. Direct reference to Jokl’s Jewish identity can be traced back to the student publication, *Pro Libertate*,¹⁰⁸ however university records and public news sources from the period do not make any direct reference to Jokl’s Jewish identity. Notwithstanding the fact that anti-Semitism contributed to the public outrage that resulted in Jokl’s dismissal, Cleophas’ paper makes a more valuable critique as he draws attention to the pertinence of race essentialism throughout physical education research. In expanding on Cleophas’ analysis, this chapter will dissect the foundation of the disciplines theoretical framework and intellectual networks.

In analysing the constructs that allow for the production of research such as the 2019 Sport Science article, Barbara Boswell draws on the concept of intersectionality which “holds that a person or group can be affected by a number of different disadvantages or oppressions, such as race and gender (or disability, sexuality, social class, etc.) all at the same time...”¹⁰⁹ Locating the contemporary “impulse to measure”¹¹⁰ in scientific research, Boswell argues that the existence of studies such as “Age-and Education-Related Effects on Cognitive Functioning in Colored South African women” rely on degrading stereotypes of black/coloured women as being prone to deviant, degenerate and outré behaviour. Expanding upon the concept of excess,

¹⁰⁵ Cleophas, ‘Race and Politics in Sport Science’, pp. 191-197.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ According to Cleophas this publication was most likely written by Beyer Naude. See Cleophas, ‘A political-institutional history of the Stellenbosch University physical education department, 1936–1939’, pp. 1-14.

¹⁰⁹ J. Jansen and C. Walters (eds), *Faultlines: A Primer on Race, Science and Society* (Stellenbosch, African Sun Media, 2020), pp. 7. See also A. Gouws, “A model of feminist research praxis” in J. Jansen and C. Walters (eds), *Faultlines: A Primer on Race, Science and Society* (Stellenbosch, African Sun Media, 2020), pp. 175-188.

¹¹⁰ B. Boswell, ‘Producing the black woman's body as the deviant, degenerate “other”’ in J. Jansen and C. Walters (eds), *Faultlines: A Primer on Race, Science and Society* (Stellenbosch, African Sun Media, 2020), pp. 163-174.

Boswell illustrates how stereotypes that inform race-based research are echoed in colonial scientific practices that was determined to produce “gendered as well as racialised colonial subjects.”¹¹¹ Situated within the work of Desiree Lewis, who offers a gender conscious critique of the way in which colonial scientific research conceptualised the image of African men and women as the “other”,¹¹² Boswell further discusses how science’s depiction of the ‘degenerate black female’ was used to shape the image of white feminine fragility.¹¹³ Drawing on Boswell’s argument that calls for a close analysis and re-examination of the research paradigms that inform scientific practices, this chapter intends to interrogate the standardised bodies of ‘knowledge’ that inform methodologies and practices within physical education.

With regard to the development and trajectory of academic disciplines within Afrikaans-medium institutions, Albert Grundlingh argues that the push for an ostensibly “objective-scientific” approach in historical studies at Stellenbosch University formed part of a larger nation-building project.¹¹⁴ Arguing that the Afrikaans academy was dedicated to nationalistic ideals, Grundlingh states that “from...the 1930s until late the twentieth century, professional historical writing in Afrikaner circles was closely linked to the universities, and the universities, in turn, played a significant role in promoting the wider nationalist enterprise.”¹¹⁵ Furthermore, “under the guise of “unavoidable subjective factors”, various versions of “volksgeeskiedenis”...could receive authoritative approval as acceptable “scientific” history.”¹¹⁶ Although the nexus of his critique is situated within the discipline of history, Grundlingh’s text remains useful to this chapter as it succeeds in turning the “objective-scientific” gaze inward by highlighting the ways in which academic disciplines were used to build and legitimise hegemonic national identities while ostensibly constructed on scientific principles.

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Operating within a larger conglomerate of Afrikaans-medium institutions, Stellenbosch

¹¹¹ Boswell, ‘Producing the black woman’s body as the deviant, degenerate “other”’, p. 169.

¹¹² See D. Lewis, ‘Representing African sexualities’ in S. Tamale (eds), *African Sexualities* (Oxford, Pambazuka Press, 2011).

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ A. Grundlingh, ‘Afrikaner historians and the notion of an “objective-scientific” approach in perspective’, in J. Jansen and C. Walters (eds), *Faultlines: A Primer on Race, Science and Society* (Stellenbosch, African Sun Media, 2020), pp. 93- 100.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 93

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 94

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 98

¹¹⁸ See A. M. Grundlingh, H. Oosthuizen and M. Delpont. (eds), *Stellenbosch University 100: 1918-2018* (Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch University, 2018).

University served as an intellectual bedrock in the homogenisation of Afrikaner identity.¹¹⁸ Subsequently, the conservative Afrikaner values that the university worked to uphold was canonised in academic disciplines such as physical education, as this chapter will show.¹¹⁹ As will be discussed throughout this thesis, the production of a “healthy white race”¹²⁰ was a core motivation behind the introduction of physical education programmes. Considering this context, in conjunction with the fact that the body was the discipline’s central site of inquiry, well-defined gender constructs were implemented in order to keep the discipline in line with the university’s and larger society’s values. As discussed by Elsabe Brink “one of the means by which men in male-dominated societies control women is by giving them a well-defined but circumscribed position within society, to which some status, honour and respectability are attached.”¹²¹ Drawing on this contention, Dean Allen asserts that the image of the ideal woman that had been “sustained through male-controlled practices such as politics and rugby, [used] the ideology of the *Volksmoeder* or ‘Mother of the Nation’...to promote the concept of ‘ideal womanhood’[which] became a central feature of the Afrikaner nationalist movement.”¹²² For Allen, politics and rugby served as prime examples of the relational and secondary status allocated to women in Afrikaner society.¹²³ Regarding the focus of this chapter, it should be noted that although women students were never excluded from participating in training sessions or enrolling in physical education courses, physical education was conceptualised along gendered lines. Drawing on Allen’s analysis of the relational status allocated to women in Afrikaner society, this chapter demonstrate the ways in which the moralised imagery of idealised womanhood dictated the experiences of women students in physical education at Stellenbosch University.

Ria van der Merwe analyses the extent to which the traditionalist values of the ‘Afrikaner *volk*’ was reified and endorsed at the University of Pretoria. Van der Merwe argues that in the

¹¹⁹ See also Chapter Three.
¹²⁰ Cleophas, ‘Race and Politics in Sport Science’, p. 193. See also H. Walters, ‘Tracing Objects of Measurement: Locating Intersections of Race, Science and Politics’ (PhD thesis, Stellenbosch University, 2018), pp. 51-69.
¹²¹ D. Allen, ‘“Mother of the nation”: rugby, nationalism, and the role of women in South Africa’s Afrikaner society’, *Sport in Society*, 17, 4 (2014), p. 467.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ While the image of the *volksmoeder* played an indispensable role in Afrikaner culture and politics, the actual participation and involvement of women remained confined to supportive positions. *Ibid.* See also R. van der Merwe, ‘Molding *Volksmoeders* or *Volks Enemies*? Female Students at the University of Pretoria, 1920-1970’, *Historia*, 56, 1 (2011), pp. 77–100.

¹²⁴ See also C. van der Westhuizen, ‘(Un) sung Heroines: The Rise and Fall and Rise of the Afrikaner Nationalist *Volksmoeder* in South Africa’, *Matatu*, 50, 2 (2020), pp. 258-279.; C. Blignaut, ‘Untold History with a Historiography: A Review of Scholarship on Afrikaner Women in South African History’, *South African Historical Journal*, 65, 4 (2013), pp. 596-617.; L. Kruger, ‘Gender, Community and Identity: Women and Afrikaner nationalism in the *Volksmoeder* Discourse of *Die Boerevrou* (1919-1931)’ (MA thesis, University of Cape Town, 1991).

ideal. Identifying the origins of the *volksmoeder* paradigm¹²⁴ and its various iterations in popular culture and literature, van der Merwe notes that a comparable unifying masculine identity did not exist for Afrikaner men in the same way as it did for Afrikaner women. Following the 1914–1915 rebellion,¹²⁵ the concept of the pious, industrious, long-suffering and staunchly anti-British *volksmoeder* took centre stage in the zeitgeist Afrikaner culture during the early twentieth century. Regarding the position of women students at the University of Pretoria, rules pertaining to their dress code, behaviour and movement on campus not only policed their experiences but sought to align with the *volksmoeder* ideal.¹²⁶ Moreover as women students were recommended to pursue degrees that would “prepare them to be good wives and mothers”,¹²⁷ the majority of the demographic of women students remained concentrated in courses such as domestic studies, social work and nursing.¹²⁸ As illustrated in this chapter, physical education was introduced as a discipline in institutions of higher learning to produce physical education teachers and instructors. As teaching, especially with regard to the education of young children,¹²⁹ was perceived as a suitable profession for women, physical education had a mixed demographic of women and men students from its establishment. In employing van der Merwe’s analysis that investigates the highly regulated position of women students at the University of Pretoria, this chapter argues that physical education was a gendered discipline from its institutionalisation as it was engineered to cater to the gender conscious sentiments held by the university and the society it represented.

Physical Exercise as Education: *Mens Sana in Corpore Sano* (A Healthy Mind in a Healthy body)

Beyond the context of Stellenbosch University, the mid to late 1930s was a period of national

¹²⁵ See S. Swart, ‘A Boer and His Gun and His Wife Are Three Things Always Together’: Republican Masculinity and the 1914 Rebellion’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24, 4, 1999, pp. 737–751.; S. Swart, ‘The ‘Five Shilling Rebellion’: Rural White Male Anxiety and the 1914 Boer Rebellion’, *South African Historical Journal*, 56, 1, 2006, pp. 88–102.

¹²⁶ See also S. Swart, ‘Motherhood and Otherhood’- gendered citizenship and Afrikaner women in the South African 1914 Rebellion’, *African Historical Review*, 39, 2 (2007), pp. 41–57.

¹²⁷ Van der Merwe, ‘Molding Volksmoeders or Volks Enemies’, p. 89.

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 90.

¹²⁹ Edith Katzenbollenbogen. Retired Professor from the Stellenbosch University Physical Education Department (then Human Movement Studies), interviewed by Anell Stacey Daries on 11 August 2021 in Stellenbosch.

¹³⁰ R. I. de Klerk, ‘Die Bydrae van Enkele Liggaamlike Opvoedkundiges tot die Ontwikkeling van die Vak in Suid Afrika vanaf die Twintigste Eeu’(PhD thesis, Potchefstroomse Universiteit vir Christelike Hoër Onderwys, 1986), p. 43.

expansion in the field of South African physical education.¹³⁰ Mirroring global trends that promoted the cross-institutional implementation of physical education programmes as well as the national standardisation of the subject, the mid to late 1930s bore witness to major advancements in the field of physical education that included a rapid increase in the amount of formal physical education training programmes across the country,¹³¹ improvements in the conditions of schools and the military,¹³² as well as the establishment of the National Advisory Council for Physical Education (NACPE).¹³³ Physical education was introduced independently across the country and to varying degrees in accordance with the approach taken within each province.¹³⁴ Prior to the 1930s, the structure of each physical education programme across South Africa was dictated by the particular system in which a physical education instructor was trained. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter One, the systems that informed physical education within South Africa were largely rooted in a range of European physical education systems.

When considering the dispersion of the subject across the country, the Cape Province was a forerunner in the campaign to formally integrate physical education within schools.¹³⁵ In March 1934, a school inspectors' conference was hosted in Cape Town to address the state of health and physical education in schools.¹³⁶ As an outcome of this conference, the Cape Education Department introduced compulsory physical education for secondary schools from July 1934.¹³⁷ The introduction of mandatory physical education in schools not only catered to the physical development of schoolchildren, it also created a demand for physical education teachers. Although institutions such as the Cape Town Training College had offered physical education training courses as early as 1921,¹³⁸ the anticipated demand for trained physical education instructors led to the increase in the amount of formal physical education training courses across the country. By 1936, Stellenbosch University, the Paarl Training College and Pretoria Technical College were among the first institutions to launch physical education courses.¹³⁹ In considering this contextual background, the demand for physical education teachers served as

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

¹³² A.L. Boshoff, 'Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch: 1936-1975' (MA thesis, Stellenbosch University, 1981), p. 7

¹³³ See F. van der Merwe, *Sport History* (Stellenbosch, FJG Publikasie, 2014), p. 213.

¹³⁴ J. C. Kelder, 'Die Historiese Ontwikkeling van Liggaamsoefeninge in die Onderwysdepartemente', p. 114. See also Jooste, 'n Beknopte Oorsig', p. 114.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ F. J. Cleophas, 'Physical Education and Physical Culture in The Coloured Community of the Western Cape, 1837-1966' (PhD thesis, Stellenbosch University, 2009), p. 72.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ C. Black, 'The training of Physical Education Teachers' in *Verslag van die Eerste Suid-Afrikaanse Kongres vir Liggaamlike Opvoeding* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia, 1945), p. 127.

¹³⁹ Van der Merwe, *Sport History*, p. 213.

a key stimulus behind the institutionalisation of physical education as an academic discipline.

Jokl, Jokkel and The Establishment of Physical Education at the *Volksuniversiteit*

Although the introduction of courses in physical education was only announced in 1935, gymnastics had already been practiced and incorporated in Stellenbosch University's Faculty of Education in the early 1930s.¹⁴⁰ As indicated in the university's budget estimates for 1929 and 1930, £100 had been allocated for the appointment of a gymnastics teacher¹⁴¹ and by 30 August 1932, the Appointment Committee announced the budget allocation of £75 for the employment of a part-time lecturer in Gymnastics.¹⁴² By 1935, however, greater efforts had been made to secure the formal institutionalisation of physical education. During a Senate meeting on 24 June 1935, the University Council announced its decision to appoint a new full-time lecturer of physical education:

¹⁴⁰ Boshoff, "Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch", p.24

¹⁴¹ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol III. 2 Julie 1934-15 November 1935. Notule van gewone vergadering van die Raad gebou in die Raadkamer op Saterdag, 22 Junie 1935, p.208.

¹⁴² Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol III. 17 Oktober, 1930-12 Augustus 1932. Rapport van Spesiale Komitee 1931, p.85.

¹⁴³ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol III. 2 Julie 1934-15 November 1935. Notule van gewone vergadering van die Raad gebou in die Raadkamer op Saterdag, 22 Junie 1935, p.208.

¹⁴⁴ Born in 1892 in Vryburg (then part of the Cape Colony) Raymond William Wilcocks graduated from Victoria College in 1912 with a bachelor's degree in Social Sciences. Obtaining a doctorate in Philosophy from the University of Berlin in 1917, Wilcocks took up the position of Professor of Logic and Psychology at Stellenbosch University in 1918. Wilcocks was instrumental in the development of two of South Africa's first experimental Carnegie Corporation programs, one for the development of a standardized Afrikaans group intelligence test in 1930, which remained in use for nearly 50 years. Additionally, as a member of the Carnegie Commission, Wilcocks was responsible for the compilation of the report's psychological findings. Appointed as Chair of the Stellenbosch University Senate in 1933, Wilcocks became the Rector of Stellenbosch University in 1935, following the reinstatement of the position. See Grundlingh, Oosthuizen and Delpont, *Stellenbosch University 100: 1918-2018*.; 'Prof R W Wilcocks- SU Rector', Stellenbosch University, available at <https://www0.sun.ac.za/100/en/team/prof-rw-wilcocks/>, retrieved 30 June 2021.

¹⁴⁵ Ebenhaeser Theodore "Ebbie" Stegmann was born in Bedford in the Eastern Cape in 1889. Matriculating in 1908, Stegmann obtain a B.A. degree from Victoria College in 1911. As an undergraduate student Stegmann distinguished himself as a skilled rugby player, however, a serious knee injury stifled his professional rugby career. Upon completing his undergraduate degree, Stegmann continued his studies in mathematics at the University of Göttingen, Germany. Due to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 Stegmann returned to South Africa and would go on to obtain a D.Sc. degree from the University of South Africa. In 1916 he was appointed as a lecturer in mathematics at Victoria College and four years later he was promoted to professor. Stegmann was the first professor of mathematics at the University of Stellenbosch who used Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in his lectures and through this made a major contribution to the creation of Afrikaans terminology in his field. As a representative of the University of Stellenbosch, he served on the Matriculation Board and as moderator for the mathematics papers in the matriculation examination for all national examining bodies. He was also a member of the Scientific and Industrial Research Council. Moreover, Stegmann played an important role in the development of the University of Stellenbosch as a member of various committees at the university. Stegmann was also the Chairperson of the Stellenbosch Rugby Football Club from 1940-1957 and Chairperson of the Stellenbosch University Athletics Club. See G.G. Cillie, 'Stegmann, Ebenhaeser Theodore' in C. J. Beyers (eds), *Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordeboek Deel IV* (Butterworth, Butterworth & Kie, 1981), pp. 645-646; I. E. Huys, 'A History of Koshuisrugby at Stellenbosch' (MA thesis, Stellenbosch University, 2008).

Wilcocks¹⁴⁴ and Professor Ebenhaeser Theodore Stegmann¹⁴⁵ were instrumental in securing Ernst Jokl's appointment at the university.¹⁴⁶ Born in 1907 in Breslau (now Wroclaw) Germany,¹⁴⁷ Ernst Franz Jokl was an experienced athlete.¹⁴⁸ Prior to arriving in South Africa in May 1933,¹⁴⁹ Jokl attained a medical degree from the University of Breslau.¹⁵⁰ During his studies, Jokl had assisted in conducting anthropometric¹⁵¹ medical assessments on German Olympic athletes participating in the 1928 Olympic Games.¹⁵² From there on Jokl's continued research interest "veered from exercise physiology to neurology to physical education to aviation medicine to anthropology."¹⁵³ In 1931 Jokl was appointed as Director of the Institute of Sport Medicine at the University of Breslau. By 1933 however, Jokl's promising career prospects in Germany had been stifled once the Nazi Party came into power.¹⁵⁴ Just two years following his appointment as Director of the Institute, Jokl was dismissed from his position. With growing anti-Semitism on the rise in Germany, Jokl and his wife, Erica Jokl, emigrated to South Africa.

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¹⁴⁶ Anon, 'n Fundamentele Sportaanstelling aan die Universiteit', *Die Stellenbossche Oudstudent*, 1939, pp. 24-25.

¹⁴⁷ F. Litsky, 'Dr Ernst F. Jokl, a Pioneer in Sports Medicine, Dies at 90', *The New York Times*, 21 (December 1997), available at <https://www.nytimes.com/1997/12/21/sports/dr-ernst-f-jokl-a-pioneer-in-sports-medicine-dies-at-90.html>, retrieved 5 December 2020.

¹⁴⁸ According to Litsky and Boschhoff, Jokl qualified to participate in the Olympics in 1928, in the 400 metre hurdles event. These sources also claim that while Jokl he did not participate, Erica Lestmann, who would later become Jokl's wife, won gold in exhibition team gymnastics that year. A contemporary biographical analysis of Jokl's career and scientific contribution challenges these narratives. According to John Bale, while Jokl was "a good sprinter" and Erica Jokl an experienced gymnast, the 1928 Olympic records do not mention Jokl or any alternate spelling of the name. As in Jokl's case, the record do not mention Erica Jokl or Lestmann. See *Ibid*; also J. Bale, 'Chapter One: Ernst Jokl and the Layers of Thruth', *Playing Pasts*, 6 (May 2021), available at <https://www.playingpasts.co.uk/articles/athletics/ernst-jokl-and-layers-of-truth-2/>, retrieved 28 June 2021.

¹⁴⁹ Jokl, *South African Reminiscences* (Stellenbosch, S.I. Jokl, 1988), p.1.

¹⁵⁰ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol XII 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Voorloopige Rapport van Komitee i/s Mediese Ondersoek van Studente van Liggaamsopvoeding. p.18

¹⁵¹ An anthropometric study measures the proportions of the human body. R.M. Malina, 'Anthropometry in physical education and sport sciences', in F. Spencer (eds), *History of Physical Anthropology* (London, Garland, 1996), pp. 90-94.

¹⁵² J. Bale, 'Chapter One: Ernst Jokl and the Layers of Thruth', *Playing Pasts*, 6 (May 2021), available at <https://www.playingpasts.co.uk/articles/athletics/ernst-jokl-and-layers-of-truth-2/>, retrieved 28 June 2021.

¹⁵³ N. Carter, *Medicine, sport and the body: a historical perspective* (London, A&C Black, 2012), p. 69.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*.

¹⁵⁵ As stated by Litsky, Erica Lestmann, later Jokl, was also dismissed from her position as a high school teacher after refusing to offer a Nazi salute during a track meet in Berlin. See F. Litsky, 'Dr Ernst F. Jokl, a Pioneer in Sports Medicine, Dies at 90', *The New York Times*, 21 (December 1997), available at <https://www.nytimes.com/1997/12/21/sports/dr-ernst-f-jokl-a-pioneer-in-sports-medicine-dies-at-90.html>, retrieved 5 December 2020.



Figure 2.1.: Ernst and Erica Jokl upon their arrival in South Africa in 1933.¹⁵⁶

Upon arriving in South Africa, Jokl had been informed that the German medical degree, which had once been valid in South Africa, was no longer recognised and could not be used to attain a medical license.¹⁵⁷ Considering the social climate of the 1930s and 1940s, Jokl¹⁵⁸ notes that the situation in Germany had led to “engendered fear[s] among local physicians that they would be swamped with immigrant competitors.”¹⁵⁹ Jokl’s reference to “immigrant competitors” flooding the South African market denotes to both the political climate in Germany that had forced many Jewish citizens to flee the country as well the situation regarding mounting political and social opposition targeted against Jewish immigrants in South Africa. Refuting the notion that the rise of anti-Semitism in South Africa in the 1930s and early 1940s was fundamentally “a product of Nazi propaganda”,¹⁶⁰ Milton Shain asserts that “antisemitism was an important element in South African society long before 1930 and that the roots of anti-Jewish outbursts in the 1930s and early 1940s are to be found in a widely shared negative stereotype of the Jew that had developed out of an ambivalent image dating back to

¹⁵⁶ Jokl, *South African Reminiscences* (Stellenbosch, S.I. Jokl, 1988), p. 3.

¹⁵⁷ Jokl, *South African Reminiscences* (Stellenbosch, S.I. Jokl, 1988), p. 3.

¹⁵⁸ In one of the only text which dissects Jokl’s personal identity, John Bale characterises Jokl as a marginal figure, noting that “he [Jokl] was a man at the margins, placeless, socially, professionally and as a sportsman.” Being Jewish on his father’s side, Jokl identified as a “German refugee” upon arrival in South Africa. According to Bale “while he was recognised as Jewish by both the editor of South African Jewry and by his obituary writer in the New York Times... members of his family felt that... ‘the German part of his identity was far more dominant’.” See J. Bale, ‘Chapter One: Ernst Jokl and the Layers of Truth’, *Playing Pasts*, 6 (May 2021), available at <https://www.playingpasts.co.uk/articles/athletics/ernst-jokl-and-layers-of-truth-2/>, retrieved 28 June 2021.

¹⁵⁹ Jokl, *South African Reminiscences*, p. 3.

¹⁶⁰ M. Shain, ‘The foundations of antisemitism in South Africa: images of the Jew c. 1870-1930’ (PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 1990), p.7

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*, p. 2. See also E. Bradlow, ‘J. H. Hofmeyr, Liberalism and Jewish Immigration’, *South African Historical Journal*, 40, 1 (1999), p. 121.

the 1880s.”¹⁶¹ The widespread rhetoric that fuelled the baseless belief that the influx of “unassimilable”¹⁶² Jewish immigrants¹⁶³ would have a vastly detrimental impact on the economic prosperity of the Afrikaner population¹⁶⁴ culminated in the passing of the 1930 Quota Act which essentially ensured the curtailment of “immigrants of whatever race or creed, born in quota or ‘non-scheduled’ countries.”¹⁶⁵ While the Quota Act did not affect the entry of Jewish immigrants from central and western Europe,¹⁶⁶ Hitler’s ascension to power in 1933 once again centred the Jewish immigration issue.¹⁶⁷ Despite rousing fears that the country would, and perhaps had already been overrun with Jewish refugees, immigration records indicate that “in 1933 [only]...204 German Jews had entered South Africa, followed by 425 in 1934 and 388 in 1935.” While the number of immigrants was not as significant as state officials claimed, South African diplomats stationed in Europe began to stir concerns surrounding a burgeoning immigration ‘crisis’.¹⁶⁸ Considering these “engendered fear[s]”¹⁶⁹, Jokl notes that in order to attain his medical licence “a three-year additional study was demanded for those who, like myself, wanted to obtain permission to practice medicine. Notwithstanding the difficulties thus confronting me, I enrolled in the Medical School of the Witwatersrand University; I passed my M.B.,B.Ch. degree in 1936.”¹⁷⁰

¹⁶² On this matter Shain notes that “in the 1920s the eastern European newcomers were described as ‘unassimilable’, or unable to merge into a dominant Nordic culture.” See M. Shain. *A perfect storm*.

¹⁶³ Particularly in reference to those of eastern European descent.

¹⁶⁴ Shain notes that while prominent figures within the Afrikaner nation, such as Daniël Francois Malan and Oswald Pirow, held anti-Jewish sentiments and purported anti-Semitic rhetoric for political gain, these beliefs were not held by all Afrikaner political figures. Moreover, English white communities of British descent held similar anti-Semitic views. As discussed by Edna Bradlow “Anti-Semitism was to become widespread in the late 1930s, particularly among poorly-educated, nationalist-minded Afrikaners: whereas by 1930, social antisemitism had already permeated the discourse and behaviour of the educated English-speaking elite.”¹⁶⁴ Bradlow, ‘J. H. Hofmeyr, Liberalism and Jewish Immigration’, p. 122.; See also Shain. *A perfect storm*. ; M. Shain, ‘Jewish cultures, identities and contingencies: reflections from the South African experience’, *European Review of History—Revue européenne d’histoire*, 18, 1 (2011), pp. 89-100.; M. Shain, ‘Paradoxical ambiguity—DF Malan and the “Jewish Question”’, *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Africa*, 72, 1 (2017), pp. 63-74.; I. P. Kapelus, ‘How true a reflection of the Afrikaner-Jewish relationship was the pre-1948 antisemitism of the Afrikaner Press and Politicians? ((Part 1))’, *SAJBD*, 2(June 202), available at <https://www.sajbd.org/media/how-true-a-reflection-of-the-afrikaner-jewish-relationship-was-the-pre-1948-antisemitism-of-the-afrikaner-press-and-politicians-part-1>, retrieved 31 August 2021.

¹⁶⁵ See Shain, ‘Jewish cultures, identities and contingencies: reflections from the South African experience’, pp. 89-95.

¹⁶⁶ Shain, ‘Paradoxical ambiguity—DF Malan and the “Jewish Question”’, pp. 64-70.

¹⁶⁷ Bradlow, ‘JH Hofmeyr, Liberalism and Jewish Immigration’, p. 122.

¹⁶⁸ In October 1935 Stefanus Gie, the South African ambassador in Berlin, informed the South African Secretary for External Affairs, Helgard Bodenstein, that his office was being “flooded” with applications from German Jews wishing to come to South Africa. As a means to halt the ‘influx’ of Jewish immigrants, Gie—who vehemently opposed the immigration of Jewish refugees to South Africa—proposed the idea that refugees should be denied entry to the country on grounds of suspected communist activity.” See Shain, *A perfect storm*, pp. 108-110.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ Beyond his work as a practicing physician and physical education specialist, Jokl was employed as the consultant to the Director General of Medical Services of the South African Armed Forces during World War II. See Jokl, *South African Reminiscences*, p. 3.

While at the University of Witwatersrand, Jokl was asked to direct the training of the university's track and field team in preparation for the National University Championship that was to be hosted in Durban in 1935.¹⁷¹ Jokl's personal experience as a former track athlete, physical education specialist and qualified medical practitioner greatly contributed to the training techniques he applied as coach of the Witwatersrand University track and field team and in 1935 they won the national universities' championship and the coveted Dalrymple Cup.¹⁷² Following his team's success, Jokl received two offers; the one was to direct the training of the South African National Track and Field Team in preparation for the British Empire Games in Sydney and the second proposed by Prof Stegmann to establish a Physical Education Department at Stellenbosch University.¹⁷³ For Stegmann, the main objectives for the new department would not only prioritise the training of physical education teachers. Stegmann envisaged a department that would produce physical education researcher who would contribute to a growing body of knowledge within the subject.¹⁷⁴ The department would also focus on designing training programmes for professional athletes.¹⁷⁵ Furthermore, Stegmann saw the introduction of physical education at Stellenbosch as an opportunity to popularise physical culture at the university by hosting exercise session for all students. According to Stegmann this would not only be beneficial to the individual student but for their future households and society at large.¹⁷⁶ In materialising this vision for the department, Jokl's employment would ensure that physical education at Stellenbosch University could be expanded beyond a teacher training course.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid*, p. 4.

¹⁷² See Jokl. *South African Reminiscences*. p. 4.

¹⁷³ Sport Science Department, 'Department of Sport Science celebrates 80th birthday', Stellenbosch University Sport Science Department, 25 (July 2016), available at <http://www.sun.ac.za/english/Lists/news/DispForm.aspx?ID=4035>, retrieved 7 May 2020.

¹⁷⁴ E.T. Stegmann, 'Liggaamopvoeding aan 'n Universiteit', *Ligaamsopvoeding*, 1, 1 (1939), p. 15.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid*.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p. 27.

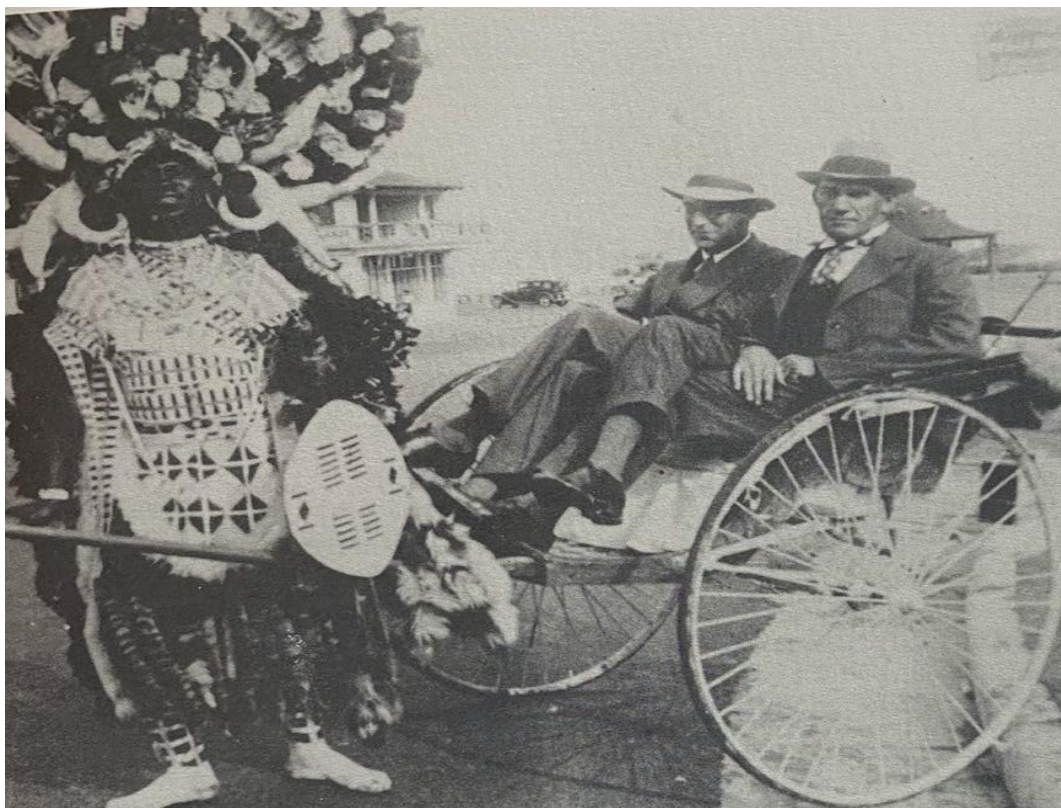


Figure 2. 2.: Professor Stegmann and Dr Ernst Jokl in Durban in 1935¹⁷⁷

Following Senate's support of Jokl's appointment, the University Council and the University Appointments Committee requested that the Faculty Board of Education identify the duties that Jokl would be expected to perform once appointed as lecturer of physical education. In September 1935, the Faculty Board of Education made the following recommendations:

- (a) For men students: 2 or 3 periods per week
- (b) For women students: 3 or 4 periods per week.
([Regarding [these] practical exercises [session]] The Faculty does not know how large Dr Jokl intends to make each group, therefore we suggest 2 or 3 and 3 or 4 periods per week.)
- (c) The Faculty suggests that a female instructor should train female students.
- (d) The Faculty does not recommend that Dr Jokl take over the responsibilities of teaching Physiology that is currently taught by Dr Battered and Nurse Conradie and School Health that is taught by Dr Cillier. ¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷ Jokl. *South African Reminiscences*. p. 4.

¹⁷⁸ [Translated] Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol III. 2 Julie 1934-15 November 1935. Insaak, Friday 13 September 1935 . p.285.

It should be noted that while figures such as Stegmann, conceptualised physical education beyond its position within the Education Faculty, physical education only received departmental status in 1940.¹⁷⁹ At this initial stage however, Stegmann and by extension the university, considered the proposed courses as a stepping stone toward the formation of a department or institute for physical education. Despite these ambitions, and even after receiving departmental status, physical education continued to operate under the auspices of the Education Faculty. As discussed in this chapter, the introduction of mandatory physical education in schools served as an impetus for the introduction of physical education as an academic discipline. Therefore prior to the commencement of the university's first physical education course, the Education Faculty was asked to outline recommendations for Jokl to follow. Firstly, as physiology and school health was already being taught in the Education Faculty, Jokl was not expected to teach these subjects. Beyond this recommendation, three out of the four recommendations were guidelines pertaining to the physical training of men and women students. The above recommendations not only emphasised a distinction between the allocated physical training periods for men and women students, the guidelines specify what the faculty and the university expected from Jokl. Despite the fact that Jokl was appointed as the only lecturer of physical education in this introductory phase, the guidelines specified that a women instructor was needed to instruct women students. In view of these specifications, the recommendations encapsulate the gendered lens through which the university conceptualised the discipline.

In the September 1936 edition of the *Stellenbossche Oudstudent*, Jokl gives insight into his vision for the department as well as what could be expected once physical education was launched.¹⁸⁰ For Jokl the newly established department¹⁸¹ intended to focus on developing a scientifically based physical training programme.¹⁸² He envisaged that the introduction of physical education at Stellenbosch University would ultimately transform the institution from solely exemplifying the qualities of the *universitas literarum* to becoming a *universitas literarum et culturae corporis*.¹⁸³ Similarly advocated in the preceding edition of the

¹⁷⁹ See H.B. Thom, *Stellenbosch 1866-1966 : Honderd Jaar Hoër onderwys* (Kaapstad, Nasionale Boekhandel, 1966), pp. 12-17

¹⁸⁰ E. Jokl, 'Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch', *Stellenbosche Oudstudent*, 1936, p. 17.

¹⁸¹ See Thom, *Stellenbosch 1866-1966 : Honderd Jaar Hoër onderwys*, pp. 12-17.

¹⁸² Jokl, 'Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch', p. 18.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

Stellenbosse Oudstudent, the author argued that for far too long the body, as carrier of the mind, had been neglected.¹⁸⁴ The author writes; “*Hoewel die mens sana in corpore sano sedert eeue ‘n geliefkoosde uitdrukking by pedagoge was... Eers in die laaste tyd het die mening veld gewin dat die kind nie alleen verstandelik maar ook liggaamlik moet ontwikkel word.*”¹⁸⁵ (Although *mens sana in corpore sano* [a healthy mind in a healthy body] has been a beloved expression among pedagogues for centuries... Only recently has the expression gained traction that the child must be developed both mentally and physically.)

In his outline for the new department, Jokl announced plans to introduce a certificate and diploma course in the beginning of 1937.¹⁸⁶ For both the certificate and diploma programmes, the course content was intended to consist of theoretical training and practical exercises.¹⁸⁷ Regarding the two courses, the certificate course was more closely aligned to the Education Faculty’s conceptualisation of the subject as it focused on training qualified teachers. According to Jokl, students in the certificate programme would be expected to participate in two exercise sessions and two lectures per week.¹⁸⁸ The course structure was intended to consist of lectures, physical training sessions on the sports field and exercises in teaching on the sports field.¹⁸⁹ The combination of pedagogical training, theory and practice aligned with Jokl’s prospects to develop a scientifically based physical education programme. While appealing to the university ‘teacher training focus’, Jokl’s proposed course structure served as an example of the construction of physical education as a discipline at the early stages of standardisation.

“Lectures

1. Physical education. (1 hour per week, Tuesday 7:30 pm)
2. (a) Anatomy, physiology and hygiene, with special reference to physical education in schools.
 - (b) Theory of exercise, athletics, swimming and games.
 - (c) Administration of physical education

Training on the sport field

- (a) Physical exercise with and without apparatus, balls, etc
- (b) Athletics including competitive work.
- (c) Swimming
- (d) Games, including rugby, soccer, hockey, handball and children’s play.

Teaching on the sport field

Students will be given the opportunity to teach groups of schoolchildren or students.

¹⁸⁴ Anon, “‘n Fundamentele Sportaanstelling aan die Universiteit’, pp. 24-25.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ Jokl, ‘Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch’, p. 18.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1937, pp. 275-279.

¹⁸⁹ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol XI. 9 Desember 1935- Minutes of Senate Meeting 19 Maart 1937. Courses in Physical Education for Education Students, 9 September 1936. p. 129.

(Under supervision)

At the end of the course there will be an examination, consisting of:

- (a) Performances test on the sports field.
- (b) Teaching tests with a group of pupils.
- (c) A written paper.

Successful candidates are granted a “Teaching Certificate of Physical Education.”¹⁹⁰

While the certificate course was envisioned to train teachers who sought to specialise in physical education, Jokl’s vision for the department was best captured in his ideas for the diploma course.¹⁹¹ In maintaining a pedagogical focus, the three-year diploma course was intended to yield physical education researchers. As the course was anticipated to be physically demanding, Jokl recommended that “*Slegs besonders talentvolle studente, wat vroeër reeds op die sportvelde uitgeblink het, word verwag om hierdie driejarige kursus...te volg*”¹⁹² (Only exceptionally talented students, who have previously excelled on the sports field, are expected to enrol for this three-year course...). Jokl emphasised that this programme was created to cater to the country’s future need for trained professionals of physical education.¹⁹³ In order for students to gain admission to the diploma course, they would have had to attain a Matriculation certificate or an equivalent qualification, whereas with the certificate course required students to be in possession of a teaching qualification.¹⁹⁴ This requirement exemplifies the contention that the diploma course was designed to train research specialists, not just instructors. Moreover, as Jokl emphasised “the country’s future need for physical education professional” the structure of this course decentred the teacher training focus.

For the three-year diploma course, the theoretical content was to be divided into four groups: pedagogical training, biology and medical aspects of physical education, administration of physical education and aviation, for men students, or home economics, for women students.¹⁹⁵ It should be noted that Jokl’s conceptualisation of the diploma course granted women students the opportunity to choose to attend classes on aviation.¹⁹⁶ As for practical exercises, compulsory physical training session would to be conducted every day in the form of: exercise

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ E. Jokl, ‘Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch’, p. 18.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1937, pp. 275-279.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

training, athletics, swimming, games and gymnastics with equipment.¹⁹⁷ With the regard to the outline of the programmes, the course was intended to be structured as follows:

First year

1. Daily physical training
2. General biology
3. Anatomy and physiology
4. Physical education theory
5. Colloquium on sport problems of the day
 - *For men: flying
 - *For women: Household Course or *flying

Second Year

1. Daily physical training
2. Anatomy, physiology and hygiene
3. Introduction to psychology
4. Philosophy of education
5. History of education
6. Sociology
7. First-aid
8. Colloquium on sport problems of the day

Third year

1. Daily training
2. Teaching of school classes and groups of university students
3. Medical aspects of physical education
4. Administration
5. Physics of aviation
6. Research problems
7. Psychology
8. Colloquium on the sport problems of the day¹⁹⁸

Overall the curricula structure of the diploma course best displays Jokl's concept for the department. Where the certificate course placed a hyper-focus on teaching techniques with regard to physical education, the diploma course was far more theoretical. The research orientated nature of the course is best revealed in the incorporation of scientific methodology and social analysis. Overall, the course foregrounded a deeper analysis and dissection of practical physical activities. The research focus of the course is further exemplified in the insertion of Jokl's personal interest in aviation medicine. Obtaining his pilot license in 1936,¹⁹⁹ Jokl would later produce research on the medical aspects of aviation.²⁰⁰ Moreover while the gendered component of the programmes remained central, Jokl conceptualised the course in

¹⁹⁸ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol XI. 9 Desember 1935- 19 Maart 1937. Verder Rapport of van Spesiale Komitee Insake van Belegings. p.130.

¹⁹⁹ Jokl, *South African Reminiscences*, p. 3.

²⁰⁰ See E. Jokl, *Aviation medicine* (Cape Town, Unievolkspers Beperk, 1942).

such a way that gave women students the opportunity to attend classes on aviation. In lieu of home economics classes that would prepare women students for a more domestic role, which was clearly a social expectation, this subtle addition is significant as it signifies both Jokl's ambitions to expand the scope of the course as well as his lack of adherence to social norms.

While the university was determined to instate Jokl's ideas of introducing both a certificate and diploma course, the announcement of the diploma course was met with opposition from the Cape Education Department. Early in 1937,²⁰¹ the Superintendent General of the Cape Education Department, Wouter de Vos Malan, wrote a letter addressed to Wilcocks in response to the university's plan to introduce the certificate and diploma courses in physical education. According to the General Superintendent, the most useful types of teachers devote a portion of their time to physical education, whereas the majority of their time is dedicated to other subjects.²⁰² Responding to Wilcocks' questions regarding the feasibility of a specialised course in physical education, the Superintendent General noted that in its present form, the three-year diploma course cannot be considered as a teacher training course or as a degree course.²⁰³ De vos Malan, went on to state that while the matter may be taken up for consideration in the future, the reason why the Cape Education Department decided against endorsing the diploma course was due to the fact that there is no guarantee of employment for educators who were only trained to teach physical education.²⁰⁴ Noting that while the Department of Education had trained women teachers as physical education specialists and been able to secure them full-time positions –since 1925 this was no longer the case.²⁰⁵ Keeping in line with the Cape Education Department's recommendation, seventeen students,²⁰⁶ all of whom possessed a teaching qualification, were enrolled in the university's first physical education certificate course at the beginning of 1937.²⁰⁷

²⁰¹ Announced in October 1936, the university first Physical Education vacation course for school teachers was hosted from 4 January and 15 January 1937 at the cost of £2:12. See Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol XI. 9 Desember 1935- 19 Maart 1937. Rapport van Eregraad Komitee.

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol XI. 9 Desember 1935- 19 Maart 1937. Brief van Superindendant Generaal van Onderwys, W. de Vos Malan. p. 337.

²⁰⁴ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol XI. 9 Desember 1935- 19 Maart 1937. Brief van Superindendant Generaal van Onderwys, W. de Vos Malan. p. 337.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁶ Thom, *Stellenbosch 1866-1966 : Honderd Jaar Hoër onderwys*, p. 117..

²⁰⁷ Anon, 'Stellenbosch Enrolments Higher', *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 March 1938, p. 7



Figure 2. 3.: Ernst and Erica Jokl with graduate students at Stellenbosch University in 1936 (From left to right: Jan Botha, ‘Ballie’ van der Merwe, Jan Schoeman, Erica Jokl and Ernst Jokl).²⁰⁸

In order to facilitate physical education classes, the large hall on the side of the university stadium was identified as the initial venue.²⁰⁹ Beyond the standard certificate course, Jokl announced the introduction of open-access basic training sessions for one period a week as well as two courses specifically designed for students from the Faculty of Education. As a means of promoting the benefits of physical activity among the broader student body, these courses focussed on physical education theory, health in schools and exercise programmes on the sports field.²¹⁰ Furthermore, Jokl’s work on campus extended beyond lectures. He offered medical advice on campus to students and university staff; conducted medical examinations on students who participated in physical training sessions and facilitated public exercise sessions for the broader university staff and student body.²¹¹ In the first Senate meeting of 1937, the Council decided that in order for a student to be enrolled in this programme they had to be in possession of a certificate qualification in either primary or secondary school education.²¹² Moreover all

²⁰⁸ Jokl, *South African Reminiscences*, p. 3.

²⁰⁹ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol XI. 9 Desember 1935- Minutes of Senate Meeting 19 Maart 1937. Verder Rapport van die Spesiale Komitee Insake Bellegings. 24 April 1936.p. 24.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹¹ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol XI. 9 Desember 1935- Minutes of Senate Meeting 19 Maart 1937. Verder Rapport van die Spesiale Komitee Insake Bellegings. 24 April 1936. p.24

²¹² Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol XI. 9 Desember 1935- Minutes of Senate Meeting 19 Maart 1937. 19 March 1937. p. 309.

students were obligated to undergo a medical examination in order to ensure that they were physically fit and able participate in the physical aspects of the programme.²¹³ As sole lecturer, Jokl was responsible for conducting the theoretical portion of the course that dealt with topics related to physical education theory.²¹⁴ As recommended by the Education Faculty and endorsed by the University Council and Senate, Jokl instructed men students, whereas his wife Erica Jokl, an experienced gymnast, took up the position of instructor for women students.²¹⁵ The practical sessions for women students did not make use of gymnastics equipment to a great extent and instead these classes were comprised of gymnastics-based techniques and basic tumbling exercises.²¹⁶ As both Jokl and his wife were not fluent in Afrikaans, all classes were conducted in English.²¹⁷

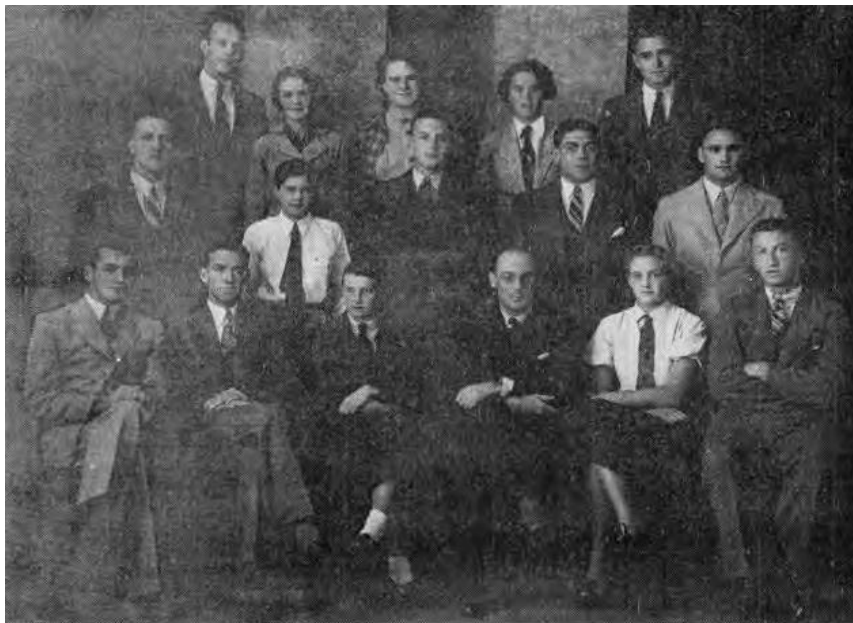


Figure 2. 4.: The first students enrolled in the physical education in 1937. Seated third from the right is Ernst Jokl.²¹⁸

²¹³ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1937.

²¹⁴ Boshoff, 'Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch', pp. 45-47.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p 45.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*

²¹⁸ Boshoff, 'Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch',



Figure 2.5.: Physical education students ‘hanging out’, c.1937.²¹⁹

Medical Mayhem: “Thus a person coming to me with a sore finger was never asked to undress.”²²⁰

Soon after the introduction of the first physical education certificate course at the university, issues surrounding the obligatory medical examinations of physical education students arose. In March 1937 the Executive Committee of the Senate initiated an investigation, scrutinising the methods Jokl employed whilst conducting medical examinations on physical education students.²²¹ Firstly, the Committee Report emphasised that Jokl was qualified to conduct the examinations, stressing that he had not only attained two medical degrees from University of Breslau and the University of Witwatersrand, he was also registered by the Medical Council of South Africa under Act No. 13 of 1928.²²² Furthermore the Executive Committee’s Report highlighted that as announced to the Senate on 19 March 1937, Jokl had been instructed to conduct the medical examinations of physical education students. Jokl examined both men and women students and in these examinations’ students were instructed to undress.²²³ The central

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Brief van Dr. E Jokl, 21 April 1937. p. 25.

²²¹ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol XI. 9 Desember 1935- Minutes of Senate Meeting 19 Maart 1937. 19 March 1937. p. 309

²²² Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Voorlopige Rapport van Komitee i/s Mediese Onderzoek van Studente van Liggaamsopvoeding. p. 18.

²²³ Ibid.

contestation that led to a major investigation arose due to the fact that Jokl was examining women students in “various states of undress”.²²⁴ In response to the initial investigation, Jokl addressed a letter to Wilcocks on 16 April 1937. In the letter, Jokl requested to be relieved of his duties as lecturer of physical education at the university, emphasising that the methods he had employed were scientifically based and that his conduct was professional.²²⁵ In the letter Jokl stated the following:

“I understand that the difficulties which have arisen in connection with the medical examinations of student at the University may cause the University harm. I should extremely regret it if this is the case and would rather sever my connection with the University.

I therefore repeat the desire which I have expressed freely and on my own account to you, namely, to be relieve of my duties at the University, if your Council agrees with my standpoint.

You were kind enough to tell me during our last conversation today that the commission of inquiry appointed by the Senate to investigate the various rumours in connection with the medical examinations of students as carried out by myself, has hitherto found nothing which will indicate that my methods were different from those used in other countries or that any unprofessional conduct on my part had taken place. Furthermore, you have been able to convince yourself that I hold in addition to the South African and German medical degree a specialist’s certificate qualifying me as an expert in medical aspects of physical education (“*Sportarz*”). I would like to add that I am the only registered medical practitioner in South Africa holding the above qualification.

Ultimately I wish to express my most emphatic desire to have the inquiry of the present situation, as being carried out by the University, continued in a thorough way so that as far as the actual facts are concerned not the slightest doubt can remain.”²²⁶

It should be noted that archival records do not specify the various ‘states of undress’ of each student. As discussed in this chapter, the Faculty of Education’s recommendation, sanctioned by Senate, stressed the fact that Jokl was not permitted to instruct the physical training of women students. In March 1937, six months after the recommendations were posed, Jokl was asked to conduct the obligatory medical examinations of physical education students. Considering this, the recommendations served as an indication of what the university regarded as appropriate physical contact with women students. While the instruction of physical activity does not require close or prolonged physical contact between the instructor and the student, Jokl was not permitted to instruct physical activities for women students. Taking this into account as well as the fact that Jokl was qualified to conduct the examination, the university’s

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

²²⁵ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Brief van Dr. E Jokl, 16 April 1937. pp. 24-25.

²²⁶ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Brief van Dr. E Jokl, 16 April 1937. pp. 24-25.

response to Jokl's methods was at its core a critique of a lecturer's physical contact with a student, and not a doctor's examination of a patient. While Jokl occupied both roles, his examination methods stood in stark contrast with what the university regarded to be acceptable.

On 19 April 1937 a Committee comprised of Wilcocks (as convenor), Stegmann and Mr Alan Harvey,²²⁷ presented its memorandum, that was to be released to the press later, to the Senate.

²²⁸ The memorandum briefly described the processes surrounding the introduction of physical education; the reasons behind Jokl's employment as well as why the medical examinations were necessary.²²⁹ In providing details regarding the examinations, the Committee claimed that the University was unaware that the Jokl was examining women students in complete undress.²³⁰ The Committee further claimed that once the University became aware of Jokl's methods, immediate steps were taken to prevent this from happening again and subsequently the University proceeded to investigate the matter.²³¹ Following the launch of the investigation,

the University thought it best to form a Commission of Inquiry as part of their efforts to obtain

Records accessed through the Stellenbosch University Archives have not provided extensive details about Alan

Harvey or the role he played at the university

an independent report from outside the University. The members of the Commission of Inquiry

were Mrs J.H. Conradie, the wife of the Cape Province Administrator, Mrs S.W. Pienaar,

the chairperson of the Stellenbosch faction of *Afrikaanse Christelike Vrouevereniging* (A. C.

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V. V.) a Protestant women's organization²³³ and Dr Karl Bremer.²³⁴ The report stated the following:

1. That all the female student voluntarily underwent the investigation knowing:
 - (a) That they could choose their own doctor.
 - (b) That they would have to undress completely
2. That the investigation was of a superficial nature that lasted about five minutes. During this time, the stomach, heart and lungs were examined, and the blood pressure was measured.
3. That nothing of an indecent nature occurred during the investigation.
4. That none of the female students experienced any shock, fright or indignation. On the contrary, they were completely satisfied with the examination.
5. That during every examination, another female student was present.
6. Of the seventeen names given to the Commission, it appears as though 12 were examined in complete undress and the other 5 were not asked to undress completely.
7. All the female students agreed that Dr Jokl's actions and conduct during the investigation was impeccable.²³⁵

These findings were based on testimonies gathered from women students which detailed their experiences. Apart from the university instructing Jokl to conduct the medical examination of physical education students, the fact that he already provided medical services on campus may have contributed to students being more comfortable with Jokl conducting their medical examinations. Furthermore, Jokl made sure that all the students were aware of the basic procedures that would be undertaken in the examinations. Based upon their testimonies, Jokl's conduct was professional and they did not experience any 'indignation' during their examinations. Additionally, as mentioned in this chapter, very early on in his career Jokl had conducted similar medical examinations on athletes. In light of this, the university's criticism rested on the fact that Jokl's conduct transgressed the university's gendered conceptualisation regarding interactions with women students.

In his testimony, Jokl stated that according to his training, patients are required to undress when undergoing a medical examination of this sort.²³⁶ He noted that the examinations lasted for about 20 minutes and that the rest of the procedure took place on the sports field and focussed on other body parts such as the joints.²³⁷ According to Jokl the investigation was more thorough than the students were aware of.²³⁸ He also claimed that he did not expect that his methods

²³⁵ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Rapport van Komitee insake van die Mediese Ondersoek van Studente van Liggaamsopvoeding. p.22.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

²³⁸ *Ibid.*

would lead to public outrage in South Africa and that he seized all examinations once he was informed about their effects.²³⁹ Responding to Jokl's testimony the Committee stressed that although permissible in other countries and contexts, Jokl's methods could have been implemented without the student having to undress.²⁴⁰ This further emphasises the fact that while Jokl was informed by his training, his methods went against the conservative traditions of the university.²⁴¹

The Committee decided to accept the Commission's findings and concluded that the methods Jokl employed, although customary in some other countries, were not necessary nor appropriate in this case.²⁴² The Committee stated that Jokl's actions proved that he was out of touch with the procedures and practices followed in South Africa.²⁴³ Furthermore the Committee expressed that the University deeply regretted the events and felt that it would not be honouring the institution's traditions if it did not accept Jokl's resignation.²⁴⁴ Despite receiving majority support from the Committee members, this was not a unanimous decision. Stegmann voted in the minority against accepting Jokl's resignation and requested that his opposition be recorded in the minutes of the meeting.²⁴⁵ In being largely responsible for Jokl's appointment at the university, Stegmann had regarded Jokl's tenure as the initial step towards making "Stellenbosch the recognized centre for scientific physical education in South Africa."²⁴⁶ Subsequently his opposition to Committees decision underlines the fact that he remained invested in keeping Jokl at the university.

In an outraged response, Jokl addressed a letter to Wilcocks on 21 April 1937. According to Jokl, Wilcocks had personally informed him that he would be allowed to submit a memorandum to Senate, detailing why he needed to employ his methods whilst examining physical education students. According to Jokl, he was not afforded the opportunity to submit the memorandum nor access the Commission's final report. In a letter addressed to Wilcocks, Jokl outlined a number of points he thought to be essential to the investigation:

²³⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁴¹ F. E. Leonard, *A Guide to the History of Physical Education* (Philadelphia, Lea and Febiger, 1947), pp. 423-424.

²⁴² Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Rapport i/s Mediese ondersoek van Studente aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch. p. 23.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁵ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Rapport van Komitee insake van die Mediese Ondersoek van Studente van Liggaamsopvoeding. p.23.

²⁴⁶ Jokl, 'Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch', p. 17.

1. That at the end of the first meeting of the committee of inquiry, I was told that it is the unanimous finding that my methods and examinations were unobjectionable.

This report has so far as I am aware not come to the knowledge of the Senate. However, without obvious reasons, the inquiry was suddenly intensified and that it stated that the evidence of each girl which has been examined by myself would be required. No evidence however was sought from men.

2. That I was able to satisfy the committee that the methods of examination used by myself are methods used by medical men in other countries FOR THE SAME PURPOSE.
3. That I was under the strong impression that the medical men who sat on the commission, compared my methods of examination with those of medical practitioners in this country who do not and who have never in their life carried out any examination for the purpose for which the university had asked me to do. For other medical examinations, such as are commonly done by medical practitioners, which were also very frequently carried out by myself in Stellenbosch, I have always used the less thorough methods which are usually sufficient in such cases. Thus a person coming to me with a sore finger was never asked to undress.
4. The medical examination of students of physical education as done by myself, was for the first time carried out in South Africa. No other doctor has to my knowledge ever before been asked to carry out such a task. I HAVE STATED IN THE COURSE OF THE INQUIRY THAT IN CARRYING OUT A NEW TASK I HAD TO USE METHODS APPARENTLY UNKNOWN TO AND NOT USED BY MANY MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS WHO NATURALLY MUST HAVE DIFFERENT AIMS AND DIFFERENT CONSIDERATIONS. I understand that it is admitted that my methods are in principle correct and the integrity of my professional conduct is also not questioned. No person ever examined by myself – there are altogether several thousand – have ever complained about my examinations....
5. That I feel that the issue which the Senate will decide today is so great and the consequence for me – and not only for me – will be so heavy, that I thought it admissible to bring my point of view directly to the Senate’s knowledge
6. I attached a short memorandum which I also beg you to read to the Senate. Every student was taught in a similar way why the examination had to be carried out using the methods which I used. That is one of the reasons why each examination lasted quite a long time. ²⁴⁷

In the memorandum attached to Jokl’s the aforementioned letter he provided insight into the methods he used in the medical examinations. Jokl stated that as the instructor and medical practitioner in charge of training physical education students, he has to be “acquainted with the

²⁴⁷ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Brief van Dr. E Jokl, 21 April 1937. p. 25.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

substrate of his efforts: with the body of his student”²⁴⁸ and goes on to claim that the purpose of his examinations warranted the methods he imposed.²⁴⁹ For Jokl the “visual impression”²⁵⁰ of the body as a whole is vital for assessing students of physical education. Jokl noted that the main aim of such an examination “is to form a clear picture of the constitutional type of each individual.”²⁵¹ This memorandum draws attention to the rift between the university’s conceptualisation of physical education and Jokl’s self-consciously scientifically-orientated medicalised approach. As it has been established, physical education was introduced as a module in the Education Faculty. On the side of the university it had been assumed that within Jokl’s capacity as lecturer, the Faculty’s guidelines dictating interactions with students would inform Jokl methods. While upheld in the context of lecture and practical session, the university reaction to Jokl’s approach indicates that the institution did not fathom the extent of Jokl’s methods. Standing in stark contrast to the university’s detached conservative approach, Jokl’s intrusive methods transgressed the university’s unspoken yet tangible boundaries.

As a final attempt to defend himself, Jokl penned a letter on 23 April 1937. In this letter, he objected to the Council’s decision to accept his resignation, that had by now already been submitted to the Council.²⁵² Although the Commission of Inquiry’s report revealed that Jokl acted within his professional capacity, the Committee recommended that the university sever their ties with Jokl on grounds of his resignation.²⁵³ In his final letter, Jokl disclosed that he submitted his resignation upon the recommendation of Wilcocks, noting that Wilcocks had even drafted the resignation letter himself.²⁵⁴ Jokl claims that he never intended to step down from his position and instead hoped for a fair and thorough investigation into the claims made against him.²⁵⁵ While Wilcocks personally sourced funding to finance Jokl’s position at the university, his position as Rector dictated his allegiance. Moreover, Wilcocks’ involvement in Jokl’s resignation further emphasises the extent to which the traditions of the university and pressure from the broader Afrikaans community, including the Dutch Reformed Church, dictated institutional decision-making.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

²⁵² Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Brief van Dr. E Jokl, 16 April 1937. p. 28.

²⁵³ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Rapport i/s Mediese ondersoek van Studente aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch. p. 23.

²⁵⁴ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Brief van Dr. E Jokl, 23 April 1937. p. 30.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

Upholding the Values of the *Volksuniversiteit*

Public discourse surrounding the Jokl's investigation aired on both the side of condemnation and support. Following an article published in *Die Burger* on 19 April 1937 that detailed the investigation, the Stellenbosch faction of the Dutch Reformed Church expressed their indignation regarding Jokl's actions.²⁵⁶ In a letter addressed to the Senate, the Church Council voiced their disapproval stating; “*Nie alleen is die sedelike welsyn van die dames-studente op die spel nie, maar ook die goeie naam van die Universiteit en die gemeenskap van Stellenbosch...*”²⁵⁷ (Not only is the moral well-being of the female students at stake, but also the good reputation of University and the community of Stellenbosch...). The Church Council pleaded with Senate to immediately cease all physical examinations of female students in which they are instructed to undress; to ensure, that if necessary, all examinations of female student be done by a female doctor and lastly that the University accept the resignation of the individual in question.²⁵⁸ On 21 April 1937, the *Pro Libertate* student publication attempted to initiate a discussion among the student body regarding the many rumours surrounding the Jokl investigation. In the article the author addresses the “crisis” stating that:

“Many rumours are circulating... which cannot but be detrimental to the honour and position of this University and that of the person concerned. It is a lamentable fact that much prejudice exists, and people are prone to base their conclusion on this prejudice rather than on a clear and critical analysis of facts. On the one hand we may ask ourselves this question; Must this University as a “*Volksuniversiteit*” (a much abused term) allow the appointment of a Jew on its staff? Everyone is free to decide this question himself either in a negative or in the affirmative... on the other hand we must ask ourselves this question. Is there any ground for these rumours? Is there a basis of the facts in this matter? This malignant talk is connected with the name and honour of a person against whom much prejudice and bias criticisms prevails... if you say a Jew should not be a member of the University staff it does not mean that you have to condemn him if he has done no wrong... In regard to Dr Jokl's appointment, the Senate had already declared its policy. If the Senate therefore accepts the resignation it cannot be on the grounds of race arguments. If the investigation of the committee shows that all these rumours are unfounded we are confident that his voluntary offer of resignation will then not be considered. And if this is the case the Senate is under an absolute moral obligation publicly to clear Dr Jokl of all blame because this matter has already spread itself outside the confines of the University. On the other hand if the Senate should then

²⁵⁶ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Brief van Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, 21 April 1937.p. 198.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁹ Anon, Aanroep, *Pro Libertate*, 21 April 1937, p. 1.

still accept his resignation we should like to know why!”²⁵⁹

Toward the end of the investigation, Jokl was granted the opportunity to defend his actions before the Senate. Speaking on behalf of Jokl, Advocate Andries Brink Beyers asserted that at the present stage of the investigation Jokl wished only to have his name cleared “of the slurs cast upon it by the groundless and malicious rumours circulated about him by ill-informed and hostile people”.²⁶⁰ Beyers stated that if Jokl’s request was met, he would vacate his post voluntarily. In response to the Adv. Beyers, the Vice-Chancellor, Judge Hendrik Stephanus van Zyl, stated that the Council would not only base its decision on Jokl’s resignation but also on the expert knowledge of medical practitioners, Dr Karl Bremer and Dr Louis Leipold.²⁶¹ Following Bremer and Leipoldt’s interview with Jokl, they concluded that the methods imposed in the medical examinations of women students were not required. The Senate’s final recommendation reiterated that Jokl’s conduct in the examinations was professional and that the Commission of Inquiry could attest to it. The Council also acknowledged that Jokl’s methods were based on similar practices employed in other countries, such as Germany. Furthermore, the Council stated that had the university been aware of Jokl’s methods they would not have allowed it as it was deemed ‘offensive’ in South Africa. As noted by the Council the methods imposed by Jokl indicated that he was oblivious to the values of the “*volk*” (nation)²⁶² and the university. Subsequently, the university decided to accept Jokl’s resignation and terminate his appointment on 24 April 1937, noting that he would still go on to receive his monthly salary till 31 December 1937.²⁶³

In approaching the final stage of the Jokl investigation, the *Rand Daily Mail* published an article reporting on the events. Based on the University’s press release, the article highlighted that Jokl’s actions were deemed “irreproachable” however the university still decided to accept his resignation.²⁶⁴ In accordance with the demands posed by Adv. Beyer, the university ensured that news publications emphasised Jokl’s professional conduct as well as the fact that he had

²⁶⁰ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Minutes of Meeting of the Senate, 14.5.1937.p. 30.

²⁶¹ See C. F. L. Leipoldt, *Bushveld Doctor* (Cape Town, Human & Rousseau, 1980).; S. Swart, “‘Bushveld Magic’ and ‘Miracle Doctors’ an Exploration of Eugen Marais and C. Louis Leipoldt’s experience in the Waterberg, South Africa, c 1906-1917”, *Journal of African History*, 45 (2004), pp. 237–55

²⁶² Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Rapport i/s Mediese ondersoek van Studente aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch.p. 56.

²⁶³ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Resolution of Council-Insake van die Mediese ondersoek van Studente wat kursusse in Liggaamsopvoeding volg. p. 31.

²⁶⁴ Anon, ‘Dr. Jokl’s “Professionally Irreproachable”: But the University Accepts His Resignation’, *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 April 1937, p. 6.

vacated his post amicably. An article published in *Die Burger* on 26 April 1937, reported on the surge in ongoing discussions between the Student Representative Council, the Vice-Chancellor and the university Rector. Echoed in the article is the fact that Jokl acted within his professional capacity, stating, “*Die Raad van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch het Saterdag besluit dat dr. Jokl se gedrag by die geneeskundige ondersoek van studente professioneel onberispelik was maar het in die omstandighede besluit om sy bedanking te aanvaar*”²⁶⁵ (On Saturday the Stellenbosch University Council decided that Dr Jokl's conduct in the medical examination of students was professionally impeccable but due to circumstances chose to accept his resignation). On 28 April 1937, more than a thousand students packed the university's Recreation Hall to express their support for Jokl. Following a heated debate, a spokesperson from among the crowd expressed the student body's gratitude towards Jokl and Erica Jokl for their services at the university.²⁶⁶ In line with the testimonies from physical education students, it is apparent that the student body clearly supported Jokl.

Once the University's final decision had been made public, Jokl addressed a letter to Wilcocks in which he thanked the Rector for his support as well as “the members of the Senate for the attitude which they...adopted” throughout the investigation.²⁶⁷ Reflecting upon his time at the university, Jokl stated “when, at a later date, I shall think of my work at the University of Stellenbosch, I shall have before my mind the kindness, which so many members of the staff showed towards me, as an entire stranger...I wish the University of Stellenbosch further success and progress. My loyalty will always be with the University in the same way as it was during the short period when I could actively serve your alma mater.”²⁶⁸ As the university had received financial support from the Carnegie Corporation to fund Jokl's appointment “under the scheme for assisting displaced German Scientists”,²⁶⁹ Wilcocks addressed a letter to the President of the Carnegie Corporation, Dr Keppel, to explain the events that led to Jokl's dismissal. On 10 June 1937, Keppel responded; “we quite understand the circumstance outlined in your letter of May 10 regarding Dr E. Jokl. As to the balance of the grant, we hope that you can find a way at your convenience to use it for some other German scholar.”²⁷⁰

²⁶⁵ Anon, ‘Beslissing in die geval van Jokl’, *Die Burger*, 26 April 1937, p. 7.

²⁶⁶ Anon, ‘Studente en die geval dr. Jokl’, *Die Burger*, 29 April 1937, p. 1.

²⁶⁷ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Minutes of Meeting of the Senate, 14 May 1937, P 54.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁹ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Letter from Prof. R. W. Wilcocks, 10 May 1937, p. 275-276.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

Conclusion

An anticipated demand for trained physical education teachers led to an increase in the number of formal physical education training programmes across the country. Therefore from its conception physical education at Stellenbosch University was designed to operate as a graduate course within the Faculty of Education. Considering this, figures such as Prof Stegmann visualised physical education as an independent department which not only trained teachers who sought to specialise in physical education but also trained physical education researchers and athletes. The subsequent recruitment of Ernst Jokl served as a means through which to attain this vision. In analysing the events surrounding Jokl's short tenure at the university, the chapter revealed a critical contradiction between the scientific practices Jokl imposed and the conservative ideals and brand of the university. Despite his significant contribution to the establishment of the discipline at Stellenbosch as well as the fact that he was qualified to conduct the medical examinations of physical education students, the chapter contends that Jokl's position as a lecturer within a conservative academic fraternity such as Stellenbosch University limited his scientific ambition before they even came into fruition.

Chapter Three: The Race Betterment Machine: Physical Education in Service of Afrikaner Nationalism, c. 1937-1939

Dosent aan Liggaamsopvoeding student: “Wat beskou jy as die belangrikste oefening in Gimnastiek?”

(Lecturer to physical education student: What do you consider to be the most important exercise in Gymnastics)

Student: “Eet Dokter”

(Student: Eating, Doctor)²⁷¹

Physical education programmes and courses launched across South Africa in the 1930s formed part of a national plan to redeem a fallen subset of the white population. In considering the establishment of government-funded national intervention programs such as the National Scheme for Physical Education and the National Advisory Council for Physical Education, Stellenbosch University’s Physical Education Department served as an essential cog in the state’s ‘race betterment’ machine. In the preface to Stellenbosch University’s first physical education textbook, *Beginsels en Leidraad vir Liggaamsopvoeding in die Skool*,²⁷² Oswald Pirow, the then Minister of Justice and admirer of Adolf Hitler, hailed the institution as a catalyst in the expansion of the country’s understanding of the value of physical education.²⁷³ Drawing attention to Stellenbosch University’s republican aligned exploits, Pirow celebrated the university’s ‘invaluable’ contributions to the construction of an Afrikaans system of physical education that was acutely adapted to suit the nations “*landsomstandighede en volkskarakter*”²⁷⁴ (county’s conditions and national identity). Thus the chapter argues that the introduction of formal physical education, both within the context of Stellenbosch University and the South African state, formed part of a national agenda to advance Afrikaner nation-

²⁷¹ Anon, ‘Grappies’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 1, 2 (1939), p. 58.

²⁷² Born in 1890, Advocate Oswald Pirow was an enthusiastic supporter of the South African physical education movement and played a crucial role in the garnering political recognition and support for physical education in South Africa. Pirow served as the Minister of Defence within the Hertzog coalition. In his capacity as the Minister of Defence Pirow contributed to the reorganisation of physical education in the South African Armed Forces. Using his political influence and vast networks Pirow’s greatly contributed to the formation of the National Advisory Council for Physical Education. Most notably Pirow was responsible for the prosecution of Nelson Mandela in the Rivonia Treason Trial. See Anon, ‘Adv. Oswald Pirow’, *Vigor*, 18, 4 (1959), p. 6. See also F. A. Mouton, *The opportunist : the political life of Oswald Pirow, 1915-1959* (Pretoria, Protea Book House, 2020)

²⁷³ A. M. K. Obholzer, *Beginsels en Leidraad vir Liggaamsopvoeding in die Skool* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia Drukkery, 1939). p. 1.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

building efforts. In doing so the chapter intends to first investigate the origins of the South African physical education system as well as the introduction of the National Scheme for Physical Education. To do so, the chapter traces the trajectory of the department following Jokl's abrupt dismissal and outlines the ways in which the department, under the directorship of Dr Anton Obholzer, contributed to the making of South African physical education. In essence, by tracing the development of physical education as a department and discipline at

²⁷⁵ See Chapters One and Two of this thesis.

Stellenbosch University, the chapter argues that physical education at the *Volksuniversiteit*²⁷⁵ championed the interest of a greater Afrikaner nationalist agenda.

For the Volk (People): A Historiography

In commenting on the changes within the discourse surrounding the origins and development of Afrikaner nationalism, Saul Dubow argues that it remains imperative to impose a nuanced understanding when tracing its metamorphisms over time.²⁷⁶ Writing within the framework of Dubow's calls for a closer analysis of Afrikaner nationalism as a socially heterogeneous and malleable entity,²⁷⁷ this chapter analyses physical education's place within the context of a nation in the making. As stated in, *Troubling Images: Visual Culture and the Politics of Afrikaner Nationalism*, Afrikanerdom finds its roots deeply embedded within "...the experience of a people who were denied social and economic power, and whose political and cultural agency was marginalised by the imperialist agenda."²⁷⁸ As argued by Albert Grundlingh, in tracing the development of the events surrounding the birth and expansion of Afrikaner nationalism, both the British imperialist establishment and the greater international community overlooked and essentially failed to comprehend "the depth of Afrikaner humiliation in the aftermath of the South African War..."²⁷⁹ and thus was completely "unprepared for the meteoric rise of Afrikaner nationalism in the first three decades of the twentieth century."²⁸⁰ It is the shared tale of suffering and exclusion that served as what Grundlingh terms as a "binding agent"²⁸¹ that unified a deeply stratified and class based society under a singular ideological banner.²⁸² In considering this, the chapter investigates a particular period in the history of Afrikaner nationalism, in which the state began to actively engage in the process of citizen making.²⁸³ While exploring the foundational phase of formal physical education, as part of both a national intervention and a scientific exploration, this chapter argues that the standardisation of physical education served as a weapon within the greater

²⁷⁶ S. Dubow, 'Afrikaner Nationalism, Apartheid and the Conceptualization of 'Race'', *The Journal of African History*, 33, 2 (1992), pp. 209-210.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

²⁷⁸ F. Freschi, B. Schmahmann and L. van Robbroeck (eds), *Troubling Images: Visual Culture and the Politics of Afrikaner Nationalism* (Johannesburg, Wits University Press, 2020), p. 2.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁸¹ A. Grundlingh, 'The Trajectory and Dynamics of Afrikaner Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: An Overview', in F. Freschi, B. Schmahmann and L. van Robbroeck (eds), *Troubling Images: Visual Culture and the Politics of Afrikaner Nationalism* (Johannesburg, Wits University Press, 2020), p. 28.

²⁸² Grundlingh, 'The Trajectory and Dynamics of Afrikaner Nationalism in the Twentieth Century', p. 28.

²⁸³ See A. H. Broeksma, 'The Education of Citizens and the Department of Defense', *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, 1, 2 (1939), p. 17.

arsenal of Afrikaner nation-building.

For Grundlingh the centralisation of populist rhetoric of “‘struggle’, ‘survival’ and ‘salvation’”²⁸⁴ unified an intrinsically stratified society under the banner of one political and social ideal. Beyond strategies for economic and political advancement,²⁸⁵ a key aspect in the social advancement of the *volk* was the centralised importance relegated to Afrikaner history.²⁸⁶ According to Grundlingh the commemoration of symbolic events such as “the Slagtersnek Rebellion of 1815, the Great Trek, the Day of the Covenant, the South African War, the concentration camps during that war, and the Rebellion of 1914” were celebrated “in near-religious terms, with Afrikaners as God’s chosen people, destined to bring civilisation and Christianity to the southern tip of Africa.”²⁸⁷ In considering the importance of a triumphalist history, Grundlingh argues that the 1938 Great Trek Centenary served as a key turning point in the crystallisation of Afrikaner nationalism. Grundlingh notes that at its core, the 1938 centenary celebrations buttressed the notion that the “Afrikaners were strangers in their own land, victims of British-based capitalism and an alien political culture, and that a solution [lie] in unified economic, political and cultural action.”²⁸⁸ Serving as a central turning point in the Afrikaner nation building movement, this event evoked key features of populism which included “a moralistic...content; a romantic, consciously anti-intellectual, and deliberately declassed leadership; an overt alienation from the centres of political and economic power; the launching of cooperative economic ventures, involving the small man... and a strong nostalgic element in drawing upon an idealised past that might shape the present and the future.”²⁸⁹ As will be demonstrated in this chapter, the romanticised, glorified and idealised Afrikaner history underpinned the construction of South African physical education, both within the context of Stellenbosch University and national interventions.

In “A political-institutional history of the Stellenbosch University physical education department, 1936–1939,” Francois Cleophas attempts to explore the extent to which Stellenbosch University’s institutional culture contributed to the cultivation of the Physical

²⁸⁴ Grundlingh, ‘The Trajectory and Dynamics of Afrikaner Nationalism in the Twentieth Century’, pp. 28-29.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 24-28.

²⁸⁶ A. Grundlingh, ‘Afrikaner historians and the notion of an “objective-scientific” approach in perspective’, in J. Jansen and C. Walters (eds), *Faultlines: A Primer on Race, Science and Society* (Stellenbosch, African Sun Media, 2020), pp. 93- 100.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p. 27.

²⁸⁸ Grundlingh, ‘The Trajectory and Dynamics of Afrikaner Nationalism in the Twentieth Century’, pp. 28-29.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid*.

²⁹⁰ F. J. Cleophas, ‘A political-institutional history of the Stellenbosch University physical education department, 1936–1939’, *Sport in Society Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics*, 2021, pp. 1-14.

Education Department's deeply racist and gendered ethos.²⁹⁰ As noted in Chapter One of this thesis, Stellenbosch University received its university status in 1918²⁹¹ and in its conception it became known as the *Volksuniversiteit*.²⁹² In unpacking the 'political-institutional' underpinning of Stellenbosch University, it should be noted that at its core the university served to cater to the advancement of the Afrikaner nation throughout the twentieth century. Particularly within the context of the 1930s and 1940s, this institution became the epicentre for growing Afrikaner intellectualism of the early twentieth century.²⁹³ In tracking the first three years of the department, from 1937 to 1939,²⁹⁴ Cleophas argues that the institution's conservative, right-wing Afrikaner nationalist stance spilled over to all facets of the university, and therefore one cannot investigate the history of physical education at Stellenbosch without understanding the political-institutional history of the university in its entirety.²⁹⁵ In expanding on Cleophas' core argument, this chapter intends remain cognisant of the institution's dedication to the Afrikaner plight, as its analysis is situated within the history of physical education at the *Volksuniversiteit*.

The Need for National Intervention

In 1937 the National Scheme for Physical Education, which would later propose the establishment of the National Advisory for the Council for Physical Education (NACPE), initiated greater efforts to formulate a standardised system for physical education that would "raise [the] general standard of the nation's physique and... impart knowledge of the rules of health including nutrition."²⁹⁶ As stated by the NACPE, "the.. scheme was set afoot...when Cabinet decided in accordance with a general desire which had been evinced in the country to

²⁹¹ See H.B. Thom, *Stellenbosch 1866-1966: Honderd Jaar Hoër onderwys* (Kaapstad, Nasionale Boekhandel, 1966).

²⁹² Discussed in greater detail in Chapter One. See H. B. Thom, "n Paar Gegadtes oor Stellenbosch as Volksuniversiteit", SUNDigital Collection, H. B. Thom Collection, 16 (May 1969), available at <https://digital.lib.sun.ac.za/handle/10019.2/3433/discover>, retrieved 27 October 2021.; G. Visser and J. De Waal, *A Century of Geography at Stellenbosch University 1920 –2020* (Stellenbosch, African Sun Media, 2020).; A. Grundlingh, H. Oosthuizen and M. Delpont (eds), *Stellenbosch University 100: 1918-2018* (Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch University, 2018).; H. Giliomee, 'SU's turn against itself: University Stellenbosch turns its back on Afrikaans and the Afrikaans-speaking community', Politicsweb,18 (September 2018), available at <https://www.politicsweb.co.za/opinion/sus-turn-against-itself>, retrieved 7 July 2022.

²⁹³ See Grundlingh, Oosthuizen and Delpont, *Stellenbosch University 100: 1918-2018*.; Grundlingh, 'Afrikaner historians and the notion of an "objective-scientific" approach in perspective', pp. 93- 100.

²⁹⁴ Physical education would only receive departmental status in 1940. See Chapter Four of this thesis. See also H. B. Thom, *Stellenbosch 1866-1966 : Honderd Jaar Hoër onderwys*, p. 17.

²⁹⁵ Discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two.

²⁹⁶ National Advisory Council for Physical Education, 'National Physical Education scheme in South Africa', *Liggaamsopvoeding / Physical Education*, 1, 2 (1939), p.16

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

take such action which had already been taken in most civilised states.”²⁹⁷ In considering this focus on international trends within the discipline, it is apparent that South African physical education had a global focus from its conception. As discussed in the preceding chapters of this thesis, prior to the 1930s South African physical education was implemented independently and patchily across the country.²⁹⁸ Moreover, as very few South African institutions²⁹⁹ offered physical education courses before the 1920s and 1930s, aspiring physical education instructors went abroad for their training.³⁰⁰ This prevailing lack of training facilities within the country also impacted the foundational phase of the discipline at Stellenbosch University. In the process of identifying suitable candidates to work in the new department, the university resorted to employing physical education experts from Europe.³⁰¹ Considering these early cosmopolitan connections, it is important to highlight the fact that South African physical education was not developed in isolation and instead participated in the global shift towards improving national standards of health and physical fitness.

Beyond participating in the global move towards standardising a national physical education system, the National Scheme for Physical Education was also set in place to address the aspect of health within the broader discourse surrounding the deterioration of the white South African population.³⁰² From the nineteenth century prominent mouthpieces in political and intellectual circles began drawing attention to rampant white poverty in the Transvaal and Cape Colony.³⁰³ In an attempt to launch a national investigation and provide possible solutions for the crisis, the Carnegie Commission was established in 1927 and its report on *The Poor White Problem in South Africa* was published in 1932.³⁰⁴ Due to the international scale of the project,³⁰⁵ the Carnegie Commission’s findings became a central feature in political and public discourses

²⁹⁸ J. C. Kelder, ‘Die Historiese Ontwikkeling van Liggaamsoefeninge in die Onderwysdepartemente’, in *Report of the First South African Congress for Physical Education: 9-12 January 1945* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1945), p 114.

²⁹⁹ As discussed in Chapter One of this thesis, the Cape Town Training College was one of the first institution to introduce a dedicated physical education course for white women in 1921. See M. C. Black, ‘The training of Physical Education Teachers’, in *Report of the First South African Congress for Physical Education: 9-12 January 1945* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1945), pp. 123-127.

³⁰⁰ National Advisory Council for Physical Education, ‘National Physical Education scheme in South Africa’, p.16

³⁰¹ The first three departmental Chairs, Ernst Jokl, Anton Obholzer and Johan Postma, were from and trained in Europe. See Chapter Two and Four of this thesis for more on Jokl and Postma.

³⁰² Anon, ‘Physical Education for the Natives’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 1, 2 (1939), p 58.

³⁰³ W. A. Murray, *The poor white problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission. Part IV. Health Report. Health Factors in the Poor White Problem* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932).

³⁰⁴

³⁰⁵ The project was predominantly funded by the Carnegie Corporation, while factions of the Dutch Reformed church contributed to the salaries of some investigator. Beyond monetary support, the Carnegie Corporation

assigned two American sociologists, Dr. Kenyon L. Butterworth and Dr. C. W. Coulter, to participate in the investigation.

across South Africa. In part four of the report which examined “Health Factors in the Poor White Problem”³⁰⁶, Dr W. A. Murray outlined the history of preceding inquiry’s and commission’s tasked with the responsibility of investigating the ‘poor white question’ in South Africa. In one of the first investigations into the growing issue of white impoverishment in the country, Michiel Hendrik De Kock³⁰⁷ drew attention to the effects that the South African War (1899-1902)³⁰⁸ had on Afrikaner communities in the Transvaal region. De Kock noted that while the war wreaked havoc on many communities, its devastation merely served as a climax for pre-existing ‘eroding factors’ that had been looming for decades prior to the outbreak of the war.³⁰⁹ Regarding De Kock’s inquiry, Murray argued that while useful, the report failed to consider the widespread effects of disease and malnutrition as central contributors to white poverty in South Africa. Considering the shift in the conversation surrounding white poverty in the 1930s, Murray’s 1932 report served as a precursor to the NACPE’s focus on the importance of nutrition and hygiene.³¹⁰

The turn of the century bore witness to the establishment of government and privately funded commissions in both the Transvaal and Cape Colony. In 1906 the Cape Colony appointed the Parliamentary Select Committee to launch an investigation into the ‘poor white question’.³¹¹ In this report it was highlighted that the Dutch Reformed Church had initiated one of the earliest intervention efforts to fight increasing “indigency”³¹² within white communities in 1893 with the establishment of the Church Labour Colony in Kakamas.³¹³ Two years prior to the formation of the Cape Colony Parliamentary Select Committee, the Transvaal government “appointed a small commission to enquire into the origin and circumstances of indigents in and around Pretoria”³¹⁴ in 1904. Presenting its findings in 1905, the Transvaal Indigency

³⁰⁶ Murray, *The poor white problem in South Africa*, p. 5.

³⁰⁷ Michiel Hendrik De Kock was an economist and served as head of the South African central bank from 1948 to 1961. See P. Styger and A. Saayman, ‘The Economic Architecture of the Two De Kocks’, *Economic history of developing regions*, 26, 1 (2011), pp. 21-52.

³⁰⁸ As noted by Thula Simpson “the outbreak of the Second Anglo-Boer War on 11 October culminated a century of conflict dating back to Britain’s occupation of the Cape from 1775 to 1803 and again in 1806 onwards. The British inherited a settlement of white colonists of Dutch, Flemish, German and French Huguenot stock, which traced its origins to 6 April 1652, when Jan van Riebeeck arrived on the shores of Table Bay in the Cape of Good Hope to establish a fortified refreshment station for the Dutch East Indian Company.” See T. Simpson, *History of South Africa: From 1902 to the Present* (South Africa, Penguin Random House, 2021).

³⁰⁹ See M. H. De Kock, *Selected Subjects in the Economic History of South Africa* (Cape Town, Juta, 1924).

³¹⁰ See National Advisory Council for Physical Education, ‘National Physical Education scheme in South Africa’, p.16

³¹¹ Murray, *The poor white problem in South Africa*, pp. 5-7.

³¹² *Ibid.*

³¹³ *Ibid.*

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*

Commission report claimed that the roots of European indigency could be traced back to the rinderpest outbreak of 1892, stating that “even before the outbreak of the (Anglo Boer) War in 1899 a great portion of the agricultural population (of the Transvaal) was drifting into indigency.”³¹⁵ The commission stated that the devastation that came as a result of the war simply completed the process for thousands who were already steadily on their way to destitution.³¹⁶ Beyond these external factors, the Commission’s report attributed rural white impoverishment to individual vices such as laziness, immorality, lack of self-control, lack of education and intemperance. Subsequently, the Commission argued that this combination of external and internal factors “fostered a roving of “trek” spirit”.³¹⁷

In 1908 the Transvaal Indigency Commission presented a more detailed account to the Transvaal Parliament. In this report, the effects of bad health and hygiene among the rural population of the Transvaal³¹⁸ as well climate conditions were discussed for the first time. Considering this expansion in the commission’s investigation, health and environmental factors were once again conceptualised within an individualised framework. With regard to environmental effects, the commission argued that the climate encouraged “idleness and improvidence”³¹⁹ as it “enabled people to live upon the land almost without working at all”.³²⁰ The Commission harshly criticised Transvaal farmer’s agricultural techniques as being “unsystematic, primitive and wasteful...” noting that it could barely be considered farming at all.³²¹ Despite the Commission’s interpretation, this focus placed on analysing agricultural techniques should be considered as one of the earliest investigations examining the nutritional intake of destitute white communities. Moreover, in shifting the focus to inadequate hygiene standards in rural communities, the commission argued that the climate encouraged people to live in poorly constructed homes as the majority of their time was spent outdoors.³²² Bearing similarities to proceeding commission findings, the focus was yet again placed on individual deficiencies.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³¹⁹ Murray. *The poor white problem in South Africa.* pp. 5-7.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*

³²¹ *Ibid.*

³²² *Ibid.*

By the 1930s the debates surrounding white poverty and social decay were discussed in a national framework. According to Murray, inquiry's and commission's that preceded the Carnegie Commission failed to examine closely, the effects of nutrition and hygiene when considering the causes of white impoverishment. Murray contends that the ways in which aspects such as "disease, either epidemic or endemic, malnutrition, starvation or other factors affecting human health or physique"³²³ impacted the white population was commonly understated. He noted that while the Transvaal Indigency Commission report of 1908 did consider these health factors, the Commission's investigation was not framed within the context of public health. While Murray's report does take economic factors³²⁴ into account, his examination draws attention to three core issues that contributed to white poverty in South Africa, namely inadequate diet and nutrition, "unsanitary habits"³²⁵ and lack of access to trained health care professionals.³²⁶ Considering the manner in which the Carnegie Commission framed the decline of individual health as a national crisis, it is apparent that the National Scheme for Physical Education's main objectives, which was focused on providing education with regards to nutrition, hygiene, sanitation and physical education,³²⁷ was inspired by the work of the Carnegie Commission.

The Dawn of the National Advisory Council for Physical Education

While the discourse surrounding the decline of the nation's health had been gaining traction since the early twentieth century, the disappointing performance by South African athletes at the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin placed the state of South African physical education centre stage.³²⁸ Besides the fact that the South African Olympic team only managed to attain one silver medal,³²⁹ the build-up to the 1936 Olympic Games was plagued by some controversy resulting from the omission of women from the Olympic team.³³⁰ The Olympic Associations justified the omission of women, on the basis of a lack of funds as well as a rule that required women

³²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6

³²⁴ Economic factor surrounding *The poor white problem in South Africa* are discussed in greater detail in the Carnegie Commissions *Economic Report*. See Grosskopf, *The poor white problem in South Africa*.

³²⁵ Murray, *The poor white problem in South Africa*, p. 7. See also M. W. Swanson, 'The sanitation syndrome: bubonic plague and urban native policy in the Cape colony, 1900-19091', *The Journal of African History*, 18, 3, (1977), pp. 387-410.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*

³²⁷ National Advisory Council for Physical Education, 'National Physical Education scheme in South Africa', pp.16-17

³²⁸ F. van der Merwe, *Sport History* (Stellenbosch, FJG Publikasie, 2014), p. 213.

³²⁹ F. van der Merwe, 'Die ware rede agter Niels Bukh se besoek aan Suid-Afrika in 1939', *South African Journal for Research in Sport, Physical Education and Recreation*, 30, 2 (2008), p. 128.

³³⁰ Anon, 'Omission of Women from Olympic Team', *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 May 1936, p. 7.

³³¹ *Ibid.*

competitors to live within a 25 mile radius of the rest of the team.³³¹ This ruling was heavily criticised by Olympic athlete, Jennie Maakal, who argued that this decision derailed the progress of women's sport in South Africa.³³² Whilst in midst of this criticism, the Olympic Association continued to boast about the high standard of the team.³³³ In the aftermath of the 1936 Olympic Games however, the South African organiser claimed that the team's disappointing performance was due to the little time they had to prepare for the Olympics.³³⁴

During the course of the 1936 Olympic Games, a physical education conference was held in Berlin. As a representative of the South African Olympic Games Association, Dr O.L. Shearer, attended the conference and later submitted a memorandum to the South African Olympic Games Association detailing emerging practices in physical education in Western nations.³³⁵ Shearer would go on to share his findings with the president of the South African Olympic Games Association, Albert Victor Lindberg.³³⁶ Considering the memorandum as a useful resource to address the state of physical education in the country, Lindbergh presented the memorandum to the then Minister of Education, Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr.³³⁷ Welcoming the memorandum, Hofmeyr requested that the proposed structure be submitted to parliament and upon approving the initiative, the state offered support to the Olympic Association to appoint a sub-committee to develop a National Scheme for Physical Education.³³⁸

In April 1937 Hofmeyr requested for the Olympic Association to prepare an official strategic plan detailing the most effective administrative structure and policy design for the National Scheme for Physical Education.³³⁹ As part of their initiative to streamline the South African physical education curriculum, the organisation began working on a detailed physical training programme structure that would inform a national syllabus. By August 1937 Ernst Jokl³⁴⁰ and Ira Emery, Secretary for the Olympic Association, presented a detailed report outlining a

³³² *Ibid.*

³³³ Anon, 'Four S.A. Wrestlers nominated for Olympic Games', *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 April 1936, p.15.

³³⁴ Anon, 'Why the Springboks Failed at Olympic Games', *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 September 1936, p 13.

³³⁵ Van der Merwe, 'Die Ware rede agter Niels Bukh se besoek aan Suid Afrika in 1939', pp. 128-130.

³³⁶ See F. E. Leonard, *A Guide to the History of Physical Education* (Philadelphia, Lea and Febiger, 1947), pp. 423-424.

³³⁷ Van der Merwe, 'Die Ware rede agter Niels Bukh se besoek aan Suid Afrika in 1939', pp. 128-130.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*

³³⁹ Leonard, *A Guide to the History of Physical Education*, pp. 423-424.

³⁴⁰ Following his dismissal from Stellenbosch University, Jokl became the Head of the Physical Education Department at the University of Witwatersrand. Moreover, he worked as an independent researcher for the National Advisory Council for Physical Education. See E. Jokl, *South African Reminiscences* (Stellenbosch, S.I. Jokl, 1988). p. 4.

³⁴¹ Leonard, *A Guide to the History of Physical Education*, p. 423-424.

suitable structure for the national scheme.³⁴¹ Acting as a regulatory board for physical education, the schemes central purpose was to promote physical education, construct a syllabus

that would be used in schools and operate as a coordinator of the subject with regards to the effective implementation of physical education programmes for the public.³⁴²

Speaking as a representative for the Olympic Council on 26 August 1937, Jokl outlined a brief overview of the proposed scheme for the national integration of physical education.³⁴³ As part of their proposed administrative structure and policy design for the National Advisory Council for Physical Education (NACPE), the Olympic Council had recommended that the NACPE be established within the factions of the Department of Education, the Department of Public Health and the Defence Force.³⁴⁴ While the implementation of physical education remained inextricably intertwined with education and public health concerns, the conceptualisation of physical education as related to the Defence Force highlighted the ways in which physical education was employed as a means of citizen development.³⁴⁵ As stated by Albertonie Herman Broeksma, Secretary of Defence, the connection between national defence and the physical education movement goes far beyond the focus on militarism. Criticising widely held notions that “Afrikaner boys were not amenable to discipline” and that the Afrikaners possessed an inherent lack of “talent in commerce, music and other branches of art,”³⁴⁶ Broeksma argued that a sound physical education system that centralised citizens making; physical training; and information regarding adequate nutrition and discipline would have the most beneficial impact on nation-building.³⁴⁷

In addressing the uneven integration of physical education on a national scale, Jokl also suggested the establishment of a central bureau of ‘experts’. The central bureau would oversee municipalities across the country and ensure that each municipality had access to trained physical education instructors and facilities such as sports grounds, gyms and swimming pools.³⁴⁸ For Jokl, municipal institutions were to be responsible for ensuring community engagement in physical education programmes, noting that “*Die munisipale inrigtings sal vir die huisvrou,*

³⁴² Van der Merwe, *Sport History*, p. 214.

³⁴³ Anon, ‘Oefeninge vir die Volk soos in Brittanje’, *Die Burger*, 6 August 1937, p.3.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p.3.

³⁴⁵ Broeksma, ‘The Education of Citizens and the Department of Defense’, p. 17.

³⁴⁶ Broeksma, ‘The Education of Citizens and the Department of Defense’, p. 17.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid*. See also N. Roos, *Ordinary Springboks: White Servicemen and Social Justice in South Africa, 1939-1961* (England, Ashgate, 2005).; N. Roos, ‘The Second World War, the Army Education Scheme and the ‘Discipline’ of the White Poor in South Africa’, *History of Education*, 32, 6, 2003, pp. 645–659.; N. Roos, ‘Education, Sex and Leisure: Ideology, Discipline and the Construction of Race among South African Servicemen during the Second World War’, *Journal of Social History*, 44, 3 (2011), pp. 811–835.

³⁴⁸ Anon, ‘Oefeninge vir die Volk soos in Brittanje’, p.3.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid*.

*die sakeman, die skoolkind en die jong kind wat nog nie in die skool is nie sorg.*³⁴⁹ (The municipal institutions will be responsible for the housewife, the businessman, the school child and the young child who is not yet enrolled in school). The memorandum detailing the NACPE's core objectives clearly intended to go beyond merely focussing on the physical development and the training of school children. This plan coupled with the fact that the NACPE was to be established within the factions of three state departments, indicates that the NACPE's broader interest was national intervention. Since "the housewife, the businessman... and the young child"³⁵⁰ fell outside of the perimeters of the Education Department, the addition of the Departments of Public Health and Defence would ensure the inclusion of these neglected sections of the population.

Acting upon Jokl and Emery's recommendations, the state instated the NACPE in April 1938. As part of the objectives of the NACPE was to introduce a system that would raise "*die gesondheid standaard van die bevolking*"³⁵¹ (the standard of health of the population), Jokl stated that in conjunction with increasing the numbers of trained instructors, the NACPE was responsible for producing a uniform physical education syllabus.³⁵² Initially the council had considered structuring the syllabus according to the British model of physical education.³⁵³ As British-inspired competitive games, the concept of sportsmanship and drill exercises had already been well-established in South Africa,³⁵⁴ Jokl noted that the structure of the British model³⁵⁵ had proven to be far more effective and accessible as compared to other models. However, despite this initial intention the 1939 tour of the Danish physical education instructor, Niels Bukh³⁵⁶ largely influenced the trajectory of South African physical education.

Niels Bukh and "Deense-Boere Gimnastiek"³⁵⁷

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*

³⁵² Van der Merwe, *Sport History*, p. 213.

³⁵³ Anon, 'Oefeninge vir die Volk soos in Brittanje', p.3.

³⁵⁴ See F. J. Cleophas, 'Physical Education and Physical Culture in The Coloured Community of the Western Cape, 1837-1966' (PhD thesis, Stellenbosch University, 2009)

³⁵⁵ See Chapter One for more details. See also P. C. McIntosh, *Physical education in England since 1800* (London, G. Bell and Sons, 1968), p. 12.

³⁵⁶ See H. Bonde, *Gymnastics and politics: Niels Bukh and male aesthetics* (Copenhagen, Tuscalanum Press, 2006); H. Bonde, 'The white man's body: Danish gymnasts in South Africa, 1939', *South African Historical Journal*, 44, 1 (2001), p.143-162. ; H. Bonde, 'The Iconic Symbolism of Niels Bukh: Aryan Body Culture, Danish Gymnastics and Nordic Tradition', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 16, 4 (1999), p. 104-118.

³⁵⁷ N. Bukh, 'Deense-Boere Gimnastiek', *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, 1, 1 (1939), p.17

³⁵⁸ National Advisory Council for Physical Education, 'Propaganda', *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, 1, 3, (1939), pp.8-13.

Forming part of the NACPE “propaganda”³⁵⁸ project, council member and Director of Education in the Free State, Dr Samuel Henri Pellissier, suggested that Bukh and his gymnasts be invited to tour South Africa.³⁵⁹ As the creator of Danish Primary Gymnastics, Bukh,³⁶⁰ was an avid supporter of Danish and Nazi right-wing politics and closely identified with Afrikaner nationalist ideology.³⁶¹ According to Hans Bonde, Bukh’s support of right-wing politics, specifically Nazism, stemmed from the high priority given to physical culture in the Third Reich.³⁶² Bonde argues that the decision to support the Nazi Party was common among many European gymnasts as the movement centralised the cultivation of “the young, racially pure, perfect body.”³⁶³ Writing in the Stellenbosch University based journal *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, Bukh stated that “gymnastics is, in a very high degree, a national means of exerting influence; and for the rest, it is a quite indispensable unit of national education, should we desire a healthy, fine and competent generation.”³⁶⁴ Bukh’s devotion to improving the physical condition of the youth,³⁶⁵ aligned perfectly with the NACPE’s objectives. Subsequently, ideological overlapping between the NACPE’s vision and Bukh’s core mission resulted in Bukh’s system of Primary Gymnastics becoming a hallmark feature in the NACPE’S first syllabus. The centralised focus on the use of physical education as a means to ensure race improvement was a core objective in the standardisation movement of the 1930s. Thus in locating the foundation of South Africa’s first national physical education system, the politicised nature of the standardised physical education is evident.

³⁵⁹ Van der Merwe, ‘Die Ware rede agter Niels Bukh se besoek aan Suid Afrika in 1939’, p. 129.

³⁶⁰ E. Jokl, *Physical Education Syllabus: Senior Book I* (Pretoria, Government Printer, 1941), pp.1-3.

³⁶¹ Van der Merwe, ‘Die Ware rede agter Niels Bukh se besoek aan Suid Afrika in 1939’, p. 129.

³⁶² Bonde, ‘The Iconic Symbolism of Niels Bukh: Aryan Body Culture, Danish Gymnastics and Nordic Tradition’, pp. 104-105.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁴ Bukh, ‘Deense-Boere Gimnastiek’, p.17.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-19.



Figure 3. 1.: Mr Niels Bukh. ³⁶⁶

On 24 August 1939 Niels Bukh, accompanied by his troop of 32 gymnasts, arrived in Cape Town.³⁶⁷ Scheduled to visit 27 towns across the country³⁶⁸ the performative aspect of Bukh's showcase drew national attention.³⁶⁹ In anticipation of his arrival, news outlets proclaimed that "the performances by Niels Bukh [and his team] are exceptionally attractive so that fine propaganda is expected to result from this tour."³⁷⁰ Despite the major hype surrounding Bukh's visit,³⁷¹ it was not expected for Bukh's system to be directly adopted in South Africa. Despite

³⁶⁶ National Advisory Council for Physical Education, 'Mr. Niels Bukh on Physical Education', *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, 2, 1 (1940), p. 3

³⁶⁷ See Anon, 'General', *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, 1, 1 (1939), p. 56.

³⁶⁸ Niels Bukh visit formed part of an expansive international tour. Bukh and his team toured countries across Europe, as well as Siberia, Japan, the United States of America, Argentina and Brazil. As part of his South African tour, Bukh and team were scheduled to perform in Stellenbosch, Paarl, Worcester, George, Oudtshoorn, Graaff-Reinet, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, East-London, Queenstown, Bloemfontein, Bethlem, Kroonstad, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Ladysmith, Standerton, Heidelberg, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Krugersdorp, Benoni, Voortrekkerhoogte, Pietersburg, Potchefstroom, Kimberly and Beaufort West. See *ibid*.

³⁶⁹ Anon, 'Deense Gimnastiek kom in Suid Afrika aan', *Die Burger*, 25 Augustus 1939, p. 5.

³⁷⁰ Anon, 'General', p. 56.

³⁷¹ In order to ensure that as many people as possible were able to attend the performance an appeal was made to the Education Department to allow school children to attend.

this, Bukh's Primary Gymnastics would serve as an example for the growing physical education movement in South Africa.³⁷²



Figure 3. 2.: Niels Bukh and his team of 32 athletes upon their arrival in Cape Town.³⁷³

³⁷² Anon, 'General', p. 56.

³⁷³ Anon, 'Deense Gimnastiek kom in Suid Afrika aan', p. 5.

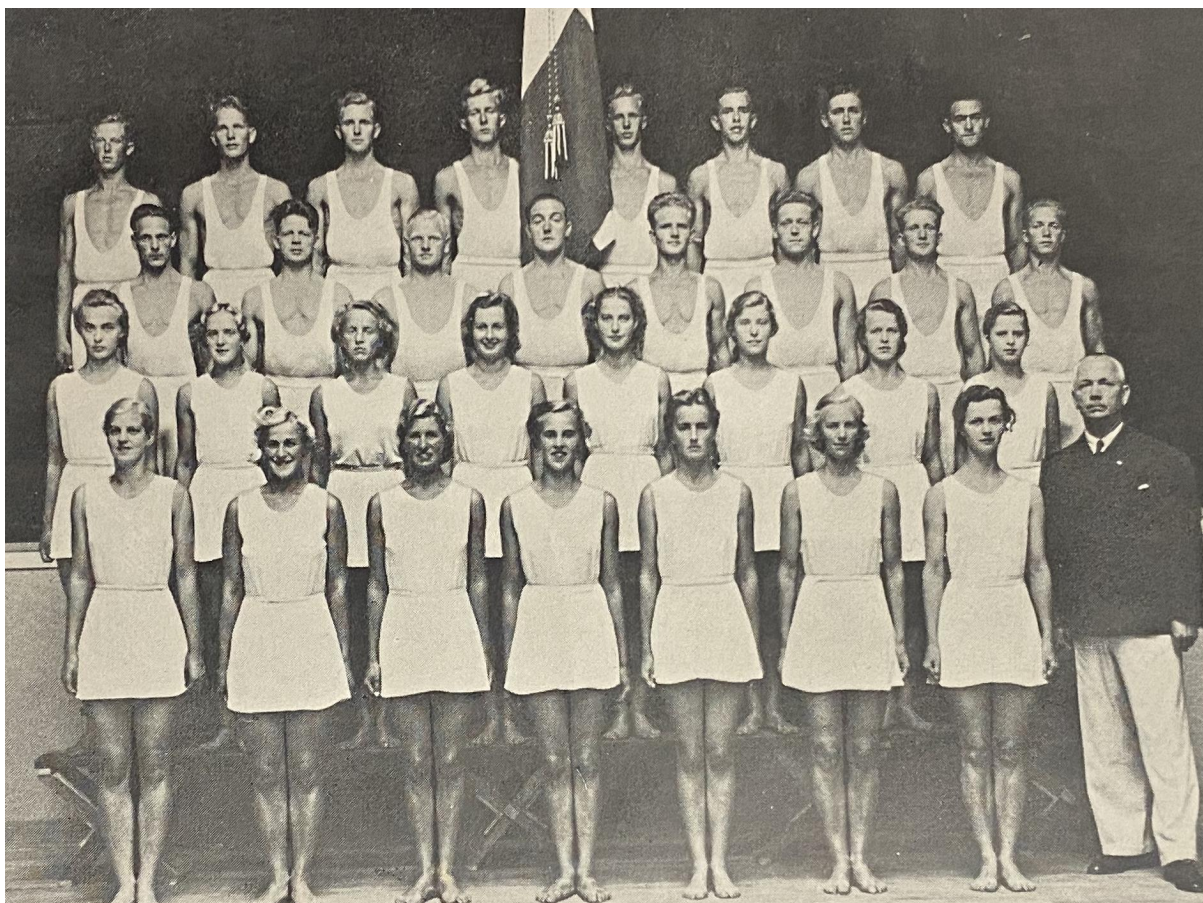


Figure 3. 3.: Niels Bukh and his team of 32 athletes. ³⁷⁴

Renowned for his implementation of “big dynamic movements”³⁷⁵ Bukh was celebrated as both an artist and teacher of physical education.³⁷⁶ Bukh’s system of Primary Gymnastics was rooted in the traditional Swedish School of Physical Training.³⁷⁷ According to Bukh, the old Swedish system³⁷⁸ which employed static, rigid and fixed movements was not an effective strategy to ensure efficient physical training. Bukh’s system, which he constructed to serve as a foundational basis for all other training systems³⁷⁹ consisted of three core aims. First, the programme aimed to address the “lack of developmental and physiological stimuli” that had come as a result of “change[s] of life habits caused by civilisation, by progressing mechanisation, and in this country also by the availability of cheap black labour.”³⁸⁰ Due to these factors, he suggested that South Africa’s system should first aim to “achieve full muscular

³⁷⁴ Anon, ‘Byvoegsel tot Liggaamsopvoeding’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, 1, 4 (1939), p.20.

³⁷⁵ E. Jokl, *Physical Exercises: A Syllabus for South African Schools* (South African, National Advisory Council for Physical Education, 1939), p. 220 .

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁷ Discussed in greater detail in Chapter One of this thesis.

³⁷⁸ The Swedish system had informed prominent physical education systems such as the British system, which was in turn dispersed globally through British imperialism and colonial expansion.

³⁷⁹ Jokl, *Physical Exercises: A Syllabus for South African Schools*, p 220.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

development” and each exercise should be developed to lengthen and stretch the muscles to increase the ‘elasticity’.³⁸¹ Second, Bukh argued that an efficient exercise regime should incorporate all muscles.³⁸² Third, Bukh stated that exercise should require “a certain amount of strength” to facilitate muscle development. Even with regard to the gendered nature of the discipline, Bukh argued that the limitations placed upon women did them a major disservice. In criticising “the older generation of female instructors”³⁸³ who were “still guided by rather sentimental ideas of ‘beauty’ and ‘decency’ derived from the Victorian Age”³⁸⁴, he argued that “we must not be afraid to let school girls sit down and lie down on the floor for certain exercises even if it implies that their dresses become dusty; we must allow them suitable sports attire, such as shorts and blouses instead of long black stockings and gym tunics, which make it impossible to teach a modern syllabus of physical training.”³⁸⁵ In advocating for a rigorous exercise program, Bukh’s suggestions served as a window into emerging global practices in the discipline. Considering the conservative nature of the white South African population, particularly the Afrikaner subset of the country, the state’s willingness to engage with Bukh’s ideas suggests a sense of receptiveness to change in the name of social advancement.

Keeping to the Course: Physical Education at Stellenbosch University After Jokl

As the newly introduced physical education course had drawn significant interest, the university was eager to ensure its continuation following Jokl’s dismissal in April 1937. As temporary replacements for Ernst and Erica Jokl,³⁸⁶ Mr. F. R. Miller and Miss J. Fourie were employed to conduct physical training sessions five days per week for the remainder of the semester.³⁸⁷ Miller, a physical education lecturer from the Cape Technical College, was placed in charge of the physical training sessions for male students³⁸⁸ and Fourie, who was employed as Miller’s assistant, was responsible for training women students as well as conducting drill

³⁸¹ Jokl, *Physical Exercises: A Syllabus for South African Schools*, pp. 236-238.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 238

³⁸³ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 239-240

³⁸⁶ Erica Jokl resigned from her post as part-time lecturer in the Physical Education Department at the end of April 1937. See Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Minutes of Meeting of the Senate, 14.5.1937.p. 38.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁹ Hoer Primêre Onderwys Diploma.

³⁹⁰ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Notule van Senaatvergadering, 17 September 1937, p. 125.

sessions for the Education Faculty's H.P.O.D³⁸⁹ students.³⁹⁰ While Miller and Fourie were placed in charge of conducting the physical training sessions, lecturers from the Physiology Department offered anatomy and physiology classes to physical education students for four periods a week.³⁹¹

In April 1937, the Special Committee for Physical Education, comprised of Prof Wilcocks, Prof Stegmann and a Mr Alan Harvey, had presented its recommendation to the Senate to expand the physiology course for the physical education programme.³⁹² The committee recommended that two periods per week be dedicated to physiology theory lectures and one three-hour practical be conducted under the supervision of Prof Battered, from the Physiology Department.³⁹³ The content of these lectures would focus on muscle and nerve physiology as related to physical education. It would also explore topics related to the development and growth of the human body and the effect of physical education on physical development. These theory classes would explore subject matter such as 'Physiology of Physical Education' and 'Exercises and Kinesiology'.³⁹⁴ The implementation of these theory lectures centralised the departments foundational purpose, which was to become the "recognised centre for scientific physical education in South Africa".³⁹⁵ Moreover, operating within the objectives of NACPE, which was to construct a standardised system for physical education in the country, this implementation of physiology as a core section of the course served as Stellenbosch University's scientific response to the national call.

Despite efforts to ensure a smooth transition into the next term, tensions were still running high following Jokl's dismissal. In a letter from the Dutch-Reformed Church, the church council aired their concerns regarding the maintenance of the university's salvation, the moral wellbeing of its students and the values of the Afrikaner *volk* (people).³⁹⁶ Lamenting over the negative publicity surrounding the Jokl matter, the letter was comprised of three main

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*

³⁹² Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Minutes of Meeting of the Senate, 16.4.1937.p. 20.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁴ Kinesiology focusses on the benefits of physical activity with regard health. See T.J. Ellapen and M. Swanepoel, 'Evolution of the profession of Biokinetics', *South African Journal for Research in Sport, Physical Education and Recreation*, 39, 1 (2017), pp. 41-49.; Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Minutes of Meeting of the Senate, 16.4.1937.p. 20.

³⁹⁵ E. Jokl, 'Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch', *Stellenbosche Oudstudent*, 1936, p. 17.

³⁹⁶ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Letter from the Dutch Reformed Church Council, 10 May 1937, p. 284,

recommendations. First, that if the medical examinations were deemed necessary, a woman doctor should conduct the physical examinations of women students. Second, that a women instructor should conduct the exercise sessions for women students and that exercise sessions for women and men students should be undertaken separately. Third, issues regarding the “*skrale kleredrag*”³⁹⁷ (scant clothing) of women students were also raised. Regarding this matter the council stated that this morally corruptible behaviours was harmful to both the students and on lookers. The council specified that as the ‘white’ population were the beacon of Christian life, the university should remain cognisant of the detrimental impact that the sight of scantily dressed white women can have on the surrounding ‘coloured’ communities. As a possible solution to the ‘crisis’ the church council urged the university to ensure that women students exercise in modest costumes and that they dress in private rooms. For the church, the physical education course was to remain closely connected with the Christian understanding of morality and purity as this approach would be in the best interest of the Afrikaner people.³⁹⁸ The voice of the church in this regard is particularly interesting as it outlines the ways in which Stellenbosch University intended to engage in both the national invention movement, which was greatly influenced by global trends, as well as the deeply religious and conservative values imposed by Afrikaner strongholds such as the Dutch Reformed Church. In continuing the course, the university made haste to implement most of the church’s recommendation. However, as discussed, the university also attempted to engage with international influences such as Niels Bukh, who championed the display of the human body, despite gender. Drawing from both global and local influences, Stellenbosch University, as *Volksuniversiteit* and leader in scientific physical education in the country, made it its mission to appeal to both the global trends and local traditions.

Anton Obholzer: A Return to Pre-Industrial Idyll

As a means to fill Ernst and Erica Jokl’s vacancies on a more permanent basis, Senate instructed the Executive and Appointments Committee to secure the appointment of a new senior lecturer

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁸ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Minutes of Meeting of the Senate, 16.4.1937.p. 20.

³⁹⁹ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Minutes of Meeting of the Senate, 21 July 1937.p. 73.

of Physical Education in June 1937.³⁹⁹ By August of that year, the Appointments Committee recommended Dr Anton Max Karl Obholzer for the position of senior lecturer in Physical Education⁴⁰⁰ starting on 16 August 1937.⁴⁰¹ Born in Austria in 1903, Obholzer received his initial training as a teacher from the University of Innsbruck and later continued his studies at the universities of Vienna and Berlin. Obholzer's academic research ranged from education, medicine, history and literature,⁴⁰² and at the nexus of these interests lied his fascination with understanding and engaging with all aspects of physical education.



Figure 3.4.: Anthon Obholzer. ⁴⁰³

Cleophas notes that Obholzer's students remembered him as a 'no-nonsense' strict disciplinarian in both the classroom and on the field.⁴⁰⁴ Echoed in the first edition of the *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education* journal, Obholzer was described as a strict yet

⁴⁰⁰ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Minutes of Meeting of the Senate, 6 August 1937. p. 116-117.

⁴⁰¹ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Minutes of Meeting of the Senate, 17 September 1937. p. 122-124

⁴⁰² See A.L. Boshoff, 'Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch' (MA thesis, Stellenbosch University, 1981), pp. 65-129.

⁴⁰³ A. Obholzer, 'n Gesonde Suid Afrika', *Die Huisgenoot*, 22 July 1938, p. 15.

⁴⁰⁴ Cleophas, 'A political-institutional history of the Stellenbosch University physical education department', p.9.

⁴⁰⁵ Anon, 'Nuus: Uitbreiding van die Departemente van Ligg. Opv. aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch', *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, 1, 1 (1939), p. 53.

⁴⁰⁶ From an early age Obholzer had developed an affinity for sports, participating in several sporting codes throughout his life ranging from athletics and track events such as the 440-step hurdles, gymnastics, boxing, judo, swimming, skiing and gliding. See Boshoff, 'Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch', p. 66.

sympathetic and encouraging figurehead in the department.⁴⁰⁵ As an active sportsman⁴⁰⁶ and physical education enthusiast, Obholzer professed that his fascination with physical education was sparked at a young age as a student in Niels Bukh's Ollerup School and as a member of the German Wandervögel⁴⁰⁷ Youth Association.⁴⁰⁸ Established in 1901, Wandervögel was described as a 'non-political' youth organisation that prioritized outdoor physical activities such as hiking whilst promoting the revival of traditional German customs and German patriotism.⁴⁰⁹ The prevailing ideology held by the organisation's leaders and members was that the values and standards of the German nation was deteriorating due to the large scale industrialisation and capitalism spurred on by the preceding generation.⁴¹⁰ With its strong ecological focus and claims of a 'non-political' stance, Peter Staudenmaier argues the Wandervögel Youth movement was marked by "ethnocentric fanaticism, [a] regressive rejection of modernity and genuine environmental concern."⁴¹¹ These principles would later go on to inform Obholzer opinions regarding the positionality of physical education in relation to nationalism and national identity in South Africa. At its core Obholzer's contribution to the national physical movement in South Africa called for the return to pre-industrial customs. The constant themes present in his writings during his tenure at Stellenbosch, holds the notion that urbanisation was the central cause for the deterioration of the nation's health. Even when discussing the dismal state of health in rural communities, Obholzer argued that urban 'city' customs spilled over to rural communities and subsequently resulted in their decline.⁴¹² Considering this early intellectual foundation that sparked his interest in the subject, Obholzer's contribution to South African physical education should be analysed within this framework.

In 1924 Obholzer graduated from the University of Innsbruck with a teaching qualification and a diploma in physical education. Following his graduation, Obholzer continued his studies at

⁴⁰⁷ See P. Staudenmaier, 'Fascist Ecology: The 'Green Wing' of the Nazi Party and Its Historical Antecedents', in J. Biehl and P. Staudenmaier (eds), *Ecofascism Revisited: Lessons from the German Experience* (Porsgrunn, New Compass Press, 2011), pp. 13–42.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

⁴⁰⁸ Boshoff, 'Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch', pp. 65-66. See also Cleophas, 'Physical Education and Physical Culture in The Coloured Community of the Western Cape', pp. 252.; Cleophas, 'A political-institutional history of the Stellenbosch University physical education department', p. 9.

⁴⁰⁹ R. J. Adriaansen, *The rhythm of eternity: The German youth movement and the experience of the past, 1900-1933* (Oxford, Berghahn Books, 2015), pp. 49-50.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹¹ While authors such as Adriaansen argue against the notion that the movement directly led to the establishment of the Nazi Party, most Wandervögel members went on to join the Nazi Party. See Staudenmaier, 'Fascist Ecology: The 'Green Wing' of the Nazi Party and Its Historical Antecedents', p. 20. See also Adriaansen, *The rhythm of eternity: The German youth movement and the experience of the past*, pp. 49-50

⁴¹² See A. Obholzer, 'n Gesonde Suid Afrika', p. 15.

the *Deutsche Hochschule für Leibesübungen* in Berlin where he obtained the *Diplomat für Vorbeugende und Ausgleichende Leibesübungen Turn- und Sportlehrer* in 1929.⁴¹³ By 1932 his interest expanded to the medical aspects of physical education and sport.⁴¹⁴ Upon completing his medical degree in 1934, Obholzer continued his research in sports medicine whilst working in *Hochschulinstitut für Leibesübungen* and the *Reichsakademie für Sport*, based at the University of Berlin.⁴¹⁵ Whilst working within the two prominent Institutes, Obholzer remained closely affiliated with the Physical Education Departments at the University of Vienna and Innsbruck. As a result of his expansive research, academic experience and connections to three prominent universities, Obholzer's career trajectory indicated strong prospects for promotion to professor.⁴¹⁶

As discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis, the position of physical education lecturer at Stellenbosch University was funded by the Carnegie Cooperation.⁴¹⁷ Following Jokl's dismissal, Prof Wilcocks wrote a letter to the president of the Carnegie Corporation, Mr F. P. Keppel, to explain the situation surrounding Jokl's dismissal.⁴¹⁸ In his response, Keppel shared that he expected the funding be used for the appointment "another German scientist."⁴¹⁹ Considering the funding bodies recommendation, the university was set on finding a suitable candidate. Moreover, following the establishment of the NACPE, the South African government became increasingly more invested in securing resources and importing international physical education experts to advance South Africa physical education. As part of the state run initiative, Colonel George Edwin Brink, a member of the Union Defence Force,

⁴¹³ During his graduate studies at the *Deutsche Hochschule für Leibesübungen*, Obholzer simultaneously conducted research on German, Latin and Greek. Completing part of his research in Greece, his thesis analysed the intersections of Greek literature, philosophy and gymnastics. See Boshoff, 'Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch', pp. 65-66.

⁴¹⁴ Completing his medical degree in 1934, part of his course focussed on the effect and benefits of kinetic therapy. This part of his course was directly in line with his interest in the medical aspects of physical education as he sought to examine the influence of physical education and sport on the human body and teaching physical education at university level. See Boshoff, 'Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch', pp. 65-66.

⁴¹⁵ According to Cleophas *Reichsakademie für Sport* was controlled by the Nazi government. Considering the fact that race studies was prominent in the Anatomy and Physical Education Department's during this period, Cleophas contends that "it is doubtful whether Obholzer would have had such prospects for promotion if he had been an outspoken opponent of Nazism." See Cleophas, 'A political-institutional history of the Stellenbosch University physical education department', pp. 8-10

⁴¹⁶ Boshoff, 'Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch', pp. 66-68.

⁴¹⁷ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol III. 17 Oktober 1930-12 Augustus 1932. Rapport van Sspesiale Komitee re Universiteit's 1931.p.85.

⁴¹⁸ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Letter to R.W. Wilcocks from F. P. Keppel, 10 June 1937. p.276.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*

was sent on a European tour to investigate the developments in physical education and sport.⁴²⁰ As Obholzer was fluent in English and possessed an in-depth knowledge of physical education and sport in Germany, he was instructed to act as a guide for Brink's tour at the University of Innsbruck.⁴²¹ Impressed by Obholzer's prowess, Brink approached the German ministry to request that Obholzer be sent to South Africa to manage a physical education institute in the country. After initially denying this offer, Obholzer was ultimately persuaded when he was told that he would only be required to spend two year in South Africa and thereafter he could get his own university institute in Germany.⁴²² Upon agreeing to take up the position, Obholzer commenced his work at Stellenbosch University in August 1937. The events surrounding Obholzer's recruitment is indicative of a national investment in the formation of a South African physical education system. For this period, Obholzer was considered to be a forerunner in European physical education. His recruitment is indicative of the type of system supporters of the South African physical education movement had envisage. The intention was to forge a system that was rooted in nationalism as well as a scientific framework that would ultimately result in the formation of the disciplines theoretical foundation.

“Sterk soos osse en bruingebrand deur die son”⁴²³ (Strong as oxen and bronzed by the sun): Obholzer's Observations

Upon his first encounter with South African athletes, Obholzer was awe struck by their appearance and physical condition. Exclaiming that he knew very little about South Africa, meeting the South African Olympic teams sparked his interested in visiting the country. He detailed that:

“Gedurende die aflope tien jaar het ek in Europa meermale kennis gemaak met die teenwoordiges van 'n volk wat daar ver oor die see gewoon het. Kêrel, maar hulle was daarom vir jou sonder uitsondering prageksemlare van mense. Ek het hulle ontmoet destyds by die Olimpiade in Amsterdam in 1928, toe weer in Los Angeles in 1932 en ten slotte in Berlyn in 1936... tydens die laaste Olimpiade het ek nog die geleen tyd gekry om 'n paar weke saam te woon met die sportsman van daardie land. Hulle was flukse, fris, gesonde kêrels... Wel het ek gedink... hulle verteenwoordig seker 'n pragtige volk,

⁴²⁰ Boshoff, Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch, pp. 66-68.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*

⁴²² *Ibid.*

⁴²³ A. Obholzer, ‘'n Gesonde Suid Afrika’, p. 15.

*vol jeugdige krag en gesondheid... Dit was naamlik uit Suid-Afrika, wat daardie wonderlike atlete, sterk soos osse en bruingebrand deur die son, met hul groen kleur baadjies, die goue springbok op hul breë bors gekom het.”*⁴²⁴

(Over the past ten years, while in Europe, I have on many occasions had the opportunity to make acquaintances with the representatives of a people who lived far across the sea. Man, but they were exceptionally beautiful specimens of people. I met them at the Olympics in Amsterdam in 1928, then again in Los Angeles in 1932 and finally in Berlin in 1936 ... during the last Olympics I had the opportunity to live with the sports team of that country for a few weeks. They were fast, strong, healthy young men ... Well I thought... they must represent a beautiful people, full of youthful strength and health ... It was namely from South Africa where those wonderful athletes, strong as oxen and bronzed by the sun, with their green blazers and with the golden springbok on their broad chest came from)

In considering the fact that Olympic athletes who had been chosen to represent a nation are essentially the best that nation has to offer, Obholzer commented that the South African team was not on par with their peers at the Olympics Games.⁴²⁵ Despite his retrospective reflection of first meeting and spending time with the South African Olympic Team, Obholzer stated that upon speaking to South African health experts, his initial glowing review was inverted. Amused by his first impressions, a health inspector Obholzer referred to in his 1938 *Huisgenoot* article exclaimed ““Gesond? Weet u dan nie waar ons vandag aangeland het nie?... Op C3!.. C3 is ’n halwe doodvonnis. ’n C3 mens is iemand wat hom slegs nog met moeite deur die lewe sleep, wie se bestaan ’n kwelling is en wat elke dag die dood in die oë kyk”⁴²⁶ (“Healthy? Do you not know where we are ranked today? ... C3... C3 is half a death sentence. A C3 person is someone who drags themselves through life with difficulty, whose existence is torture and who faces death on a daily basis”).

The overarching argument in Obholzer’s *Huisgenoot* article and other pieces written during his tenure at the university, is the widely held notion that urbanisation was the direct cause for societal decline in South Africa, particularly among the largely agriculturally based Afrikaner

⁴²⁴ A. Obholzer, ‘’n Gesonde Suid Afrika’, p. 15.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁶ A. Obholzer, ‘’n Gesonde Suid Afrika’, p. 15.

population. Considering this, Obholzer argued that the introduction of a standardised syllabus targeted at improving the nation's health, has to first consider that nation's history, its traditions and its values. As seen in work of NACPE and international experts such as Niels Bukh, the conceptualisation of a South African physical education system was invested in the redemption of the impoverished and destitute white population. By extension in catering to a specific subset of the white population, Stellenbosch University was even more deeply invested in improving the corporate and individual state of the white Afrikaner body. Therefore the emphasis placed on the recalling of "*Afrikaner glorie*"⁴²⁷ (Afrikaner glory) of peak health and the physical dexterity of the preindustrial and pre-urbanised white settlers, remained central in the discourse surrounding *volksgesondheid* (the nation's health).⁴²⁸

A Department Under New Management

Taking up the reigns as Chair in August 1937, Obholzer assumed the responsibility of teaching physical education theory and conducting the physical training sessions for men students.⁴²⁹ With regard to the exercise sessions for women students, a Ms. van Blerk, was employed for the duration of the second semester following the end of Fourie's contract. At the end of 1937, Obholzer and Prof Brink,⁴³⁰ were the examiners for the university's first physical education examination.⁴³¹ Of the seventeen students who started the course in 1937,⁴³² eight students passed the examination and subsequently obtained the Physical Education Certificate.⁴³³

⁴²⁷ See Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Minutes of Meeting of the Senate, 15 October 1937, pp. 140-147.

⁴²⁸ A. Obholzer, 'Stellenbosch neem die Voortou in Liggaams-Opvoeding', *Stellenbosche Oudstudent*, 1938, p. 26.

⁴²⁹ Boshoff, 'Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch', p. 75.

⁴³⁰ Archival records outlining the history of the Physical Education Department do not provide additional details about Prof. Brink.

⁴³¹ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 17 September 1937, pp. 131-132.

⁴³² Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 12 November 1937, p. 208.

⁴³³ *Ibid*, p. 208.



Figure 3.5.: The Physical Education students at the end of 1937 after completing their first examination.⁴³⁴

In a haste to ensure greater permanency with regard to the position of a woman instructor, Senate tasked Obholzer with the responsibility of appointing a full-time woman lecturer. In his personal life, the urgency upon which Obholzer had to take up the position at Stellenbosch resulted in the postponement of his wedding.⁴³⁵ Subsequently, at the end of the 1937 academic year, Obholzer sailed back to Germany to wed Eva-Marie Clarissa von Hartunge.⁴³⁶ During his four-month leave, Obholzer recruited Hilde Robra⁴³⁷ as his assistant and first full-time woman lecturer in the Stellenbosch University Physical Education Department.⁴³⁸ As discussed, Stellenbosch University's new physical education courses were expected to align with both international trends as well as the traditions of a deeply conservative, gender-conscious society. Hilda Robra's recruitment aligned with these expectations. Despite her experience and qualifications, her role as a woman physical education instructor suited the social expectations

⁴³⁴ Boshoff, 'Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch', p. 75.; Anon, 'Eerste lektrise in Liggaamsoefeninge', *Die Burger*, 21 March 1938, p. 5.

⁴³⁵ List of graduates: Christiaan Joël Ackerman; Jan de Klerk, Marie Martinette Grimbeek, Susanna Wilhelmina Cochner, Lambertus Petrus Johnness Louw, Hester Maria Morrison, Willem Adriaan Poggenpoel en Wilhelmina Roux. See Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1938.; Boshoff, 'Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch,' p. 75

⁴³⁶ On 23 December 1937, Obholzer wed to Eva-Marie Clarissa von Hartungen in Innsbruck. See Anon, 'Eerste lektrise in Liggaamsoefeninge', p. 5.; Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 12 November 1937, p. 208.

⁴³⁷ As a physical education teacher in Berlin Robra was a renowned as an expert glider and one of the only women gliders in the early twentieth century. See Anon, 'Eerste lektrise in Liggaamsoefeninge', p. 5

⁴³⁸ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 12 November 1937, p. 208.

held by the university at the time.



Figure 3.6.: Hilda Robra. ⁴³⁹

A German-South African Hybrid

Upon his arrival at Stellenbosch University, Obholzer commented that while he was met by a group of physically fit and enthusiastic students, the lack of a scientifically-based physical education programme was glaring.⁴⁴⁰ In an interview with the *Rand Daily Mail*, Obholzer shared his perspectives on the state of physical education in South Africa as well as the budding potential of Stellenbosch University's physical education course.⁴⁴¹ Obholzer noted that while the new physical education course offered by the university had received limited publicity up to that point, the facilities offered at the institution would equip the youth with the necessary skills to participate in a new calling, stating that "they need not fear obtaining employment, as there is a definite demand by schools, institutions and even by departments of the Government such as the Defence and Education Department."⁴⁴² Regarding the approach he intended to implement within the programmes, Obholzer stated "*My plan is om die Duitse metode hier toe te pas- nie alles nie maar net die beste wat hier met welslae aangewend kan word*"⁴⁴³ (My plan is to implement German method here- not everything but only the best that can be applied here

⁴³⁹ Anon, 'Eerste lektrise in Liggaamsoefeninge', p. 5

⁴⁴⁰ Anon, "'Fitness First' Drive in South Africa', *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 September 1937, p. 10.

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴² Anon, "'Fitness First' Drive in South Africa', p. 10.

⁴⁴³ Anon, 'Eerste lektrise in Liggaamsoefeninge', p. 5

successfully). Moreover within the context of the university's sports performance, Obholzer argued that up until 1938 the calibre of athletics and sport at Stellenbosch University had been on a noticeable decline.⁴⁴⁴ As a resolve to this, he suggested that the introduction of a German-inspired programme targeted at youth improvement would be the most beneficial approach for the university and the country at large.⁴⁴⁵ Obholzer argued that physical education youth training was essential in all 'modern' countries and commented that ever-increasing contact with Europe would have a positive impact on the physical education standardisation movement in South Africa.⁴⁴⁶ More specifically, Obholzer deemed the deep-seated connections between Germany, Stellenbosch University and the Afrikaner nation as an essential move towards progress.⁴⁴⁷

At the beginning of 1938 Obholzer and the University's Executive Committee for Physical Education⁴⁴⁸ introduced considerable changes to the course structure. One of the first motions set in place by the committee was the decision to abandon the two-year certificate course,⁴⁴⁹ as the duration of the course in relation to its content did not justify its admiring costs.⁴⁵⁰ Subsequently at the beginning of 1938, the department only offered two full time courses, the one-year certificate course and three-year diploma course.⁴⁵¹ With regard to the set coursework, Obholzer introduced a weekly colloquium with the intention of fostering an engaging research environment.⁴⁵² Furthermore, Senate recommended for psychology to be introduced from the second semester of 1938⁴⁵³ and in considering the inclusion of the subject in the South African school system, Senate and the Executive Committee decided to incorporate compulsory physical education for all H.P.O.D students in the Education Faculty. As from the inception of the course, every prospective student had to undergo a medical examination. Following the Jokl debacle, Obholzer was only allowed to examine men students and a woman doctor was

⁴⁴⁴ A. Obholzer, 'Stellenbosch neem die Voortou in Liggaams-Opvoeding', p.26.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁸ At a Senate meeting on 1 April 1938, Senate recommended that a Committee for Physical Education be appointed. The Executive Committee then nominated Prof Stegmann (convener), Prof Battaerd, Prof Wilcocks and Dr Obholzer as members.

⁴⁴⁹ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Minutes of Meeting of the Senate, 15 October 1937, pp. 140-147.

⁴⁵⁰ A. Obholzer, 'Stellenbosch neem die Voortou in Liggaams-Opvoeding', p.26.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵² Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Minutes of Meeting of the Senate, 15 October 1937, pp. 140-147.

⁴⁵³ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Minutes of Meeting of the Senate, 21 June 1937, p. 70.

assigned to examine women students. Moreover, all students had to undergo practical tests comprised of swimming, gymnastics and athletics to determine whether they were fit to participate in physical training sessions.⁴⁵⁴

With regard to the certificate course, students were expected to be in possession of a teaching qualification in order to gain admission. The programme was comprised of three sections, namely practical training, scientific physical education theory and pedagogical methodologies. Regarding pedagogical methodologies, students were trained in general pedagogy, physical education methodology and practical education. As for physical education theory, several professors from the Departments of Physiology, Biology, History, Sociology and Education presented lectures to physical education students.⁴⁵⁵ More specifically, the physical education theory classes focussed on anatomy; physiology; first-aid; methodological research theory; history of physical education and health science.⁴⁵⁶ With regard to practical training for both the certificate and diploma course, students participated in gymnastics; physical training with gym equipment; athletics; swimming; games; tennis; singing; boxing; wrestling for men; judo for women and a course in gliding. As per Obholzer's instruction, all students were obligated to participate in a sporting code as he argued that sports participation was the best way to acquire the necessary competence to coach school children.⁴⁵⁷

With regard to the structure of the three-year diploma course, candidates were expected to enrol within three years of matriculation.⁴⁵⁸ Similar to the certificate course, this program was also comprised of three sections, namely practical training, scientific physical education theory and pedagogical methodologies. For the diploma course however, practical work included both sport participation as well as, laboratory work in botany, chemistry, physics and zoology.⁴⁵⁹ With regard to the theory classes, the program explored topics including, physical education theory, South African history, anatomy, psychology, general physiology, applied physiology, biology, health science, sociology and the history of physical education. For pedagogical methodology, the programme included methodology of education, methodology of physical education, practical exercise lessons, first aid and organization of physical education. At the

⁴⁵⁴ A. Obholzer, 'Groot vooruitsig vir Suid-Afrika', *Die Stellenbosse Oudstudent*, April 1939, p. 35.

⁴⁵⁵ A. Obholzer, 'Stellenbosch neem die Voortou in Liggaamsopvoeding', p. 26.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁸ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1938.

⁴⁵⁹ A. Obholzer, 'Stellenbosch neem die Voortou in Liggaamsopvoeding', p. 26.

end of the course candidates would be required to complete a number of trial lessons under Obholzer's supervision.⁴⁶⁰ While Jokl had ambitions to expand physical education's theoretical base, Obholzer was able to execute these plans. While 1937 marked the introduction of physical education at the university, 1938 witnessed the first moves towards the establishment of a theoretical framework for the subject. While physical training remained central, physical education theory drew on social and applied sciences as part of its conceptual foundation.

As stated, Obholzer considered the best physical education programmes to be an encapsulation of a nation's history and the holistic development of the body as related to biological principles. With regard to the aspect of national history in relation to physical activity, Obholzer noted that "everything the ancestors did in connection with physical exercise in their leisure time must be made use of in physical education and where necessary, things that have been long forgotten, must again be called back to life and resurrected."⁴⁶¹ Calling for the restoration of "handsome and precious, old-fashioned and dexterous games of the Voortrekkers, their folk dances, operettas and songs",⁴⁶² Obholzer stated that the resurrection of these practices should be incorporated alongside "pure gymnastics" exercise.⁴⁶³ Bearing a close similarity to Niels Bukh's vision for the most suitable physical education curriculum for South Africa, Obholzer's proposed hybrid of Afrikaner traditional and cultural practices and German-inspired physical education became a recognised key feature in his conceptualisation of the course.⁴⁶⁴ In attempting to understand Obholzer's conceptualisation of physical education theory, his rationale must be located within the very specific context of Stellenbosch University. While appealing to this national project, it is imperative to be aware of the ubiquity of Afrikaner nation-building within the context that Obholzer was situated. This largely dictated the trajectory of Obholzer's work as he sought to locate his contribution within a scientific and a traditionally conservative framework.

"Glo in gezondheid van u volk"⁴⁶⁵ (Believe in the health of your nation): Facilitating Student Development

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.* See also Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XIII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Minutes of Meeting of the Senate, 17 March 1939, Liggaamsopvoeding Graadkursus.

⁴⁶¹ A. Obholzer, 'A National System for South Africa', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 1, 1 (1939), p. 10.

⁴⁶² *Ibid.* p. 12.

⁴⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁵ Anon, 'Nuus Uitbreiding van die Departement van Ligg.opv. aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch', p. 53.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

In 1938, 48 students were enrolled for physical education courses at the university⁴⁶⁶ and by 1939 that figure almost doubled to 94.⁴⁶⁷ To accommodate the growing student body, the departments facilities were expanded, and an additional equipment was acquired. Due to the influx of students and the steady growth of the programmes, two lecturers, Mr Oskar Gornetz⁴⁶⁸ and Miss Ruth Schnepfel,⁴⁶⁹ were appointed as physical education lecturers. Prior to their appointment at Stellenbosch University, both Schnepfel and Gornetz worked as physical education lecturers at Pretoria Technical College.⁴⁷⁰ Moreover beyond the expansion of the academic staff, the department's first support staff member was employed in 1939. Marthinus Serfontein was the first person of colour to be employed in the department and also one of the departments longest staff members.⁴⁷¹



Figure 3.7.:Oskar Gornetz.⁴⁷²

⁴⁶⁷ A. Obholzer, 'Stellenbosch neem die Voortou in Liggaams-Opvoeding', p.36.

⁴⁶⁸ Oskar Gornetz was appointed as an assistant lecturer. Gornetz took up his position at the beginning of the fourth term in 1938. See Anon, 'General', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical education*, 1, 1 (1939), p 52.

⁴⁶⁹ On 1 April 1939, Ruth Schnepfel was the second woman to be appointed as a full-time lecturer in the department. Prior to her appointment, Schnepfel attained a Diploma from the School of Jacques Dalcroze, Geneva, and specialised in eurhythmics, patho-gymnastics and massage. A. Obholzer, 'Stellenbosch neem die Voortou in Liggaams-Opvoeding', p.27.

⁴⁷⁰ A. Obholzer, 'Stellenbosch neem die Voortou in Liggaams-Opvoeding', p.27.

⁴⁷¹ Marthinus Serfontein was a member of Department for 39 years. See Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XIII. 16 April 1938-1 April 1939. Notule van vergadering van die Senaat gehou in die Senaat kamer op Maandag 20 Junie 1938, p. 58.; Boshoff, 'Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch', p. 70.

⁴⁷² O. Gornetz, 'On agility exercise', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical education*, 1, 3 (1939), p. 19



Figure 3.8.: Ruth Schnepel.⁴⁷³

One of the foremost objectives for the department was to foster student engagement, both in terms of bolstering the spirit of camaraderie amongst students in the department and in terms of ensuring that they were aware of their role in the national plight for Afrikaner advancement. Apart from writing a song to celebrate the department and the role it played in Afrikaner nation-building, Greta Gericke,⁴⁷⁴ a student in the department in 1938, stated that students were even allowed to design their own uniforms.⁴⁷⁵ Furthermore, students J.T. Nel and H. Spies approached Obholzer with the idea to establish a physical education association.⁴⁷⁶ The main purpose of the association was to get prominent speakers to address students on various topics related to the discipline. Beyond the interdepartmental engagement, students were implored to reflect upon their motivations for pursuing physical education. As stated in an address delivered to Stellenbosch University physical education students in April 1939, the speaker affirmed that, “if you are not prompted by the idea of helping to improve your race physically then you should

⁴⁷³ R. Schnepel, ‘Rhythmic exercises in walking, running and skipping’, 1, 4, (1939), p. 9.

⁴⁷⁴ As discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis, Greta Gericke was the daughter of Dr. Karl Bremmer and the first student in the department to attain a bachelor’s degree in physical education.

⁴⁷⁵ Anon, ‘Blywende Ervarings’, *Matieland*, 2018, p.70

⁴⁷⁶ Boshoff, ‘Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch’, p. 101.

⁴⁷⁷ C. Smith, ‘What is your Aim, Students of Physical Education’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 1, 2, 1939, p. 35.

not take this course- and believe me our people need exercise.”⁴⁷⁷ This call to action symbolises the ways in which the national initiative was inculcated into the student body.



Figure 3. 9.: Physical Education students in 1938.⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷⁸ Boshoff, ‘Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch’, p. 325.



Figure 3.10.: The Physical Education Society.⁴⁷⁹

A Body of Literature

In 1939 the department made great strides in its effort to contribute to the making of a South African physical education system, with the launch of its bilingual quarterly journal, *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education* as well as the announcement of an Afrikaans textbook series.⁴⁸⁰ Working in collaboration with the NACPE the first edition of the journal appeared on 15 April 1939 and went on to be published throughout the inter-war years until it was acquired by the NACPE at the end of 1946.⁴⁸¹ The journal explored an array of topics including current affairs; emerging research in the local and global context; expert opinions pieces; information on gymnastics, sport and apparatus work as well as research and news from the NACPE; Union Defence Force and Health Department.⁴⁸² In aspiring to cultivate “a healthy, strong and disciplined South Africa”⁴⁸³ the journal had five core aims. First, the journal aimed to serve as

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁰ Due to Obholzer’s internment only one book was published. Anon, ‘Die bevordering van Liggaamsopvoeding’, *Die Burger*, 15 April 1939, p.4.; A. Obholzer, *Beginsels en Leidraad vir Liggaamsopvoeding in die Skool*, p. 30.

⁴⁸¹ Anon, ‘Notes’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, 8, 1 (1946), p. 2.

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*

⁴⁸³ A. Obholzer, ‘What our magazine aims at’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, 1, 1 (1939), p.3.

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

a “champion.. of propaganda”⁴⁸⁴ for the physical education movement in South Africa through distributing news on emerging research in the discipline. Second, the journal served as a forum for experts to share opinion pieces. Third, the journal intended to aid in the construction of a South African system for physical education. Fourth, it would contribute towards strengthening international networks “by giving reports about physical education in other countries”.⁴⁸⁵ Last, the journal would provide practical aids for physical education teachers.

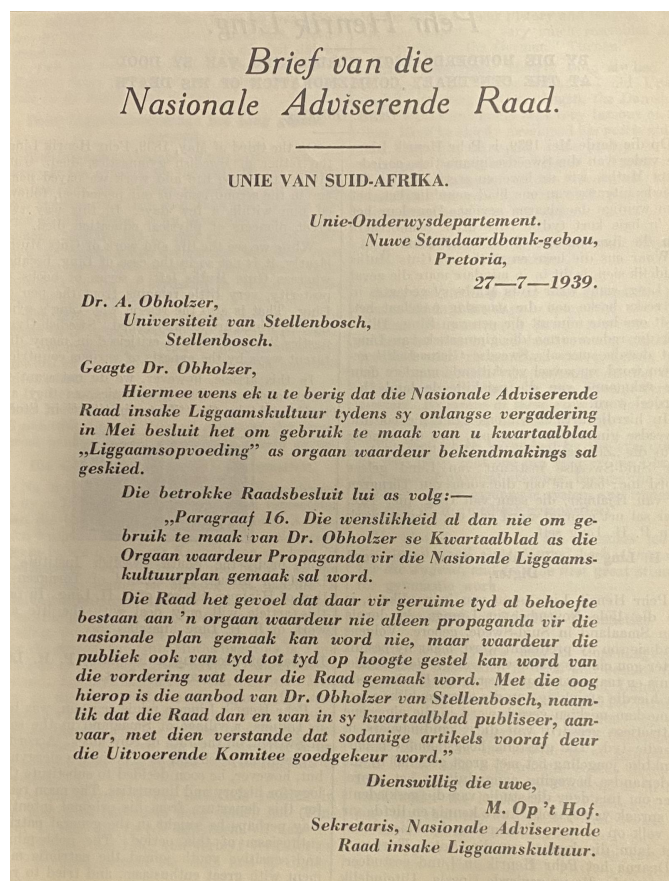


Figure 3.11.: Letter from the National Advisory Council for Physical Education.⁴⁸⁶

Besides the establishment of a journal, the department had initiated plans to publish a series of Afrikaans textbooks that covered the basic principles of physical education. Considering the national objective that championed Afrikaner advancement, the announcement of an Afrikaans textbook series responded to the lack of physical education literature available in Afrikaans.⁴⁸⁷ The 1939 textbook, *Beginsels en Leidraad vir Liggaamsopvoeding in die Skool*, discussed the

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁶ M. Op’t Hof: Sekretaris vir die Nasionale Adviserende Raad insake Liggaamskultuur, ‘Brief van die Nasionale Adviserende Raad’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 1, 3 (1939), p. 3.

⁴⁸⁷ See J. J. Smith, ‘Afrikaans terms in physical education’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 1, 1 (1939), p. 20.; Anon, ‘Die bevordering van Liggaamsopvoeding’, p.4.;

objectives of physical education and the ways in which the Department of Education, Public Health and Defence played instrumental roles in the governance and upkeep of physical education in South Africa.⁴⁸⁸ The textbook also goes on to discuss topics such as the optimal conditions needed to operate physical education programmes, exploring topics such as the use of gymnastics equipment; appropriate uniforms; the practicalities of outdoor and indoor training sessions; gymnastics sessions without the use of equipment as well as the basic construction of lesson plans for short and extended sessions.⁴⁸⁹ Furthermore, the textbook gave insight into the effects of physical education on the respiratory system; physical education for children at different stages of development; suitable physical education programmes for children with disabilities and the role of the physical educationist and the school doctor.⁴⁹⁰ Last, the textbook also discussed issues surrounding discipline and more specifically corporal punishment and the use of physical education as a means of corporal punishment.⁴⁹¹

Obholzer, who served as the author for the textbook, outlined the three key principles of physical education. First, the social objective which focussed on educating the youth on how to become useful members of society by instilling in them an all-encompassing sense of patriotism.⁴⁹² The second objective focussed on the basic principles of hygiene practices for the optimisation of health. As argued by Obholzer, optimal health is not simply the absence of illness or disease.⁴⁹³ He claimed that this interpretation of the concept of health frames the phenomenon in a negative light. According to Obholzer, physical education not only improves the body but also the individual's psychological state by increasing one's sense of power; zest for life; work ethic; overall energy and ambitious ability.⁴⁹⁴ Lastly, echoing Broeksma's conceptualisation of the connection between physical education, citizen making and national defence,⁴⁹⁵ the military objective was based upon two factors, namely; an increase in the nation's sense of resilience and a surge in the nation's will for defence

Stellenbosch to the World

⁴⁸⁸ A. Obholzer, *Beginsels en Leidraad vir Liggaamsopvoeding in die Skool*, p. 30.

⁴⁸⁹ Obholzer, *Beginsels en Leidraad vir Liggaamsopvoeding in die Skool*, p. 30.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 51-60.

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid*, pp. 87-89.

⁴⁹² *Ibid*, p. 17.

⁴⁹³ *Ibid*, p. 20.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 22.

⁴⁹⁵ Broeksma, 'The Education of Citizens and the Department of Defense', p. 17.

By 1939 the department had started to gain notoriety, both within the context of South Africa and internationally. On 2 March 1939, Count Baillet Latour, Chairman of the International Olympic Committee, paid a visit to the Stellenbosch University Physical Education Department while on tour across South Africa.⁴⁹⁶ Following a farewell dinner hosted by Oswald Pirow, Latour addressed the students.⁴⁹⁷ From a platform decorated with the Olympic flag and surrounded by a guard of honour consisting of men and women students from the Physical Education Department, Latour shared a brief history of the Olympic Games and the value of sport and physical education.⁴⁹⁸ Moreover in highlighting the importance of physical education, Latour complemented the development of the South African “sporting spirit” that had “not yet been gnawed at by the worm of pseudo-amateurism.”⁴⁹⁹ This international interest in the work being undertaken within the department is indicative of the departments contributions to the South African physical education standardisation movement. In reference to the absence of ‘pseudo-amateurism,’ it is apparent that the establishment of courses within the university context contributed to the legitimacy of physical education both within the context of the university and on a national scale. The relationship between the university and the state was mutually beneficial. In this regard, while the department worked to contribute to the development of a sound theoretical base for physical education, this contributed to the national expansion of the field. In turn, the state was invested in supporting the university’s efforts.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁶ Anon, ‘Notes’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 1, 1 (1939), p. 58.

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁸ Anon, ‘Notes’, p. 58.

⁴⁹⁹ Anon, ‘Count Baillet Latour’s Visit’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 1, 1 (1939), p. 51.

⁵⁰⁰ The state made financial contributions to the expansion of facilities at the university. For more on this, see Chapter Four of this thesis.

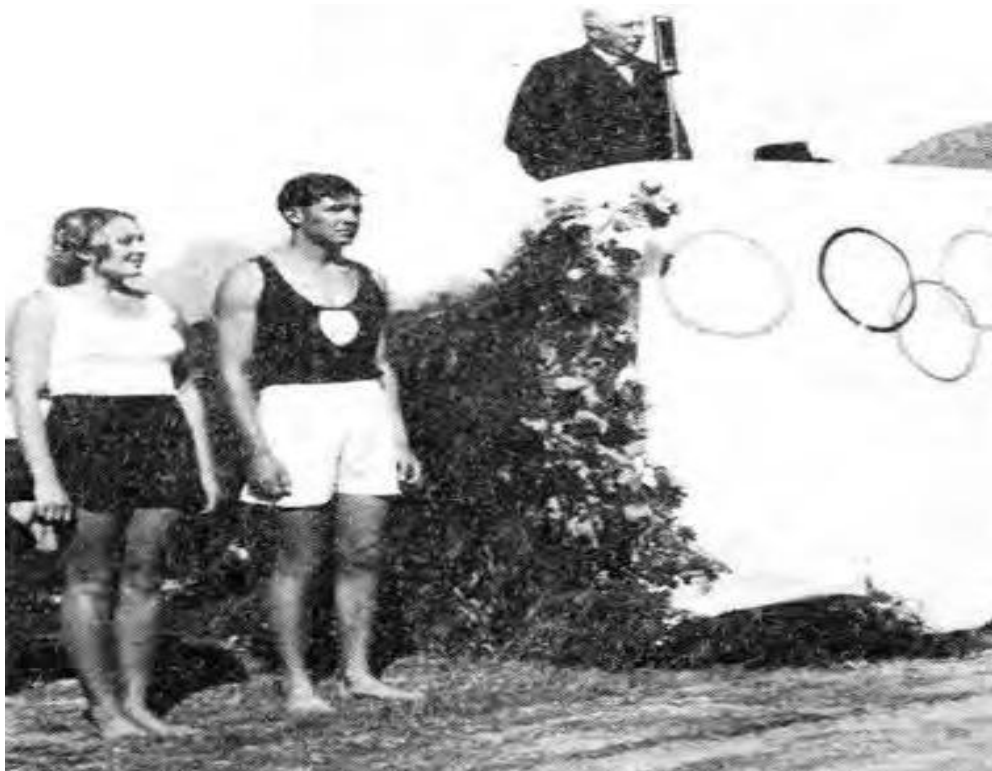


Figure 3.12.: Count Baillet Latour at Stellenbosch University. ⁵⁰¹

Upon Obholzer's invitation, Niels Bukh kicked off his South African tour with a performance on the Coetzenburg sports field on 25 August 1939.⁵⁰² At the start of the showcase, Bukh and his gymnasts were officially welcomed by the Secretary of Defence.⁵⁰³ Attended by 5,000 spectators, Bukh's showcase involved gymnasts dressed in vibrant costumes, moving along in meticulously synchronised formations accompanied by bellowing orchestral music.⁵⁰⁴ The year of 1939 marked the solidification of Stellenbosch University's place in the global physical education arena. Harnessing the pre-existing cosmopolitan connections, 1939 had been considered as a year of great promise.⁵⁰⁵

“Ons sal soos lojale kinders met agting van hom gaan praat in ons vaderland”⁵⁰⁶ (Like loyal children, we will speak of him with respect in our homeland)

Within two years of Obholzer's arrival at Stellenbosch University, Senate had put forth the motion to promote him to the position of professor.⁵⁰⁷ This decision was made due to the

⁵⁰¹ Anon, 'Nuus: Uitbreiding van die Departement van Ligg.opv. aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch', p. 53.

⁵⁰² Anon, 'Deense Gimnastiek kom in Suid Afrika aan', p.7.

⁵⁰³ Ano, ' Skitterende vertonings deur Deense gimnaste', *Die Burger*, 26 August 1939, p.5.

⁵⁰⁴ E. Jokl, *Physical Exercises: A Syllabus for South African Schools*, p. 220

⁵⁰⁵ Anon, ' Nuus: Uitbreiding van die Departement van Ligg.opv. aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch', p. 53.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁷ Senaat-Notule Vol. XIII. 16 April 1938-1 April 1939. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 14 September 1939, p. 296.

impactful contributions Obholzer had made in terms of configuring a useful strategy to ensure the national implementation of physical education in South Africa. In his two year tenure at the university, Obholzer left a lasting mark on South African physical education. As echoed by his students “*Ons sal soos lojale kinders met agting van hom gaan praat in ons vaderland, en getuig van sy liefde vir sy werk en sy ywer vir ons vaderland. Ons sal langs hierdie weg hom 'n handdruk gee, wat getuig van ons waardering en dankbaarheid*”⁵⁰⁸ (Like loyal children, we will speak of him with respect in our homeland, and testify of his love for his work and his zeal for our homeland. We will give him a handshake along the way, to show our appreciation and gratitude). Despite Obholzer’s promising future at the university, his tenure was abruptly suspended. Following the outbreak of the Second World War, Obholzer and his assistant, Oskar Gornetz, were interned in December 1939 on suspicion of Nazi-related activities. According to a report in the *Rand Daily Mail* on 15 December 1939:

“Among 17 German subjects who were arrested in Cape Town and despatched by train to Pretoria on Wednesday night for internment, were Dr Anton Obholzer, head of the Department of Physical Training at the University of Stellenbosch...Three of the internees lived at Stellenbosch.”⁵⁰⁹

Conclusion

Eerily echoing the abrupt dismissal of the department’s previous Chair, Obholzer’s internment once again placed the department in a state of instability. Despite his sudden removal, his work in the department pushed Stellenbosch University to the centre of the physical education discourse in South Africa. In tracing the intellectual underpinning of the discipline within the country from the early Inquiries of the 1900s and early twentieth century, which led to the establishment of the NACPE, the *Volksuniversiteit* under the leadership of Anton Obholzer appealed to the national objective of Afrikaner advancement. In championing for the restoration of the Afrikaner people, physical education at Stellenbosch University remained a matter of national interest from its conceptualisation. This chapter examined a particular period within the history of physical education in South Africa. A period in which a broad international network was forged as a means through which to establish and develop a

⁵⁰⁸ Anon, ‘Nuus: Uitbreiding van die Departement van Ligg.opv. aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch’, p. 53.

⁵⁰⁹ Anon, ‘University and Church Officers Interned’, *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 December 1939, p.11.

discipline that upheld a nationally aligned 'race betterment' project. In doing so, this chapter revealed the ways in which modernity and tradition collided to formulate a context specific physical education system.

Chapter Four: ‘Talking’ Science, ‘Doing’ Science? Scientific Rhetoric and Practices in the standardisation of Physical Education, c.1940-1947.

“Every physical educationist who has self-respect, will - even without a cane behind the door - draw up a syllabus. The person who does not comply belongs to the category of haphazard teachers and should not be called an educationist. Would the name quack not be more suitable?”⁵¹⁰

By December of 1939 the impact of World War II had reached even the far-frontiers of the Stellenbosch University Physical Education Department. The internment of lecturers Anton Obholzer and Oskar Gornetz,⁵¹¹ forced the university into a hasty search for a suitable candidate to assume the position of Departmental Chair. Through Obholzer’s international networks, Johan Willem Postma was earmarked for the position and appointed as Acting Chair from March 1940.⁵¹² Unlike his predecessors, Postma did not have a medical background or advanced training in the field of physical education. Despite this, in becoming the first person to obtain a Masters and Doctoral qualification in Physical Education at the university, the beginnings of Postma’s career was incubated during his tenure as Acting Chair of the Physical Education Department from 1940 to 1946. As 1940 marked the year in which Physical Education received independent departmental status, this chapter argues that during Postma’s tenure as Acting Chair, the newly-minted department was set on defining and developing physical education as an ‘applied science’. This chapter contends that while physical educationist such as Johan Postma and Arnold Schrecker⁵¹³ were struggling for a complete ‘scientific turn’, this was not attained in practice. As physical education remained grounded in childhood and youth development as well as ideas surrounding the social advancement of the white South African population, at this stage the reconfiguration of physical education as a science proved impossible. In considering this, the chapter argues that a means through which to push the discipline towards science, scientific rhetoric was employed in the

⁵¹⁰ J.W. Postma, ‘Haphazard or Systemised Training: An Open Letter to all Physical Educationist’, *Vigor*, 7, 1 (1951), p.67.

⁵¹¹ Anon, ‘University and Church Officers Interned’, *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 December 1939, p.11.

⁵¹² Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae XIV. Minutes of Meeting of the Senate, 15 March 1940, pp. 64-65.

⁵¹³ Arnold Schrecker was appointed as a lecturer in the Stellenbosch University Physical Education Department.

conceptualisation of a theoretical base for physical education.

In trying to shed the perception that ‘physical education’ solely pertained to ‘teacher training’, the early to mid-1940s centred the ‘scientific turn’ in physical education in both the language and practices used in the discipline. The expanded applied approaches used in the field were explicitly and tacitly drawn from other sciences such as anthropometry and biology. In tracing the development of the department at this key moment, this chapter seeks to outline the processes surrounding the ways in which scientific rhetoric, method and theories were used as a means to legitimise the discipline within the broader academic context. With the need for physical education established socially, in terms of its centrality in education and public health, the 1940s marked the period in which physical educationists pursued scientific recognition of their discipline. In examining this history, the chapter analyses the ways in which other, more established scientific disciplines as well as European-based physical education theories were used to rethink physical education.⁵¹⁴ In analysing the processes surrounding the push towards a scientific re-imagining, this chapter reveals that while prominent physical educationists were ‘talking science’, they were not ‘doing science’. Instead, their research reflected the establishment of a theoretical base for the discipline instead of the development of physical education as an independent and distinct science.

Historiography: Multi-disciplinary Research in Physical Education

A central part of this chapter explores the ways in which established sciences, such as zoology, physiology, anatomy, biology and anthropometry were incorporated as cognate and complementary sciences within physical education. As discussed in Chapter’s Two and Three of this thesis, the aforementioned sciences had already formed integral parts of the discipline from the introduction of the first courses.⁵¹⁵ By the early 1940s the department’s ‘scientific turn’ was largely enhanced through the integration of physiology of exercise, anthropometry of human measurement and the advancement of hygiene and health studies that centralised ‘race-betterment’, nutrition and sanitation.⁵¹⁶ As part of this the push towards applied science

⁵¹⁴ See J. R. van der Merwe, ‘The Conception of Physical Education’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 3, 2 1(1941), pp. 35-37.

⁵¹⁵ These sciences were included in the course during Jokl and thereafter Obholzer’s chairpersonship. Particularly with regard to Obholzer, these sciences were included as it was intended to equip students with the necessary skills to teach biology. See Chapter Three of this thesis.

⁵¹⁶ See chapter three. See also J. W. Postma, ‘Ondersoek na die wetenskaplike basis van die Europese strominge in die liggaamsopvoeding van 1900 tot 1940’ (PhD thesis, Stellenbosch University, 1945), pp. 157-163.

anthropometry was introduced in physical education in 1939, when the department invited Dr Coert Grobbelaar to teach physical anthropology. As detailed by Handri Walters, Grobbelaar was one of the country's pioneers in the field of zoology, 'race science' and physical anthropology.⁵¹⁷ Fascinated by emerging techniques in anthropometric studies, Grobbelaar travelled to Munich in 1939 to advance his studies.⁵¹⁸ With the outbreak of war, Grobbelaar returned to South Africa and spent a year studying physical anthropology with Matthew Drennan at the University of Cape Town.⁵¹⁹ Following his training, Grobbelaar started teaching physical anthropology in the Physical Education Department in 1940. Grobbelaar envisioned a great role for "practical applications" of anthropometric studies in South Africa beyond the disciplinary bounds of physical anthropology.⁵²⁰ One of Grobbelaar's most notable contributions to physical anthropology was his 1942 anthropometric survey of white male Stellenbosch University students and a group of white schoolboys. Using the survey results Grobbelaar calculated the 'standard' for the physical stature of adolescent white boys in South Africa. Later he conducted similar studies on white school girls and women students. These studies served as a basis for all later studies on the 'Caucasoid' section of the South African population and for comparative studies on various ethnic and socio-economic groups.⁵²¹

With regard the inclusion of anthropometry in physical education, Walters notes that "according to Grobbelaar... the objective of this course was "to teach the methods and techniques used by physical anthropologists for the determination of standard body measurements, and the proper use of apparatus".⁵²² The course required students of the Department of Physical Education to "familiarize themselves with the classic and modern literature of the various disciplines for which knowledge of the German language was essential."⁵²³ This chapter intends to expand upon Walters's analysis, by outlining the ways in

⁵¹⁷ H. Walters, 'Tracing Objects of Measurement: Locating Intersections of Race, Science and Politics' (PhD thesis, Stellenbosch University, 2018), p. 70. See also H. Walters and C.S. van der Waal, 'Creating the Coloured Other in South Africa in Light of the 'Jewish Question' in Germany', *Religion and Theology*, 27, 3 (2020), pp. 202–228.; Rosemary Breuer, 'Coert Smit Grobbelaar', Stellenbosch Writers, available at <http://www.stellenboschwriters.com/grobbelaarc.html>, retrieved 24 May 2022.; C. Plug, 'Grobbelaar, Dr Coert Smith (zoology, physical anthropology)', Biographical Database of Southern African Science, 23(March 2020), available at https://www.s2a3.org.za/bio/Biograph_final.php?serial=1155, retrieved 24 May 2022.

⁵¹⁸ Walters, 'Tracing Objects of Measurement', p.70.

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵²¹ Grobbelaar promoted the use of anthropometric methods beyond the disciplinary bounds of physical anthropology. C. Plug, 'Grobbelaar, Dr Coert Smith (zoology, physical anthropology)', Biographical Database of Southern African Science, 23(March 2020), available at https://www.s2a3.org.za/bio/Biograph_final.php?serial=1155, retrieved 24 May 2022.

⁵²² Walters, 'Tracing Objects of Measurement', p.71.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*

anthropometry of human measurement was used to enhance physical education's theoretical framework. In doing so, it traces physical educationists configuration physical education as a science likened to medicine, with its core focus on the optimisation of the human body for physical optimisation.

Beyond the aforementioned sciences, physical education incorporated social sciences such as psychology, sociology and cultural studies.⁵²⁴ As discussed in Chapter Three of this thesis, *The Poor White Problem in South Africa*⁵²⁵ served as a key impetus behind the institutionalisation of physical education as a discipline, as it was valued for its prospective benefits in the advancement of the white South African population. In analysing the intellectual basis of *The Poor White Problem*, the collective, multi and inter-disciplinary nature of the project was one of the most prominent features to be inherited by physical education. As physical education was partly birthed out of *The Poor White Problem* and the ethos surrounding the project, this chapter seeks to investigate the depth to which interdisciplinary research formed the basis of physical education research. While preceding chapters of this thesis used *The Poor White Problem* to explain the social milieu that led to the introduction of the physical education as an academic discipline, this chapter primarily draws on *The Poor White Problem* for its research approach which meant that interdisciplinary research was an inevitable feature of physical education from its inception.

In examining the origin and development of the theoretical framework for physical education, Rosalie Irene de Klerk's doctoral thesis presents the scientific contributions made by leading figures in physical education. More specifically, in outlining of the history of physical education in South Africa, De Klerk's thesis presents a detailed account of the lives and careers of Johan Willem Postma, Claude Michael Smit and David Petrus Jacobus Smith. She pays close attention to the establishment of the discipline as well as the institutionalisation and

⁵²⁴ As will be discussed in this chapter, cultural studies was primarily featured in folk dance and song and was largely targeted at women.

⁵²⁵ See J.F.W. Grosskopf, *The poor white problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission. Part I. Economic Report: Rural Impoverishment and Rural Exodus* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932). ; R.W. Wilcocks, *The poor white problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission. Part II. Psychological Report: The Poor White* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932). ; E.G. Malherbe, *The poor white problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission. Part III. Educational Report: Education and the Poor White* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932).; W. A. Murray, *The poor white problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission. Part IV. Health Report. Health Factors in the Poor White Problem*, (Stellenbosch: Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932). ;J.R. Albertyn and M.E. Rothmann, *The poor white problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission. Part V. Sociological Report: (a) The Poor White in Society (b) The Mother and Daughter in the Poor Family* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932).

⁵²⁶ R. I. de Klerk., 'Die Bydrae van Enkele Liggaamlike Opvoedkundiges tot die Ontwikkeling van die Vak in Suid Afrika vanaf die Twintigste Eeu' (PhD thesis, Potchefstroomse Universiteit vir Christelike Hoër Onderwys, 1986), pp. 1-6.

standardisation of physical education as an organized practice in South Africa.⁵²⁶ In acknowledging the lack of uniformity in the discipline's early stages, she succeeds in highlighting the social and theoretical aspects that informed physical education practice.⁵²⁷ In drawing on de Klerk's work, this chapter discusses the ways in which prominent figures in the Stellenbosch University Physical Education Department sought to address the discipline's lack of uniformity through establishing national networks and strengthening the department's, and by extensions the discipline's, research output. Furthermore the chapter examines the ways in which physical education's scientific ambitions signified a broader plight for legitimacy and intellectual recognition within the academic institutional context in the 1940s. In considering this, it should be emphasised that the discipline was still in its infancy during this period.⁵²⁸ Therefore in examining physical education's developmental phase, this chapter seeks to interrogate the type of 'science' physical education was intended to become.

Calamity Strikes Again

Following Jokl's swift dismissal in 1937, the department developed significantly under the leadership of Obholzer. Boasting advancements that included the expansion of the course structures, the appointment of additional academic and support staff as well as the department's contribution to the growing body of literature in South African physical education, the end of the 1939 academic year signified a promising future for the department. Moreover Obholzer's contributions to field, both within the context of the university and the country, influenced the university's decision to promote him to the position of full professor.⁵²⁹ Yet less than a week following the final announcement of Obholzer's promotion, he and Oskar Gornetz were interned on 13 December 1939 on suspicion of Nazi related activity.⁵³⁰ As women lecturers were exclusively employed to conduct the physical training of women students, the detention of the entire male faction of the teaching staff subsequently meant that the theory lectures were abandoned without instructors. In urgent need of a replacement, the university turned to the interned Obholzer for guidance.⁵³¹

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁹ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. X. 20 April 1930-19 February 1942. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 9 December 1939, p. 293.

⁵³⁰ Anon, 'University and Church Officers Interned', *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 December 1939, p.11.

⁵³¹ A.L. Boshoff, 'Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch' (MA, Stellenbosch University, 1981), p. 130.

As discussed in Chapter Three of this thesis, Obholzer had established robust networks across several prominent European institutions. In the search for a temporary replacement for his position, the connections he established at the University of Vienna proved to be particularly beneficial. Upon the university's request Obholzer sent out an appeal to Dr Karl Gaulhoefer⁵³² to suggest suitable candidates for his position.⁵³³ Gaulhoefer recommended Johan Postma as the best candidate for the position.⁵³⁴ Following Postma's appointment as Acting Chair,⁵³⁵ the university still appealed Obholzer's internment. Despite their efforts, he remained intermittently detained for four and a half years.⁵³⁶ As a result of his wife falling ill, which allowed him to return to Stellenbosch,⁵³⁷ Obholzer returned to the university and worked in the department from March to June 1940 in the capacity of a senior lecturer.⁵³⁸ During his two and a half year tenure at Stellenbosch University, Obholzer impressed as Chair of the department and went on to receive national acclaim. Despite the department's forecasted upward trajectory, the cumulative effects of World War II placed the department in a precarious position. Stellenbosch was considered to be the pinnacle of emerging Afrikaner intellectualism. In contributing to this identity the department served as a central node in the 'race-betterment project'.⁵³⁹ Obholzer identified as a German-trained expert and his conservative right-leaning politics allowed him to seamlessly integrate himself into the university and larger intellectual community of the Afrikaner academy.⁵⁴⁰ Thus despite the South African's state political turn which resulted in the internment of those suspected of Nazi-related activity, the university still showed its support of Obholzer.

Johan Willem Postma, from Sportsman to Educationist to Self-Styled Scientist?

⁵³² Anon, 'In memoriam: Prof. K. Gaulhoefer', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 4, 1 (1942), p. 2.; E. de Zeeuw, 'Gaulhoefer's influence on physical education in Holland', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 4, 4, (1942), p. 18.

⁵³³ While at the University of Vienna, Obholzer worked with Dr Karl Gaulhoefer and Dr Margarete Streicher. See De Zeeuw. "Gaulhoefer's influence on physical education in Holland," p. 18.

⁵³⁴ Boshoff, 'Die Geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch', p. 130.

⁵³⁵ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae XIV. Minutes of Meeting of the Senate, 15.March.1940, pp. 64-65.; Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae XIV. Senaat-Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 24 June 1940, p. 129.

⁵³⁶ Boshoff, 'Die Geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch', p. 107.

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁸ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae XIV. Senate Minutes 20 April 1940- 21 February 1942. Report of the Vice-Chancellor Committee. 11 June 1940. p. 129.

⁵³⁹ See Chapter Three of this thesis.

⁵⁴⁰ F. J. Cleophas, 'A political-institutional history of the Stellenbosch University physical education department, 1936-1939', *Sport in Society Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics* (2021), pp. 1-14.

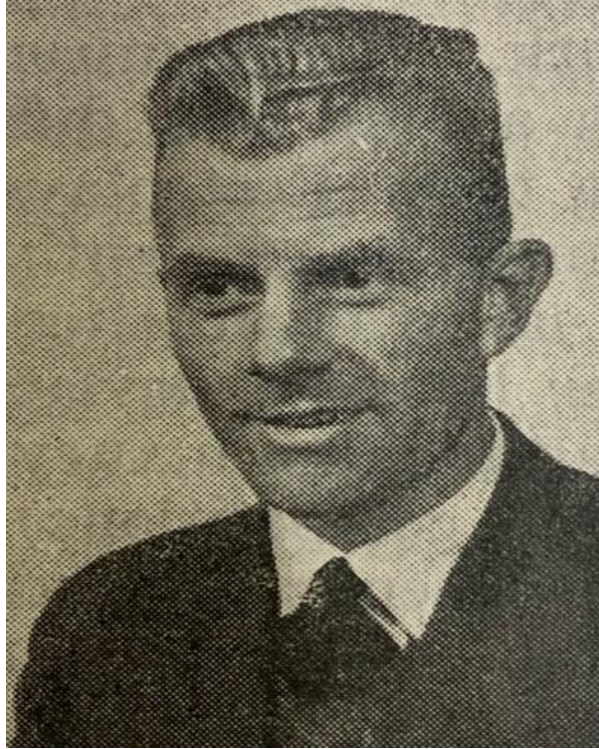


Figure 4.1.: Johan Willem Postma. ⁵⁴¹

Born on 26 July 1907 in Epe, in the Netherlands, Johan Willem Postma was the first Chair of the Physical Education Department at Stellenbosch to serve out the entirety of his tenure from the beginning of 1940 until his retirement in 1972 (and not summarily fired or incarcerated – unlike his predecessors).⁵⁴² Completing his schooling in 1925,⁵⁴³ Postma participated in an array of sporting codes throughout his life.⁵⁴⁴ This influenced his decision to pursue physical education as he had assumed that this field of study would complement his training regime. Once his studies commenced, he began to believe that physical education was more than just sport and training.⁵⁴⁵ Despite this revelation, he continued his studies and went on to obtain a teaching diploma from the Academy for Physical Education in the Netherland in 1928,⁵⁴⁶ as well as an additional Sports Diploma and teaching qualification in 1933.⁵⁴⁷ Upon completing

⁵⁴¹ J. W. Postma, 'Hockey training', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 2, 2 (1940), p. 4.

⁵⁴² De Klerk, 'Die Bydrae van Enkele Liggaamlike Opvoedkundiges tot die Ontwikkeling van die Vak in Suid Afrika vanaf die Twintigste Eeu', pp. 1-6.

⁵⁴³ Boshoff, 'Die Geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch', p. 131.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁷ Boshoff, 'Die Geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch', p. 131.

his teaching qualification, Postma worked as a physical trainer for the Netherland's Steamship Company from 1928 until 1930 and then as a schoolteacher at Montessori Lyceum in Rotterdam. There he also worked as a trainer for the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) from 1935 to 1939.⁵⁴⁸ In March 1940 Postma, accompanied by his wife and daughter,

⁵⁴⁸ De Klerk, 'Die Bydrae van Enkele Liggaamlike Opvoedkundiges tot die Ontwikkeling van die Vak in Suid Afrika vanaf die Twintigste Eeu', p. 83

arrived in Stellenbosch where he took up the position of Acting Chair of the Physical Education Department.⁵⁴⁹

After conceding the departmental chairpersonship to Daniel ‘Danie’ Hartman Craven at the end of 1946, Postma became an Associate Professor in the department. During his long career at the university, Postma worked to advance the scientific and theoretical basis of course structures and syllabi. He introduced two postgraduate courses, the M.Ed. and D. Ed. Ph. while acting chair. These courses were strategic as he *himself* became the first person to acquire both the M.Ed. in 1942 and the D.Ed. Ph. in 1945.⁵⁵⁰ While the discipline was in its infancy during the 1940s,⁵⁵¹ he aimed to push the development of physical education theory into the direction of applied science. This push towards science – or at least *scienification* – that formed part of a greater intellectual movement within the discipline, is evident in both his own research output during his tenure as Acting Chair from as well as the changes implemented within the department during this time. In this, Postma not only aspired toward scientific research engagements for his own benefit, he encouraged and facilitated research amongst his students. As seen in his papers published in *Liggaamsopvoeding /Physical Education* shortly after his arrival, his research intended to provide a conceptual basis for sport and physical education practice.⁵⁵² Up until this point physical education was still largely relegated to the confines of education, the military and public health.⁵⁵³ Within the context of Postma’s tenure, physical educationists began reimagining the boundaries of this discipline. While scientific ideations were present from the institutionalisation of physical education, the 1940s speaks to a period in which scientific rhetoric became prominent in the discourse surrounding burgeoning

⁵⁴⁹ Anon, ‘General’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, 2, 1 (1940), p. 53.

⁵⁵⁰ Boshoff, ‘Die Geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch’, p. 131. See also Postma, ‘Ondersoek na die wetenskaplike basis van die Europese strominge in die liggaamsopvoeding van 1900 tot 1940’, pp. 157-163.

⁵⁵¹ De Klerk, ‘Die Bydrae van Enkele Liggaamlike Opvoedkundiges tot die Ontwikkeling van die Vak in Suid Afrika vanaf die Twintigste Eeu’, p. 83; J. W. Postma, ‘Is Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde ’n Wetenskap’, *Vigor*, 4, 2 (1951), pp. 11-12.; J. W. Postma, ‘Liggaamlike Opvoeding Moet Herdoop Word’, *Vigor*, 14, 1 (1961), pp. 13-14.; Postma, ‘Haphazard or Systematic Training’, p. 67.

⁵⁵² See J. W. Postma, ‘Hockey training’, *Liggaamsopvoeding /Physical Education*, 2, 1 (1940), pp. 4-7.; J. W. Postma, ‘Trends in Physical Education’, *Liggaamsopvoeding /Physical Education*, 2, 4, (1940), pp. 2-6.; J. W. Postma, ‘Trends in Physical Education’, *Liggaamsopvoeding /Physical Education*, 3, 1, (1941), pp. 3-7; J. W. Postma, ‘The use of the Swedish bench as apparatus for jumping and heavy exercises’, *Liggaamsopvoeding /Physical Education*, 3, 1 (1941), pp. 13-17.; J. W. Postma, ‘Trends in Physical Education’, *Liggaamsopvoeding /Physical Education*, 3, 2 (1941), pp. 2-5.; J. W. Postma, ‘Heavy exercises’, *Liggaamsopvoeding /Physical Education*, 3, 2 (1941), pp. 38-42.; J. W. Postma, ‘News for the Theoretical Seminary’, *Liggaamsopvoeding /Physical Education*, 3, 3 (1941), pp. 32-35.; J. W. Postma, ‘A few exercises with a stick’, *Liggaamsopvoeding /Physical Education*, 3, 2 (1942), pp. 2-7.; J. W. Postma, ‘On formative exercises’, *Liggaamsopvoeding /Physical Education*, 4, 1 (1944), pp. 14.-17

⁵⁵³ These aspects are discussed in the greater detail in Chapter Three of this thesis.

physical education theory.

Behind the scenes, Obholzer's connections with Karl Gaulhoefer were useful in the university's search for a Department Chair. In his capacity as Director of Physical Education at the National Academy for the Training of Teachers in Amsterdam,⁵⁵⁴ Gaulhoefer recommended Postma as the best candidate for the position.⁵⁵⁵ Regarding Postma's training and research background, his work indicates that he was influenced by a wide array of dominant European physical education systems, trends and theories.⁵⁵⁶ However within the scope of these intellectual influences, Postma's insights were largely shaped by Gaulhoefer and Dr Margarete Streicher's⁵⁵⁷ theory of Natural Movement, which was integral in reorganising "the Austrian education system following the devastation of [World War I]."⁵⁵⁸ Their system sought to move beyond the convention of "learning-by-listening..." into a real education institution, which implies "thinking-from-the-point-of-view-of-the-child".⁵⁵⁹ It placed emphasis on "embracing the youth in its totality"⁵⁶⁰ and sought to consider that "nature of the person ... the conditions in which he live[s] and the circumstances of his development (biological age, need for movement and so on)."⁵⁶¹ This theory offered an expanded conceptualisation for physical education. As will discuss, Postma maintained a vested interest in the 'scientification' of physical education in its entirety. Acutely of the fact that the relationship between education and physical education would not be severed, Postma would draw on this theoretical framework when constructing curricula as well when producing knowledge in the field during the discipline's infancy.

In extending their analysis of biological distinctions, Gaulhoefer and Streicher remained strong advocates for the separate physical training of both boys and girls from the age of ten.⁵⁶² Moreover in considering their conceptualisation of biology as well as their focus on testing the

⁵⁵⁴ De Zeeuw, 'Gaulhoefer's Influence on Physical Education in Holland', p. 18.

⁵⁵⁵ Boshoff, 'Die Geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch', p. 130.

⁵⁵⁶ See Postma, 'Ondersoek na die wetenskaplike basis van die Europese strominge in die liggaamsopvoeding van 1900 tot 1940', pp. 157-163.

⁵⁵⁷ See M. Streicher, 'The Principle of Women's Physical Education', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 3, 1 (1941), p. 7; M. Streicher, 'The Principle of Women's Physical Education', 3, 2 (1941), p. 10. See also J. W. Postma, *Inleiding tot die liggaamlike opvoedkunde* (Kaapstad, Balkema, 1965), p. 31.

⁵⁵⁸ J. W. Postma, *Introduction to the Theory of Physical Education* (Cape Town, Balkema, 1968), p. 33.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p. 34.

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.* p. 33

⁵⁶² De Zeeuw, 'Gaulhoefer's influence on physical education in Holland', p. 19. See also M. Streicher, 'The Principle of Women's Physical Education', p. 7; M. Streicher, 'The Principle of Women's physical education', p. 10

efficacy and intended goals of physical education systems, Postma notes that Gaulhoefer and Streicher's definition of 'biology' meant more than regarding an individual as separate biological entity. Instead their system saw the individual as part of a hereditary chain of being – "a link in the chain of ancestor and descendants"⁵⁶³, as forming part of a community and as an extension of a person's nature and their environment. In centralising physical education as a pillar of childhood education, physical education become a paramount feature in the moulding of an individual's character and physical body. For Gaulhoefer and Streicher, the intended aim of their theory was to attain "health and naturalness"⁵⁶⁴ by means of acknowledging the ubiquity of physical education in everyday life. Beyond Austria, their book *Grundzüge des Österreichischen Schulturnens* (Elements of Austrian School Gymnastics) informed the Dutch school system, which was the system in which Postma had received his pedagogical training.⁵⁶⁵ While physical education had been introduced at Stellenbosch University as a teacher training course, Postma focused on the effects of standardised physical education on childhood development rooted in Gaulhoefer and Streicher's theory.⁵⁶⁶ The "New Trends"⁵⁶⁷ he incorporated after assuming his position at Stellenbosch University added a new dimension to the department's core focus that centralised a medicalised, nationalised and militarised approach to physical education.⁵⁶⁸ While acknowledging that a specialised research focus was evident in the department from 1937 to 1939, Postma's contribution as Chair centred scientific language and in turn pushed the scientific discourse forward.

⁵⁶³ De Zeeuw, 'Gaulhofer's influence on physical education in Holland', p. 18.

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁵ The 'Natural Movement' was adapted by two Dutch schoolteachers and distributed in the form of instruction manuals shortly before the outbreak of World War II. See de Zeeuw, 'Gaulhofer's influence on physical education in Holland', p. 18.

⁵⁶⁶ See J. W. Postma, 'Trends in Physical Education', pp. 2-6.; J. W. Postma, 'Trends in Physical Education', pp. 3-7; J. W. Postma, 'Trends in Physical Education', pp. 2-5.; J. W. Postma, 'News for the Theoretical Seminary', pp. 32-35.

⁵⁶⁷ See J. W. Postma, 'Hockey training', *Liggaamsopvoeding /Physical Education*, 2, 1 (1940), pp. 4-7.; J. W. Postma, 'Trends in Physical Education', *Liggaamsopvoeding /Physical Education*, 2, 4 (1940), pp. 2-6.; J. W. Postma, 'Trends in Physical Education', *Liggaamsopvoeding /Physical Education*, 3, 1 (1941), pp. 3-7; J. W. Postma, 'The use of the Swedish bench as apparatus for jumping and heavy exercises', *Liggaamsopvoeding /Physical Education*, 3, 1 (1941), pp. 13-17.; J. W. Postma, 'Trends in Physical Education', *Liggaamsopvoeding /Physical Education*, 3, 2 (1941), pp. 2-5.; J. W. Postma, 'Heavy exercises', *Liggaamsopvoeding /Physical Education*, 3, 2 (1941), pp. 38-42.; J. W. Postma, 'News for the Theoretical Seminary', *Liggaamsopvoeding /Physical Education*, 3, 3 (1941), pp. 32-35.; J. W. Postma, 'A few exercises with a stick', *Liggaamsopvoeding /Physical Education*, 3, 2 (1942), pp. 2-7.; J. W. Postma, 'On formative exercises', *Liggaamsopvoeding /Physical Education*, 4, 1 (1944), pp. 14-17

⁵⁶⁸ See Chapter's Two and Three of this thesis

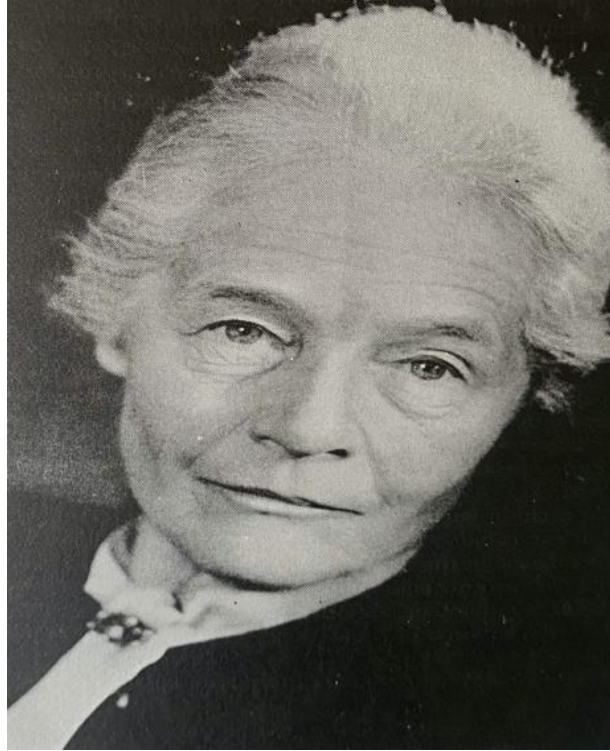


Figure 4.2.: Dr Margarete Streicher.⁵⁶⁹

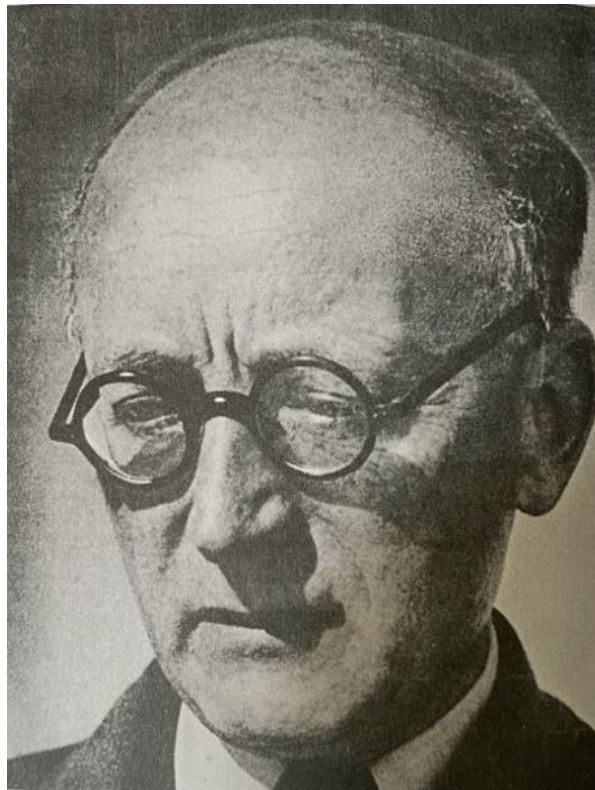


Figure 4.3.: Dr Karl Gaulhoefer .⁵⁷⁰

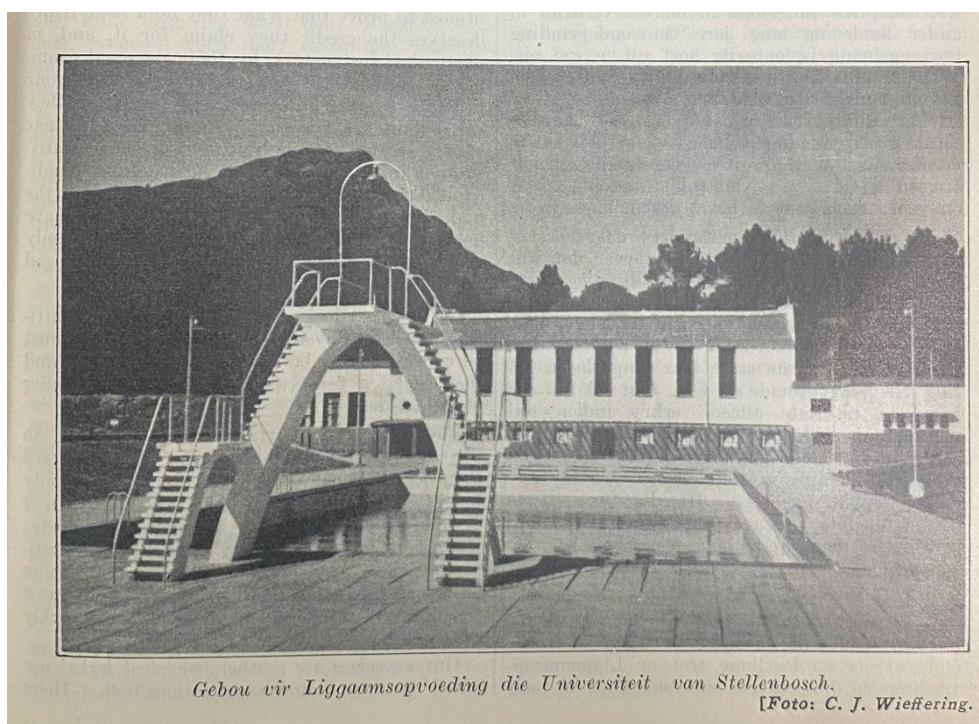
⁵⁶⁹ J. W. Postma, *Introduction to the Theory of Physical Education*, p. 34.

⁵⁷⁰ Postma, *Introduction to the Theory of Physical Education*, p. 35.

⁵⁷¹ R. W. Wilcocks, 'Die Departement van Liggaamsopvoeding Stellenbosch', *Die Stellenbosche Oudstudent*, April 1941, p. 8.

“O, Eikestad, Athene vir die gees en liggaamsbou”⁵⁷¹(Oh Eikestad, Athens for the soul and body)

While physical education had been referred to as a "department" from its introduction in the late 1930s, official departmental status was actually only granted on 15 March 1940.⁵⁷² Moreover as early as 1938, plans had been set in motion to construct an official building for the department, comprised of expansive gymnasiums, lecture halls, offices and an Olympic size swimming pool.⁵⁷³ During Obholzer's tenure as Chair, he often drew attention to the lack of training facilities and resources, including a library.⁵⁷⁴ Thus under Obholzer's leadership,⁵⁷⁵ the construction project garnered financial support from the university, the state-funded National Advisory Council for Physical Education and from private donors.⁵⁷⁶ With construction underway, Obholzer and Gornetz's internment in December 1939 left the project without a figurehead. With the launch of the new department just months away, Postma was thrown into the final stages of the construction process upon his arrival in the beginning of 1940.



⁵⁷² Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae XIV. Minutes of Meeting of the Senate, 15.March.1940, pp. 64-65.

⁵⁷³ Anon, 'Moderne Gimnasium vir Stellenbosch', *Die Burger*, 26 August 1938, p. 3.

⁵⁷⁴ See A. Obholzer, 'Stellenbosch Neem die Voortou in Liggaams-Opvoeding', *Die Stellenbosche Oudstudent*, April 1938, p.27.

⁵⁷⁵ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae XII. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 17 September 1937, p. 126.

⁵⁷⁶ As stated by Prof. R. W. Wilcocks, apart from the £ 30, 000 invested by the university, the state also made monetary contributions to the building project. See Anon, 'Die Nasionale Skema vir Liggaamlike Opvoeding', *Die Stellenbosche Oudstudent*, April 1943, p. 20.; Anon, 'Moderne Gimnasium vir Stellenbosch', *Die Burger*, 26 August 1938, p. 3.

⁵⁷⁷ Anon, 'Inauguration of the Gymnasium for Physical Education at Stellenbosch', *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, 2, 3 (1940), p. 7.

Figure 4.4.: Physical Education Department and swimming pool.⁵⁷⁷



Figure 4.5.: The Gymnasium.⁵⁷⁸



Figure 4.6: Smaller Exercise Hall.⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁷⁸ Anon, 'The Physical Education Building of the University of Stellenbosch', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 2, 4 (1940), p. 47.

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 49.

Despite a relentless downpour, 1000 spectators gathered to attend the launch of the new the Physical Education Department building on 14 June 1940.⁵⁸⁰ The launch of the department served as an exhibition of the university's intention to present the department and by extension Stellenbosch as the "*Athene vir die gees en liggaamsbou*".⁵⁸¹ The construction and inauguration of the new department was planned and executed within three years of the establishment of the first physical education courses. At this pinnacle, Postma's efforts as Acting Chair served as an extension of Jokl and Obholzer's vision for physical education at Stellenbosch. While Jokl played a crucial role in the introduction of the first physical education courses, Obholzer played a central part in forming a departmental identity that aligned with the university's values regarding the advancement of the Afrikaner nation and the white South African population at large. As this chapter demonstrates, Postma's place and contributions within the larger scope of this department's genealogy, was the advancement of the discipline's theoretical foundations. The development of new departmental facilities allowed for the accomplishment of an overarching project, which would cement a nationalist inspired institutional culture of intellectual and bodily excellence.

In the foundational phases of standardised physical education, the department launched a journal, *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*. First published in April 1939, Obholzer served as the journal's first editor-in-chief, with Postma following. After Postma's resignation as editor from 1942, Arnold Schrecker took over the position. Within three years following its initial launch, the journal was recognised as an official state publication from June 1943. From the onset, the journal received support from NACPE. Following negotiations between the NACPE and the university, the journal was subsequently published by Stellenbosch University

⁵⁸⁰ Prof. Michiel Coenraad Botha, Secretary of Education and Chairperson of the NACPE, delivered the opening speech at the inauguration. In his speech, Prof. Botha praised the university for the high quality of services it has delivered to the country. Thereafter the rector, Prof. Wilcocks, welcomed all the attendees and extended a special thanks to Prof. Botha and the state for its continual support. In the crowd of staff, supporters and spectators, Obholzer was also in attendance to witness the official inauguration. In addition to the formal speeches, physical education students also showcased performances, which included freestanding exercises, apparatus work, gymnastics displays as well as rhythmic movement displays. The performances were conducted under the instruction and guidance of Postma, Hilda Robra and Ruth Semmelink (nee Schnepfel). See Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae XIV. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 24 July 1940, p. 145.; Anon, 'Opening van Gymnasium op Stellenbosch', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 2, 3 (1940), p. 38. See also Anon, 'Inauguration of the Gymnasium for Physical Education at Stellenbosch', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 2, 3 (1940), p. 7.; Anon, 'Opvoeding van die Liggaam', *Die Burger*, 15 July 1940, p. 2.

⁵⁸¹ [Translational] Athens for the soul and body. R. W. Wilcocks, 'Die Departement van Liggaamsopvoeding Stellenbosch', *Die Stellenbosche Oudstudent*, April 1941, p. 8.

⁵⁸² Anon, 'Wat Hierdie Tydskrif Beoog', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 6, 4 (1944), p. 53.; Anon, 'Blad Gaan Oor in Nuwe Hande', *Die Burger*, 3 August 1943, p. 2.

in collaboration with NACPE and the Union Department of Public Health.⁵⁸² In the 1930s and 1940s the journal received national recognition – evidenced in the states support and endorsement – for the role it played in the circulation of news and research related to physical education, both nationally and internationally. Published within the period in which the standardisation of physical education became a centralised focus for both the state and the public, the establishment of the journal assisted in catapulting the university to the forefront of the physical education movement.

Standardisation through Collaboration

A means through which to develop the discipline's theoretical base was through national collaboration. By the mid-1940s this collaboration was attained through the first national physical education conference, which was organised by the Stellenbosch University Physical Education Department. Cemented as a leader in emerging science-driven research in physical education and sport, the department presented a proposal to the university and NACPE to host a four-day physical education conference. The First Congress for Physical Education took place in Cape Town and Stellenbosch from 9 to 12 January 1945.⁵⁸³ Postma, who served as the congress Chair, as well as lecturers from the department including, Jan Kelder, Hettie Lubbe, Hilda Robra and Arnold Schrecker, served as part of the organising committee and presented papers at the Congress. Beyond the department contributions, leading physical educationists and researchers played a vital role in the organisation of the Congress and presented research on an array of topics related to emerging physical education research, the state of discipline in the mid-1940s as well as the history and development of physical education both on an institutional and national level. Receiving full support from the both the Union Department of Education and the National Advisory Council for Physical Education, a representative from each provincial education department was present at the Congress.⁵⁸⁴ As a central organiser, Postma's initiative had contributed to his department prestige. While the groundwork for many developments in the department had been set in motion prior to Postma's arrival at Stellenbosch, he played a prominent role in the advancement of physical education research, both within the context of Stellenbosch University and at a national level. Papers presented at

⁵⁸³ Anon, 'Voorstel Kongres vir Liggaamsopvoeding', *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, 6, 2 (1944), p. 60.; Verslag van die Eerste Suid-Afrikaanse Kongres vir Liggaamlike Opvoeding, 9-12 Januarie 1945, Stellenbosch, 1945.

⁵⁸⁴ Verslag van die Eerste Suid-Afrikaanse Kongres vir Liggaamlike Opvoeding, 9-12 Januarie 1945, Stellenbosch, 1945.

this conference displayed the wide range of interests of physical educationists. While figures like Postma put forth the conceptualisation of applied science-that approach was not adopted by all practitioners. Partly due to fact that standardised South African physical education was still in its infancy in the 1940s, the ideological roots of physical education were broad. Despite this, while a scientific conceptualisation of the discipline granted it intellectual legitimacy, the conceptualisation of physical education began to resemble less of a science and more of a theoretical framework.



Figure 4.7.: The Committee of the First South African Congress for Physical Education.

The efforts to foster collaboration was not only evident on a national scale, but in the department as well, particularly within student factions. Along with the research produced by students in the department, a student-run column, “Societies and Institutes for Physical education” was published in the department quarterly journal, *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*.⁵⁸⁵ As part of an initiative run by the Association for Physical Education, the purpose of the column was to give the members of the Association the opportunity to share their experiences, advice and problems with fellow physical education students and practitioners.. The Association for Physical Education was founded in 1938 as a student

⁵⁸⁵ Anon, ‘Verandering van Redakse’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 2, 1 (1941), p. 20.

organisation and from the first issue of *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education* a section of the journal was allocated specifically for the column, titled “Associations and Institutions for Physical Education”.⁵⁸⁶

“Let us represent health by the axis of real numbers”⁵⁸⁷: Voicing Scientific Ambitions, Practicing Multi-disciplinarily

On a national level, in the first half of the twentieth century, experts in the field of South African physical education failed to reach a consensus regarding the best established system that would be most suitable to be integrated into the South African context. A range of European systems that had originated in countries such as Germany, Austria, Denmark, Sweden and Britain all had devoted followers in South Africa.⁵⁸⁸ In relation to the ways in which established systems were integrated at Stellenbosch University, the department Chair largely dictated the systems that would inform the construction of course syllabi. While his research largely ascribed to the principles of the Natural Movement Theory,⁵⁸⁹ Postma published a regular series on the “Trends in Physical Education”, that addressed the vastness of the system that had a major influence in South Africa.⁵⁹⁰ In doing so, he engaged with the theoretical shifts and fluctuations occurring within the discipline during the early 1940s. This approach differentiated Postma from his predecessors in the sense that he was open to explore and pronounce the benefits of other theories. Where Obholzer strongly advocated for the implementation of German-inspired

⁵⁸⁶ From 1939 to 1940 J. T. Nel, a former student of the department, served as the column’s editor. From 1940 to 1942 Hester Morrison assumed the position of column editor. Following Morrison’s departure the column was no longer featured in the journal. Anon, ‘Verandering van Redakse’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 2, 1 (1941), p. 20. See also Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae XVII. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 21 November 1944, p. 107.; Boshoff, ‘Die Geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch’, pp. 121-123

⁵⁸⁷ K. A. Schrecker, ‘The Relation of Physical Education to Science’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 3, 4 (1942), p. 3.

⁵⁸⁸ De Klerk, ‘Die Bydrae van Enkele Liggaamlike Opvoedkundiges tot die Ontwikkeling van die vak in Suid-Afrika vanaf die begin van die twintigste eeu’, p. 83.

⁵⁸⁹ During Postma’s tenure, his support of Gaulhoefer and Streicher’s theory of ‘Natural Movement’ was evident in his research, as he echoed his mentors child-centred and intuition driven focus. As discussed in “On Natural Movement” Postma argued that Gaulhoefer and Streicher’s theory was constituted by a set of core principles that centred the ‘instinctual’ flow and movement of the body. While acknowledging that “it is possible to acquire an artificial movement” that can be mastered in the same way as an intuitive movement, the theory holds that physical education systems should assist in childhood development by facilitating the body’s natural movement. See De Klerk, ‘Die Bydrae van Enkele Liggaamlike Opvoedkundiges tot die Ontwikkeling van die vak in Suid-Afrika vanaf die begin van die twintigste eeu’, p. 83. See also J.W. Postma, ‘Liggaamlike Opvoeding en die bevordering van die Gesondheid’, *Vigor*, 6, 3 (1953), pp. 39-41; See K. A. Schrecker, ‘Achievement and Style: A Criticism of the So-Called Natural Physical Education’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, 5, 1 (1944), p. 2.

⁵⁸⁹ J. W. Postma, ‘On Natural Movement’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 3, 3 (1941), p. 3

⁵⁹⁰ J. W. Postma, ‘Trends in Physical Education’, 2, 4 (1940), p. 2; J. W. Postma, ‘Trends in Physical Education’, 3, 1 (1941), p.3; J. W. Postma, ‘Trends in Physical Education’, 1, 2 (1941), p. 2. See also J. W. Postma, ‘Ondersoek na die wetenskaplike basis van die Europese strominge in die liggaamsopvoeding van 1900 tot 1940’, pp. 205-230.

physical education, Postma's stance was significantly more eclectic. Remaining rooted in the Natural Movement theory, he acknowledge both the limitations and efficacies of other physical education theories. Furthermore, his interest in Natural Movement theory not only speaks to his educational background in the Netherlands, the system itself was centred on what was perceived to be instinctual movements of the body. In acknowledging the negative and in some instances reductive aspects of this theory, its focus on intuition and naturalness when compared to other rigid forms of gymnastics and physical exercise speaks to the adaptive nature of Natural Movement theory.

Beyond the focus on physical education systems, the discourse surrounding the type of science physical educationists attempted to engage in was best displayed in the *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education* journal. As discussed by Schrecker while physical education may not be considered a "pure science"⁵⁹¹ it should be analysed as more of an applied science. In outlining the expansive nature of physical education's science focus, Schrecker noted that "the science employed by physical educationists are especially anatomy[,] physiology...and psychology..."⁵⁹² As highlighted in the preceding chapters of this thesis, physical education courses included a range of sciences relating to the human body as well as the human experience, which allowed for a holistic examination of person and personhood. In likening physical education to medicine, Schrecker argued that physical educationists should shift their focus and care to the totality of the "body and soul".⁵⁹³ In employing Schrecker's definition, medicine operated on a "negative scale" as responsive treatment whereas physical education operated on a "positive scale" as a preventive measure.⁵⁹⁴ Schrecker's theorisation regarding the medicalised nature of physical education speaks directly to the origins of physical education at Stellenbosch University. Within the context of the department, the first two department chairs were trained medical doctors. Thus the perceived ability of physical education to on the one hand enhance an individual's quality of life, and on the other, redeem, heal and advance the South African white population, had always been central to the department's mission.

⁵⁹¹ For Schrecker, a pure science is defined as quantifiable "arranged knowledge... that is cast into.. concepts, and interconnected by coherence of reason and consequence." See K. A. Schrecker, 'The Relation of Physical Education to Science', p. 2

⁵⁹² *Ibid.*

⁵⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹⁵ Schrecker, 'The Relation of Physical Education to Science', pp. 2-4

Beyond the use of “pure science”⁵⁹⁵ social sciences were also employed to expand the theoretical aspect of physical education.⁵⁹⁶ The implementation of social science was twofold, first the focus was centred upon a social analysis and second the focus was centred on an individual analysis. With regard the social aspect, a sociological analysis of recreation, sport and physical training was deemed a central aspect of the discipline. In “A Short Introduction to the Sociology of Recreation” Prof. Oloff Jacobus Marais Wagner from the Stellenbosch University Sociology Department argued that the constructive application of leisure, physical culture and physical education, would facilitate a civilisations progression.⁵⁹⁷ Wagner goes on to state that “in the case of South Africa, with its large Native and Coloured population, it [is] all important that Europeans use their leisure constructively.”⁵⁹⁸ Beyond the integration of sociology, the inclusion of psychology speak to the mechanisation of physical education as a tool for personality and character development. In examining the correlation between “physical education and mental work”⁵⁹⁹ research from the department in the 1940s sought to identify the mutual benefits physical education has for both mind and body.⁶⁰⁰ In expanding upon this, Schrecker argued that up until the 1940s scientific research likened the connection between mind and body to that of a ‘master-servant’ relationship. Research presented in *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education* called for a rethinking of this dichotomy stating that “physical education shall have the task of refining, broadening and perfecting the natural ability in its mechanical development, in its power of expression and its beauty...”⁶⁰¹ In drawing from theories such as Natural Movements that focussed on instinctual movement and the connectedness between mind and body,⁶⁰² this rethinking employed psychology as a means by which to identify the omnipresence of physical education across different “milieus”.⁶⁰³ In

⁵⁹⁶ See Postma, *Inleiding tot die liggaamlike opvoedkunde*, pp. 53-61.

⁵⁹⁷ O. J. M. Wagner, ‘A Short Introduction to the Sociology of Recreation’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 2, 1 (1940), p. 16. See also O. J. M. Wagner, ‘A Short Introduction to the Sociology of Recreation’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 2, 3 (1940), p. 21; O. J. M. Wagner, ‘The Sociology of Recreation’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 2, 4 (1940), p. 23; O. J. M. Wagner, ‘A Short Introduction to the Sociology of Recreation’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 3, 3 (1941), p. 22.; J. Myburgh, ‘Physical Education in Relation to Social Life in South Africa’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 5, 2 (1944), p. 10.

⁵⁹⁸ Wagner, ‘A Short Introduction to the Sociology of Recreation’, pp. 16-17.

⁵⁹⁹ K. A. Schrecker, ‘Physical Education and Mental work’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 2, 2 (1941), p.18 See also K. A. Schrecker, ‘Physical Education and Mental work’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 3, 1 (1942), p. 12.; K. A. Schrecker, ‘Physical Education and Mental work’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 2, 3 (1941), pp. 12-13.

⁶⁰⁰ Schrecker, ‘Physical Education and Mental Work’, pp. 12-14.

⁶⁰¹ D. M. J. Langeveld, ‘Physical Education in the Service of personality Development’. *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 2, 4 (1941), p. 12.

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*

⁶⁰³ D. M. J. Langeveld, ‘Physical Education in the Service of personality Development’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 3, 1 (1942), p. 9.

considering this, the inclusion of a sociology and psychology became a necessity in order to make sense of the role the discipline was to play in the complex South African context.

Initiated during Obholzer's tenure, folk dance, song and play became a dominant feature across the courses offered in the department. Primarily featured in the physical training regimes of women students, Hester Morrison⁶⁰⁴ outlined the ways in which the practice was integrated into physical education, stating "we find... that whereas folk dances have in the first instance, the same aims for lay and pupils of physical education alike, namely free, brisk movements whereby we can forget ourselves and all our problems, and get the body to move unhampered, happily and naturally, there is still an important extra consideration which differs from group to group."⁶⁰⁵ Morrison argued that the distinction lies within the fact that recreational folk dance is centred upon a social aim which allows old and young to engage in play and leisure. Within the context physical education, "the exercising of the body is the chief aim."⁶⁰⁶ Beyond the practical aspects such as exercise and social encounters, folk dance and song had deep-seated cultural significance for Afrikaner factions. Rising in popularity in the wake of the Great Trek Celebrations of 1938, which served as one of the most significant cultural events in the formation of a unified Afrikaner identity and nation-state, the inclusion of folk dance and song allowed for the social integration and assimilation of foreign physical education systems.⁶⁰⁷

⁶⁰⁴ Following Ruth Semmelink's departure, Hester Morrison was employed as her replacement. Receiving her initial training at Stellenbosch University, Morrison formed part of the Physical Education Department's inaugural class of 1937. After completing a one-year course in Berlin, Morrison was employed as a school inspector for the Union Department of Education in 1939. Subsequently, Morrison was appointed as an instructor in the Physical Education Department from 1940 to 1942. Upon Morrison's departure, Greta Gericke (nee Bremer) was employed as her replacement from the second semester of 1942. Gericke was the daughter of Dr. Karl Bremer and became the first student to acquire a B.Ed.Ph. degree from the department. Furthermore, following Gericke's departure, Semmelink returned in 1943. From July 1944, Hettie Lubbe was employed as lecturer. Lubbe was one of the first students to complete the M.Ed. in 1944 in the department. Leaving the at the end of 1945, another former student, Nellie van Dyk was appointed in her place. Van Dyk obtained the B.Ed. degree in 1943 from the Stellenbosch University Physical Education Department. See Anon, 'Geluk Greta Bremer', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 2, 1 (1941), p. 21.; G. Bremer, 'Ons Kleredrag en 'n Wapen', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 2, 2 (1940), p. 61.; Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XII. 16 April 1937-1 April 1938. Letter from the Dutch Reformed Church Council, 10 May 1937, p. 284.; C. Smith, 'Women's Clothing in Physical Education', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 6, 1 (1945). pp. 22-33.

⁶⁰⁵ Morrison, 'Folk Dances', p 15. See also E. Jokl, T. de Moor and B. Jooste, 'Folk Dances', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 3, 1 (1941). pp. 31-33.

⁶⁰⁶ Morrison, 'Folk Dances', p 15

⁶⁰⁷ Boshoff, 'Die Geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch', p. 132. See also P. Labuschagne, 'Memorabilia and the Formation of Cultural Identity: Afrikaner Folk Festivals, 1938 to 1952', *South African Journal of Cultural History*, 27, 1 (2013), pp. 23-46. ; C. Blignaut, 'Doing gender is unavoidable: Women's participation in the core activities of the Ossewa-Brandwag, 1938-1943', *Historia*, 58, 2 (2013), pp. 1-18.; A. la Grange and C. Blignaut, 'Die Ikonografie van Afrikanernasionalisme en die 'Vryheid ideaal' van die Ossewa-Brandwag in die Suid-Afrikaanse Interneringskampe van die Tweede Wêreldoorlog', *Historia*, 66, 1 (2021), pp. 88-118.

As discussed, standardised South African physical education was primarily rooted in European physical education principles. Obholzer, whose work and contributions were celebrated by the larger body of South African physical education specialists as well as the state-funded NACPE, voiced and advocated for the necessity of adaptation and cultural integration of European physical education systems. This meant that while a selected group of European physical education systems were considered to be the ‘best’ option for South Africa, said systems were to be integrated using the perceived cultural practices and norms of the population groups that the system was intended to cater for. In considering this, while folk dance, song and play was central to this integration, the practices also underwent change by means of standardisation. As seen in Morrison’s book *Nuwe Volkspeler* (New Folk Games) folk dance, song and play did not remain stagnant and timeless.⁶⁰⁸ The use of aspects of the past coupled with her expertise in the field of physical education gave way to expansions in her analysis of the practical applications of culture in physical education. Morrison’s research on folk music and dance bore a likeness to Obholzer’s centralisation of nationalism and the patriotic rhetoric echoed throughout the department, university and growing Afrikaner intellectual factions.⁶⁰⁹ Moreover considering the gendered conceptualisation of the discipline, Morrison played an influential role in women’s physical education. Overall as detailed in *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education* the implementation of both scientific and highly theoretical language and concepts supported the discipline research ambitions.

⁶⁰⁸ Song and dances were choreographed by Morrison and the music was composed by Marthinus Lourens de Villiers See H. M. Morrison and M. L. De Villiers, *Nuwe Volkspeler* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia, 1942).

⁶⁰⁹ See Chapter Three of this thesis. See also A. Obholzer, *Beginsels en Leidraad vir Liggaamsopvoeding in die Skool* (Stellenbosch: Pro Ecclesia Drukkery, 1939).



Figure 4.8.: Hester Morrison.⁶¹⁰

⁶¹⁰ H. Morrison, 'Folk Dances', *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, 2, 3 (1941), p 15.



Figure 4.9.: Women students performing folk dances.⁶¹¹



Figure 4.10.: Women students performing folk dances.⁶¹²

The Construction and Reconstruction of the Department and Curricula Structure

⁶¹¹ H. Morrison, 'Folk Dances', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 3, 3 (1941), p. 16.

⁶¹² *Ibid.*

On an inter-departmental level, the department was plagued by instability with regard to its teaching staff from the start of the 1940 academic year. In enduring the conditions of wartime deprivation, there was a prevailing sense of uncertainty with regard to whether Obholzer would be allowed to return to his duties. Indeed, Obholzer's name remained listed in the university's yearbooks from 1940 to 1943⁶¹³ and these records suggest that while his internment seemed indefinite the university did not immediately cut ties with Obholzer. As discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis, Obholzer was a major asset to the department and the South African physical education movement at large. In considering the role Obholzer had played in the foundational years of the discipline, the university was determined to keep him affiliated with the department. Furthermore, proven in the fact that the 'Acting' status of Postma's role as Chair was extended to 31 December 1941,⁶¹⁴ it is apparent that the university was intent on retaining Obholzer as a staff member

While Postma's tenure as Chair was certainly dogged by uncertainty and volatility, the department still underwent expansion regarding the implementation of postgraduate and short courses.⁶¹⁵ As stated, 1940 marked the year in which Physical Education received its official departmental status. Despite this, the department still remained inextricably linked to the Education Faculty as students trained in the department primarily became teachers or worked

in education related fields and institutions. This connection was further strengthened as

⁶¹³ See Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1940.; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1941.; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1942.; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1943.

⁶¹⁴ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae XXI. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 1 March 1947, p. 230.
⁶¹⁵ Aside from introduction of the Master and PhD degree courses, the Certificate and Badge for Physical Education was introduced in 1940 as a means to promote physical fitness amongst the university's broader student body. The Certificate and Badge for Physical Education was awarded to men and women students who met the "definite basal requirement[s]" set by the department and consistently participated in sport and gymnastics. In November 1940 the certificate was awarded to 135 students who participated in gymnastics and athletics training offered by department. Furthermore, a specialised course in folk songs and games was introduced in the department from 31 March to 4 April 1941. This course formed part of a larger cultural movement spearheaded by the Director of Education for the Free State, Samuel Henri Pellissier. Particularly targeted at women, the spring course was open to the public with the intention of promoting physical culture across the country. Anon, 'Departement van Liggaamsopvoeding', *Die Stellenbosse Oudstudent*, April 1940, p. 31.; Anon, 'Certificate and Badge for Physical Fitness', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 2, 1 (1940), p. 53.

⁶¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶¹⁵ Gymnastics training offered by department for two consecutive semesters and successfully completed athletics tests. Anon, 'Certifikaat en Draagteken vir Liggaamlike Geskiktheid', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 3, 1 (1941), p. 21.

⁶¹⁵ Similar courses were introduced in Heidelberg (Transvaal), Cradock and Kimberly. See Anon, 'Volkspele Kursus- Vereniging vir Liggaamsopvoeding aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 3, 1, (1941), p. 20.

⁶¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶¹⁶ In 1940, 150 H.P.O.D. (Hoer Primêre Onderwys Diploma) student from the Education Faculty participated in compulsory physical training offered by the Physical Education. See Anon, 'Departement van Liggaamsopvoeding', p. 31.

students in the Education Faculty were obligated to take physical education courses.⁶¹⁶ Furthermore, with regard to the admission process, many procedures remained unchanged under Postma's Chairpersonship. As a prerequisite for admission to courses offered by the department, students were expected to be proficient in tennis, swimming and athletics. Moreover, with regard to physical training, all students in the department were expected to participate in a selection of sporting codes and activities which included gymnastics; singing; athletics; swimming; apparatus work; games; boxing and wrestling for men students and jujitsu and eurythmics for women students.⁶¹⁷ Last, the 14 days trial period in which the physical proficiency of prospective students was tested also remained a core feature of the admission process throughout the 1940s.⁶¹⁸

The one-year certificate course was the only programme to remain included and comparatively uncontested throughout the chairpersonship of Jokl, Obholzer and Postma. From its introduction this programme operated as a specialised course for qualified teachers as it required prospective students to be in possession of a teaching qualification upon admission. Furthermore while some of the subject matter was enhanced to account for changes and developments in the discipline, the core subjects remained relatively unchanged following Postma's appointment. Subjects for this programme included general health studies, applied biological principles as related to physical education, anatomy, first aid, sociology and physical education methodology. Student were also expected to participate in practical biology, anatomy and physiology lessons as well as a colloquium on research and theoretical problems in physical education.⁶¹⁹ By 1941 the course was further expanded to include biology of physical activity and work as well as applied biological principles of physical education.⁶²⁰ In

⁶¹⁷ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1940

⁶¹⁸ On 27 May 1942 Marine officers from the Netherlands conducted a fencing display for the student in the department. Described as European sporting code, the performance was prefaced by Kelder in which he informed the students about the techniques used in the sport and its origins. Furthermore while the department worked to enhance the theoretical aspects of the course, physical training and performance was the inherent foundation upon which the department was established. While student regularly performed and practiced routines, between 13 September and 4 November 1944, students from the department of Physical Education toured across the country to perform. According to Postma, the purpose of this gymnastics tour was partly to recruit more students from the Transvaal region. See Anon, 'Departement van Liggaamsopvoeding', p. 31.; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1940.; J.M. Kotze, 'Korrespondensie', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 6, 4 (1944), p. 50. Anon, 'Demonstrasie van Europese sportsoort op Stellenosch', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 4, 3 (1942), p. 35. See also Anon, 'Vertonings van Stellenboschse Liggaamsopvoeding Studente', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 6, 4 (1944), p. 48.

⁶¹⁹ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1941, p. 278.; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1942, p. 280.

⁶²⁰ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1941, p. 278.; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1942, p. 280.

considering the applied scientific focus Postma sought to advance the continued inclusion and expansion of this course fit into the department's trajectory. While the course remained linked to education, its contents spoke of an applied scientific focus.

In a Senate meeting of May 1940, the university's Executive Committee for Physical Education recommended the approval and launch of the Higher Certificate in Physical Education. This one-year course served as an advanced study for candidates who had obtained the Certificate in Physical Education and who were already in possession of a teaching qualification upon admission.⁶²¹ Apart from the inclusion of corrective gymnastics and massage, the theoretical and practical aspects of the Certificate course were continued and expanded upon for the Higher Certificate.⁶²² Subjects for the Higher Certificate included biological principles of physical education and exercise, physical education theory, the history of physical education, organisation and administration, gymnastics, psychological principles, physical education for intellectually impaired children, massage, sociology and physical education theory and methodology.⁶²³ The introduction of this course was a product of a period in which ideas surrounding specialisation and theoretical advancement for school teachers was being centralised in the department. Postma was a prominent advocate for the continued intellectual development of teachers. Seen in his 1951 address to teachers, he publicly shamed those who failed to "draw up a syllabus" calling them "haphazard teachers" and "quacks".⁶²⁴ The thought processes behind this later statement can be traced back to the work he did as Acting Chair.⁶²⁵ In considering this, the push for standardisation was closely aligned to his ideas surrounding the best future course for the discipline.

⁶²¹ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae XIV. Minutes of Meeting of the Senate, 17 May 1940, pp. 108-109, and the Certificate courses, the B.Ed. B.A. degree course proved to be most popular among students in the department with 56 out of the department's 100 students enrolled for the degree.

⁶²² Stellenbosch University Africana Collection. Departement van Liggaamsopvoeding, 1940, pp. 5-6; Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae XIV. Minutes of Meeting of the Senate, 17 May 1940, pp. 108-109.

⁶²³ Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1941, pp. 276-280. Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1942, p. 280., Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1942, p. 281.

⁶²⁴ Postma, 'Hazard or Systemised Training: An Open Letter to all Physical Educationist', p.67

⁶²⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶²⁶ While the three year diploma course was to be suspended from 1940 onward, the course was still listed in the university yearbook after 1940. As students who graduated from the degree course programme had better prospect of accessing employment, it was advised for students who qualified for the diploma course to enrol in the degree course. At a meeting held on 16 October 1942, the Faculty Board of Education recommended the suspension of the three-year Diploma Course from 1943. Between 1940 to 1942 the diploma course was still offered in the department. See Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae XIV. Minutes of Meeting of the Senate, 15 March 1940, pp. 65.; Stellenbosch University Africana Collection. Departement van Liggaamsopvoeding, 1940, pp. 7-8; Anon, 'Departement van Liggaamsopvoeding', *Die Stellenbossche Oudstudent*, April 1940, pp. 9-10.; Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae XIV. Minutes of Meeting of the Senate, 16 October 1942, pp. 12-13. Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1940, p. 280.; Stellenbosch University

Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1941, p 277; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1942, p. 282.

⁶²⁶ With regard to the subjects taught in each year of the four year degree, the first year syllabus was comprised of botany (plant studies), zoology (animal studies), chemistry, home economics (for women students), history of education and introduction to anthropometry.⁶²⁷ For the second year subjects included, the application of biological principles in physical education, a colloquium on research problems in physical education, anatomy, applied physiology, physiological theory, sociology and Afrikaans medium. In the third year subjects included, biology of physical activity and work, health science of physical education, methodology of physical education, applied biological principles in physical education and exercise, history of physical education, botany (plant studies), methodology of education, psychology,⁶²⁸ sociology and first aid. For the fourth and final year of the degree course, the subjects were comprised of; organization and administration of physical education, physical education for intellectually impaired children,⁶²⁹ applied psychology, health studies for the school and home, methodology of biological education, biology and English medium. With regard to practical classes, students in this programme were obligated participate in anthropometry classes with Dr Grobbelaar for three periods per week in the first semester of each year. In order to complete this section of the course, students were expected to accurately determine and identify the measurement points on at least five models under the supervision of their instructor. Furthermore, they were expected to measure at least five models and examined them somatoscopically. Through this examination students were expected to produced accurate measurements of the human body.

⁶³⁰ In conjunction with written and oral tests and examinations, student were expected to produce a dissertation on a subject offered in the department.⁶³¹ With regard to physical training, for first through to third year the physical activities and sporting codes included; apparatus work, gymnastics, athletics, eurythmics for women students, wrestling for men students, boxing for men students, ju-jitsu for women students, swimming, singing, games and folk dances. From the fourth year practical work included the aforementioned activities as well as corrective gymnastics, massage, practice lessons for teaching in schools and a two week

⁶²⁷ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1942, p. 282.

⁶²⁸ In June 1940 the university Senate approved the decision to included Educational Psychology as part of the B.Ed.Ph. course. See Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae XIV. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 24 June 1940, p.159.

⁶²⁹ In university calendar, the derogatory term “mentally retarded” is used. See Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1942, p. 282.

⁶³⁰ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1940, p. 292.

⁶³¹ See Postma, News from the Theoretical Seminary’, p. 32.

⁶³² Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1940, p. 280.; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1941, p. 272.; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1942, p. 282.; Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae XIV, Minutes of Meeting of the Senate, 17 May 1940, p. 113.

teaching practical in a school.⁶³² Moreover, students enrolled in the degree course were expected participate in sport codes including, rugby, hockey, baseball or cricket for men students and hockey or netball for women students.⁶³³ Education and physical training remained central features however the inclusion of anthropometry fostered the extension of the techniques applied in each course.

In May 1940, the Senate of the University voted in favour of a proposal from the Faculty Board of Education that a Master's degree in Physical Education should be instituted.⁶³⁴ Adopted in June 1940, provisions for the establishment of the M.Ed. degree course were announced.⁶³⁵ The course was officially launched in 1941⁶³⁶ and in order for students to gain admission they had to be in possession of a B.Ed. degree in Physical Education or equivalent qualification. Masters students were expected to conduct a specialised and detailed study on one of the subjects offered in the department. These subjects were divided into two factions. The first faction included theory of physical education which included psychomotor research and the sociology of physical education.⁶³⁷ The second faction included methodology of physical education; history of physical education; physiology of exercises; anatomy of movement and apparatus work; physical anthropometry; and health science of physical education.⁶³⁸ Candidates were expected to select one subject from each group. Student were also obligated to attend lectures on the subjects they chose to specialise in. From these subjects, students were expected to produce a mini-dissertation.⁶³⁹ Furthermore, M.Ed. students were expected to participate in physical training and exercise sessions. At the end of the course, students took a written exam for both their main and minor selected subjects.⁶⁴⁰ Apart from the written examination, each candidate was expected to undergo an oral examination as well as a physical training test.⁶⁴¹ Beyond the Masters programme, the Faculty Board of Education recommended the establishment of the Doctorate in Physical Education.⁶⁴² Both the Masters and PhD

⁶³³ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1942, p. 283-284

⁶³⁴ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae XIV, Minutes of Meeting of the Senate, 17 May 1940, p. 113.

⁶³⁵ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae XIV. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 24 June 1940, p. 128.

⁶³⁶ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1941, p. 273.

⁶³⁷ The subject Theory of Physical Education (including Psychomotor and the Sociology of Physical Education) was replaced from 1944 by Systems and Humanities Aspects of Physical Education. See Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1944, p. 285.

⁶³⁸ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1942, p. 283-284

⁶³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴⁰ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1943, p. 268.

⁶⁴¹ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae XIV. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 24 June 1940, p. 150.

⁶⁴² Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae XVI. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 21 June 1943, pp. 200-201.; Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae XVI. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 10 November 1943, p. 237.

programmes allowed for specialisation in a range of topics. However, the mere introduction of these advanced programmes facilitated conceptual expansion within the department and within the field itself.

Conclusion

In tracing the department's theoretical scientific framework this chapter captures the state of physical education from 1940 to 1946. This chapter addresses the configuration of physical education as an applied science in the Stellenbosch University Physical Education Department. The early to mid-1940s was a period of intellectual contentions, in which established and emerging physical educationists boldly supported and criticised systems that dominated the physical education discourses of the day. Furthermore, this was a period of theorisation that facilitated the rethinking the discipline. Within the context of the department, Jokl and Obholzer's tenures were ones associated with ground-breaking and path making. Their tenures were associated with pioneering as they contributed to the establishment of courses in the department. Postma's tenure however was plagued by two core challenges. First he did not have advanced training in physical education or any related fields. Second the level of instability brought about by war time circumstance proved to have had a significant impact on the department. From his hasty appointment to the fact that staff retention was severely challenged, the early to mid-1940s was period that called for constant adaptation. Beyond this, Postma facilitated the development of research within the department. Global political conditions hampered the department's expansion in terms of its instability regarding departmental leadership. Moreover, emblematic of the larger context surrounding Postma's tenure, this chapter examined the history of a discipline in the process of formulating its theoretical base. This chapter revealed that the 1940s was not a period of consensus. The chapter also traced the configuration of practice and theory within the discipline and the use of scientific language as a means to enhance and advance physical education as a research-orientated field of study.

Chapter Five: Physical Education, Beyond Craven and the Courtyard, c.1947-1970.

There are two statues depicting prominent historical figures on Stellenbosch University's main campus. One is of our benefactor "Oom Jannie"⁶⁴³ and is routinely painted different colours and plastered with protest posters and adverts. The other is of Danie 'Doc' Craven and his dog. No one dares touch it.



Figure 5.1.: The statue of Danie Craven, with rugby ball in hand, accompanied by his dog Bliksem, looms large over the Coetzenburg Sports Complex.

⁶⁴³As discussed in Chapter One of this thesis, Stellenbosch University's transition from Victoria College to university came about as a result of the 1916 University Act passed by the Union of South Africa as well as a generous donation of £100 000 from local benefactor Jan Marais. See Anon, 'Historical Background', Stellenbosch University, available at <http://www.sun.ac.za/english/Pages/Historical-Background.aspx>, retrieved 7 July 2022.

Dr Daniël ‘Danie’ Hartman Craven took over from Johan Postma as Acting Chair of the Physical Education Department at the beginning of 1947.⁶⁴⁴ Craven would become the first South African to be appointed to the position as well as the first full professor of Physical Education at Stellenbosch University. Beyond his career, Craven is considered to be a Stellenbosch University icon-showered in accolades and enshrouded in legend.⁶⁴⁵ Apart from his longstanding affiliation with the university, Craven had an expansive career as a prominent Springbok rugby captain, member of the Union Defence Force and physical educationist. In examining the history of physical education and sport at Stellenbosch University, Craven’s persona dominates much of the discourse. Memorialised in the song, myth and very architectural fabric of the university, Craven’s legacy looms large in Stellenbosch. Indeed, his name has been so deeply entrenched in the history of the institution that the university’s rugby stadium was named in his honour and the aforementioned statue of Craven with rugby ball in hand accompanied by his dog Bliksem was erected on the Coetzenburg sport complex in tribute. While situated within the context of Craven’s tenure, this chapter intends to further interrogate the expansion of the theoretical base of physical education as an academic discipline. In doing so, the chapter deviates from the approach adopted in preceding chapters as it moves away from a genealogical examination of each individual department chair. As much of Stellenbosch University’s physical education history is overshadowed by the institution's sport history as well as Danie Craven’s career contributions, this chapter is interested in examining disciplinary developments. Subsequently, it veers from the existing historiography by decentring Craven and the courtyard.

This chapter is particularly interested in examining the ways in which physical education was conceptualised in the South African context, following the period of standardisation of the late 1930s and 1940s. While located within the history physical education at Stellenbosch University, this chapter investigates the development of the discipline’s theoretical framework. It explores the development of a discipline with a multifaceted identity while it aspired for recognition, both within the academic arena as well as within the school curricula. The

~~discussion focuses on the twenty two years between the late 1940s to early 1970s to focus on~~
⁶⁴⁴ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae Vol. XXI. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 21 March 1947, p. 23
 core developments. First it exposes the ways in which physical educationists understood
⁶⁴⁵ Initially offered the post in 1945 and 1946, Craven officially accepted the position in 1947. See B. Booysen, *Danie Craven* (Suid-Afrikaanse Rugbyraad, 1975), p. 141

⁶⁴⁶ Hester Isabelle Nel was the first woman to attain a Ph.D. in Physical Education in South Africa. Having competed her B.Ed. at Stellenbosch University and an M. Sc in Physical Education at Wesley College in the United States of America, Nel join the Stellenbosch University Physical Education Department in 1950. Nel was appointed professor in the Department of Physical Education at the University of Stellenbosch in 1971. See A.L. Boshoff, ‘Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch’ (MA thesis, Stellenbosch University, 1981), p. 285.

their own discipline. As discussed by Isabelle Nel,⁶⁴⁶ when seeking for a definition of physical education each practicing physical educationist or researcher could define the discipline differently depending upon their research interest or level of engagement in the discipline.⁶⁴⁷ Second, this period demonstrates the ways in which “*hulpwetenskappe*”⁶⁴⁸ formed the theoretical basis of new branches in physical education, such as kinesiology, biokinetics and sport psychology. In doing so the chapter seeks to shift the discourse away from the iconography of the ‘Craven image’, and in essence argues that while physical educationist advocated for standardisation, their disciplines trajectory displayed expansive and varied interest. Furthermore, this chapter seeks to argue that physical education was a multifaceted discipline which had clear objectives but varied approaches.

Physical Education as a Discipline in the Making : A Historiography

In ““Volkekunde” in the academic and rugby world of South Africa’s Dr Danie Craven” Marizanne Grundlingh and Albert Grundlingh examine the extent to which Craven’s training in *volkekunde*⁶⁴⁹ informed his understanding of the social and practical aspects of rugby. More broadly, this paper serves as one the most recent additions to an extensive body of literature that interrogates and commonly eulogises Craven’s legacy.⁶⁵⁰ In outlining the origins and

⁶⁴⁷ H. I. Nel, ‘Whither Physical Education’, *Vigor*, 2, 4 (1948), p. 30.

⁶⁴⁸ Assistive sciences

⁶⁴⁹ *Volkekunde* was first established Stellenbosch University in 1926. As a discipline, *volkekunde* was marked by its close affiliation to South African segregationist politics and Afrikaner nationalist ideology. With regard to the theoretical framework of the discipline, “ethnos theory” was the foundational philosophy of the discipline. Ethnos theory holds that humankind is divided into bounded and distinct *volke* (nations) and that each *volk* has its own distinct culture, which may be susceptible to change, but always retains an ‘essence’ associated with the group in question. See J. Sharp, ‘Two separate developments: anthropology in South Africa’, *Rain*, 36, 1 (1980), p.2.; J. Sharp, ‘The Roots and Development of *Volkekunde* in South Africa’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 8, 1 (1981), pp. 5-20.; R. Gordon, ‘Apartheid’s anthropologists: The Genealogy of Afrikaner Anthropology’, *American Ethnologist*, 15, 3 (1998), p. 534.; A. Daries, ‘Visualizing Volkekunde: Photography in the Mainstream and Dissident Tradition of Afrikaner Ethnology; 1920-2013’ (MA thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2019). A. Bank, ‘The Berlin Mission Society and German Linguistic Roots of Volkekunde: The Background, Training and Hamburg Writings of Werner Eiselen, 1899-1924’, *Kronos*, 41, 1 (2015), pp. 2.; A. Bank, ‘Broederbande [Brotherly Bonds]: Afrikaner Nationalist Masculinity and African Sexuality in the Writings of Werner Eiselen’s Students, Stellenbosch University, 1930-1936’, *Anthropology Southern Africa*, 38, 4 (2015), pp. 1-5.; A. Bank, ‘Fathering *Volkekunde*: Race and Culture in the Ethnological Writings of Werner Eiselen, Stellenbosch University, 1926-1936’, *Anthropology Southern Africa*, 38, 3 (2015), pp. 163-179; C.S. van der Waal, ‘Long Walk from *Volkekunde* to Anthropology: Reflection on Representing the Human in South Africa’, *Anthropology Southern Africa*, 38, 3 (2015), p. 216-234.; P.J. Coertze (eds), *Inleiding tot die Algemene Volkekunde* (Johannesburg, Voortrekkerpers, 1973), p. 15.; I. Van Wyk and J. Pieterse, *Nationalism, Politics & Anthropology: A Tale of Two South Africans. Conversations with C.S. van der Waal & John Sharp* (Mankon, Langaa Research & Publishing, 2022)

⁶⁵⁰ See Booysen, *Danie Craven.*; P. Dobson, *Doc: The life of Danie Craven* (Cape Town, Human & Rousseau, 1994).; G. Gerber, *Doc Craven: Agter die kap van die byl* (Stellenbosch, US Drukkery, 2000).; T. Partridge, *A life in Rugby* (Pretoria, Southern Book Publishers, 1991).; H. Gerber, *Danie Craven se top-Springbokke* (Kaapstad, Tafelberg, 1977).; D. H. Crave, *Ek speel vir Suid-Afrika* (Kaapstad, Nasionale Pers, 1949).

theoretical base of *volkekunde*, the text separates Craven from the core pack of *volkekundiges* and argues that while Craven identified with the theoretical base of the *volkekunde* theory,⁶⁵¹ he operated outside the parameters of the discipline. Furthermore, the authors draw attention to Craven's tone deaf and bigoted sentiments regarding race and gender relations. In the interest of this chapter, the Grundlingh's analysis of Craven's PhD theses in *volkekunde* and physical education are of particular value. In reference to the aforementioned dissertations, the authors state that;

“a perusal of the thesis reveals that whilst it is extensive and wide-ranging in its approach, it lacks analytical depth. It is mainly descriptive in providing information of different sports codes according to a classificatory system. ... In this one can find echoes of his early “Volkekunde” thesis, which also worked with the idea of classifying characteristics and practices in an orderly fashion without much evidence of deeper interpretation.”⁶⁵²

Beyond these dissertations, Craven attained a Masters and PhD in psychology, toward the end of his tenure as Department Chair. As this chapter interrogates the integration of supporting disciplines in the formation of a theoretical base for physical education, it situates Craven's work within broader disciplinary shifts. Craven, as well as other physical educationists at Stellenbosch, formed part of a greater cast of South African academics attempting to make sense of an inherently multi-disciplinary discipline, which drew from a range of more established sciences and disciplines in the making of its theoretical base. Beyond individual contributions, this chapter intends to trace the broader processes of knowledge production and in turn outline the ways in which physical educationists, within the context of Stellenbosch and beyond, understood their discipline.

In 1981 a Master's thesis produced by Andre Ludwig Boshoff provided a historical analysis of the development of Stellenbosch University's Physical Education Department. Serving as one of the first accounts tracing the history of the a physical education department in South Africa, this thesis presents first-hand accounts from department staff and students; detailed outlines on every course offered in the department from 1936-1975 as well as related events pertaining to physical education at Stellenbosch. Beyond this, the thesis has little to offer in terms of critical

⁶⁵¹ Werner Willi Eilselen is considered to be the ‘father of *volkekunde*’. See Bank, ‘Broederbande [Brotherly Bonds]: Afrikaner Nationalist Masculinity and African Sexuality in the Writings of Werner Eilselen's Students, Stellenbosch University, 1930-1936’, pp. 1-5.; Bank, ‘Fathering *Volkekunde*: Race and Culture in the Ethnological Writings of Werner Eilselen, Stellenbosch University, 1926-1936’, pp. 163-179

⁶⁵² M. Grundlingh and A. Grundlingh, “‘Volkekunde’ in the academic and rugby world of South Africa's Dr Danie Craven”, *New Contree*, 87, 1 (2021), p. 97

engagement concerning the theoretical aspects of the discipline and the ways in which the department responded to global shifts in the field of physical education. Moreover the thesis fails to identify the underlying ideologies that informed the changing ethos and focus of the department. Furthermore large sections of the primary sources used in the dissertation were directly taken from the university's year books and Senate Minutes with little to no analysis.⁶⁵³ This chapter, and by extension, this thesis, shares a similar intention to Boshoff's dissertation as both bodies of work seek to trace developments within the Physical Education Department at Stellenbosch. This study however deviates from Boshoff's approach as it intends to offer a closer, more critical and nuanced analysis of the changes in the department within a broader socio-political context. Extending beyond Boshoff's work, this chapter outlines the state of the South African physical education discourse of the late 1940s to 1970s. In doing so it seeks to examine the theoretical expansions of the discipline and further demonstrate the ways in which university curricula responded to the theoretical shift in the discipline.

As discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis, the study and practice of anthropometric measurement was introduced as a subject in the Physical Education Department in 1940. Anthropometric testing, which fell within the disciplinary bounds of physical anthropology, was introduced in the Zoology Department at Stellenbosch University in 1924.⁶⁵⁴ With regard to the ways in which this science was adapted to the Stellenbosch context, Handri Walters notes that when this "global science had landed in the local setting of South Africa's first Afrikaans university" it took on a divergent intellectual focus. Walters argues that "elsewhere in South Africa, at historically English universities, the likes of Matthew Drennan, at the University of Cape Town, and Raymond Dart, at the University of the Witwatersrand, focused their attention on the study of human origins and "indigenous racial types..."⁶⁵⁵ Within the context of Stellenbosch University however the first human measurement project, launched in 1925, set to "measure the white, Dutch-speaking students of Stellenbosch University."⁶⁵⁶ Walters notes that there are two main conclusion that were derived from this study. First, the study 'proved' that the participants were of Western European descent. Second, that the participants "ranked

⁶⁵³ Boshoff, *Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch*, pp.66.

⁶⁵⁴ H. Walters, 'Re-interrogating Race in Scientific Research: A View from the history of Physical Anthropology', in J. Jansen and C. Walters (eds), *Faultlines: A Primer on Race, Science and Society* (Stellenbosch, African Sun Media, 2020), pp. 62

⁶⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 58

⁶⁵⁷ Walters, 'Re-interrogating Race in Scientific Research: A View from the history of Physical Anthropology', p. 58.

amongst the tall races of Europe...”⁶⁵⁷, which tacitly signalled their genetic superiority. Relating these findings to the political milieu of the 1920s, this study was conducted during a period in which Afrikaner nationalism was on the rise; the eugenics movement was taking prominence globally and growing concern surrounding the poor white problem in South Africa had become a matter of national and international concern.⁶⁵⁸ Walters’s paper provides a greater understanding of the ways in which the social and political context influenced the trajectory of physical anthropology at Stellenbosch University. In building upon Walters’ paper, this chapter intends to examine the ways in which the socio-political context of the 1940s influenced the development of physical education at Stellenbosch in terms of institutional decision making, curricula structure and knowledge production.

In examining the integration of established disciplines in physical education, this chapter explores the ways in which psychology was applied in the discipline. From the start of the standardisation movement of the 1930s and early 1940s, psychology played an imperative role as it was thought to contribute to understanding the human and the human body through the individuals cognition. Moreover the application of psychological theoretical principles also contributed to the discipline’s objectives regarding citizen development. Beyond this, as will be discussed in this chapter, the 1940s to 1970 reveals an expansion in this aspect, as greater interest was taken with regard to the ways in which physical education could be applied for its remedial and redemptive qualities. In tracing the expansion of this branch of the discipline, the integration of psychology had been expanded and included in the specialised field of sport psychology.⁶⁵⁹ On a broader global scale, in examining the spread of sport psychology across the European and American contexts, the advancement of this disciplinary subset was met with both enthusiasm and apprehension. Prior to the 1920s engagement in this branch was sporadic. From the 1920s to 1940s sport psychology became a more specialised field of inquiry. The period between the end of World War II to the mid-1960s however witnessed a rapid increase in psychology as research interest in physical education-primarily through the facilitation of international collaboration.⁶⁶⁰ This chapter intends to investigate the conditions surrounding South Africa’s point of entry into this global move toward specialisation. Located within the context of the 1940s to 1970-the period which witnessed a significant increase in research in psychology as part of physical education-the chapter seeks to examine the development of

⁶⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵⁹ M. A. Browne and M. I. Mahoney, ‘Sport Psychology’, *Annual Review of Psychology*, 35, 1 (1984), pp. 607-608.

⁶⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

specialisation in the field within the South African context. Moreover the chapter illustrates the

ways in which these advancements were supported by figures such as Craven and represented within the curricula structure of the Physical Education Department at Stellenbosch University.

A central focus of this chapter examines the ways in which more established sciences were used to develop specialised branches within physical education. This chapter outlines the push toward the medicalisation of physical education. In doing so, it demonstrates how this medicalised focus led to the expansion of subsets in the discipline that primarily focused on conducting physical examinations of the human body. One of these branches is kinesiology—which is broadly defined as the study of human movement.⁶⁶¹ In tracing the historical environments that gave rise to this branch of physical education, the conceptualisations and applications of this specialised field has taken on different identities depending on the historical and geographical context.⁶⁶² Within the context of this chapter, however, the branch is to be understood as an applied scientific practice within physical education. This disciplinary subset is grounded in other sciences such as anatomy, physiology and physics.⁶⁶³ Beyond kinesiology, as the chapter examines the history of the discipline within the South African context, the development of biokinetics is of particular importance. Biokinetics is a subset within physical education that is defined as a “specialised discipline of exercise therapy which emerged from the South African Physical Education Programme.”⁶⁶⁴ Stemming from the era in which the medicalisation of physical education was on the rise in the early twentieth century, biokinetics is rooted in “the therapeutic benefits of bodily movement (*kinesis*).”⁶⁶⁵ With regard to the development and professionalisation of this field, Gert Strydom⁶⁶⁶ is heralded as the ‘father’ of biokinetics.⁶⁶⁷ As this branch “was conceived out of the theoretical foundation of exercise is

⁶⁶¹ A. Ottosson, ‘The First Historical Movements of Kinesiology: Scientification in the Borderline between Physical Culture and Medicine around 1850’, *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 27, 11 (2010), pp. 1892-1919.

⁶⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶⁶³ I. Nel, ‘Kinesiologie: n Verwaarloose Vak’, *Vigor*, 6, 3 (1952), p. 37. See also H. I. Nel, *Kinesiologische Principles as Part of Ergonomics Industry* (PhD thesis, Stellenbosch University, 1962); I. Anthonissen, ‘Die Bewegingsopvoedkundige, H. Isabelle Nel: ’n Historiese-Filosofiese Studie’, (MA thesis, Stellenbosch University, 1997).

⁶⁶⁴ T. J. Ellapen, G. L. Strydom, M. Swanepoel, H. Hammill and Y. Paul, ‘Biokinetics: A South African Health Profession Evolving from Physical Education and Sport’, in M. Merc (eds), *Sport and Exercise Science* (Croatia, InTech, 2018), p. 15.

⁶⁶⁵ Ellapen, Strydom, Swanepoel, Hammill and Paul, ‘Biokinetics: A South African Health Profession Evolving from Physical Education and Sport’, pp. 15-28.

⁶⁶⁶ Between 1975 to 2017, Gert Strydom was lecturer and professor at North-West University. See T. J. Ellapen, Y. Paul, M. Swanepoel and H.V. Hammill. “Professor Gert Lukas Strydom: The Father of the Biokinetics profession in South Africa,” *African Journal for Physical Activity and Health Sciences*, (26), (1), 2020, pp. 71-80.

⁶⁶⁷ From 1975 to 2017, Gert Strydom worked as a lecturer and professor at North-West University. See T. J. Ellapen, Y. Paul, M. Swanepoel and H.V. Hammill, ‘Professor Gert Lukas Strydom: The Father of the Biokinetics profession in South Africa’, *African Journal for Physical Activity and Health Sciences*, 26, 1 (2020), pp. 71-80.

⁶⁶⁸ Ellapen, Strydom, Swanepoel, Hammill and Paul, ‘Biokinetics: A South African Health Profession Evolving from Physical Education and Sport’, pp. 15-28.

medicine”⁶⁶⁸ the chapter directly engages the context that gave rise to the expansion of this disciplinary subset.⁶⁶⁹

**““That man Craven hasn’t a brain in his head”... “He’s probably a professor of rugby””
670: The Coming of Craven**



Figure 5.2.: Daniël Hartman Craven.⁶⁷¹

In addressing Craven’s legacy at the Stellenbosch University, Paul Dobson states that “Craven, Stellenbosch and rugby formed a trinity in many minds.”⁶⁷² Born in the Free State on 11 October 1910, Craven completed his schooling in 1928. While having participated in several sporting codes throughout his youth, Craven was internationally recognised as a professional Springbok rugby player, captain and coach as well as rugby administrator, President of the South African Rugby Board and the Director of Sport Institute at Stellenbosch University.⁶⁷³ Craven’s connection to Stellenbosch University was initiated in 1929. Arriving in Stellenbosch in just over a decade following the university’s establishment, Craven’s prowess on the rugby field proceeded him. With regard to the university itself, by the late 1920s the institution’s

⁶⁶⁹ Chapter Six of this thesis examines the outcomes of this intellectual trajectory.

⁶⁷⁰ Dobson, *Doc: The life of Danie Craven*, p. 20.

⁶⁷¹ D. H. Craven, ‘Our National Game’, *Vigor*, 1, 4 (1948), p. 24; D. H. Craven, ‘Physical Training Battalion, Voortrekkerhoogte’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, 5, 2, (1943).

⁶⁷² Dobson, *Doc: The life of Danie Craven*, p. 12.

⁶⁷³ See Booyen, *Danie Craven*, pp. 160-163.

reputation as “Athens of the south” –an environment marked by scenic views and a unique student culture- had already firmly taken root. Moreover, from its inception in 1918 Stellenbosch University’s had established a close affiliation to the emergent Afrikaner nationalism of the early twentieth century, which stood in stark contrast to the ethos of the university’s local counterpart, the University of Cape Town, which reflected a British aligned imperial ambience.⁶⁷⁴ This was the socio-political context in which Craven initiated his academic and professional sport career – and this would become the very environment to bolster his legacy as an Afrikaner icon.

For his undergraduate degree, Craven had initially planned to pursue theology. As discussed by Dobson, the economic opportunities for rural Afrikaners proved to be limited in the late 1920s and 1930s, and the pursuit of the vocation of a minister was common during this period.⁶⁷⁵ Despite his intention of becoming a minister in the Dutch Reform Church, Craven’s path to the pulpit came to an abrupt end after receiving a major blow to his vocal cords in a match between South Africa and Scotland in 1932.⁶⁷⁶ Notwithstanding this career setback, Craven appeared to be unperturbed by these events and decided to pursue volkekunde as his main course of study.⁶⁷⁷ Craven completed his undergraduate degree in 1931 and attained his Masters in *Volkekunde* in 1933.⁶⁷⁸

Obtaining his first of three doctorates in 1935,⁶⁷⁹ for the dissertation “Indeling van die Suidelike Afrikaanse Bantu”, Craven would go on to retire from professional rugby in 1938. Before joining South Africa’s Union Defence Force (UDF), Craven worked as a teacher at St Andrew’s College in Grahamstown (now Makhanda) from 1936 to 1938.⁶⁸⁰ In 1938 he was appointed as the Director of Physical Education for the UDF. According to Grundlingh,

⁶⁷⁴ A. Grundlingh, ‘Trends in Afrikaner nationalism and language over a century’, in A Grundlingh (eds), *Perspectives on Stellenbosch 100* (Sun University Press, Stellenbosch, 2018).

⁶⁷⁵ Dobson, *Doc: The life of Danie Craven*, p. 12.

⁶⁷⁶ Grundlingh and Grundlingh, “‘Volkekunde’ in the academic and rugby world of South Africa’s Dr Danie Craven’, p. 92.

⁶⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷⁸ Dobson, *Doc: The life of Danie Craven*, p. 24.

⁶⁷⁹ During his tenure as Head of Physical Education, Craven obtained a Masters in 1964 for his dissertation titled “Sport deelname en Persoonlikheidseienskappe”. In 1973 Craven obtained his second doctorate in psychology from the University of Pretoria for the dissertation “Spel as Ondersteunende Terapie in die Behandeling van ‘n Groep Kroniese Gehospitaliseerde Psigiatrisiese Pasiënte”. Following his retirement, Craven enrolled for his third doctorate in Physical Education which he earned for the dissertation “The evolution of major games” in 1978. In 1979, Craven was awarded an honorary doctorate from Stellenbosch University. Upon his retirement in 1975, the university appointed Craven as the Director of Sport for the University. See *Ibid.*

⁶⁸⁰ Grundlingh and Grundlingh, “‘Volkekunde’ in the academic and rugby world’, p. 92.

Craven's enlistment emulated an emergent trend which associated "rugby with war service, [as] it was suggested that the camaraderie and values instilled on the rugby field could be transferred to the battlefield."⁶⁸¹ By 1938 Craven's reputation as a Springbok rugby captain preceded him and his popularity was exploited by the UDF as means to increase enlistment numbers, particularly amongst white Afrikaans speaking men.⁶⁸² Within his capacity as the Director of Physical Education for the UDF, Craven was sent to Europe to attend a series of short courses in Physical Education in Berlin at the *Reichsacademie für Leibesübungen* as well as additional courses in Sweden and Britain.⁶⁸³ Following the outbreak of World War II, Craven and his family were forced to return to South Africa.⁶⁸⁴ Upon his return, Craven accepted the position of Major General at the UDF Headquarters in Pretoria and became a Physical Education instructor at the South African Military College.⁶⁸⁵

In 1941, Craven served as Commanding Officer of the Physical Training Battalion (P.T.B)⁶⁸⁶ at Voortrekkerhoogte.⁶⁸⁷ The P.T.B. admitted boys "from 15 years and upwards who suffer[ed] from remedial bodily defects"⁶⁸⁸ and functioned to transform them into 'useful citizens'.⁶⁸⁹ In undertaking the task of instilling and developing fitness, the P.T.B. was determined to ensure that the boys would not become liabilities to the state. Moreover, as the conceptualisation of fitness extended beyond the physical, the P.T.B. was focussed on character development which would allow the boys to "better their chances in life" by increasing their intellectual capabilities; attaining better grades and higher certificates; as well as developing their cognitive awareness, alertness, and self-confidence through the military training they received.⁶⁹⁰

⁶⁸¹ A. Grundlingh, 'The King's Afrikaners? Enlistments and Ethnic Identity in the Union of South Africa's Defence Force During the Second World War, 1939-45', *The Journal of African History*, 40, 3 (1999), p. 358.

⁶⁸² With regard to the use of Danie Craven iconography, Grundlingh states "An almost full-page advertisement was placed in certain Afrikaans newspapers with a large photograph of a resolute Danie Craven in uniform, peering into the distance, proclaiming, 'I am playing in the biggest Springbok team ever; join me and score the most important try of your life.' Exhorting fellow Afrikaans-speakers 'not to be spectators only', he encouraged them 'to join their teammates, to push in the scrum; it is the only place for a "true" Springbok', and it was only in this team that the 'sweet sensation' of 'ultimate victory' could be savoured." See Grundlingh, 'The King's Afrikaners? Enlistments and Ethnic Identity in the Union of South Africa's Defence Force During the Second World War, 1939-45', p. 358.

⁶⁸³ Booyen, *Danie Craven*, p. 117-120

⁶⁸⁴ Anonymous, 'Return of Dr. Craven', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 1, 4 (1939).

⁶⁸⁵ Grundlingh, 'Playing for power? Rugby, Afrikaner nationalism and masculinity in South Africa, c. 1900-1970', p. 410.

⁶⁸⁶ Also referred to the Physical Training Brigade.

⁶⁸⁷ Booyen, *Danie Craven*, pp. 135-138.

⁶⁸⁸ D. H. Craven, 'Physical Training Battalion, Voortrekkerhoogte', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 5, 2, (1943), p. 33. See also Anon, 'The Remedial and Physical Training Department of the PT.B.', *Vigor*, 2, 3, 1948. p. 8.

⁶⁸⁹ Anon, 'The Remedial and Physical Training Department of the PT.B.' p. 8.

⁶⁹⁰ Anon, 'The Remedial and Physical Training Department of the PT.B.' p. 8.

According to Craven, these desired results were attainable through the implementation of the P.T.B.'s four pillars, which focussed on remedial training, education, military training and character building.⁶⁹¹ At its core the mission of the P.T.B. was one based on redemption and the use of physical education as a remedy to ensure the wholistic fitness of body.

The ideas surrounding the use of physical education as remedy were largely a response to the state of public health in the early twentieth century. As discussed by Terry Ellapen, Gert Strydom, Mariette Swanepoel, Henriette Hammil and Yvonne Paul:

“In the 1920s a medical and physical conditioning surveillance report surfaced, which identified South African boys to be in poor health and physical condition. This prompted the South African Defence Force (SADF) to establish the *Physical Training Brigade* in 1934. This specialised al medical and rehabilitation collaborative unit addressed the poor medical and physical condition of the boys joining the SADF, via the expertise of medical doctors, dentists, nurses, physiotherapists, occupational therapists, social scientists and physical education instructors. The focus of South African Physical Education...research...[sought] to evaluate and subsequently prescribe performance enhancing exercise or physical activity to improve the physical conditioning of children.”⁶⁹²

The framing of physical education as a remedy did not exist in isolation as it sought to serve in support of a nationally-focused objective to improve the physical condition of South African citizens. More specifically, the standardisation of South African physical education in the early twentieth century was a means through which to make and mould ‘ideal citizens’. As discussed in preceding chapters of this thesis, physical education programmes and courses were launched as part of a national plan to redeem a fallen subset of the white population.⁶⁹³ Beyond the physical development of white South Africans, a short insert included in the second edition of the Stellenbosch University-based journal *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, presented the objectives of the physical education programmes for black South Africans. The intervention plan positioned to address the state of health among black South Africans should be analysed as a by-product of the white-centred physical education movement. This interpretation is evidenced through the overt ‘civilising rhetoric’ rampant within the discourse surrounding physical education for black South Africans.⁶⁹⁴ As stated in the text;

⁶⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹² Ellapen, Strydom, Swanepoel, Hammill and Paul, ‘Biokinetics: A South African Health Profession Evolving from Physical Education and Sport’, pp. 15-28.

⁶⁹³ See Anon, ‘Physical Education for the Natives’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 1, 2 (1939), p 58.

⁶⁹⁴ Anon, *Physical Education for the Natives*, p. 58.

“the tremendous revival of physical education [,] which is now current to improve white South Africa, also visibly touched the natives... Without a doubt these advanced measures are able to improve the exceptionally poor health conditions of natives, especially those who live in cities... It is...desirable that the spare time of the natives should be filled with organised games... [such]...as football... and not with “stick-fighting.”⁶⁹⁵

In considering this broader social context, many physical educationists, Craven included, advocated for the standardisation and medicalisation of physical education as a remedy to improve society. As seen in the case of the P.T.B. physical training could be used to address both individual physical and social ills.



Figure 5.3.: Images depicting the various perceived ailments and ‘deformities’ of the boys in the P.T.B.⁶⁹⁶

⁶⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹⁶ Anon, ‘The Remedial and Physical Training Department of the PT.B.’, p. 9.



Figure 5.4.:“Rehabilitated Boys” of the P.T.B. ⁶⁹⁷

“The contribution of physical education to education consequently is not so much

⁶⁹⁷ Anon, ;The Remedial and Physical Training Department of the PT.B.’, p. 9. See also Anon, ‘Blad Gaan Oor in Nuwe Hande’, *Die Burger*, 3 August 1943, p. 2.

⁶⁹⁸ Claude Smith served as a physical education administrator for the Union Department of Education. Later, as Director of the Physical Education Institute at the University of Pretoria, Smith was appointed as the first professor of physical education at the university in September 1946 See C. Smith, ‘Health and Physical Education’, *Vigor*, 1, 1 (1947).p. 7

intellectual, technical, aesthetic or ethical, but physical.⁶⁹⁸

By the time of Craven's appointment at Stellenbosch in 1947, the Physical Education Department's teaching staff comprised of Johan Postma, Hilda Robra, Jan Kelder, Cornelis Johannes Wieffering, and Nellie van Dyk.⁶⁹⁹ By the late 1940s the physical education fraternity at Stellenbosch was actively engaged in the advancement of discipline, both in terms of its theoretical and scientific base as well as participating in the dissemination of the discipline's aims through research and teaching. The department's first point of departure with regard to the national physical education movement pertained to the dispersion of literature. As discussed in the preceding chapters of this thesis, the launch of the department's quarterly *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education* journal,⁷⁰⁰ not only drew local attention, but the work of international researchers also frequented the pages of the journal. Published until 1946, the journal was subsequently acquired by the National Association for Physical Education and published under the title *Vigor*. Second, the First Congress for Physical Education-which took place in Cape Town and Stellenbosch from 9 to 12 January 1945-was primarily organised by the department's staff under the leadership of Postma.⁷⁰¹ This conference aided in the strengthening of networks between physical educationists in South African and served as a catalyst for similar organisations and conferences from the 1940s onward. Evidenced in the projects undertaken by the department throughout the 1930s and 1940s, the purpose and aims of the physical education movement was integral in shaping the department's trajectory. Through producing and circulating literature and establishing stronger networks between institutions and physical education researchers, the objective to improve the condition of nation through standardised physical education was to be attained through these means.

Beyond these advancements, physical education as a subject was still largely associated with teacher training.⁷⁰² As discussed in Chapters Two and Three of this thesis, the physical education movement in South Africa was launched to address the dismal state of public health in the country, particularly with regard to the white population. As a means through which to address the aforementioned national concerns, compulsory physical education was introduced in schools and a range of physical education courses were launched across the country-

⁶⁹⁹ The department also had short term appointments. For more insight on this See Boshoff, 'Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch'.

⁷⁰⁰ Anon, 'Wat Hierdie Tydskrif Beoog', *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, 6, 4 (1944), p. 1.

⁷⁰¹ Anon, 'Voorstel Kongres vir Liggaamsopvoeding', *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, 6, 2 (1944), p. 60.

⁷⁰² See Chapters Three and Four of this thesis.

predominantly at Afrikaans-medium institutions of higher learning as well as segregationist, and later apartheid, state departments.⁷⁰³ Claude Smith, who served as a physical education administrator for the Union Department of Education, wrote widely on the meanings, aims and objectives of physical education in the context twentieth-century South Africa. He maintained that the introduction of the subject came about following the realisation that two of the nation's most valuable possession was its youth and its land.⁷⁰⁴ Regarding this Smith goes on to state:

In the last three decades, the world has undergone more change than any other period of the same duration. The industrial revolution has also spread to South Africa, and as a result where fifty years ago half of our white population lived in the countryside, today, according to the latest census figures, only between a third and a quarter still live there. Moreover, it is especially the young people who undertake this Second Trek to the towns and cities. Admittedly, the social and economic condition of the current mechanised age has improved our standard of living, but on the other hand it certainly has a degrading influence on the biological and moral character of the people.⁷⁰⁵

In locating the purpose of physical education within the context of South Africa as a segregationist state, Smith emphasised that the 'European section' of the broader South African population enjoyed a "high standard of living",⁷⁰⁶ which was placed in jeopardy by the "dependence on cheap native labour, together with modern labour saving devices."⁷⁰⁷ Arguing that the reliance on black labour and technology had resulted in a "biological softening"⁷⁰⁸ of

⁷⁰³ Rhodes University and the University of the Witwatersrand were among the first English medium university's to introduce physical education programmes. See M. Serfontein, 'Physical Education at the Pretoria Technical College', *Vigor*, 1, 3 (1947), pp. 52-53.; Anon, 'A Career of Untiring Service: An Appreciation of the Work done by Miss Margaret Black', *Vigor*, 2, 1 (1948), pp. 28-29.; Anon, 'Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Pretoria', *Vigor*, 2, 4 (1948).; C. J. Rootman, 'Physical Education in the South African Police', *Vigor*, 2, 2, 1948.; Anon, 'Ons bo vir die toekoms', *Vigor*, 1, 4, 1947.; Anon, 'Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die S.A. Militêre Kollege', *Vigor*, 1, 4 (1947), pp. 56-60.; J.F. Botha, 'The N.A.C.P.E and its Programmes for Youth', *Vigor*, 3, 1 (1949), pp. 18-20.; Anon, 'Recreational Work at the Pretoria Technical College', *Vigor*, 3, 1 (1949).; E. Locke, 'Physical Education at Rhodes University College', *Vigor*, 3, 3 (1949), pp. 52-54.; D. P. J. Smith, 'Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Potchefstroomse Universiteit vir Christelike Hoër Onderwys', *Vigor*, 5, 3, (1951).; A. H. Britton, 'Physical Education at the Faculty of Education, University of the Orange Free State, Bloemfontein', *Vigor*, 4, 4 (1950), pp. 60-63. C. J. Roux, 'Liggaamlike Opvoeding aand die Pretoriase Onderwysekollge', *Vigor*, 11, 40 (1958).

⁷⁰⁴ C. Smith, 'Waarom Departemente van Liggaamlike Opvoeding?', *Vigor*, 1, 4 (1947), p. 7.

⁷⁰⁵ [translated] "*In die afgelope drie dekades het die wêreld meer verander as enige ander tydperk van dieselfde duur. Die industriële omwenteling het ook tot Suid-Afrika versprei met die gevolg dat waar vyftig jaar gelde die helfte van ons blanke bevolking op die platteland woonagtig was, vandag, volgens die jongste sensussyfers, slegs tussen 'n derde en 'n kwart nog daar leef. Dit is boonop veral die jong mense wat hierdie Tweede Trek na die dorpe en stede onderneem. Weliswaar, die veranderde maatskaplike en ekonomiese toestand van die huidige masjien eeu het ons lewenstandaard materieel verbeter, maat aan die ander kant het die gewis 'n afbrekende invloed op die biologiese en morele karakter van die mense.*" Smith. "Waarom Departemente van Liggaamlike Opvoeding?," 1947, p. 7.

⁷⁰⁶ Smith, 'Health and Physical Education', pp.7-8.

⁷⁰⁷ Smith, 'Health and Physical Education'. pp.7-8.

⁷⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

the white South African population, Smith contended for an increase in research that examined physical performance across South Africa's racial groups as a necessity in order to determine the state of the nation's fitness and health.⁷⁰⁹ Moreover, a means through which to improve the physical condition of the country⁷¹⁰ was the introduction of standardised physical education in schools as well as national physical education and training programmes. The value of these measures expanded far beyond the individual, as the implementation of standardised physical education would not only develop the individual body but also instil discipline and mould the youth into citizens.⁷¹¹ As seen in the late 1940s, the department began to respond to the national call to strengthen the physique of the white population, first through the introduction of physical education programmes and second through knowledge production. Particularly from the 1940s to 1970, the wide-ranging approaches towards physical education research became more centralised. Beyond individual physical educationists research interests, the wide ranging approaches speaks to the nationalisation of the disciplines scale. As a result of the size of the task, the discipline was not only expected to deal with the optimisation individual body, but also the moulding, perfecting and civilising of that body- as a social entity. This objective necessitated the expansion of physical educationists collective research foci.

In probing the meaning of physical education within the context of the late 1940s, Nel notes that physical education was comprised of many branches, which included, among others "medical, research, educational and social."⁷¹² Offering a broad critique of the discipline at this stage, Nel stated that there was a "lack of knowledge of the close association between Physical Education, Health and Recreation, and when [talking] about physical educationist, we invariably have in mind teachers of physical education in schools."⁷¹³ For Nel this prevailing understanding of the discipline, which primarily relegated it to the school context, was due to the fact that this branch of physical education enjoyed greater attention and was more developed than others. Despite this Nel asserted that the lack of a definitive and distinct disciplinary identity remained one of the discipline's greatest setbacks. Even when considering one of the discipline's most developed branches, as a school subject, Nel argued that due to a lack of professionalisation and standardisation, physical education teachers constantly battled

⁷⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 8. See also C. Smith, 'Die Rol van Liggaamlike Opvoeding in Jeugwerk', *Vigor*, 3, 1, 1949, pp. 10-12.; C. Norman Crothal, 'Physical Education in Johannesburg's First Youth Week', *Vigor*, 3, 2, 1948.

⁷¹⁰ National Advisory Council for Physical Education, 'National Physical Education scheme in South Africa', *Liggaamsopvoeding / Physical Education*, 1, 2, 1939, p.16

⁷¹¹ D. Compton, 'A Message to the Youth of South Africa', *Vigor*, 3, 4 (1949), p. 5.

⁷¹² Nel. "Whither Physical Education," p. 30.

⁷¹³ *Ibid.*

⁷¹⁴ *Ibid.* See also C. J. Roux, 'Die Regmatige Plek van Liggaamlike Opvoeding op Skool', *Vigor*, 6, 1 (1952), pp. 22-23.

for subject recognition in the school curriculum.⁷¹⁴ As demonstrated in both Smith and Nel's critiques, while physical education's objectives were clearly established by the 1940s, when compared to other disciplines, physical education clearly lacked a definitive and distinct identity.

Broad Based Approach?

While considering the subject's fight for recognition as well as its identity crisis, the presence of varied approaches within the disciplines led to a divergence within disciplinary bounds. As stated, physical educationists at Stellenbosch University were actively engaged in the development of physical education theory from the late 1930s. As a vocal proponent for the 'scientification' of physical education, Johan Postma perpetually questioned whether physical education had or could earn the title of science.⁷¹⁵ In responding to the discipline's internal discourse-on its own intellectual place and purpose-Postma grounded his argument by focussing on the disciplines sight of inquiry, the body. He argued that while other disciplines examined the human from one specific aspect, physical education examined the human as a whole.⁷¹⁶ In this regard Arnold Schrecker, who was employed in the department in the mid-1940s, stated that in order to determine the scientific merit of the discipline it is imperative to determine "the different possible relations between science and Physical Education."⁷¹⁷ Through analysing the type of testing and examinations applied in physical education as well as the scientific knowledge used to support physical education theory, Schrecker holds that while;

It appears that the possibilities of both scientific research and the application of science with regard to Physical Education are very limited... the question of whether the praise of physical Education in bulk⁷¹⁸ can ever so conform in great means to a theory based mainly upon science is finally to a negative. This is impossible. Science and Physical Education can fructify each other to some extent, Physical Education as a whole cannot become scientific.⁷¹⁹

Postma and Schrecker both worked in the Physical Education Department at Stellenbosch in the early to mid 1940s. At this stage, while Postma advocated for the develop of the disciplines scientific base in its entirety, he acknowledged the essential role of established and assistive

⁷¹⁵ Discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four of this thesis.

⁷¹⁶ W. Postma, 'Is Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde n Wetenskap', *Vigor*, 5, 2 (1951), pp. 11-12.

⁷¹⁷ K. A. Schrecker, '*Educatio Physica- Quo Vadis*', *Vigor*, 6, 2, 1952, p. 21.

⁷¹⁸ As a whole

⁷¹⁹ Schrecker, '*Educatio Physica- Quo Vadis*', p. 21.

⁷²⁰ See J. W. Postma, 'Ondersoek na die wetenskaplike basis van die Europese strominge in die liggaamsopvoeding van 1900 tot 1940' (PhD thesis, Stellenbosch University, 1945), pp. 157-163.

sciences and disciplines.⁷²⁰ Moreover, Postma's writing during the 1940s and 1950s speaks to the development of disciplinary subsets while arguing for the recognition of the physical education's scientific merit. While Schrecker is significantly more direct in arguing that physical education could not be considered as a science in its entirety, both authors acknowledge that the worth of the discipline relates to its core aims and purposes. With regard to disciplinary conceptualisations of the human experiences, established disciplines such as pedagogy, sociology⁷²¹ and psychology⁷²² formed an integral part of teaching and research in physical education. With regard to observations and examinations of the human body, physiology of exercise, movement studies, health studies and anthropometry became central features of the theoretical framework. Furthermore, as both authors emphasised the multifaceted and interdisciplinary nature of the discipline, their analyses considered the ways in which subfields within physical education could transcend into the realm of science.

Physical Education is Physical

Within the context of his work at Voortrekkerhoogte, Craven's early writings on the purpose of physical education in South African society presented a medicalised conceptualisation of the discipline. Craven notes that "physical exercises or movement must not only be regarded as medicine but as a preventative, [since] it is our aim to enable persons who are entrusted to us, not to have to consult doctors continually about their ailments and even diseases, which could have been prevented by participation in healthy sports."⁷²³ Largely drawing from the training he received during his European tour as well as the discourse surrounding exercise medicine in the early to mid-twentieth century,⁷²⁴ Craven's focus on the optimisation of "all the organs in the human mechanism"⁷²⁵ through the implementation of exercise and movement, was dominant in the discourse in the late 1940s and 1950s.⁷²⁶

Beyond the implementation exercise medicine as a form of remedy or cure, one of the fundamental features of physical education not only pertained to the physical improvement of

⁷²¹ M. A. Hough, 'The Sociological Aspects of Sport', *Vigor*, 13, 1 (1960), pp. 56-58.

⁷²² P. Robbertse, 'Die Sielkundige Aspek van Sport', *Vigor*, 13, 1 (1960), pp. 59-62.

⁷²³ D. H. Craven, 'Why Physical Education', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 2, 1 (1940). p. 7.

⁷²⁴ Ellapen, Strydom, Swanepoel, Hammill and Paul, 'Biokinetics: A South African Health Profession Evolving from Physical Education and Sport', pp. 15-28. See also D. H. Craven and E. Jokl, 'Medical Research in Physical', *South African Medical Journal*, 28 July 1945, pp. 246-248.

⁷²⁵ Craven, 'Why Physical Education', pp. 7-8.

⁷²⁶ See also Chapter's Three and Four of this Thesis. See also Craven and Jokl, 'Medical Research in Physical', pp. 246-248.

the human body, but also the use of methods and practices which could measure the state of health and fitness. This medicalisation of physical education was inherent in the discipline from the onset of the standardisation movement,⁷²⁷ as a common critique regarding the state of fitness in the early to mid-twentieth century was that “the average civilian...[was] content to use his muscles as little as possible” resulting in the deterioration of the body.⁷²⁸ As discussed, this argument was largely rooted in propagated fears surrounding industrialisation and the dependence on black labour.⁷²⁹ Thus this branch of physical education was focussed on the use of physical education as a remedy to cure or alleviate signs of physical deterioration. While childhood and youth development was proactive in the sense that it worked to instil health-conscious habits from early developmental stages, this branch of the discipline was focused on examining the state of fitness and suggesting ways in which physical activity could be employed as both preventive and remedial approaches to health.⁷³⁰

As the body was the discipline’s central site of inquiry, Smith asserted that the development of physical education theory should operate in conjunction with “medical and dental professions and other health authorities.”⁷³¹ For him, and other physical educationists of the time, the medicalisation of the discipline furthered the field’s core objectives and illustrated that the “contribution of physical education to education” was not “intellectual, technical, aesthetic or ethical, but physical.”⁷³² In acknowledging the fact that physical education’s research overlaps with a range of existing fields, one defining aspect of the disciplines was its ability to contribute to the improvement of the state of the human body through physical activity.⁷³³ Referring to physical education as a “branch of medicine”, Smith argued that the objectives of the discipline within the South African context had five core aims:

1. The inculcation of health habits

⁷²⁷ See E. Jokl, ‘A Medical Theory of Gymnastics’, *Vigor*, 4, 1 (1950), pp. 52-56.

⁷²⁸ Anon, Muscular Weakness of Modern Man’, *Vigor*, 4, 3 (1950), pp. 38.

⁷²⁹ E. Jokl, *Physical Exercises: A Syllabus for South African Schools* (South African: National Advisory Council for Physical Education, 1939), p. 220.; Smith, ‘Health and Physical Education’, pp.7-8.; A. Obholzer, ‘A National System for South Africa’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 1, 1 (1939), p. 10.

⁷³⁰ Smith, ‘Health and Physical Education’, p7.

⁷³¹ *Ibid.* See also Division of Nutrition and Health Education Ministry of Health Pretoria, ‘Health Education: No 2- The Physician’, *Vigor*, 2, 1 (1948). p. 27

⁷³² Smith, ‘Health and Physical Education’, p7.

⁷³³ Writing in in the aftermath of World War II, Smith refers to the widely circulated statistics detailing the dismal state of health and physical aptitude among enlisted American soldiers as well as the measure set in place by the US government to improve the physical conditions of soldiers. These measures included mandatory training and physical conditioning. See Smith, ‘Health and Physical Education’, p.7.

2. The building of organic fitness through activities specifically selected to develop speed, strength and endurance
3. The development of neuro-muscular control through numerous and varied activities that develop skills
4. The inculcation of recreational habits and interests in children that will carry over to their adult hobbies and avocations (recreations)
5. The development of desirable social attitudes (citizenship) and standards of conduct (character) through sportsmanship (behaviours)⁷³⁴

Medical research in physical education had been conducted throughout the early twentieth century. Central to the selection of suitable examinations and theories, questions surrounding the meaning of health and fitness had been prevalent among physical educationist engaging in this branch of physical education. Many had argued that the framing of health as the absence of disease offered a limited understanding of health. A more expansive definition framed the concept of health as “the active development of the inherent physical and mental capacity of man...”⁷³⁵ While physical education’s focus was diverging into various branches, the objective to promote health, prevent disease and provide adequate treatment and rehabilitation⁷³⁶ was central to the discipline as a whole. Particularly with regard to this medicalised facets of the discipline, Henry Cluver and Ernst Jokl⁷³⁷ argued that that the grounds of testing and examining the human body in physical education required a selection of “concise methods” that best suits the type of research. Cluver and Jokl asserted that for this particular branch of the discipline the testing of learning abilities;⁷³⁸ ergonomic studies; the examination of growth and physical efficiency; motor fitness screen test; and health records form the basis of the medical research in the discipline.⁷³⁹ Moreover, with regard to the selection of the most suitable methods, the author state that “the object must be clear in the mind of the investigator who wishes to deal in a scientific manner with the subject under review.”⁷⁴⁰ In testing the ‘fitness of a subject’ clarity surrounding the definition of fitness is essential. This assertion directly related to the ways in which established sciences and their methods were to be implemented in

⁷³⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷³⁵ G. D. Laing, ‘Health in Our Time’, *Vigor*, 1, 3 (1947), p. 88.

⁷³⁶ Laing, ‘Health in Our Time’, p. 88.

⁷³⁷ E. H. Cluver and E. Jokl, ‘Medical Research in Physical Education’, *Vigor*, 1, 3 (1947), p. 17.

⁷³⁸ Cluver and Jokl make reference to J. A. J. van Rensburg paper on the “The Learning Ability of South African Native compared with that of the Europeans”. Based on four, intellectually flawed, test, van Rensburg concluded that “the South African Bantu has not the learning ability to compete on equal terms with the average Europeans except in tasks of an extremely simple nature.” Cluver and Jokl, ‘Medical Research in Physical Education’, p. 17.

⁷³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴⁰ *ibid.* p. 18.

this branch of the discipline. Thus a clear understanding of what was being tested dictated the type of examination.

Areas of Specialisation in Theory and Practice

As early as 1937 the Stellenbosch University Physical Education Department had engaged in discussions surrounding the introduction of a B.Sc. course.⁷⁴¹ Considered to be a means through which to pursue the development of the discipline's scientific base,⁷⁴² it would take a decade before the department officially presented its plans to formally introduce these courses.⁷⁴³ The department's proposed outline for the BA and B.Sc. courses was comprised of physical training, sport and a range of established subjects and sciences.⁷⁴⁴ Particularly with regard to the proposed B.A. course, the structure included subjects like physiology, geography, history, Dutch, English, social work, anatomy, applied physiology, history of physical education, theory of gymnastics, theory of swimming, theory of athletics, theory of games, movement theory and health studies.⁷⁴⁵ The proposed B.Sc. course was structured in the form of three subject combinations. The first combination was comprised of mathematics and physiology and the elective of two additional subjects including botany, physics and chemistry.⁷⁴⁶ The second contained botany, physiology, chemistry and one elective including physics or mathematics. The third combination covered chemistry, physiology, mathematics and physics.⁷⁴⁷ Both course structures emulated the varied aspects of the discipline. At its core the range of the subject selections related to the range of the discipline's interests. While presenting a lack of a distinctive disciplinary identity, the broad focus of the discipline displays the burgeoning specialisation within the field of physical education.

⁷⁴¹ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XI. Minutes of Meeting of the Senate, 19 March 1937, p. 305.; Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XI. Minutes of Meeting of the Senate, 19 March, 1937, p. 315-316

⁷⁴² E. Jokl, 'Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch', *Stellenbosche Oudstudent*, September 1936, p. 17.

⁷⁴³ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XX. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 11 November 1946, pp. 118-119.; Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XX. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 11 November 1946, p. 214; Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaat-Notule Vol. XX. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 10 December 1946, pp. 211-213.

⁷⁴⁴ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae. Vol. XX. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 11 November 1946, pp. 212-213.

⁷⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁶ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae. Vol. XX. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 11 November 1946, pp. 212-213.

⁷⁴⁷ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae. Vol. XX. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 11 November 1946, pp. 212-213.

With little variation between both the proposed B.A. and B.Sc. programmes as well the wide range of subject combinations offered in each programme, the proposed structures were met with opposition from the Faculty of Education. During a Senate meeting in August 1947, the Faculty Board of Education stated its objections to the proposed B.A. and B.Sc. courses. Among others, the central objection posed by the Faculty pertained to the limited focus on physical education, stating that students who applied to these courses would not get sufficient training in physical education. While this argument holds significant merit, physical education at this stage was predicated upon the use of the theoretical frameworks of the more established science. As resolutions to the aforementioned objections, the Faculty presented three core suggestions. First, that all the department's existing courses be terminated. This would allow for a restructuring of the courses offered by the department. Second that the revised B.A. and B.Sc. courses be structured with a closer focus on physical education. With regard to this suggestion, the department was pushed to expand the theoretical base of physical education as a distinct discipline. Third, that sport and athletic performance should be more central in the syllabus. Physical education and sports participation was inextricably linked from the discipline's establishment. Therefore, as the proposed course structures failed to emphasise the centrality of this feature, the university called for a revised proposed course structure.⁷⁴⁸

In restructuring of the syllabi for the B.A. and B.Sc. courses greater emphasis was placed on sports participation and performance. Moreover, physical education theory, which was comprised of anatomy, physiology, history of physical education, methodology of physical education and practical teaching session was more centrally positioned in the curriculum. Particularly with regard to the BA, the subjects included a selection of physical education, Dutch, English, German, French, Latin, history and geography. For the B.Sc. programme physical education was earmarked as a core subject in combination with mathematics, chemistry, physics, zoology and botany.⁷⁴⁹ Moreover by the 1950s the general theory of physical education as presented by the department was subdivided into three core facets namely

⁷⁴⁸ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae. Vol. XXI. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 1 August 1947, pp. 121-123. ; Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae. Vol. XXI. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 1 August 1947, p. 125.; Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae. Vol. XXIV. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 23 June 1949, pp. 82-83. Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1948, p. 274.; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1948, p. 279-281; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1950, pp. 253-254.

⁷⁴⁹ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae. Vol. XXI. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 1 August 1947, pp. 121-123.; Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae. Vol. XXI. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 1 August 1947, p. 125. Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1948, p. 274.

⁷⁵⁰ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar. 1954, p. 308.

the humanities, natural science and research work.⁷⁵⁰ Within the context of the expansion of the department's courses, these changes speak to the conceptualisation of the discipline at an institutional level. While university authorities influenced the ways in which physical education courses were structured, the implementation, structuring and restructuring of programmes represent the state of the discipline in the 1940s and 1950s. As seen here, while the discipline lacked a distinctive identity when compared to more established disciplines, the changes that occurred during this period revealed the development of specialised branches within physical education.

“Om die volk te red, moet ons die kind red”⁷⁵¹: Physical Education is Education

In the mid-1950s the department's course selections, as it pertained to teacher training programmes, were expanded. As the department operated under the auspices of the Faculty of Education, the teacher training courses offered by the Physical Education Department allowed for subject specialisation in the field of physical education. During this period the first addition to the department's teacher training programmes was a Teaching Diploma launched in 1955.⁷⁵² The three year course was comprised of physical training and a selection subject based upon the syllabi of the B.A. or B.Sc. programmes. With regard to the pedagogical training aspects of the programme the subject selection included, general methodology of education; philosophy of education; trial lessons; education administration and planning; the history of education in South Africa; comparative education and educational psychology.⁷⁵³ As discussed, childhood and youth development was a central objective of the discipline from its establishment.⁷⁵⁴ As argued by Postma, in ensuring subject specialisation, the discipline would receive greater recognition in the school syllabus.⁷⁵⁵ Moreover as aspiring physical education teachers would receive advanced training in the subject, the discipline's practitioners would contribute to and in turn adhere more closely to standardised practices.⁷⁵⁶

With regard to the role that institutions of higher learning was to play in this national plight,

⁷⁵¹ Smith, 'Waarom Departemente van Liggaamlike Opvoeding?', p. 7.

⁷⁵² Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar. 1955, p. 321.

⁷⁵³ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar. 1958, p. 280.

⁷⁵⁴ C. Smith, 'Die Liggaamlike Opvoeders Probleem in Suid Afrika', *Vigor*, 2, 4 (1948), pp. 24- 25. See also F. H. Odendaal, 'Youth Service', *Vigor*, 15, 3 (1962), p. 62. See also. Smith, 'Waarom Departemente van Liggaamlike Opvoeding?', p. 7.

⁷⁵⁵ J. W. Postma, 'Hazard or Systemised Training: An Open Letter to all Physical Educationist', *Vigor*, 7, 1 (1951), p.67.

⁷⁵⁶ *ibid.*

Smith notes that one of the means through which to ensure that the youth received adequate physical education was the selection of suitable candidates who would occupy the position of physical education teacher. Smith notes that a candidate's suitability should be tested using a range of a medical examinations which included orthopaedic examinations, anthropometric, physical fitness and psychological testing.⁷⁵⁷ Once it was determined that a candidate was suitable for enrolment it was the institutions responsibility to provide a sound education-theoretically grounded physical education.⁷⁵⁸ All student in the Stellenbosch University Physical Education Department were expected to undergo a medical examination to determine whether they were able to participate in the physical aspect of the course. While many of the subjects offered across the courses in the department overlapped with one another in terms of their included subject matter, each programme offered a particular level of engagement depending on the purpose of the course. For the programmes specifically dedicated to teacher training the aspects related to pedagogy and the integration of physical education as a core feature of education was centralised.

Following the introduction of the B.A. and The B.Sc. programmes, the four year B.Ed. Ph programme was among the courses that had been terminated in the late 1940s. By 1958 however the University Council accepted Senate's recommendations that called for the reinstatement of the B.Ed. Ph. from 1959.⁷⁵⁹ With regard to the content of the revised course structure, this aspect of the course included philosophy and principles of physical education; methodology of physical education; research methods and statistics; history and systems of physical education; corrective physical exercises and school health education, kinesiology, and practical training. Additional subjects in this section of the programme included; corrective physical exercises; public health education and nutrition.⁷⁶⁰ Second the pedagogical aspect of the course was comprised of philosophy of education; methodology of education; education administration; comparative education and educational psychology. Beyond the physical activity; sports participation; pedagogical focus and physical education theory aspects of the course, the programme also encompassed modules such as psychological aspects of leisure and sociological aspect of leisure. As an integrated established discipline, psychological aspects of

⁷⁵⁷ Smith, 'Die Liggaamlike Opvoeder se Probleem in Suid Afrika', p. 24.

⁷⁵⁸ Postma, 'Hazard or Systemised Training: An Open Letter to all Physical Educationist', p.67.

⁷⁵⁹ Unlike the first iteration of this course, the 1959 version was a postgraduate course. Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae. Vol. XXVIII. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 13 December 1958, p. 49.

⁷⁶⁰ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar. 1961, p. 321.; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar. 1963, p. 313

leisure was comprised of genetic psychology, personality studies; abnormal stress conditions as related to personality; relaxation as a psychotherapeutic techniques and group therapy. Moreover, as related to the integration of social science into physical education programmes, this module spoke to the ways in which psychology was employed as a disciplinary subset to aid in individual character development. Beyond this, the module content for the sociological aspects of leisure examined, the place and function of leisure and leisure in contemporary society, with special reference to technological and social developments of leisure; work and leisure and community services.⁷⁶¹ The inclusion of a sociological analysis allowed for the development of social critique as well as conceptualisations surrounding the positioning of physical education, sport and recreation in the broader social context.⁷⁶² The relaunch of the B.Ed. Ph. degree course not only demonstrated an expansion in physical education theory with regard to teacher training, the restructured course also represented the rise of specialised branches within the field.

This advent of the 1970s marked further expansions in the department teacher training programmes. In the early 1970s the department launched additional teacher training courses, namely, the Diploma in Secondary School Education and the Degree in Primary School Education.⁷⁶³ For the Diploma in Secondary School Education the course structure included physical education theory, pedagogical training, physical activity and sport participation.⁷⁶⁴ In 1973 the department's four-year Degree in Primary School Education was launched.⁷⁶⁵ While both the Diploma in Secondary School Education and the Degree in Primary School Education was introduced as teacher training subjects, the courses emulated the development of specialisation and the expansion of physical education's intellectual foci. In responding to the call for standardisation of the subject, the discipline's objective as it pertained to advancement of the South African white population's health and advancement, grounded the field in a shared

⁷⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶² O. J. M. Wagner, 'A Short Introduction to the Sociology of Recreation', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 2, 1, (1940), p. 16. See also O. J. M. Wagner, 'A Short Introduction to the Sociology of Recreation', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 2, 3 (1940), p. 21; O. J. M. Wagner, 'The Sociology of Recreation', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 2, 4 (1940), p. 23; O. J. M. Wagner, 'A Short Introduction to the Sociology of Recreation,' *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 3, 3 (1941), p. 22.; J. Myburgh. "Physical Education in Relation to Social Life in South Africa," *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 5, 2 (1944), p. 10.; Hough, 'The Sociological Aspects of Sport', pp. 56-58.

⁷⁶³ Approved in 1970, the course was only officially launched in 1972. See Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae. Vol. LXVII. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 14 August 1970, pp. 3-4; Stellenbosch University Calendar. 1974, pp. 520-521

⁷⁶⁴ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar. 1974, pp. 520-521

⁷⁶⁵ *Ibid*, pp.108.

pursuit toward the improvement of a nation's physical and mental fitness. By expanding teacher training courses beyond the central focus on pedagogy and physical training, the course structure demonstrated the disciplines expansion as well as its varied approaches.

Physical Education as a Science of the Body

In the 1960s the departments underwent its first name change.⁷⁶⁶ For Postma the transition from *Liggaamsopvoeding* to *Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde*, emulated broader inter-disciplinary shifts within the field of physical education.⁷⁶⁷ Writing within the context of the department's thirtieth anniversary, Postma notes that while the department had dedicated much of its focus to teacher training, the theoretical aspects of its courses had undergone significance changes and expansions.⁷⁶⁸ In highlighting the launch of the B.A. or B.Sc. degree courses as well as the inclusion and expansion of scientific subjects such as anatomy, physiology and health studies, Postma holds that the push toward the areas of specialisation within the disciplines was best demonstrated through the development of interdisciplinary subset.⁷⁶⁹ While discussions surrounding the identification of definable characteristics of the discipline on a whole had persisted, the expansion of the subject subfields offered within the department, contributed to the establishment of an identifiable theoretical frameworks within the field.⁷⁷⁰ As discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis, while practitioners in the field strived for a complete 'scientific turn' in the early to mid 1940s, the use of a range of existing applied sciences and social sciences resulted in the formation of a theoretical framework, instead of a distinctive science. By the 1960s, this resulted in the formation of sub-sets within the discipline.

Beyond structural changes to pre-existing courses as well as the physical expansion of the

⁷⁶⁶ At this stage, students in the Education Faculty were still obligated to participate in the physical education programmes. See Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar.1948.p. 283.; Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae. Vol. XXIV. , Notule van Senaatsvergadering 23 June 1949, pp. 95-96.; Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae. Vol. LXIV. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 15 March 1969, p. 136.; Stellenbosch University Calendar. 1971, pp. 463-464.; Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1949, p. 160.

⁷⁶⁷ J. W. Postma, 'Liggaamlike Opvoeding Moet Herdoop Word', *Vigor*, 14, 1 (1961), pp. 13-14.

⁷⁶⁸ Andre Ludwig Boshoff's Masters dissertation offers a detailed account of all the changes in the departments curricula structures. See Boshoff, 'Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch'; J. W. Postma, 'Navorsingswerk in die Department van Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde', *Matieland*, 10, 1 (1966), pp. 29-33.

⁷⁶⁹ Postma, 'Navorsingswerk in die Department van Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde', pp. 29-33.

⁷⁷⁰ *ibid.*

⁷⁷¹ Following the construction of the official department building in 1940, the department underwent further physical expansions throughout the 1950s and 1960s. These advancements aided in the expansion of the discipline on both the courtyard and in classroom. Moreover in terms of the teaching staff by the mid-1960s the department had eleven teaching staff members and 200 students. See Postma, 'Navorsingswerk in die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde', pp. 29.

department building and sports facilities,⁷⁷¹ the Faculty of Education proposed the introduction of two honours courses, namely, the Honours B.Sc. in Physical Education with a specialised focus on Kinesiology and Ergonomics; and the Honours B.A. in Physical Education with a specialised focus on applied psychology.⁷⁷² Furthermore, as emphasis was placed on the development of the disciplines applied scientific branches, the need for a suitable laboratory became more urgent. In 1962 the Faculty Council of Education recommended that a laboratory for experimental work in applied physiology, kinesiology and anthropometry should be constructed in the Department of Physical Education.⁷⁷³ The purpose and function of the laboratory was mainly for the training of undergraduate and postgraduate students and for advanced research.⁷⁷⁴ It should be noted that while these scientific expansions in the discipline was noteworthy, South Africa was behind the curve with regards to scientific engagement in the field. As compared to the global state of the discipline, while South African physical education was still in its infancy in the early to mid-twentieth century, internationally the subject had developed exponentially with regard to the advancement of theoretical frameworks; the established and recognition of distinctive subsets as well as the advancement of applied scientific ambitions through the construction of expansive laboratories dedicated to physical education ⁷⁷⁵

⁷⁷² Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae. Vol. II. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 18 September 1964, p. 285.; Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae. Vol. LII. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 7 December 1964, p. 63

⁷⁷³ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae. Vol. XLVII. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 3 December 1962, pp. 264-266.

⁷⁷⁴ Postma, 'Navorsingswerk in die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde', pp. 29-32. See also Boshoff, 'Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch', pp 272-273.

⁷⁷⁵ N. B. Strydom, 'Navorsingslaboratoriums i.s. Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Illinois', *Vigor*, 11, 40 (1958), pp. 21-23.



Figure 5.5.: Postma conducting anthropometric tests on a participant.⁷⁷⁶

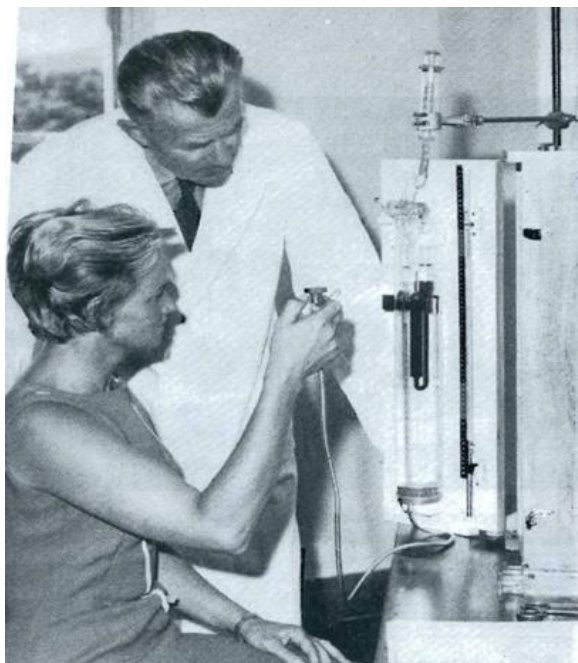


Figure 5.6.: Processing of data that presents the measurement of oxygen expenditure.⁷⁷⁷

⁷⁷⁶ J. W. Postma. Navorsingswerk in die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde. *Matieland*, April 1966, pp. 29-32.

⁷⁷⁷ *Ibid.*



Figure 5.7.: Postma conducting fitness tests.⁷⁷⁸

Within the span of three decades, the department's contributions to the growing specialisation in the field was not only evidenced in its course content but also in the research projects undertaken by members of the teaching staff as well as students in the department. As Department Chair, Craven, in collaboration with other physical education researchers within the department, examined the correlation between personality traits and participation in sport.⁷⁷⁹ This type of research contributed to a consolidation of the conceptualisation of psychology in sports research in the latter half of the twentieth century. Working in collaboration with students, Postma's research examined the influence of exercise on flexibility.⁷⁸⁰ He also collected data on growth and performance capacity of South African school children. Moreover, Postma in collaboration with lecturers from the Department of Physiology and the Department of Statistics at the university conducted an extensive project that examined the

⁷⁷⁸ Postma, 'Navorsingswerk in die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde', pp. 29-32.

⁷⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 32.

⁷⁸⁰ J. W. Postma, 'Flexibility Test: Two Test for the measurement if the shoulder and the Hip and Trunk Flexibility', *Vigor*, 8, 1 (1954), pp. 54-57.

physical fitness of young men. This study sought to determine the relationship between motor fitness and the oxygen absorption capacity of students in the Physical Education Department.⁷⁸¹ Furthermore, with regard to establishment of specialised branches of study within the disciplines, Nel conducted research on the application of kinesiological principles.⁷⁸² Additionally, pertaining to an investigation into the disciplines development in South Africa, Jan Kelder traced the historical development of Physical Education in the country.⁷⁸³ With regard to one of the discipline's most developed sub-fields, Johannes Jacobus Rabi van der Merwe, who worked as a lecturer in the department, conducted research on the relationship between school curricula in physical education and the effects of participation in recreational activities among young men.⁷⁸⁴ These studies, as well as the research projects undertaken by students in the department, exemplified the diverse nature of the discipline. While physical education, in its entirety, may not have been able to transcend into a science, the expanse of the department's intellectual interest illustrates how particular branches in the discipline developed their own definable identity.

Conclusion

Located within the context of physical education at Stellenbosch University, this chapter engaged in a broader discussion surrounding specialisation and the development of distinct branches within the discipline. While contending for recognition — as a science, an academic discipline and a school subject — the period of 1947 to 1970 reflects the core conflicts of the discipline, which were both internal and external. Internally, this period was marked a continued lack of consensus regarding the type of discipline physical education was expected to become. Notwithstanding this central conflict, the late 1940s to 1970 witnessed the formation of areas of specialisation within the discipline. Externally, the push for the 'scientification' of the discipline was both a means through which to obtain the subjects core objective of 'race betterment'⁷⁸⁵ as well as a means through which to attain legitimacy within academic institutions. Beyond this, the chapter outlined the continued ways in which the discipline core objectives shaped the fields trajectory on a national scale. With regard to Stellenbosch, national objectives determined the structure of course curricula, as syllabi was

⁷⁸¹ Postma, 'Navorsingswerk in die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde', p. 32.

⁷⁸² *Ibid.*

⁷⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸⁵ Discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four of this thesis.

used as a means to address issue posed by the national physical education movement. One of the most central aims of the discipline was its determination to improve the state of the nation's health. Entering this discourse from the standpoint of a segregationist state, the rise and development of standardised physical education was primarily invested in the advancement of the white South African population. As a means to address the degradation of health among white South Africans, the introduction of a teacher training course and training programmes placed institutions of higher learning, such as Stellenbosch, at the forefront of the movement. These institutions would be responsible for producing academic literature and research that would advance the theoretical base of the discipline and aid in its standardisation. Beyond the disciplines central objectives and its focus on the improvement of the human and human body, physical educationists entered this discourse through different types of engagement. In drawing on more established sciences as a means to bolster the theoretical framework of physical education, this chapter traced a history that led to the development of disciplinary subsets such as kinesiology, biokinetics and sport psychology. More specifically, the chapter illustrated the multifaceted nature of a discipline with clear objectives but varied approaches. In this, the chapter argues that while the discipline's multifaceted nature led to a lack of consensus among physical educationists with regard to the implementation of theories and practices, the interdisciplinary nature of this field resulted in the establishment of specialisation and the formation of distinctive specialisation and subfields within physical education.

Chapter Six: The Race toward Sport Science, c. 1970-2019.

“...die departement met baie name (liggaamlke opvoeding; liggaamlke opvoedkunde; menslike bewegingskunde; en sport wetenskap).”⁷⁸⁶

... The department of many names (physical education; physical education; human movement science and sport science)

Known as the ‘department of many names’, physical education’s pathway towards sport science was shaped by both a longstanding fight for ‘scientific’ recognition as well the impact of national socio-political shifts. From its institutionalisation in 1936, Physical Education had undergone significant transitions in terms of the development of specialised sub-sets within the field. Beyond disciplinary structures, nationalist objectives operated as a driving force behind the discipline. In considering physical education’s transition to sport science, this chapter examines three core shifts over a fifty year period in the department’s history. First it traces the department’s transition from solely ‘Physical Education’ to ‘Physical Education, Sport and Recreation’. It argues that the centralisation of sport and recreation by practitioners in the field allowed for the first significant shift away from the department original ‘teacher training’ identity. Second, the chapter foregrounds the department’s shift into Human Movement Science and the concomitantly fresh avenues of specialisation. Last, the chapter examines the state of physical education in the age of Sport Science. Here the chapter analyses the impact that two socio-political shifts had on the development of physical education and sport science, namely South Africa’s readmission into the international sports arena in the early 1990s as well as the impact that the phasing out of physical education from the school curriculum had on the discipline. In considering these three phases in the department’s development, the chapter intends to demonstrate two core contentions. First, that Physical Education, and later Sport Science, had always been a matter of national interest and thus impacted by political (and not only academic) shifts. In considering this, the chapter outlines the nationalist agenda that served as a driving force behind the discipline’s expansion in the 1970s and 1980s. It then explores how the early 1990s and post-1994 context paved the way for new forms of nationalism in

⁷⁸⁶ Correspondence with Justus Potgieter, Retired Chair of the Physical Education, Sport and Recreation Department, 6 January 2021.

relation to sport science and South Africa's international sport performance, including the discipline distancing itself from physical education. In essence, the chapter argues that the centralisation of applied science, physical training and a range of standardised professional sporting code resulted in the triumph of 'sport science' over 'physical education'.

The Intersections of Sport, Physical Education and Politics: A Historiography

This chapter intends to closely examine changes in the department's curricula structure from the 1970s almost up until the present. In doing so, it seeks to trace physical education's transition to applied science. Terry Jeremy Ellapen, Yvonne Paul and Henriette Hammill have examined the development of physical education and human movement science at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.⁷⁸⁷ The paper primarily focuses on the department's broader history, the academic contributions of various department chairs as well its graduate and post graduate course selection.⁷⁸⁸ With regard to the department's social reach the authors note that, "during the dark days of apartheid rule, the Department of HMS [Human Movement Science] at UDW [University of Durban-Westville], served as a beacon of hope for many underprivileged African, Colored and Indian students to improve their education and subsequently quality of life by becoming career professionals such as physical educators, exercise scientists and sport coaches."⁷⁸⁹ As evidenced in the paper, the history of Department of Human Movement Science at the University of KwaZulu-Natal shares similarities to that of Stellenbosch University in the sense that while the discipline had a multifaceted focus, applied scientific research and practices became the fields primary study focus..⁷⁹⁰ While the article outlines departmental shifts, those transitions are not located within a broader socio-political context. While this chapter intends to present a departmental history, it will situate this history within a global context by outlining the impact of nationalism as well as the 'scientification' of physical education.

Within the context of Stellenbosch University, the Sport Science Department was officially

⁷⁸⁷ The University of Durban-Westville and University of Natal were amalgamated and is now known as University of KwaZulu-Natal. See T.J. Ellapen, Y. Paul and H.V. Hammil, 'A brief history of Human Movement Science at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa (1961-2018)', *African Journal for Physical Activity and Health Sciences*, 26, 3, (2020), p. 330.

⁷⁸⁸ *Ibid.* p. 334.

⁷⁸⁹ Ellapen, Paul and Hammil, 'A brief history of Human Movement Science at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa (1961-2018)', p. 334.

⁷⁹⁰ Correspondence with Floris van der Merwe, Retired Professor in the Stellenbosch University Physical Education Department, 11 January 2021.

⁷⁹¹ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 2019, p. 67.

reassigned to be part of the university's Medical Faculty from 2019.⁷⁹¹ This shift forms part of the discipline's long battle for legitimacy and recognition as a medical field.⁷⁹² A sub-field of physical education that had emerged as a fully recognised medical specialisation in South Africa, is biokinetics. Biokinetics is described as “a final-phase functional therapeutic health related profession concerned with enhancing the physical and physiological health status of patients through personalised evaluation and subsequent exercise and human movement prescriptions...”⁷⁹³ As a field of study, biokinetics emerged from the South African physical education movement from the 1920s and is rooted in exercise therapy.⁷⁹⁴ From the 1960s greater expansions in physical education's practical examination methods as well as the research conducted by key figures such as Gert Lukas Strydom, resulted in the recognition of biokinetics as an independent field.⁷⁹⁵ As this chapter intends to examine the professionalisation of physical education and the discipline's evolution beyond teacher training, the chapter highlights the inclusion of biokinetics as part of the departments curricula structures. In doing so, the chapter draws on the work Terry Jeremy Ellapen, Gert Lukas Strydom, Mariette Swanepoel, Henriette Hammill and Yvonne Paul⁷⁹⁶ as it seeks to outline the intellectual transitions that led to the institutionalisation of areas of specialisation in physical education.

As this chapter examines the ways in which physical education was reconfigured in the 1990s, it foregrounds the emergence of sport science as an area of study. In “Physical Education and Sport between Human Rights, Duties, and Obligations— Observations from Germany”, Michael Fritz Kruger employs a philosophical and historical perspective as a means through which to examine the role of sport in the contemporary socio-political context. The paper situates the history of German physical education within a global context through focussing on two core historical moments.⁷⁹⁷ First in centralising the institutionalisation of physical education as a compulsory subject in the German, and broader European, context in the

⁷⁹² See Chapters Four and Five of this thesis.

⁷⁹³ T. J. Ellapen, G. L. Strydom, M. Swanepoel, H. Hammill and Y. Paul, ‘Biokinetics: A South African Health Profession Evolving from Physical Education and Sport’, in M. Merc (eds), *Sport and Exercise Science* (Croatia, InTech, 2018), pp. 16-21.

⁷⁹⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 15-16 See also Chapter Five

⁷⁹⁵ See T. J. Ellapen, Y. Paul, M. Swanepoel and H.V. Hammill, ‘Professor Gert Lukas Strydom: The Father of the Biokinetics profession in South Africa’, *African Journal for Physical Activity and Health Sciences*, 26, 1 (2020), pp. 71-80.

⁷⁹⁶ See Ellapen, Strydom, Swanepoel, Hammill and Pau, ‘Biokinetics: A South African Health Profession Evolving from Physical Education and Sport’, pp. 16-21.

⁷⁹⁷ M. F. Kruger, ‘Physical Education and Sport between Human Rights, Duties, and Obligations— Observations from Germany’, *Societies*, 11, 127 (2021), pp. 4-11.

nineteenth century, the paper draws attention to the development of physical education as a tool of nation building. As discussed in Chapter Three of this thesis, Afrikaner nationalism served as a driving force behind the standardisation movement of the 1930s and 1940s.⁷⁹⁸ The second moment that Kruger traces pertains to the conceptualisation of sport as a unifying agent that emerged from the global Olympism ethos—which was an ideology pinned against notions of divided political and economic influences.⁷⁹⁹ This portion of Kruger’s paper aligns closely with the focus of this chapter, as it investigates the rise of specialised sport-related sub-fields and the expansion of physical education theory from the 1970s. While the chapter does not focus solely on sport, it expands on Kruger’s work by examining the ways in which the Stellenbosch University’s Physical Education, and later Sport Science Department, participated in the global shift toward the professionalisation of sport-related fields through its curricula structures. Furthermore, the chapter examines the effects of a new kind of nationalist ethos post-1994.

As outlined in Chapter Two of this thesis, physical education courses were primarily launched to train prospective teachers who sought to specialise in physical education.⁸⁰⁰ While physical educationists in academic circles worked to develop the field beyond this initial purpose, teacher training remained central throughout the history of physical education in the twentieth century. By the 1990s, however, this had drastically shifted as physical education was removed from school syllabi as a stand-alone subject⁸⁰¹ as was in turn incorporated into Life Orientation and Life Skills.⁸⁰² Hermanus Bloemhoff, Johnnie Hay and Leonie Stroebel have focused on two key moments in the contemporary history of physical education. First, the authors examine the ways in which curricula restructuring through the implementation of the Outcome Based Education curriculum impacted the status of physical education.⁸⁰³ The second key moment that the paper foregrounds is set in the 2010s following the Department of Basic Education’s 2011 announcement pertaining to the reintroduction of physical education as an independent subject.⁸⁰⁴ They argue that the abandonment of physical education as a stand-alone school

⁷⁹⁸ See Chapter Three of this thesis.

⁷⁹⁹ Kruger, ‘Physical Education and Sport between Human Rights, Duties, and Obligations— Observations from Germany’, pp. 4-11.

⁸⁰⁰ See Chapter Two of this thesis

⁸⁰¹ Physical education was removed from the South African school syllabus in 1994. See D. du Toit, N. van der Merwe and J. P. Rossouw, ‘Return of physical education to the curriculum: problems and challenges facing schools in South African communities’, 13, 3 (2007), pp. 241-252.

⁸⁰² H. Bloemhoff, J. Hay and L. Stroebel, ‘Physical education in South Africa: have we come full circle?’, *South African Journal for Research in Sport, Physical Education and Recreation*, 38, 3 (2016), p. 215-228.

⁸⁰³ *ibid.*

⁸⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

subject had national repercussions as it led to an almost inevitable decaying of the nation's health.⁸⁰⁵ As this chapter-and by extension the thesis-seeks to illustrate, physical education was, and still continues to be, a matter of national interest affected by broader social, political and economic conditions. As this chapter expands on Bloemhoff, Hay and Stroebel's work, it examines the ways in which practitioners in the field of sport science made sense of their contributions in a newly democratic dispensation. Beyond an examination of the department's academic legacy, the chapter seeks to juxtapose the nationalist motives of the apartheid and democratic governments. In doing so, the chapter seeks to examine the type of nation that both regimes were striving to build.

In examining the state of sport science curricula structures, Francois Cleophas,⁸⁰⁶ traces the chronological progression of the field by focussing on shifts in the discipline's internal trends as well as the impact that broader political transitions had on the trajectory of sport science.⁸⁰⁷ For Cleophas, physical education's progression to exercise and sport science was initiated in the 1960s in the United States of America.⁸⁰⁸ The author notes that this period was marked by the commercialisation of professional and amateur sport. As a result of South Africa's social and economic connections to the west, similar shifts occurred within the country.⁸⁰⁹ With regard to the progression of the discipline across South African institutions, by the 1960s and 1970s physical education had been established as a specialised discipline of study at all the Afrikaans medium universities in the country, which indicates the disciplines close ties to

⁸⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰⁶ Francois Cleophas is a Senior Lecturer in the Stellenbosch University Sport Science Department. His work broadly examines the history of sport science, physical education and physical culture. See F.J. Cleophas (eds), *Exploring decolonizing themes in SA sport history: Issues and challenges* (Stellenbosch, African Sun Media, 2018).; F. J. Cleophas (eds), *Critical reflections on physical culture at the edges of empire* (Stellenbosch, African Sun Media, 2020).; F. J. Cleophas and F.J.G. van der Merwe, 'Contradictions and responses in the South African sport colour bar with special reference to the Western Cape', *African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreation and Dance*, 17, 1 (2011), pp.124-140.; F.J. Cleophas, 'Shaping a decolonial sport history curriculum through the National Question', *Yesterday & Today*, 20 (2018), pp.148-164. F.J. Cleophas, 'Decolonising the South African sport-science curriculum Sport in Society', *Sport in Society*, 24, 9 (2021), pp. 1539-1553.; Cleophas, F.J. and L. Le Grange, 'A critique of neoliberalism in sport: Towards optimistic sport in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic', in S. Manik (eds), *From High-risk Sports to Sports as High Risk: Crisis, Capitulation and Creativity during COVID-19* (Pietermaritzburg, CSSALL Publishers, 2020).; F. J. Cleophas, 'Race and Politics in Sports Science', in J. Jansen and C. Walters (eds), *Faultlines: A Primer on Race, Science and Society* (Stellenbosch, African Sun Media, 2020).

⁸⁰⁷ F. Cleophas, 'Shaping a Decolonised Sport History Curriculum through the National Question', *Yesterday and Today*, 20, 20 (2018), pp.6-10

⁸⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

⁸⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.6-10.

⁸¹⁰ During the mid to late twentieth century Rhodes University and the University of the Witwatersrand were the only English-medium universities to offer physical education courses. See Cleophas, 'Shaping a Decolonised Sport History Curriculum through the National Question', pp.6-10; F. van der Merwe, 'Ingeligte jeug kan lei tot gesonde volk', *Matieland*, April 1986, pp. 20-21. See also Chapter Two, Three and Five of this thesis.

Afrikaner nation-building.⁸¹⁰ Beyond the South African apartheid context, Cleophas holds that changes in the southern African political landscape of the 1990s directly affected the status of physical education, as the education system as a whole underwent significant change. Cleophas' critique of the sport science curriculum is based on the fact that in its present state, the curriculum does not contribute to the changing political consciousness of the post-1994 context. In drawing on Cleophas's core contentions, this chapter intends to investigate Stellenbosch University's role in rise of the professionalism of physical education and sport science.

The Department of Physical Education, Sports and Recreation

By the 1970s physical educationists had already adopted an generously broad approach in terms of the growth of their discipline's theoretical base.⁸¹¹ On a surface level, this was best displayed in the department's second name change.⁸¹² Reconfigured as 'Physical Education, Sport and Recreation', the department had positioned itself to engage in the changing global landscape as it pertained to new areas of specialisation in physical education.⁸¹³ While the department had international, particularly German and Dutch, influences from its establishment the appointment of figures such as Isabelle Nel,⁸¹⁴ Beatrice Wiid, Ann Ross and Edith Katzenellenbogen, further expanded the department's global reach. Nel, Wiid, Ross and Katzenellenbogen all received training in the United States of America. American physical education of the 1960s had already begun to shift its focus to exercise therapy, sport science and other specialist sub-fields that centralised human movement sciences such as kinesiology.⁸¹⁵ Particularly seen in the work of Nel, who went on to become the first woman to be awarded a PhD in Physical Education as well as the first woman to be appointed as a professor in the field in 1971,⁸¹⁶ the shift toward the centralisation of applied scientific principles and the focus on kinesiological principles of human movement was advance at Stellenbosch University from

⁸¹¹ See Chapters Four and Five of this thesis.

⁸¹² The *Liggaamsopvoeding* Department was renamed *Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde* in the 1960s. See Chapter Five of this thesis. See also J. W. Postma, 'Navorsingswerk in die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde', *Matieland*, April 1966, pp. 29-32.; A.L. Boshoff, 'Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch' (MA thesis, Stellenbosch University, 1981), pp. 272-273.

⁸¹³ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae. Vol. L. Direktoraat van sport, 2 November 1970, pp. 15-16.

⁸¹⁴ For a closer analysis on the work on the career and contributions of Isabelle Nel See I. Anthonissen, 'Die Bewegingsopvoedkundige, H. Isabelle Nel: 'n Historiese-Filosofiese Studie', (MA thesis, Stellenbosch University, 1997), pp. 32-86.

⁸¹⁵ Kinesiology is defined as the study of human movement. See Cleophas, 'Shaping a Decolonised Sport History Curriculum through the National Question', pp. 6-10; G. Twietmeyer, 'What is Kinesiology? Historical and Philosophical Insights,' *Quest*, 64, 1 (2012), pp. 19-20.

⁸¹⁶ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae. Vol. LXX 13 August- 22 October 2022. Professoraat in Liggaamsopvoeding, p 129.

the 1970s, which was in line with global developments in the discipline.

Beyond a theoretical focus, the mid- to late-twentieth century was marked by an intensified concentration on the standardisation and professionalisation of sport within the department. From the early 1960s there had been greater recognition of the importance of student sports participation at the university. These shifting perceptions largely came about as a result of the Physical Education Department's efforts that centralised sport in their curriculum.⁸¹⁷ Following the appointment of Danie Craven, in 1947,⁸¹⁸ and Nel, in 1951, students sports participation, particularly amongst women students, was significantly increased.⁸¹⁹ The centralisation of student sports participation was further encapsulated in the department's expanded focus that sought to centralise sport and recreation as part of physical education theory and practice. This move towards the convergence of sport and physical education's scientific aspirations reached its pinnacle following Craven's appointment as the Director of Sport and Recreation in 1973. Initially appointed on a temporary basis, the university's Sports Bureau operated as an organising body for all sports codes at the university. With Craven at the reigns of the operation, the linkages between sport and physical education were further strengthened at the university.⁸²⁰

⁸¹⁷ See Chapter Five of this thesis.

⁸¹⁸ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae Vol. XXI. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 21 March 1947, p. 230.

⁸¹⁹ Anon, 'Matias Sport History', Maties Sport, available at <https://sport.sun.ac.za/maties-sport-history/>, retrieved 3 July 2022.

⁸²⁰ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae Vol. L. Rapport van Aanstellingskomitee, 8 February 1971. p. 324.; Anon, 'Matias Sport History', Maties Sport, available at <https://sport.sun.ac.za/maties-sport-history/>, retrieved 3 July 2022.



Figure 6.1.: Physical Education Department staff and third-year class of 1971.

Physical Education, Sport and Recreation as a Matter of National Concern

The mid-1970s witnessed transitions in terms of departmental leadership. After serving as Department Chair for almost three decades, Craven retired in 1975 and took on the responsibilities of Director of Sport and Recreation at the university on a full-time basis.⁸²¹ From 1976 physiologist, Professor Barend Frederik ‘Frikkie’ Thiart assumed the position of Department Chair. Appointed as full professor in the Physiology Department in 1970,⁸²² Thiart’s responsibilities included teaching physiology to physical education students.⁸²³ Thiart’s appointment coincided with discipline’s move towards the centralisation of applied science, both within the department and on a national scale. Within this expanded focus on the institutionalisation of an applied scientific base, the field began taking shape and was more consciously redefined as a discipline that examined the effects of sport, movement and related factors on the human body and physical performance. Moreover, while the appointment of a trained physiologist as the Head of Department reflected broader disciplinary shifts, physical education’s original nationalist-driven ambition still remained central. Raising the state of the

⁸²¹ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae Vol. LXII. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 9 December 1968, p. 230. Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae Vol. LXII. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 9 May 1969, pp. 227 and 234.

⁸²² *Ibid.*

⁸²³ Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae Vol. LXII. Notule van Senaatsvergadering, 9 December 1968, p. 199.

⁸²⁴ National Advisory Council for Physical Education, ‘National Physical Education scheme in South Africa’, *Liggaamsopvoeding / Physical Education*, 1, 2 (1939), p.16

nation's health had always been at the core of the discipline.⁸²⁴ As argued by prominent physical educationist in the context of the standardisation period of the 1930s and 1940s, the best way to improve a nation's health was through its youth.⁸²⁵ In an article reflecting on the department's history and its position in the latter half of the twentieth century, Thiar employs similar rhetoric to that had been expressed in the discipline's infancy. According to Thiar:

Too few people still fail to realize the importance of a healthy lifestyle- the correct exercise and eating habits. This is where Physical Education, Sport and Recreation can make a key contribution, especially by helping to educate school-age youth with regards a healthy lifestyle. ... [Thiar] argues that scholars in the field should collaborate with other disciplines such as dietetics and community health to assist in growing a healthier population - and the best way to tackle this is to start with school children - to educate a new generation of South Africans, who know from a young age exactly what the dangers of inactivity, bad eating habits, smoking and drugs are. Urbanization and the rising standard of living mean that exercise and physical recreation have become imperative in the modern age. Education is also no longer the only career path for students. More and more of them work as recreation leaders at municipalities, instructors at private gyms or sports and recreation instructors in the Defence Force, the Department of Sport and Recreation or the SA Sports Foundation.⁸²⁶

For Thiar physical education, sport and recreation played an important role in improving the nation's health. He contended that a means through which to address South Africa's health crises was through the education of school age youth with regards to overall health and nutrition. While his statement echoes earlier discussion surrounding the nation's ailing health, Thiar alludes to contemporary issues that had not been as prominent in the early to mid-twentieth century regarding the purpose of the discipline. In this Thiar not only raises concern pertaining to nutrition and exercise, he highlights the effects of smoking and drug use. Moreover Thiar emphasises the fact that the departments expanded focus facilitated the move

⁸²⁵ N. Bukh, 'Deense-Boere Gimnastiek', *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, 1, 1 (1939), pp. 16-19.; Anon, 'Fitness First' Drive in South Africa', *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 September 1937, p. 10.; A. Obholzer, *Beginsels en Leidraad vir Liggaamsopvoeding in die Skool* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia Drukkery, 1939). p. 30.; A. Obholzer, 'What our magazine aims at', *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 1, 1 (1939), p.3; E. Jokl, *Physical Exercises: A Syllabus for South African Schools* (South African, National Advisory Council for Physical Education, 1939).p. 220.

⁸²⁶ [translation] "*Te min mense besef nog hoe belangrik dit is om gesond te leef- om reg te oefen en reg te eet. Dit is waar Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde, Sport en Reaksiekunde 'n sleutel bydrae kan lewer, veral deur die skoolgaande jeug, vir 'n gesonde leefwyse te hulp opvoed. ...[Thiar] meen geleerdes in die vak gebied kan met ander dissiplines soos dieetkunde en gemeenskapsgesondheid saamwerk om 'n gesonder bevolking te help kweek- en die beste manier om dit aan te pak, is om by skool kinders te begin- om 'n nuwe geslag van Suid Afrikaners te ontwikkel wat van jongs af weet presies wat die gevare van inaktiwiteit, slegte eetgewoontes, die rookgewoontes en die gebruik van dwelms is. Verstedeliking en die stygende lewenspeil bring mee dat oefening en fisieke ontspanning een van die moderne mense se vernaamste behoeftes geword het. Die onderwys is dus nie meer die enigste beroepsveld vir oudstudee nie. Al meer van hulle werk as ontspannings leiers by munisipaliteite, instruktore by private gimnasiums of sport en ontspannings instruktore in die Weermag, die Afdeling van Sport en Ontspanning of die SA Sportstigting.*" See F. van der Merwe, 'Ingeligte jeug kan lei tot gesonde volk', *Matieland*, April 1986, pp. 20-21.

beyond the teacher training focus. With youth development still at the core of the field, Thiart called for collaboration with other medical fields and in turn foregrounded new areas of specialisation that students could pursue.⁸²⁷ In accounting for the discipline's overall progress, while the expansion of physical education that encompassed sport and recreation allowed for an extension of the discipline's social impact, greater focus should be placed on the ways in which physical education was employed as an instrument of the apartheid state. In considering the broader apartheid context of the 1970s, public participation in state funded and supported physical education and sport development programmes was largely "a privilege for a segment of the population with the masses effectively marginalised and...relegated to the periphery..."⁸²⁸ Furthermore, for the apartheid state, the introduction and advancement of physical education as a school subject from the early twentieth century served as a tool to "further the ideological agenda of the [segregationist and later] apartheid government"⁸²⁹ as physical education was employed as a mean to "encouraged a vigilant White militarism [that] prepared White South African boys against the total onslaught waged by Blacks and Communists."⁸³⁰ Physical education of the 1970s remained invested in nationalism, as seen in preceding decades, however to far greater extent than before the discipline was employed as a means to not only optimise physical performance and the state of health, but militarise a generation that would in turn aid in the protection and preservation an oppressive state.

An Established Theoretical Base

With regards to course selection, the department offered a range of programmes including a sports coaching diploma course, post-graduate teaching qualifications, the BSc and BA programmes,⁸³¹ as well as Honours, Masters and PhD programmes. While each course offered a specific level of specialisation, the subject of 'physical education, sport and recreation' was integrated across all programmes. The theoretical framework for 'physical education, sport and recreation' was based of three core pillars, namely, natural science, social science and practical training.⁸³² This broad conceptual framing allowed for an extensive analysis which

⁸²⁷ Correspondence with Floris van der Merwe, Retired Professor in the Stellenbosch University Physical Education Department, 11 January 2021.

⁸²⁸ D. Rajput and K. van Deventer, 'An epoch of controversy within physical education and sport in post-apartheid South Africa: A review', *African Journal for Physical Health Education, Recreation, and Dance*, 16, 1 (2010), pp. 147-148.

⁸²⁹ Rajput and van Deventer, 'An epoch of controversy within physical education and sport in post-apartheid South Africa: A review', pp. 147-148.

⁸³⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸³¹ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1974, p. 544.

⁸³² Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1974, p. 544.

encompassed a ranged of perspectives and allowed for specialisation beyond undergraduate studies. Beyond this, the natural science and physical training aspects received significant attention in terms of the development of facilities, such as a dedicated laboratory, that enabled experimentation and testing.⁸³³ This approach further aided in the shedding of the ‘teacher training label’ that had long been associated with the discipline. While teaching and instruction still remained central in the department, the advancement of physical education’s theoretical base, that included sport and recreation as central components, advanced the disciplines reach.

The first of the three pillars upon which ‘physical education, sport and recreation’ was based was natural science. The natural science aspects primarily focussed on evaluation methods that involved testing; measurement procedures and techniques; and statistics.⁸³⁴ Moreover this aspect drew on the theoretical and practical bases of sciences such as physiology, anthropometry, chemistry, biochemistry, botany, and mathematics in order to enhance the applied scientific approach within the field.⁸³⁵ The use of a range of established and quantifiable sciences ushered in the disciplines endeavour into the terrain of applied science. While physical educationist certainly drew on the theoretical foundations a range of disciplines, as evidenced in the work undertaken by staff members in the department,⁸³⁶ applied scientific approaches were used as a means through which to strengthen physical education’s scientific reputation. On a broader disciplinary level, this natural science focus heightened the prominence of subfields such as kinesiology, specifically with regard to the South African context biokinetics.⁸³⁷ This centralisation of this aspect of the discipline served to advance the applied characteristics of the discipline.

⁸³³ Postma, ‘Navorsingswerk in die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde’, pp. 29-33.

⁸³⁴ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1974, p. 544.; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1970. pp. 437-447.; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1971. pp. 437-447.; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1972. pp. 484-490.

⁸³⁵ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1978, p 31.

⁸³⁶ By this stage the department consisted of eleven staff members including Daniel ‘Danie’ Hartman Craven, Barend Frederik Thriart, Isabelle Nel, Johan Postma, Cornelis Johannes Wieffering, Jan Kelder, Margaret Lightbody J. J. R. van der Merwe, Beatrice Wiid, Edith Katzenellenbogen, J.H. du Toit and Jan Kelder. See Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae Vol. XLVIII 18 April 1970-13 June 1970. Tweede Rapport van die Fakulteitsraad van Opvoedkunde. 3 Maart 1970. p. 252; Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae Vol. L. Rapport van die Fakulteitsraad van Opvoedkunde. 30 November 1970. p. 190.; Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae Vol. XLVIII 18 April 1970-13 June 1970. Eerste Rapport van die Aanstellings Komitee 12 Maart 1970, p. 151; Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1970. pp. 437-447.; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1971. pp. 437-447.; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1972. pp. 484-490.

⁸³⁷ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1978, p 31.

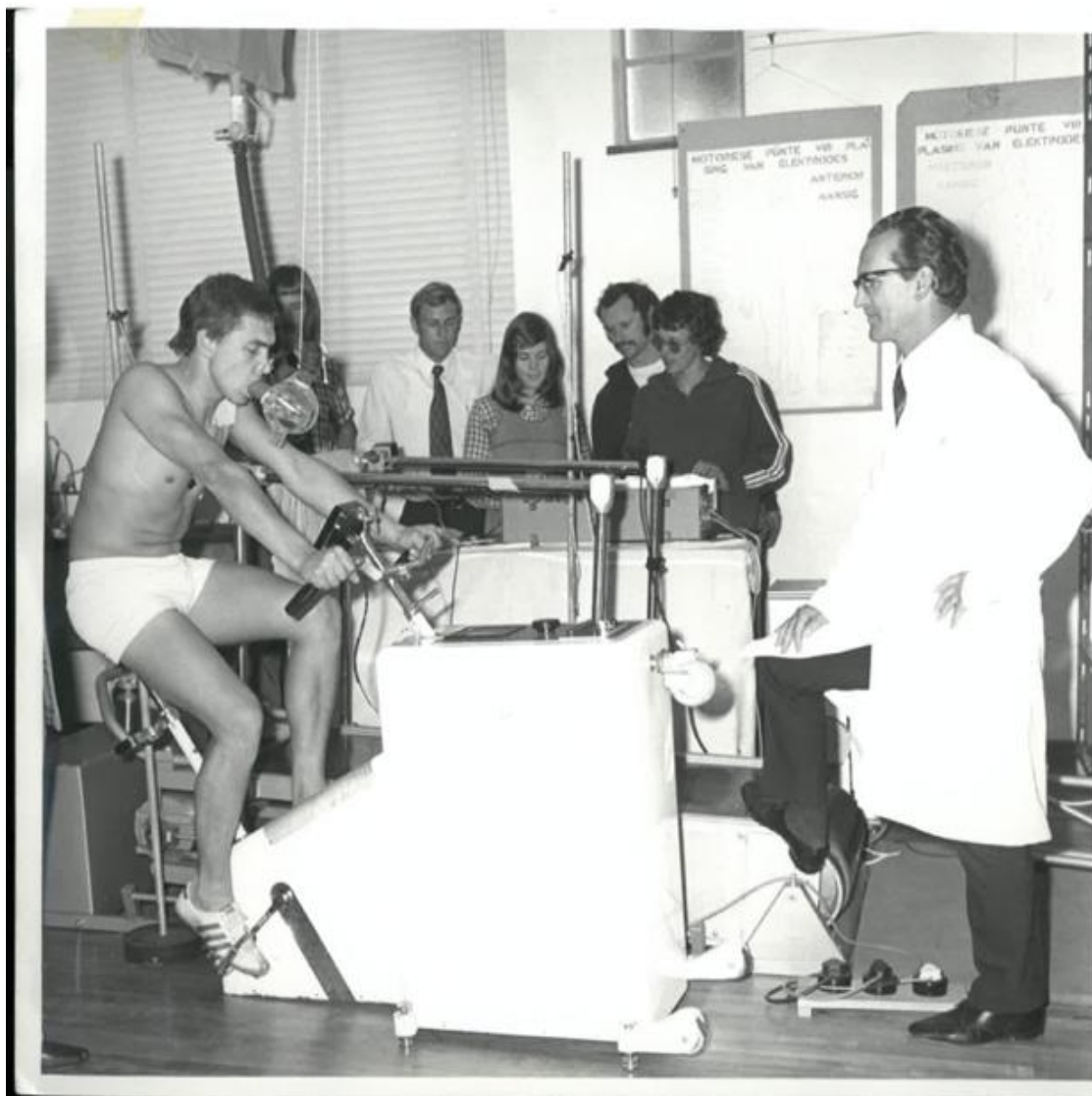


Figure 6.2.: Thiart conducting examination on oxygen expenditure in laboratory, 1975.
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⁸³⁸ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Archive.Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde. Rak nr: 1033-46.



Figure 6.3.:Thiart conducting examination on oxygen expenditure in laboratory, 1975.

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The social science pillar upon which ‘physical education, sport and recreation’ theory was based, drew of five core disciplines including; psychology, sociology, history, philosophy and pedagogy.⁸⁴⁰ First, the psychological aspect analysed the behavioural effects on motor performance and granted special attention to the study of personality; motivation; aggression and social interactions in relation to physical performance.⁸⁴¹ Second, sociological principles were used to analyse the place of the discipline and sport in society. Here the purpose of

physical education in relation to sport and nation-building was of particular importance.⁸⁴²

⁸⁴⁰ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Archive. Eiggaaamlike Opvoedkunde. Rak nr: 1033-46
⁸⁴⁰ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1974, p. 544.; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1970. pp. 437-447.; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1971. pp. 437-447.; S Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1972. pp. 484-490

⁸⁴¹ *Ibid.* See also Chapter Four.

⁸⁴² *Ibid.*

⁸⁴³ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1974, p. 544.; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1970. pp. 437-447.; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1971. pp. 437-447.; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1972. pp. 484-490

and development and in turn analyse contemporary discourses in the field.⁸⁴³ Forth, the implementation of philosophy largely stemmed from the 1970's context. This aspect included an analysis of the philosophies of idealism, realism, pragmatism and existentialism with regard to physical education as a field of study within the larger societal context.⁸⁴⁴ Last while pedagogy drew the discipline back to its intellectual roots, the context of the 1970s marked the expansion of physical education teaching and instruction in other setting besides the school contexts.⁸⁴⁵ This was more closely related to the department's newly established focus on recreation, which prepared students for professional careers in of government, tourism and industry-related sectors.⁸⁴⁶ The use of social science in physical education theory largely served as a contextualising agent, as this pillar was used to define the social role of the discipline as well the benefit of increased physical activity for individuals. It is apparent that this pillar was not designated as the core focus of the field. Instead it was integrated as a means to enhance the applied scientific aspects of the discipline as it largely identified and foregrounded the purpose and place of physical education with regard to individual optimisation within a national framework.

The third pillar of 'physical education, sport and recreation theory' was physical training.⁸⁴⁷ As discussed throughout this thesis, physical education was conceptualised along gendered lines.⁸⁴⁸ This understanding was best captured in physical training and sport aspect of courses offered in the department. With regard to methodological aspect of this pillar, the training of men student's particularly focused on the purpose of physical education; discourses surrounding the conceptualisation of pedagogy as related to physical training, sport and exercise; classification and composition of lessons as well as instructions on the presentation of different lessons in physical education and teaching techniques.⁸⁴⁹ For woman student's there was a shared focus in terms of the objectives of physical education; methods of presentation and instruction and lesson planning. However, women students were trained to focus on the developmental characteristics of primary school girls and were obligated to

⁸⁴⁴ *Ibid.* undergo their teaching practical's at primary school, as the education of young child was often

⁸⁴⁵ *Ibid.* See also van der Merwe. "Ingeligte jeug kan lei tot gesonde volk," pp. 20-21.

⁸⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴⁷ This pillar included the school practical in which student was obligated to undergo a two week teaching practical teaching in schools. See Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1974, p. 544.; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1975.

⁸⁴⁸ See Chapter Two of this thesis.

⁸⁴⁹ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1974, p. 544.; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1975.

⁸⁵⁰ *Ibid.* See also Chapter Two of this thesis; Edith Katzenbollenbogen. Retired Professor from the Stellenbosch University Physical Education Department (then Human Movement Studies), interviewed by Anell Stacey Daries on 11 August 2021 in Stellenbosch.

considered to be a profession best suited for women students.⁸⁵⁰ Furthermore, with regard to physical training this aspect of the department's programmes was structured as follows:

For women students: educational gymnastics; dance; games and sport activities; and water sport.

For men students: gymnastics; games; sport and practical work in lesson planning.



Figure 6.4.: Chris Diepierre and Elsabe Roux, students in the Physical Education, Sport and Recreation, perform a gymnastics routine on Coetzenburg.⁸⁵¹

Beyond physical training, sports participation was compulsory for all students in the department. Students were expected to perform well in sport and display knowledge in terms of coaching and refereeing particularly in reference to sporting codes offered in the department. While sports participation and physical training had always been central in the department, this aspect undertook a more significant role in the latter half of the twentieth century. As the discipline had begun moving away from its bond to education, curricula structure indicates that

⁸⁵¹ SunDigital Platform. *Matieland*, April 1986.

⁸⁵² Stellenbosch University Archive Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1974, p. 544.; Stellenbosch University Archive Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1975.

the methodology of sport had become more prominent.⁸⁵² Sporting codes offered in the department were structured as follows:

For women students: swimming, tennis, athletics, netball, hockey, softball, Olympic gymnastics and recreational activities.

For men students: swimming, tennis, athletics, rugby, cricket, hockey, soccer and recreational activities.⁸⁵³

Pathways to Professionalisation: Human Movement Studies and Areas of Specialisation

By the late 1980s the department underwent yet another name change. While the first two name changes still foregrounded physical education, the 1980s marks the official break away from the department's original identity. As the Department of Human Movement Studies,⁸⁵⁴ there was an enhanced focus on the disciplines central site of inquiry, the human body. The body and the development thereof had always been the grounding base of the disciplines.⁸⁵⁵ While its research avenues veered widely, the core focus remained centred on the understanding, examining and development the human and the human body, as a social and individual entity. As the early- to mid-1970s marked a settling into a theoretical base, this name change signified an acceleration toward professionalism.⁸⁵⁶ On a national scale, the 1980s witnessed the rise of South African sport *science* as an area of study. Under the leadership of Tim Noakes, the Physiology Department at the University of Cape Town emerged as a forerunner in the field from 1981.⁸⁵⁷ Drawing similarities to the emergence of the sub-field of biokinetic, sport science emerged from research on effects of exercise and physical performance.⁸⁵⁸ As seen in the figure 6.5. below, while the title *Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde* (Physical Education) still adorned the building- as it still does to this day- the department and the broader discipline had begun to move away from the physical education image. Now Human Movement Studies, the late 1970s and 1980s was marked by an increased focus on 'scientification' through professionalisation and commercialisation.

⁸⁵³ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁴ Human Movement was first mentioned in 1986, See Stellenbosch University Archive Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1986.

⁸⁵⁵ See Chapter Five

⁸⁵⁶ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1980; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1981.

⁸⁵⁷ Cleophas, 'Shaping a Decolonised Sport History Curriculum through the National Question', pp.6-10.

⁸⁵⁸ Cleophas, 'Shaping a Decolonised Sport History Curriculum through the National Question', pp.6-10.



Figure 6.5.: Students at the Physical Education, Sports and Recreation Department.⁸⁵⁹

With regard to the expansion of the department's, specialised course selection, the diploma course in Sport Coaching was introduced as an area of specialisation in the 1970s. Throughout the 1980s the purpose and aims of the course were enhanced to allow students to participate in sport-related fields in a professional capacity.⁸⁶⁰ This program was structured to cater to three demographics. First, coaches who sought to enhance the "scientific" aspect of their sports

⁸⁵⁹ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1982, pp. 435-444.

⁸⁶⁰ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1973. Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1970. pp. 437-447.; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1971. pp. 437-447.; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1972. pp. 484-490.; Stellenbosch University Archive. Senaatsverslae Vol. XLVIII 18 April 1970-13 June 1970. Tweede Rapport van die Fakulteitsraad van Opvoedkunde. 3 Maart 1970. pp. 269-270.

couching techniques. Second, for recreation instructors and those involved in recreational activities-to enhance their knowledge regarding physical fitness and community development.

Last, the course sort to prepare students for administrative roles in the Department of Sport and Recreation.⁸⁶¹ Subjects for this course included:

- Applied physiology
- Sociological aspects of physical education
 - The role of physical education in society, with a particular focus on the following aspects: sport and religion, sport and the economy, sport and politics, sport and nationalism, amateurism and professionalism, sport and media.
- Specialisation in sporting codes
 - Advanced coaching and practice of sporting codes with a specialised focus on; swimming, rugby, cricket, athletics, netball, hockey.
 - This part of the course also includes specialisation of theory and technique, tactics, coaching methods, exercise programmes, refereeing and selection.
- Kinesiology and sport injuries
 - Human movement and sport injuries.
 - Mechanical, anatomical and perceptual motor aspects of human movements with a close understanding of development, learning and skill.
 - Practical work regarding observations and examination of human movements.

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By the 1980s the purpose of the course was refined to offer three levels of specialisation.⁸⁶³ Operating as a postgraduate course, all prospective students were expected to be in possession of a teaching qualification upon admission. The first area of specialisation was Sports Administration. The subjects for this area included specialised physiology; sports administration; sport and recreation management; sport physiology; kinesiology as related to sports injuries; sport psychology; public administration; sport didactic and sports sociology. The second level of specialisation focused on Recreation. This aspect of the course included general theory of recreation; physical training as related to recreational activities; recreation

⁸⁶¹ By the 1980s the purpose of the course was to prepare students for the organisational and administrative aspects of sport and the advancements of coaching techniques. See Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1975, p. 336; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1982, 27.

⁸⁶² Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1976.; Stellenbosch University Archive . Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1977.; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1978, p 35.; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1979.

⁸⁶³ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1983, p. 33. See also Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1984.; Stellenbosch University Archive Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1985.

management and planning; and public administration. The third area of specialisation focused on Recreation for people with disabilities. The subjects for this portion of the course included; general theory of sport and recreation for those with disabilities; kinesiology and sport injuries; and sport and recreation management.⁸⁶⁴ As the course had been refined over time, it is apparent how the programme was pushed toward a sport science focus. With added areas of specialisation, this course would prepare students to participate in sports-related fields on a professional level.

In 1991 the first stand-alone biokinetics course was officially introduced in the department.⁸⁶⁵ Up until this point biokinetics was merely integrated as part of the discipline's theoretical base.⁸⁶⁶ As discussed, the South African physical education movement gave rise to the development of specialist field such as biokinetics.⁸⁶⁷ As exercise medicine and the medicalisation of physical education was on the rise from the 1920s and 1930s, new conceptualisations pertaining to the ways in which exercise and physical activity could be employed as a mean to attain or enhance health became a central fascination of physical educationist who participated in the applied scientific branch of physical education. In considering this context, biokinetics as a specialised sub-field centralised “the therapeutic benefits of bodily movement (*kinesis*)”.⁸⁶⁸ As evidenced across the discipline, both within the context of the department and beyond, the areas of specialisation in physical education and human movement studies overlapped in terms of their area of focus. With regard to biokinetics' theoretical base, one of the core aspects of the field focused on physiology and sports movements. Here the influence of exercise on the cardiovascular, respiratory, skeletal and the muscle system was central. Examination, movement test and anthropometric measurement was employed as a means through which to observe the effect of sport and physical activity on the body. Beyond the practical aspects of the course, the programme focussed on a broader disciplinary history that examined the development of formal physical education, sport and recreation as well as

⁸⁶⁴ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1983, p. 33. See also Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1984; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1985.

⁸⁶⁵ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1991, pp. 60-61.

⁸⁶⁶ Correspondence Justus Potgieter, Retired Chair of the Physical Education, Sport and Recreation Department, 6 January 2021.

⁸⁶⁷ Ellapen, Strydom, Swanepoel, Hammill and Paul, ‘Biokinetics: A South African Health Profession Evolving from Physical Education and Sport’, p. 15.

⁸⁶⁸ With regard to the professionalisation of this field, Gert Strydom is heralded as the ‘father’ of biokinetics. See *Ibid*, pp. 15-28. See also T. J. Ellapen, Y. Paul, M. Swanepoel and H.V. Hammill, ‘Professor Gert Lukas Strydom: The Father of the Biokinetics profession in South Africa’, *African Journal for Physical Activity and Health Sciences*, 26, 1 (2020), pp. 71-80.

‘philosophies of man in motion’ which highlighted philosophical approaches to movement education, sport and recreation, the body-mind relationship, sports ethics and aesthetics of movement.⁸⁶⁹

Apart from the centralisation of applied measurement analyses and theory, the programme dealt with core health-related discourses that arose in the 1980s and 1990s. This included a focus on aspects related to the enhancement of health with regard to diet, obesity, smoking, alcohol abuse, inactivity, HIV/AIDS, drugs and coronary risk factors.⁸⁷⁰ Moreover the course concentrated on physical activities for people with disabilities, which included three core areas of investigation, namely; classification of disabilities; adaptation of movement programmes to cater for motor and physical disabilities in mainstream and special needs schools; as well as game concepts and skills in specific sports and recreational activities for people with disabilities.⁸⁷¹ Last there was a concentration on psychological and sociological aspects of human movement. Here participant motivation; observational learning; group cohesion and competition; psychological aspects of competitive sport; the place and role of sport in society was integrated as part of the course.⁸⁷² As seen in the expansion of the department’s curricula foci, socio-political shifts clearly directed the types of scientific engagements that were foregrounded. The centralisation of applied practices and sub-fields were not constructed in isolation, instead they were moulded to address what was considered to be prominent social ills in the 1980s and 1990s.

Sport Science: “The study of human movement at all levels ranging from play to international competition”⁸⁷³

From 2019 the Stellenbosch University Sport Science Department officially formed part of the

~~Medical Faculty.~~⁸⁷⁴ In attempting to make sense of sport science’s rise to prominence over

⁸⁶⁹ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1991, pp. 60-64.

⁸⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷¹ In 1983 the department introduced the first dedicated program for sport, physical education and recreation for persons with disabilities. Moreover the inaugural National Championships for the disabled was hosted by Stellenbosch in the early 1980s as well as the Athletics Championships of the Western Province Sports Union for the Physically Disabled throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. See K. Joubert, ‘Access denied? The Holistic lived experience of Disable Students at Stellenbosch University: 1986-2007’, (MA thesis, Stellenbosch University, 2018), pp. 66-68

⁸⁷² Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1991, pp. 60-61

⁸⁷³ Correspondence with J. Potgieter, Retired Professor and Head of the Stellenbosch University Physical Education, Sport and Recreation Department, 6 January 2021.

⁸⁷⁴ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 2019, p. 67.

⁸⁷⁵ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1994.; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1995. Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1996, p. 29. ; Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1997, p.25., Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1998, pp. 22-23. Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1999

physical education it is imperative to consider the context of 1990s.⁸⁷⁵ Here two core factors served as compelling motivators behind the centralisation of sport science, namely the phasing out of physical education as a stand-alone subject and second South Africa's readmission into the international sports arena. First, with regard to status of physical education in the South African school system, Karel van Deventer, Associate Professor in the Stellenbosch University Sport Science Department, holds that within the post-1994 context physical education's integration into life orientation and life skills not only affected the expansion of the subject but it had a negative effect on the nation's health. With regard to the effects cause by the phasing out of physical education, a 2018 national report that closely examined the state of physical education across South African schools highlighted:

“Life Skills and Life Orientation curricula of which physical education forms a negligible component, aim to contribute to installing positive social values and pro-social behaviours. Physical Education and school sport practices are closely interrelated...In South Africa, Physical Education underwent several policy-related restructuring, from being a stand-alone subject (prior to 1994) to Outcomes- based Education (Curriculum 2005), resulting in the reduction of Physical Education to one of eight learning outcomes in Life Orientation. It comprises *Human Movement and Development* to be implemented over four school phases, from the Foundation, Intermediate, Senior and Further Education and Training phase.⁸⁷⁶

A central objective of the new ANC government was its mission to undo the injustices and social disparities cause by the apartheid regime. Physical education had a close connection to the vision of the apartheid state, thus the decentring of a subject that was so intimately aligned with militarism, racism and gender-consciousness was a means through which to emphasise the vision for the new nation - one based on reconciliation, inclusivity and equality.⁸⁷⁷ As part of education reform, Physical Education was eradicated as an independent subject and incorporated into Life Orientation and Life Skills. Introduced as an umbrella subject, Life Orientation and Life Skills has a strong personal development, social justice and equity focus that had been constructed within the ideological perimeters of the post-1994 state.⁸⁷⁸ With regard to the establishment of these subject, Cleophas states that the decision to integrate physical education into Life Orientation and Life Skills came about as a result of Outcomes Based Education and primarily hinged on political symbolism instead of a meaningful

⁸⁷⁶ National State and Status of Physical Education in Public Schools of South Africa: Report compiled by Professor C. Burnet, October 2018 pp. 1-5

⁸⁷⁷ Rajput and van Deventer, 'An epoch of controversy within physical education and sport in post-apartheid South Africa: A review', pp. 148-161.

⁸⁷⁸ K. van Deventer, 'A Paradigm Shift in Life Orientation: A Review', *South African Journal for Research in Sport, Physical Education and Recreation*, 29, 2 (2007), pp. 131-146.

⁸⁷⁹ F. J. Cleophas, 'A Historical-Political Perspective on Physical Education in South Africa During the Period 1990-1999', *South African Journal for Research in Sport, Physical Education and Recreation*, 36, 1 (2014), pp. 11-27.

reflection of true transformation in the educational system.⁸⁷⁹ As discussed, while physical education, within the academic context, had begun to move away from the school education focus, teaching and childhood development still remained central in the discipline. As the department continued to operate under the auspices of the Education Faculty up until 2018, physical education still offered areas of specialisation that focused on sectors pertinent to childhood and youth development. In the post-1994 context, the democratic government took a difference stance on the subject of physical education as compared the previous regime. As argued by Cleophas, this period was marked by the rise of symbolic transformation.⁸⁸⁰ Therefore while physical education formed such a central part of the nation-building in the segregationist and apartheid eras, the new ANC government's decision to incorporate physical education into a subject that championed social justice and equity is a representation of a new form of nation-building.

As discussed, within the context of the 'new South Africa', the democratic regime did not consider physical education as a matter of national concern in the same way as before. This does not mean, however, that physical education in the post-1994 context was devoid of a nationalist undertone. While the ethos of the post-apartheid government shifted its focus away from compulsory Physical Education as a means to breed a stronger and healthier nation, now national sport pride has emerged as a core driving force.⁸⁸¹ Following South Africa's readmission into the international sporting arena, the sporting 'mega events' now serves as a means through which to forge the foundations of the new nation.⁸⁸² While the commercialisation of sport had risen to prominence since the mid-twentieth century, figures in the field of sport science such as Cleophas and Elmarie Terblanche, both employed in the Stellenbosch University Sport Science Department, note that this national approach stands in stark contrast with international trends – as physical education still receives primary focus in many nations.⁸⁸³

Within the apartheid context, the "South Africa, sports policy [was] a direct reflection of a ~~political system which is~~ based on the systematic exclusion of non-whites from full

⁸⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸¹ Cleophas, 'A Historical-Political Perspective on Physical Education in South Africa During the Period 1990-1999', pp. 11-27.

⁸⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸⁸³ *Ibid.*; E. Terblanche, 'All the king's horses and all the king's men – perhaps exercise physiologists can put SA sport together again', Inaugural lecture delivered on 24 March 2009, Department of Sports Science: Faculty of Education Stellenbosch University, p. 5

⁸⁸⁴ R. E. Lapchick, 'South Africa: Sport and apartheid politics', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 45, 1 (1979), p. 155.

membership in all of that society's institutions-including sport."⁸⁸⁴ In considering the impact of political transformations the nation's pathway to democracy allowed for readmission into international sport from 1991.⁸⁸⁵ This new political dispensation granted South African athletes the opportunity to compete on the global stage, which in turn gave rise to commercial opportunities both internationally and locally.⁸⁸⁶ In a 2009 inaugural speech presented by Professor Elmarie Terblanche, she called for a push toward greater specialisation in the field of sport science. Trained as a medical physiologist, Terblanche was appointed in the Stellenbosch Sport Science Department in 2004 as an associated professor and promoted to full-professor in 2008.⁸⁸⁷ Terblanche notes that :

A sport scientist, in my opinion, is a generalist. He or she is someone who has a working knowledge of all aspects of human movement and exercise sciences, for instance biomechanics, motor control, anthropometry, sport psychology, fitness, nutrition, exercise physiology and so forth. These are the types of student that we train in South Africa. It is not without reason that we train our students as 'generalists' because, as is the case in nature, 'generalists' have a much greater chance of survival than 'specialists'. However, the important question is whether we really can afford to have so many generalists in the field. If the aim is to develop athletes to achieve optimal performance levels, the answer is a definite no... We need specialists to work with elite athletes. Therefore, if we want to make sport science count in South Africa so that our athletes can benefit from our knowledge and expertise, we need to focus our academic programmes on very specific areas of specialisation in the sport sciences. We need sport biomechanists, sport nutritionists, sport psychologists ... and lots of exercise physiologists!"⁸⁸⁸

In this speech, Terblanche not only foregrounds the role of sport science but emphasises that in order for South Africa sport compete with other nation on a consistent level, specialisation of sport related fields is a prerequisite. For Terblanche, physical education as an academic field received more support when it still formed part of the school curriculum.⁸⁸⁹ In considering this the emergence of sport science as general subject, serves the nation's present focus on the use

⁸⁸⁵ Anon, 'Matias Sport History', Maties Sport, available at <https://sport.sun.ac.za/maties-sport-history/>, retrieved 3 July 2022.

⁸⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸⁷ In 1991 Terblanche was appointed lecturer in the Division of Medical Physiology at the Faculty of Health Sciences, Stellenbosch University. In 1996 she received her PhD in Medical Physiology. In 2006 she was appointed as the Head of the Sport Science Department. As discussed in Chapter One of this thesis, Terblanche was one of the researchers who contributed to the 2019 paper, "Age-and education-related effects on cognitive functioning in Colored South African women" See E. Terblanche. All the king's horses and all the king's men – perhaps exercise physiologists can put SA sport together again, Inaugural lecture delivered on 24 March 2009, Department of Sports Science: Faculty of Education Stellenbosch University. See also S. Nieuwoudt, K. Dickie, C. Coetsee, L. Engelbrecht, and E. Terblanche, 'Retracted article: Age-and education-related effects on cognitive functioning in Coloured South African women', *Aging, Neuropsychology, and Cognition*, 27, 3 (2019), pp. 321-333.

⁸⁸⁸ E. Terblanche. All the king's horses and all the king's men – perhaps exercise physiologists can put SA sport together again, Inaugural lecture delivered on 24 March 2009, Department of Sports Science: Faculty of Education Stellenbosch University.

⁸⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

of sport and particularly successful sport performances as a unifying force for the country. As seen in Stellenbosch University curricula structure, specialisation is central. With regard to undergraduate courses, the BA Sport Science offered categorises of specialisation, which included subjects English, Afrikaans and Nederland; geography and environmental studies; and psychology.⁸⁹⁰ Moreover with regard to BSc, the course offered specialisation in adaptive physical activity, sports coaching or fitness industry.⁸⁹¹ Evidenced here, the department foregrounded specialisation in its curricula structure as it aligned with shift in ideological foci, on a disciplinary and socio-political level

Conclusion

By the 1970s the framework for physical education theory had begun to take shape. Strengthened through the integration of the concepts and practices of more established science and discipline, physical education theory settled on a wide ranged focus based on three core pillar, namely; natural science, social science and physical training. The natural science aspect encompassed applied scientific theories that facilitated experimentation, testing and the measurement of the human body. The social science pillar encompassed the disciplines of psychology, sociology, history, pedagogy and philosophy as a means to examine the human body as a social and individual entity. The last pillar, which centred physical training foregrounded the physical aspects of the field as well as discourses regarding practical physical education, sport and sport methodology. The institutionalisation of these pillar signified the extension of physical education theory to focus on sport and recreational methodology and practice. As a result this led to the emergence of human movement science and later sport science as umbrella terms that defined the disciplines applied scientific approach. As this chapter has illustrated, 1970 to 2019 revealed the ways in which the department was prepared to participate in the professionalisation of sports-related fields. In examining this history, the chapter traced the departments engagement with shifting global and national political trends pertaining to the development of recognised sub-fields within the discipline as well the centralisation and commercialisation sport. Moreover, the chapter highlighted the rise of Sport Science and the decentralisation of Physical Education as new nationalist ambitions dictated the trajectory of Physical Education.

⁸⁹⁰ Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 2019, pp. 69-73.

⁸⁹¹ At post graduate level the course selection included; Post graduate Certificate in Education, BSc Honours in Biokinetics, BSc Honours in Sport Science with a specialisation in Performance Sport or Kinder kinetics. See Stellenbosch University Archive, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 2019, p. 74.



Chapter Seven: Conclusion, Synopsis and Possible Areas of Research

In the age of Sport Science, the disciplinary objectives of the field largely occupies itself with issues regarding the evaluation, testing and – indeed –optimisation of the human body.⁸⁹² In tracing the discipline’s development as well as it’s scientific obsessions, this thesis used the 2019 sport science article, “Age-and education-related effects on cognitive functioning in Colored South African women”⁸⁹³ as a lens through which to investigate intellectual and ethical blind spots embedded within the discipline. In attempting to unpack the disciplinary practices that gave rise to this type of research, the thesis demonstrated the ways in which essentialist notions pertaining to race and gender were etched into the construction of the discipline. The existence of this study at Stellenbosch University echoes the institution’s decades-long research-based fixation with the study of race and race science.⁸⁹⁴ Moreover, as it particularly relates to physical education and sport science, the use of gender as a moralising agent and disciplinary constraint had been evident since the period of institutionalisation in the 1930s. In consolidating the discipline's intellectual history with university-wide research legacies, this thesis illustrated how research for a study such as the March 2019 paper came to fruition. At its core, this thesis sought to prove that the 2019 paper was neither a rupture nor an anomaly. Instead, the article presents the extent to which categories such as race and gender had and continue to be employed as fixed and immovable markers that dictate and limit an individual’s capacity.

In analysing Physical Education’s progression to Sport Science, the thesis foregrounded three core key contentions. First, in 1936 Stellenbosch University became the first university in Africa to introduce a dedicated physical education course. The thesis contended that the

⁸⁹² F. J. Cleophas, “Race and Politics in Sports Science”, in J. Jansen and C. Walters (Eds.) *Faultlines: A Primer on Race, Science and Society*, (Stellenbosch: African Sun Media, 2020), pp. 191-192.

⁸⁹³ S. Nieuwoudt, K. Dickie, C. Coetsee, L. Engelbrecht, and E. Terblanche, ‘Retracted article: Age-and education-related effects on cognitive functioning in Coloured South African women’, *Aging, Neuropsychology, and Cognition*, 27, 3 (2019), pp. 321-333.

⁸⁹⁴ J. Jansen, ‘From ‘die sedelike toestand van die kleurling’ to ‘the cognitive functioning of coloured women’: A century of research on coloured people at Stellenbosch University’, *Stellenbosch university*, 16 (September 2019), available at <https://blogs.sun.ac.za/inaugural-lectures/event/prof-jonathan-jansen/>, retrieved 20 July 2021.

institutionalisation of physical education served as part of a national plan to redeem a destitute subset of the white population. Furthermore, in considering the rise of national commissions set on investigating the causes of ‘white poverty’⁸⁹⁵ as well as the establishment of government-funded national intervention programmes such as the National Advisory Council for Physical Education (NACPE), Stellenbosch University formed part of a national agenda set on advancing Afrikaner nation-building efforts.

The second contention presented in this thesis focused on the discipline’s quest for legitimacy and Stellenbosch University’s contributions to the *scientification*⁸⁹⁶ of physical education. Here too the thesis highlights the political undercurrents of ‘race betterment’ and the ways in which physical education was employed as a tool of ‘citizen making’. In doing so, the thesis argued that in aiding the national physical education standardisation movement of the 1930s and 1940s, prominent physical educationists at Stellenbosch University sought to push the discipline towards science as a means to attain scientific recognition within the broader academic context.

The third central contention examines the state of physical education within the context of the ‘new South Africa’. In the era of democracy, the post-1994 regime did not consider physical education as a matter of national concern in the same way as before. While the ethos of the post-apartheid government shifted its focus away from compulsory physical education as a means to breed a stronger and healthier nation,⁸⁹⁷ ‘national sports pride’ began to emerge as a central driving force for reconciliation, national unity and national pride for the new democratically-

⁸⁹⁵ See J.F.W. Grosskopf, *The poor white problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission. Part I. Economic Report: Rural Impoverishment and Rural Exodus* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932). ; R.W. Wilcocks, *The poor white problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission. Part II. Psychological Report: The Poor White* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932). ; E.G. Malherbe, *The poor white problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission. Part III. Educational Report: Education and the Poor White* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932).; W. A. Murray, *The poor white problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission. Part IV. Health Report. Health Factors in the Poor White Problem*, (Stellenbosch: Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932). ;J.R. Albertyn and M.E. Rothmann, *The poor white problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission. Part V. Sociological Report: (a) The Poor White in Society (b) The Mother and Daughter in the Poor Family* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932).

⁸⁹⁶ See J. R. Bond, ‘The scientification of the study of politics: some observations on the behavioural evolution in political science’, *The Journal of Politics*, 69, 4 (2007), p. 897. See also. M. Everson and E. Vos, ‘The scientification of politics and the politicisation of science’, in M. Everson and E. Vos (eds), *Uncertain risks regulated* (Cavendish, Routledge, 2009), pp. 21-38; C. Stratilatis, ‘University and the scientification of social sciences and humanities’, *Ethics in Science and Environmental Politics*, 13, 2 (2014), pp. 177-192.; A. Michaeels and C. Wulf, *Science and Scientification in South Asia and Europe* (London, Routledge, 2020). pp. 3-13

⁸⁹⁷ A. Obholzer, ‘What our magazine aims at’, *Liggaamsopvoeding/ Physical Education*, 1, 1 (1939), p. 3.; A. Obholzer, *Beginsels en Leidraad vir Liggaamsopvoeding in die Skool* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia Drukkery, 1939), p. 30.

elected government. Following South Africa's readmission into the international sports arena, sporting 'mega events' have now been employed as tools in the building of the new nation.⁸⁹⁸ At its core, the dissertation foregrounds the ways in which the university has played a crucial role in the politics of nation-building across the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries – although the 'nations' it sought to build were radically different from one another. In doing so, the thesis analyses political, economic and social drivers that impacted institutional culture, conventions and decision making throughout the segregationist, apartheid and democratic eras.

Institutional and disciplinary histories in the broader socio-political context

This thesis examined the rise, development and intellectual legacies of physical education as an academic discipline and department within the context of Stellenbosch University. In doing so the thesis uncovered the ways in which strata such as race, class, gender and geography shaped the trajectory of the discipline. Located within a complex institutional history, the thesis illuminated the extent to which the university's ethos of conservatism and traditionalist values influenced departmental shifts over the course of eight decades. As examined in the thesis, physical education was officially introduced at Stellenbosch University four years after the release of the 1932 Carnegie Commission Report on *The Poor White Problem in South Africa*.⁸⁹⁹ Serving a core catalyst for the national standardisation of physical education in the late 1930s, compulsory physical education was introduced in schools as a means to address the nations deteriorating health. Notwithstanding this objective, the launch of physical education programmes not only focussed on improving public health, but was also considered to be a means through which to redeem a poverty stricken and largely rural portion of the white population.

The thesis is situated within literature that examines institutional and disciplinary histories as well as the history of race science and its socio-political repercussions. In grounding the focus of the thesis within the framework of Stellenbosch University, Chapter One highlights

⁸⁹⁸ Obholzer, 'What our magazine aims at', p. 3.; Obholzer, *Beginsels en Leidraad vir Liggaamsopvoeding in die Skool*, p. 30.

⁸⁹⁹ See Grosskopf. *The poor white problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission. Part I. Economic report: Rural Impoverishment and Rural Exodus.*; Wilcocks. *The poor white problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission. Part II. Psychological Report: The Poor White.*; Malherbe. *The poor white problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission. Part III. Educational Report: Education and the Poor White.*; Murray. *The poor white problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission. Part IV. Health Report. Health Factors in the Poor White Problem.*; Albertyn and Rothmann. *The poor white problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission. Part V. Sociological Report: (a) The Poor White in Society (b) The Mother and Daughter in the Poor Family.*

contemporary discussions that examine the impact institutional culture and tradition. In doing so the chapter draws attention to Stellenbosch University's complicated past, which is largely associated with the upkeep of segregation and the intellectual justification for apartheid. In reckoning with the contemporary ramifications of this dark history, the chapter analyses ongoing discussions surrounding the state of South African institutions of higher learning in the post-1994 context and subsequently the dissertation offers commentary on how a nuanced disciplinary history could be employed in the re-examination of an institution's past.

Having outlined the origins of formal physical education before the 1930s in Chapter One, Chapter Two commences by tracing the initial phase of the standardisation movement. The mid-to late-1930s was a period of national expansion in the field of South African physical education. Moreover, the long-standing connections between physical education and childhood and youth development was also cemented during this period, as an anticipated demand for physical education teachers directly led to an increase in the amount of physical education training programmes across the country from 1936 onwards. As part of nation-wide efforts to ensure that physical education was to be recognised as an academic discipline, the university sought to establish its own Physical Education Department. In doing so, physician and physical education specialist, Dr Ernst Jokl, was specifically recruited to occupy the position of physical education lecturer. Despite Jokl's contributions to the institutionalisation of physical education as well as the promotion of physical culture at the university and within the larger community of Stellenbosch, his tenure was abruptly terminated a mere nine months into his new job. In examining the events that led up to Jokl's dismissal, Chapter Two had four central objectives. First, it investigated and expanded upon the existing historiography that analyses the institutionalisation of physical education in South Africa. Second, it examined the reasons behind the launch of physical education programmes in institutions of higher learning in the late 1930s. Third, the chapter presented both the university's and Jokl's vision for physical education- as both department and nascent intellectual discipline. Last, the chapter analysed the controversy surrounding the Jokl debacle and his ultimate dismissal. In essence, the chapters core contention proposes that the university's conservative ethos informed its vision for the department and by extension its decision making with regard to Jokl. Following public outrage regarding the methods he imposed in the obligatory medical examinations of physical education students, his approach was seen as a transgression against the university's deeply conservative and traditionalist values.

In forming part of a larger network of Afrikaans-medium universities, Stellenbosch University served as a forerunner in Afrikaner intellectual culture and burgeoning Afrikaner nationalism. Within this context, Chapter Two foregrounds the politics surrounding the integration of Afrikaner ideals and ideologies, as they pertained to issues surrounding gender in physical education. It argued that physical education was gendered discipline from its establishment and by positioning gender as a key component, physical education was formulated to cater to the idealised realities of the white and largely Afrikaans-speaking student body, and the society they represented. This chapter also foregrounded deep-seated tensions between notions of modernity and conservatism within the university community. In doing so the chapter reveals a critical contradiction between the scientific approaches Jokl employed and conservative ideals and brand of the university. In considering this, the chapter argued that Jokl's position as lecturer within a traditionalist institution such as Stellenbosch University stifled his scientific ambitions.

In tracing the department's trajectory following Jokl's abrupt dismissal, Chapter Three examined the strengthened connections between physical education and Afrikaner nationalism in the years leading up to the outbreak of World War II. In August 1937, Anton Obholzer was appointed as Jokl's replacement. In championing ideas surrounding the restoration of the Afrikaner people and the call for a return to preindustrial customs, physical education at Stellenbosch University-as envisaged by Obholzer- solidified the use of physical education as an instrument of nation-building. By outlining the development of physical education as a department and discipline at Stellenbosch University, the chapter contended that physical education at the *Volksuniversiteit* upheld and promoted the interests of an idealised Afrikaner nation. In not only investigating the origins of the physical education at the university, the chapter traced national shifts that led to the establishment of state funded organisations such as the National Scheme for Physical Education and later National Advisory Council for Physical Education (NACPE). It identified the period of 1937 to 1939 as one marked by an increase of the state's investment in the formation of a South African physical education system. Moreover, as the consolidation of the segregationist states 'race betterment' project and standardised physical education was solidified, the chapter argued that the institutionalisation of formal physical education, both within the context of Stellenbosch University and the South African state, formed part of a national agenda to advance an envisaged Afrikaner nation.

In examining the discipline's social, political and intellectual influences, Chapter Three highlighted two prominent shifts that dictated the state of discipline in the late 1930s. First the chapter foregrounded the ways in which state-funded inquiries of the nineteenth and early twentieth century-that sought to identify the root causes of white poverty-led to the establishment of organisations such as the NACPE. Second the chapter focuses on physical education at Stellenbosch university, under the dictatorship of Obholzer and illustrated how nationalistically aligned ideologies shaped the expansion of the discipline. As discussed in the Chapter Three, by 1939 physical education at Stellenbosch University had gained significant national and international recognition for its contribution to the development of a South African physical education system. With the launch of the departments bilingual journal, *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education* as well as its first Afrikaans textbook, *Beginsels en Leidraad vir Liggaamsopvoeding in die Skool*, physical education at Stellenbosch University was positioned as prominent mouthpiece for the discipline. In establishing Stellenbosch as a formidable leader in South African physical education, Obholzer greatly contributed to the departments global standing and under his leadership the department disciplinary objectives was further nestled in the segregationist state's nationalist ideals.

Akin to the instability caused by Jokl's dismissal, Obholzer and his assistant, Oskar Gornetz, December 1939 internment once again placed the department in a precarious position. In search for a suitable candidate to assume the position of Department Chair, Johan Willem Postma was earmarked for the position and appointed as Acting Chair from March 1940. As discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis, physical education received its official department status in 1940. On a national scale, while South African physical education was still in its infancy at this stage, the early- to mid-1940s was marked by the development of a theoretical base for the discipline. In tracing the ways in which the department contributed to the development of physical education theory in the country, the chapter revealed a lack of consensus among physical educationists with regard to the type of discipline physical education was expected to become. In outlining, intellectual tensions within physical education's academic faction, the chapter traced the configuration of practice and theory within the discipline through its use of scientific language. As a means to advance physical education as a research focussed field of study, physical education practitioners began adopting scientific rhetoric in their research. This chapter contends that while physical educationists such as Johan Postma were advocating for a complete 'scientific turn', this was not attained in practice. As physical education remained devoted to childhood and youth education as well as the socio-political advancement of the

white South African population, the reformation of physical education as a complete applied science was not an attainable goal.

The period of 1947 to 1970 was marked by a continued lack of consensus regarding the disciplinary configuration of physical education. While situated within the tenure of Danie Craven, Chapter Five sought to move away from the centralisation of Craven iconography that dominates the historiography of physical education and sport at Stellenbosch University. While outlining physical education's fight for recognition, both within the academic arena and the school curricula, the chapter explores the development of the discipline's theoretical base and in turn examined the construction of physical education's multifaceted identity. In focusing on the span of two decades between the late 1940s to 1970, the chapter revealed two core developments in the department's history. First it demonstrated how physical educationists understood the purpose and objectives of their own discipline. Second, the chapter illustrated the extent to which more established sciences and disciplines were used to formulate the theoretical basis of the physical education as a whole, which ultimately gave rise to the formation of new sub-fields and specialist branches within the discipline. In exposing these two core aspects the chapter illustrated the rise of physical education as a multidisciplinary field.

Chapter Six is located within the period of 1970 to 2019 and traced physical education's transition to sport science. By the 1970s, the framework for physical education theory had already taken shape as it settled on a wide ranged focus based on three core pillars, namely; natural science, social science and physical training. The natural science aspect incorporated applied scientific theories and practices that facilitated experimentation and the testing of the human body. The social science pillar was based on disciplines such as psychology, sociology, history, pedagogy and philosophy. The theoretical foundation of these aforementioned fields were incorporated as a means to not only examine the human body as a social and individual entity but also establish the place and purpose of the discipline itself. The last pillar, which focused on physical training foregrounded the physical aspects of the field and related discourses regarding physical exercise and training; competitive sport and sport methodology. As revealed in the chapter the establishment of the natural science, social science and physical training pillars signified the expansion of physical education theory that incorporated a focus on sport and recreation methodology in its theory and practice.

More broadly, in considering physical education's transition to sport science, Chapter Six examined three central shifts that transpired in the department's history of over the course of five decades. First the chapter traced the department's transition from solely 'Physical Education' to 'Physical Education, Sport and Recreation' and contended that the centralisation of sport and recreation facilitated the first significant shift away from the departments 'teacher training' identity. Second, the chapter examined the department's transitions to Human Movement Science which allowed for the extension of research beyond the confines of physical education's original purpose. Last, the chapter examined the state of physical education in the age of sport science. In doing so the chapter analysed the effects caused by two significant socio-political shifts; namely the impact that the phasing out of physical education from the school curriculum had on the discipline as well as South Africa's readmission into the international sports arena in the early 1990s. In examining these three abovementioned phases, the chapter argued that physical education, later reimagined as sport science, has and continues to be a matter of national interest. The discipline was shaped by both political and academic shifts. In considering this, the chapter explored how the early 1990s and post-1994 context allowed for the formation of new forms of nationalism in relation to sport and sport science in South Africa.

Reckoning with Institutional Pasts and the Implications of Knowledge Production: Future Areas of Research

The central subject matter of this dissertation intersects with research areas that examine connections between nationalism and the commercialisation of sport in the segregationist, apartheid and post-apartheid dispensations. Furthermore the thesis is also situated within literature that analyses the development of institutions of higher learning and sciences of the body. More specifically, as discussed in Chapter Six of the thesis, the post-1994 context witnessed the emergence of the sporting mega events as a symbol of national unity in the democratic age.⁹⁰⁰ While this thesis was primarily focussed on understanding the academic

⁹⁰⁰ See S. Muller, 'Exploring aesthetics of reconciliations: Rugby and the South African national anthem', *South African Journal of Musicology*, 27, 1 (2001), pp. 19-37.; E. Harper and P. Ntsime, 'Playing rugby with the truth', *Psychology in Society*, 26, 2000, pp. 53-72.; K. Farquharson and T. Marjoribanks, 'Transforming the Springboks: Re-imagining the South African nation through sport', *Social Dynamics*, 29, 1, 2003, pp. 27-48.; J. Van Der Merwe, 'Political analysis of South Africa's hosting of the Rugby and Cricket Worlds Cups: Lessons for the 2021 Football World Cup and beyond', *Politikon*, 34, 1 (2007), pp. 67-81.; C. Cornelissen and K. Swart, 'The 2010 Football World Cup as a political construct: the challenge of making good on and African promise', *The Sociological Review*, 54, 2 (2006), pp. 108-123.; A. Wood, 'Advancing development projects through mega-events: The 2010 Football World Cup and bus rapid transit in South Africa', *Urban Geography*, 40, 4 (2019), pp. 428-444.; A. Grundlingh, 'Dressed for success: Historizing Nelson Mandela's involvement in the 1995 Rugby World Cup', in J. Nauright and T. Collins (eds), *The Rugby World in the Professional Era* (Oxfordshire, Routledge, 2017), pp. 175-184.

vestiges and socio-political implication of physical education, future areas of research could shift away from the dedicated physical education focus to more closely examine the ways in which professional sports has become an instrument of reconciliation in the post-apartheid era. While the use of competitive sport as a tool of nationalism was not a novel phenomenon solely implemented by the post-apartheid government,⁹⁰¹ potential areas could more closely examine how economic, social and political influences of the twentieth-first century shape nationalism in sport in contemporary history. Here particular focus could be given to the ways in which

⁹⁰¹ See A. Grundlingh, 'The King's Afrikaners? Enlistments and Ethnic Identity in the Union of South Africa's Defence Force During the Second World War, 1939-45', *The Journal of African History*, 40, 3 (1999), p. 351-365.; N. Roos, *Ordinary Springboks and Social Justice in South Africa, 1939-1961* (England, Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005). pp. 1-19.; D. Allen, 'Tours of reconciliation: Rugby, wars and reconstruction in South Africa, 1891-1907', *Sport History*, 27, 2 (2007), pp. 172-189.

successful performances become ingrained in a national narrative which symbolises a ‘nation’s triumphant’.⁹⁰²

Situated within research that examines the socio-political drivers and implication of sciences to do with the body, another future area of research could focus on a historical analysis of academic disciplines that centralises the optimisation of human body as related to sports performance. Here an analyses of what was and is deemed as the prime and optimum condition of the body could reveal implicate essentialist biases regarding to race, gender and class.⁹⁰³ More specifically, research into the history of medicalised areas of sport specialisation such as biokinetics and kinesiology would allow for an examination of the processes surrounding the formation of these disciplinary subsets.⁹⁰⁴ This would in turn reveal the extent to which knowledge production is influenced by global social and political transitions.

Beyond a centralised analysis of a discipline’s development within a larger university context, future areas of research could more broadly examine how an institution traditions are manifested in its ethos and its decision making. As illustrated by Jonathan Jansen in “The Curriculum as an Institution in Higher Education”,⁹⁰⁵ knowledge produced within the confines of a university discipline represents an institutions “ideological, epistemological and...political” standing.⁹⁰⁶ In considering this, future areas of research could be located within work that positions university disciplines, curricula and syllabi as the building blocks of the academy. In pursuing research that employs historical methodologies and modalities as a means through which to make sense of the university as a multifaceted institution, this

⁹⁰² Particularly in reference to South Africa, the ‘nation’s triumph’ refers to the country’s transition to democracy.

⁹⁰³ A. P. Hill, S. H. Mallinson and G. E. Jowett, ‘Multidimensional perfectionism in sport: A meta analytical review’, *Sport Exercise and Performance Psychology*, 7, 3 (2018), pp. 235-270.; M. W. Hughey and R. G. Devon, ‘A level playing field? Media construction of athletics, genetic and race’, *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 661, 1 (2015), pp. 182-211.; Y. J. Wong, A. J. Horn and S. Chen, ‘Perceive Masculinity: The Potential Influence of Race Racial Essentialist Belief and Stereotypes’, *Psychology of Men and Masculinity*, 14, 4 (2013), pp. 452-464.; P. B. Miller, ‘The anatomy of scientific racism: Racialist responses to black athletic achievement’, *Journal of Sport History*, 25, 1 (1998), pp. 119-151.; J. Shehu (eds), *Gender, sport and development in Africa: Cross-cultural perspectives on patterns of representations and marginalization* (Oxford, African Book Collectives, 2010).; V. Krane, *Sex, gender and sexuality in sport: Queer identities* (Oxfordshire, Routledge, 2019).; A. Bainer, ‘Back to basics: Class, social theory and sport’, *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 24, 1 (2007), pp. 20-36.

⁹⁰⁴ T. J. Ellapen, G. L. Strydom, M. Swanepoel, H. Hammill and Y. Paul, ‘Biokinetics: A South African Health Profession Evolving from Physical Education and Sport’, in M. Merc (eds), *Sport and Exercise Science* (Croatia, InTech, 2018), pp. 15-28.; A. Ottosson, ‘The First Historical Movements of Kinesiology: Scientification in the Borderline between Physical Culture and Medicine around 1850’, *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 27, 11 (2010), pp. 1892-1919

⁹⁰⁵ J. Jansen, ‘The Curriculum as an Institution in Higher Education’, in E. Bitzer (eds), *Higher Education in South Africa: A Scholarly Look behind the Scenes* (Stellenbosch, Sun Press, 2009), p. 123.

⁹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

particular area of research would contribute to the growing body of literature examining the place and purpose of the university in the post-apartheid context.

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