THE CAPE COLOURED CORPS AND THE EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLOURED PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA 1795–1977

by

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DECLARATION

This is to certify that this thesis handed in for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, is my own original work and that it has not been submitted for a degree at this or any other university.

Willie R. Hoods

SUMMARY

An early series of mixed unions between Europeans and slaves and European-Hottentots resulted in the birth of the coloured people. The original hybrid groups have been perpetuated, increased and further intermingled by endogamy and cross-breeding and by additions from the original strains.

The Dutch were the first foreign power to make use of coloured men in their military units when they established a settlement at the Cape in 1652. It was, however, the British who organised the coloured and Hottentots into a proper military unit. The Cape Corps, as the coloured military unit was to be known, served in most of the Republican governments that were established since the Colonists left the Cape Colony in 1834.

Early attempts by the various missionary societies to educate the coloured people proved very successful. The allocation of land at the Kat River Settlement in 1829 provided an opportunity for coloured people, Hottentots and ex-slaves to build an economically viable community.

It was during the two Great World Wars that the Cape Corps eventually made an impact as a fighting force. Large numbers of coloured men enlisted to fight the Germans. As most of them were illiterate the South African Defence Force had to devise certain programmes to enable them to read and write. This was the beginning of the Army Education System. Later provision was also made for ex-volunteers to improve their educational standard through the Army Correspondence Scheme.

The Directorate of Demobilisation established at the end of World War II, did outstanding work in helping the returned soldier to adjust to civilian life. Ex-volunteers were assisted financially and were encouraged and assisted to improve their education and training.

An exposition of the political influence of the various Republican ruling groups and the government of the Union of South Africa, reveals that the coloured people were subjected to a number of discriminatory measures. The general rule was to use them in times of crises to protect the status quo, but at the same time to deny them their basic rights as citizens of South Africa.

The Nationalist Party came to power in 1948 with their policy of Apartheid and immediately disbanded the Cape Corps. This decision was reversed in 1963 when the Cape Corps was re-established as a result of political development amongst the blacks in South Africa and the rest of Africa. Recruiting was not as successful as was anticipated. As a result of the unemployment rate amongst the coloured youth and the lowering of the educational qualifications from Standard VIII to VI, a fair number of coloured high school drop-outs enlisted.

The South African Defence Force makes provision for coloured trainees to improve their secondary education through the Association of Correspondence Colleges of South AFrica, while technical education is available at the Peninsula College for Advanced Technical Education in Bellville and university education through the University of South Africa and the Military Academy at Saldanha.

Lastly a number of recommendations are given with the hope that if implemented, the coloured community and therefore the South African society would benefit thereby.

Dedication

To

my wife, Gloria
who has always encouraged my academic interest

my children – Melvin, Charmaine, Vyonne and Marcellus who have shared me so unselfishly with my teaching career

my pupils
who have brought so much depth and interest into my life.

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ANNEXURE I

ABBREVIATIONS USED: THE DOCUMENTATION SERVICE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENCE FORCE, PRETORIA.

A.A.G.	Assistant Adjutant-General.
A.A.U.	Anti-Aircraft Units.
A.E.S.	Army Education Service.
A.C.F.	Active Citizen Force.
A/D.N.E.A.S.	Assistant Director, Non-European Army Services.
A.G.	Adjutant-General.
A.D.M.S.	Assistant Director of Medical Services.
A.T.	Ammunition Transport.
A.U.	Artillery Units.
A/C.S.M.	Acting Company Sergeant-Major.
A/R.Q.M.S.	Acting Regimental Quartermaster Sergeant.
A/Q.M.S.	Acting Quartermaster Sergeant.
Bde.	Brigade.
Brig.	Brigadier.
Brig. Gen.	Brigadier-General.
B.E.A.	British East Africa.
B.G.G.S.	Brigadier-General – General Staff.
Bn. Btn.	Battalion.
C.A.H.T.C.	Cape Auxiliary Horse Transport Corps.
C. in C.	Commander-in-Chief.
C.G.S.	Chief of the General Staff.
C.O.	Commanding Officer
Coys.	Companies.
C.M.R.	Cape Mounted Riflemen.
C.C.	Cape Corps
C.Q.M.S.	Company Quartermaster Sergeant.
C.S.M.	Company Sergeant-Major.

D.A.G.	Deputy Adjutant-General.
D.A.A.G.	Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General.
D.C.M.	Distinguished Conduct Medal.
D.D.N.E.A.S.	Deputy Director Non-European Army Services.
F.A.M.P.	Frontier Armed Mounted Police.
G.E.A.	German East Africa.
C.H.Q.	General Headquarters.
G.O.C.	General Officer Commanding.
G.S.	General Staff.
G.S.O.	General Staff Officer.
G.S.W.A.	German South-West Africa.
H.M.	His Majesty's.
H.E.	His Excellency.
K.A.R.	King's African Rifles.
Lieut.-Col.	Lieutenant-Colonel.
L. Corpl.	Lance-Corporal.
M.D.	Motor Despatch (Riders).
M.M.	Military Medal.
M.O.	Medical Officer.
M.T.	Mechanical Transport.
Maj.-Gen.	Major-General.
N.C.O.	Non-Commissioned Officer.
O.C.	Officer Commanding.
P.E.A.	Portuguese East Africa.
P.O.W.	Prisoner of War.
Pte.	Private.

Q.M.S.	Quartermaster Sergeant.
Q.M.R.	Quartermaster.
R.A.F.	Royal Air Force.
R.Q.M.S.	Regimental Quartermaster Sergeant.
R.S.M.	Regimental Sergeant-Major.
S.A.E.C.	South African Engineer Corps.
S.A.F.A.	South African Field Artillery.
S.A.H.	South African Horse.
S.A.H.A.	South African Heavy Artillery.
S.A.M.C.	South African Medical Corps.
S.A.I.	South African Infantry.
S.A.M.D.R.	South African Motor Despatch Riders.
S.A.N.L.C.	South African Native Labour Corps.
S.A.S.C.M.T.	South African Service Corps Mechanical Transport.
S.A.C.C.	South African Cape Corps.
S.A.D.F.	South African Defence Force.
S.W.A.	South West Africa.
S.A.A.F.	South African Air Force.
S.A.V.C.	South African Veterinary Corps.
U.D.F.	Union Defence Force.
U.K.	United Kingdom.
V.D.	Volunteer's Officer's Decoration.
W.O.	Warrant Officer.

ANNEXURE II

PHOTOGRAPHS

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(b) Cape Corps emblem reproduced from recruiting brochure printed by the South African Navy Printing Press.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim of Research

As far as can be ascertained no attempt has yet been made to establish what rôle the Armed Forces has played and is still playing in the education of the people of the Republic of South Africa. The history of the various army units, the Defence Force as such and the many campaigns in which the army has been involved, are extensively recorded in many periodicals and books published since the earliest history of our country. The educational aspect and particularly the South African Defence Force as an institution of learning has received very little attention from researchers in general.

Research evidence has proved, as is shown in the following chapters of this thesis, that the coloured people of this country particularly during the Second World War, is to a large extent indebted to the Army Education Services for providing them with the basic requirements for literacy. The present South African Cape Corps Service Battalion at Eersterivier, Cape has continued since it was established in 1963 in giving especially coloured high school drop-outs a second opportunity of improving their qualifications and in providing training and education for a limited number of careers.

This research was therefore undertaken, in the first place to fulfil a long felt need, and secondly with the hope that future researchers in this field will have a basis from which to work.

1.2 Method of Research

To realise the aims mentioned earlier, use was made of the historico-educational method in this research. The *selection of the problem* was initiated after it was established that there was a need for a scientific investigation of this nature.

The *accumulation of source material* was meticulously undertaken, relying on primary sources as the basis of the investigation and consulting secondary sources only in an effort to support certain statements of fact.

The next step was the *critical examination* of the relevant data collected to establish authenticity as regard authorship, date of publication and locality. This external

criticism was followed up by an analysis of the meaning of statements, in some documents, to test their accuracy and trustworthiness (internal criticism).

The following working *hypothesis* was formulated after the relevant facts and data had been collated: The South African Defence Force has over the years played a significant rôle in the education of a large number of young coloured men. It was only then possible to attempt a scientific exposition of the problem.

The final result was to *interpret the facts* in the light of all sources gathered, primary as well as secondary, which had a direct bearing on the subject. After a critical examination and selection of the relevant material, it was synthesized in the form in which it appears.

1.3 Delimitation of Research

In dealing with Army Education in South Africa during the period 1795–1977, it was necessary to take cognizance of the following:

1.3.1 Controlling Bodies

The aims, objects and organisation of the Dutch, British and later South African Armies were investigated, as these bodies were responsible for the training and education of the coloured soldier during the period under discussion.

1.3.2 The Area

The area covers the whole of the Republic of South Africa as recruits were drawn from all four provinces. Although the Cape Corps has its headquarters in the Cape Province, candidate officers are trained and educated at various schools and bases scattered throughout the country.

1.3.3 The Inhabitants

The research deals specifically with the coloured community as one of the four race groups which inhabit this area, the other groups being the whites, the Asians and the Africans.

1.3.4 Type of Education considered

The investigation is primarily concerned with Army Education. In order to show how this particular education evolved it was necessary to trace the origin and development of the Cape Corps since 1795. This type of education can be classified as a form of Adult Education where provision is made for primary, secondary, university, technical and vocational education.

1.3.5 The Period

The period commences with the year 1795, when the first coloured regiment was established in the Cape and systematically deals with the development of the Cape Corps since then, until 1977.

1.4 Discussion of Sources

1.4.1 Secondary Sources

The most important works dealing with the Cape Corps for the period under discussion, are the unpublished work of J. de Villiers and the published works of I.D. Difford and A.J.B. Desmore.

J. de Villiers' unpublished M.A. dissertation ("Hottentot Regimente aan die Kaap, 1781–1806") deals specifically with the early history of the Cape Corps, whereas I.D. Difford ("The Story of the 1st Cape Corps") and A.J.B. Desmore ("With the 2nd Cape Corps thro' Central Africa"), covers only the exploits of the Cape Corps during the First World War.

Further limited information was also available from a number of historical books written by officers who commanded certain units during the Second World War. Among those worth mentioning are the following:

(a) Buchan, J., *History of the South African Forces in France*

(b) Curson, H.H., *Colours and Honours in South Africa, 1783–1948*

(c) Martin, C.A., *The Durban Light Infantry, vol. 1 1854–1950*

(d) Miller, E., *Gunning through Africa*

(e) Orpen, N., *South African Forces; World War II*
War in the Desert, Vol. III

The works of J.S. Marais: *The Cape Coloured People 1652–1937* and Al J. Venter *Coloured: A Profile of two million South Africans*, provided the writer with valuable information regarding the history of the coloured people.

1.4.2 Primary Sources

The writer had access to a wealth of primary sources which had a direct bearing on this thesis and is therefore greatly indebted to the following instances for allowing him access to vital documentation:

(a) The State Archives, Cape Town and Pretoria where the early history of the Cape Corps is recorded in various volumes dealing with the history of South Africa.

(b) The Documentation Services of the South African Defence Force, where a wealth of material is available dealing specifically with Army Education and the history of the Cape Corps.

(c) The South African Cape Corps headquarters at Eersterivier, Cape, who supplied the writer with the Annual Reports of the Cape Corps since 1963 to 1977.

(d) From the Archives of the State Library in Pretoria the writer could glean information from Hansards, Debates in the Senate, Government Publications and Commission Reports dealing specifically with the coloured people of South Africa.

Valuable information was also available from various journals, i.e. *Africana Notes and News*, daily and weekly newspapers, publications of the South African Defence Force, such as *Paratus, Stilus,* State publication such as *Alpha* and *Government Gazettes*, and statistical data from publications issued by the Department of Statistics.

CHAPTER 2

THE CAPE COLOURED CORPS AND THE EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLOURED PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA 1795–1977

A Glimpse of the Past – The South African Story

It was only towards the end of the 15th century that Europeans made contact with the indigenous peoples of southern Africa. This contact must be seen as the result of the developments in Europe at that time to discover a sea-route to the East. The desire to trade is perhaps the one vital factor that led to the discovery of new lands throughout the world.

2.1 Portuguese Navigators

During August 1487 Bartholomew Dias, a Portuguese nobleman set sail on his historic journey to find a sea-route to the East. He left Portugal with three ships "upon an adventure which was to cause a revolution in the relations of Europe, Asia and Africa."[1)]

This and the previous exploring expeditions of the Portuguese navigators eventually led to Dias rounding the extreme southern point of the African Continent in 1488.[2)]

The next Portuguese explorer to come so far south was Vasco da Gama who was commanded by King Manuel I of Portugal to complete Dias's work and to establish trade with India. He left Portugal in 1497 and on the 7th November he anchored in a deep pool on the South African coast and gave it the name of St. Helena Bay. Later on the 26th November he went ashore at a place which is known today as Mossel Bay, and there according to custom he set up a stone cross, and departed.[3)]

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1) Welch, S.R., *Europe's Discovery of South Africa*, p. 204.

2) Axelson, E., *South and East Africa, 1488–1530*, p. 21.

3) Welch, S.R., *South Africa under king Manuel I, 1495–1521*, pp. 23–31.

During his voyage to India in 1503 Commodore Antonio da Saldanha anchored in a deep pool at the heel of the African continent and went ashore to take a fresh supply of water.[4] This place was later named Saldanha Bay.

The last Portuguese explorer to make contact with the southern most tip of the African continent during the Portuguese trade with the East, was Don Francisco d'Almeido, Viceroy of Portuguese India. In March 1510, while on his way home with three ships, he put in at Table Bay. The visit proved to be catastrophic when d'Almeido, his son, eleven officers and fifty three other ranks lost their lives during a skirmish with the local Hottentots.[5]

After this inglorious exploit the Portuguese tried to avoid any part of the South African coast as they now regarded the indigenous peoples as savages.[6]

2.2 The Dutch, the English and the French

Historical records of events pertaining to the Cape of Good Hope during the 16th century are very scant. It was only towards the end of the century that ships began to call regularly again at Table Bay in order to refresh their crews and barter for stock.[7]

Towards the end of the 16th century English, French and Dutch ships appeared to be very active in the Indian Ocean. In 1580 Sir Francis Drake, the English explorer, sailed around the Cape of Good Hope in his vessel, "The Golden Hind'. Fifteen years later the Dutchman Cornelius Houtman, rounded the Cape with four vessels and dropped anchor in Mossel Bay. The success of this expedition was the result of the formation of the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (V.O.C.) or United Netherland Chartered East India Company.[8]

During the 17th century, Table Bay was extensively used by the Dutch as a refreshment station as it made a delightful break in the long voyage to and from the East.[9]

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4) Young, P.J., *Boot and Saddle*, p. 1.

5) Axelson, E., *op. cit.*, p. 24

6) Young, P.J., *op. cit.*, p. 2

7) Theal, G.M., *History of Africa south of the Zambesi 1507–1795*, Vol. 1, pp. 1–46

8) Young, P.J., *op. cit.*, p. 2.

9) Theal, G.M., *op. cit.*, pp. 331–352

The directors of the English East India Company in 1619 had planned to build a fort in Table Bay in conjunction with the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie. The latter, however, decided to reject the proposition.[10)]

In July 1620, the English under Captain Andrew Shilling and Commodore Humphrey Fitz-Herbert, learned of the intentions of the Dutch to establish a settlement in Table Bay. They thereupon annexed the Bay and its environs in the name of the King of England. James I, however, refused to acknowledge the new acquisition of territory, a decision that had it been reversed would have seen the colonisation of both the present U.S.A. and South Africa by the British in the same year, 1620.[11)]

2.3 The First Settlement in Table Bay

On the 6th April 1652, the V.O.C. under the command of Jan van Riebeeck established a settlement at the Cape Peninsula. Soon after landing Commander van Riebeeck began building for protection. He found the indigenous people, i.e. the Hottentots and the Bushmen impudent and the environment surrounded by dangerous animals. Gradually the settlement grew and was extended to include Rondebosch and the Stellenbosch areas. Slaves imported from Batavia and Madagascar played a vital rôle as pioneers in developing the area into a colony.[12)]

2.4 The Indigenous peoples found by Jan van Riebeeck

On his arrival at the Cape Peninsula, van Riebeeck found the surrounding country-side inhabited by tribes of nomadic Hottentots and Bushmen.[13)]

2.4.1 The Hottentots

Tribes of these people were to be found all along the coastal belt. These tribes were not large, numbering about 2 000 individuals and sometimes considerably less. In

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10) Theal, G.M., *op. cit.*, p. 3.

11) Young, P.J., *op. cit.*, p. 3.

12) Marais, J.S., *The Cape Coloured People 1652–1937*, pp. 1–30

13) Theal, G.M., *History of Africa south of the Zambesi* Vol. II, p. 477

general they were of medium height and not very robust in build and had small hands and feet. They had prominent cheekbones and a pale brown skin colour. The men were herdsmen and not fond of war, though they preferred to hunt. Internal tribal cohesion was weak. They were nomads living in portable huts and depending for their sustenance on the milk of their herds, edible roots and berries and the spoils of the chase.[14)]

In 1713 a smallpox epidemic, introduced by a passing ship, nearly wiped out the entire Hottentot race. "The very names of the best-known tribes were blotted out by the fell disease. They no longer appear in the records as organised communities, but as the broken-spirited remnant of a race, all whose feelings of nationality and clanship had been crushed out by the great calamity".[15)]

2.4.2 The Bushmen

The Bushmen were probably the most primitive of the races with whom the settlers came into contact. They were thinly scattered over practically the whole of the interior plateaux. They were small in stature and were excellent hunters, using the bow and poisoned arrow with considerable skill. They lived mostly from game which they hunted and vegetable food gathered on the veld as well as ants, locusts, lizards and snakes. For shelter they chose caves, rock-shelters or the most primitive huts:[16)]

No political structure existed in the tribe. Families merely existed as hunting bands seldom numbering more than 150–200 individuals of all ages and sexes. The territories were defined according to the waterholes used by the game. Infringement of territorial rights inevitably led to bloodshed.[17)]

The Bushmen were a greater danger to the colonists than the Hottentots and it often happened that the Hottentots joined forces with the colonists against their common enemy the Bushmen.[18)]

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14) Schapera, I., *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa: Bushmen and Hottentots,* p. 15.

15) Theal, G.M., *op. cit.*, p. 477

16) Lichtenstein, H., *Travels in Southern Africa in the years 1803–1806,* Vol. XI, pp. 236–7

17) Marais, J.S., *The Cape Coloured People 1652–1937,* pp. 14–15

18) *Ibid.*, pp. 14–15

2.5 The Origin of the Coloured People of South Africa

The latest census figures indicates that there are today 2 020 282 coloured people in the Republic of South Africa. They form the third largest racial group in the country. Almost fifty per cent of the coloured people are to be found in the Western Cape, although they have spread to all four provinces.[19)]

Mixing of blood started early in the Cape. "The miscegenation which in its various permutations and combinations was to produce the coloured people began early with unions, regular and irregular, between Europeans on the one hand and slaves or Hottentots on the other."[20)]

2.5.1 The introduction of slaves in the Colony

The Colony expanded at a very fast pace soon after the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck at the Cape in 1652. One of the biggest problems was that of labourers for the expanding agricultural activities of the colonists. The indigenous people i.e. the Hottentots and Bushmen refused to become labourers in European employment. To overcome this problem slaves were imported first from West Africa, then from East Africa and Madagascar and from further away in the East Indies.[21)]

The balance in numbers between colonists and slaves shifted dramatically. During the seventeenth century the colonists outnumbered the slaves, but the position began to be reversed during the first half of the eighteenth century. According to the official census returns in 1754, there were between 5 000 and 6 000 colonists and 6 200 slaves. The stoppage of the importation of slaves and the coming of the British Settlers in 1820 was a great relief for the colonists. During the emancipation of slavery, there were 39 000 slaves in the Cape Colony.[22)]

The attitude of the burghers gowards manual labour changed completely during the eighteenth century. They considered such labour to be fit only for slaves. Uncivilized heathen blacks were generally regarded as inferior beings. Slavery emphasised this

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19) Department of Statistics, *Population Census Report* No. 02-051-01 May, 1970, pp. 2–3. Figures for the various race groups are the following: Africans 19 084 009; whites 3 749 313; coloureds 2 020 282 and Indians 620 436.

20) Marais, J.S., *op. cit.*, p. 9.

21) Du Plessis, J.A., *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa*, pp. 29–30

22) Marais, J.S., *op. cit.*, p. 2

inferiority. "The root of the matter is that a slave was looked upon as a chattel and denied some of the most elementary of human rights".[23]

2.5.2 Miscegenation between the whites and the indigenous peoples

For a long while after van Riebeeck landed at the Cape, there were no laws preventing the colonists and visiting sailors from socializing and mixing with the indigenous people. The result was that intercourse between visiting white sailors, Hottentot and slave women occurred regularly. Statistics show that during the first twenty years of its existence, 75 per cent of the children born at the Cape of slave or Hottentot mothers were half-breeds.[24]

During the early days of the settlement, Jan van Riebeeck encouraged the settlers to marry Christian slave women, firstly because there were very few marriagable white women in the colony, and secondly to increase settler strength and company profits.[25]

A large number of mixed marriages are reported in the old Cape records. One of the best known occurred in 1664 when the explorer van Meerhof married the Hottentot woman Eva. The occasion was celebrated with a bridal feast at Government House and paid for by the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie.[26]

The sons of the colonists were forced to take Hottentot women as "wives" during their long stay with their flocks and herds in the remote north-west regions of the Cape Colony towards the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century. In a genealogical study undertaken by Dr. Eugene Fisher among the Bastard community of the Rehoboth in South-West Africa, he established that of the 23 Rehoboth families he studied, almost every one could trace their origin from white fathers and Hottentot mothers.[27]

In a recent scientific study, the world-renowned South African immunologist, Dr. M.C. Botha found that the Cape Coloured community possesses a blood group

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23) Marais, J.S., *op. cit.*, pp. 4–5.

24) Theal, G.M., *History of Africa south of the Zambesi 1505 to 1797*, Vol. II p. 184. Until 1708 such half-breed children became free on attaining an age fixed by law.

25) Venter, Al J., *Coloured: A Profile of two million South Africans*, p. 15

26) Mac Crone, I.D., *Race attitudes in South Africa – Historical Experiments and Psychological studies*, pp. 44–49.

27) Fisher, E., *Die Rehobother Bastards und das Bastardierungsproblem beim Menschen*, pp. 15–23 and 41–56

pattern containing approximately 34 per cent Western European (white), 36 per cent South African (black) and 30 per cent Asian genes.[28)]

2.5.3 The early Dutch Policy towards mixed marriages at the Cape

Miscegenation between the Dutch settlers and the aborigines continued for a long time after van Riebeeck first settled at the Cape. This was, as already explained, because of the inadequate number of white women and the fact that more ships called regularly for supplies. The crew members were allowed into the "town" to "amuse" themselves with the local slaves and Hottentot women.[29)]

The result was that the laws that were in fact later introduced to restrict or minimise contact across the colour line, were gradually relaxed. People of Western European origin were then free to marry anyone, provided that those chosen were free and professed the Christian faith.[30)]

Several attempts were made by the Dutch to prohibit or prevent irregular unions between Europeans and slaves. In 1685 Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede arrived from Holland for a routine inspection of conditions at the Cape. As a result of this visit laws were passed which made intercourse between slaves and whites illegal.[31)]

2.5.4 Other strains from which the present coloured people evolved

Apart from his white-Hottentot blood, the coloured of today is an admixture of many nations including Malay, Indian, Bastard-Hottentot, Madagascar, East African and Mocambican, Indonesian, Philipino-Spanish, Chinese, Arabic, West African sailors, Jewish and a host of (all possible) European influences.[32)]

(a) The Griquas

They are mostly the descendants of slaves and Hottentots. Further mixing took place as they moved about the Cape Colony and joined up with absconded sailors, white

28) *South African Medical Journal:* Supplement. Blood Group Genes. An indication of the Genetic Constitution of Population Samples in Cape Town by Dr M.C. Botha, 1 April 1972, pp. 1–26

29) Venter, Al J., *op. cit.*, p. 19

30) Du Plessis, J.A., *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa*, p. 42

31) Venter, Al J., *op. cit.* p. 19

32) *Ibid.*, p. 14

adventurers and smugglers. Much later they merged with the Namaquas (one of the clans from which the Hottentots had evolved) and the Griqua group was born. The missionary Campbell persuaded them to adopt the name Griqua.[33)]

(b) The Bastards

During the middle of the seventeenth century some of the colonists moved from the settlement and settled north of the Elephants' River. Here because of "reciprocal necessities and more pure religious feelings", the colonists and the Hottentots were united. "The Bastards became as good Christians as the pure off-spring of the Europeans. At the death of one of these (European) heads of families his Bastard servant would often assume his name." During the eighteenth century they were forced by racial intolerance from the colonists to cross the Orange River and settled in South West Africa.[34)]

(c) The Malay

The Malays were initially imported from the mainland of India, Ceylon and the Malay Archipelago and sold at the Cape as slaves. Most of them were Mohammedans and were highly skilled labourers in the trades practised at that time e.g. coach building.[35)]

(d) Coloured-African unions

With the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886 large numbers of coloured people flocked to the Transvaal. Here regular and irregular unions between coloured and African took place. This type of union continued on a small scale throughout the

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33) Walker, E.A., *A History of Southern Africa,* p. 36
The population Registration Act of 1950 as amended by Proclamation 46 of 1959, sub-divided the coloured group into Cape Coloured, Cape Malay, Griqua, Chinese, Indian, "other Asiatic" and "other Coloured".
The Griquas are largely of Hottentot-European ancestry and settled in the North-Western and North-Eastern parts of the Cape Province.
The Griquas developed a culture of their own, characterised linguistically by a broken form of Dutch-Afrikaans with a peculiar yet dignified power of expression. They are Christians. Their religion, love of sacred song and choirs are the chief traits of this dwindling community which is gradually being absorbed by the rest of the coloured population.

34) Marais, J.S, *op. cit.*, p.11

35) Patterson, S., *Colour and Culture in South Africa,* p.21

country wherever the two race groups met.[36] This practise was, however, curbed by the introduction of the Group Areas and the Race Classification Acts.[37]

(e) Coloured-Indian unions

A cross of minor importance is that between coloureds and Indians. The Indians are the direct descendants of Indian labourers imported to work on the Natal sugar plantations.[38] Mixed marriages between coloureds and Indians are not prohibited by law.

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36) Patterson, S., *op. cit.*, p. 21

37) *The Population Registration Act No 30 of 1950*

The Act was aimed at a rigid system of race classification based on appearance, general acceptance and repute. It provides for the compilation of a register of the population of South Africa and the issue of identity documents.

The Group Areas Act Nos 41 of 1950 and 77 of 1957 (as amended). These Acts made provision for each racial group to live in a separate area. These Acts also imposed control throughout South Africa over inter-racial property transactions and inter-racial changes in occupation.

38) *Economic, Financial and Statistical Year Book for the Republic of South Africa* 1971, p. 302

2.6 Summary

The Portuguese navigators were the first Europeans to discover the southern most tip of the African continent. They were followed by the Dutch and the English who used Table Bay as a refreshment station on their journeys to and from the East. The English made the first attempt to annex the Cape, but James I refused to accept it. The Dutch eventually established a settlement in 1652 under the command of Jan van Riebeeck. The first people van Riebeeck made contact with, were the Hottentots and the Bushmen. As the colony expanded slaves had to be imported to assist the colonists.

An early series of mixed unions, between Europeans and slaves and Europeans-Hottentots resulted in the birth of the coloured people. The original hybrid groups have been perpetuated, increased and further intermingled by endogamy and cross-breeding and by additions from the original strains.

CHAPTER 3.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CAPE CORPS

3.1 The first mixed slave and Hottentot Regiment 1781–1782

"The Cape Corps is a proud title which goes back further in our history than that of any other existing South African regiment. Actually the men of the unit are the successors of the *pandours* (of the old Dutch India Company) who fought against the British prior to the First Occupation of 1795".[1)]

As early as 1774 it was common practise in the Cape Colony to use coloured men in commandos against the marauding Hottentot and Bushman tribes. Much later they were also used against the Xhosas in the various border skirmishes. It was expected of them, however, to be able to handle a rifle and to drive a wagon.[2)]

3.1.1 Organisation and recruiting

In a secret report compiled by the chief of the defence force at the Cape, Major Hendrik von Prehn in 1772, it was proposed to prepare Stellenbosch as a military depot and to use local coloured men to help defend the colony east of the Salt River.[3)]

Von Prehn's secret report was never acted upon and in 1780 he was succeeded by the inexperienced captain Robert Jacob Gordon as Commanding Officer of the garrison at the Cape.[4)]

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1) *The Nongqai,* April 1944, p. 426. Article entitled Cape Corps by Col. C.N. Hoy, D.S.O.

2) Notes on the military history of the Coloured, compiled by the South African Defence Force, p. 1

3) C. 797 (A) Military Commissioners, 1789–1795: Rapport van den heer Major von Prehn in 1772 aan den Heeren van de Secrete Commissie afgegaan, undated and unpaged.

4) De Villiers, J., *Hottentot Regimente aan die Kaap 1781–1806,* p. 4.

Governor Joachim Ammena Baron van Plettenberg finally decided to use coloured troops in defence of the Colony. These troops were always commanded by white officers and proved more amenable to military discipline than the more individualistic burghers. They were also excellent marksmen.[5)]

The decision by the Political Council in 1781 compelled the colonists to submit annual returns indicating the number of coloured and Hottentot men in their employ. This gave the authorities an indication of the manpower at their disposal for a military call-up.[6)]

Realising the military potential of the coloureds and Hottentots, Governor van Plettenberg appealed to the Political Council to make use of these men.[7)] The Political Council finally resolved to act accordingly, and an official announcement dated 3 April 1781, commanded the burghers to send all coloured and Hottentot men who were able to use a rifle to Cape Town for military service.[8)]

The consequence of this official announcement was the formation of the first mixed regiment of coloured and Hottentot soldiers officially known as the "Corps Bastaard Hottentotten". The men were drawn from the districts of the Cape, Stellenbosch, Drakenstein and Swellendam.[9)]

3.1.2 Training

Within a month of the establishment of the Corps Bastaard Hottentotten, the regiment boasted a strength of 400 men. They were expected to defend the areas of False Bay and Hout Bay during an attack by the indigenous peoples or a foreign invasion.[10)] Some of the soldiers were also posted to various strategic positions in and around the peninsula.[11)]

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5) Marais, J.S., *The Cape Coloured People: 1652–1937*, p. 132
6) C. 73 Resolutien, 13 March 1781, pp. 165–167
7) C. 73 Resolutien, 2 April 1781 pp. 224–225
8) C. 685 Origineel Placcaat Boek, VI, 1 May 1781, p. 90
9) C. 73 Resolutien, 10 April 1781, p. 240
10) C. 704 Memorien en Instructien, VI, 1 May 1781, p. 36
11) C. 566 (b) Uitgaande Brieven: The Political Council – Council of XVII, 15 April 1782, no. 23, p. 744.

In their Annual Report to the Council of XVII dated 15 April 1782, the Political Council stated that the costs involved in maintaining the Corps Bastaard Hottentotten was minimal. The only expenditure incurred was for the provision of essentials such as uniform, food and a small quantity of liquor.[12)]

The basic training of the Corps Bastaard Hottentotten consisted of musketry and military drill. The drill was essentially a means to expose them to military discipline.[13)] The latter attempt, according to the French writer and traveller, Francois le Vaillant who visited the Cape from 1781 to 1785, was a total failure and he regarded the so called "militaire exercitie", a "comedy of errors". According to him, they did not seem to be able to distinguish left from right and on every command by their instructor, each one would perform a different movement.[14)]

Despite their shortcomings, they were in fact excellent marksmen and could hold their own on even terms with the burghers. According to Cornelius de Jong, a visitor to the Cape in the early 1890's, they were well prepared as an infantry unit to defend the colony.[15)]

3.1.3 Officers commanding the Corps Bastaard Hottentotten

The Corps was since its inception under the command of local white officers. These officers were recruited from the local burghers who knew the habits of the coloureds and Hottentots and who were generally well disposed towards them.[16)]

The first two officers of the Corps, were appointed on 1 May 1781. Hendrik Oostwald Eksteen and Gerrit Munnik were both made Commandant, a rank equivalent to captain, while Alexander van Breda and Jeremias Auret were both appointed as adjutant Commandants.[17)]

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12) C. 566 (b) Uitgaande Brieven: The Political Council – Council of XVII, 15 April 1782 no. 23, pp. 744–745.

13) C. 704 Memorien en Instructien, VI, 1 May 1781, p. 36.

14) le Vaillant, F., *Reize in de Binnelanden van Afrika, III*, pp. XX–XXI.

15) de Jong, C., *Reizen naar de Kaap de Goede Hoop, Ierland en Noorwegen*, 1, p. 113.

16) de Villiers, J., *op. cit.*, p. 6.

17) C. 704 Memorien en Instructien, VI 1 May 1781, p. 36.

A year later Eksteen was no longer in command of the unit. No reasons are given, but it is probably due to his commitments on his farm at Bergvliet or as a result of a decision by the military authorities at the Cape. This left Commandant Munnik as sole commanding officer. The burghers Jeremias Auret and Jacobus Cornelis Schiettekat were later appointed as additional senior officers to the Corps.[18)]

In his report to the Political Council dated 12 February 1782, governor Van Plettenberg mentioned the excellent work done by the officers commanding the Corps Bastaard Hottentotten.[19)]

3.1.4 The attitude of the burghers towards the arming of coloured and Hottentot men

The arming of Hottentot or slave men has always been a bone of contention since the early days of the settlement. Despite this early negative attitude, the burghers were eventually compelled to arm the local coloured men in order to protect the colony from a foreign invasion and to ensure peace and stability amongst the burghers and the indigenous peoples.[20)]

3.1.5 The significance of the first mixed Regiment

The ability of the Corps Bastaard Hottentotten as a military unit was never really put to the test, as the Colony did not experience any form of military involvement at that time.

Later several mercenaries were recruited from abroad and sent to the Cape to strengthen the local garrison.[21)] This resulted in the disbandment of the Corps Bastaard Hottentotten on 10 June 1782 with the proviso that they avail themselves for an emergency call-up if ever the need arose.[22)]

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18) C. 74 Resolutien, 12 February 1782, pp. 197–199
R.L.R. 85 Extract Resolutien, 20 March 1805, no. 101.

19) C. 74 Resolutien, 12 February 1782, pp. 197–199.

20) de Villiers, J., *op. cit.*, pp. 1–5.

21) Theal, G.M., *History of South Africa, IV*, p. 207
Davidson, F.H.N., *His Majesty's Regiment de Meuron*, pp. 3–4.

22) C. 74 Resolutien, 10 June 1782, p. 628.

Despite its short existence of 14 months, the Corps did prove that coloured and Hottentot men were willing to defend their common fatherland. This was in fact the first sign of loyalty to South Africa by the coloured men: a loyalty that was to grow through two great World Wars up to the present time.

3.2 A Corps of Pennists and Pandours raised for defence 1793–1795

For over a decade (1782–1793) no coloured or Hottentot served in the military regiment at the Cape. During this period, the Colony was relatively peaceful and there was no immediate threat of a foreign invasion.

In 1784 Lieut.-col. Cornelius Jacob van de Graaff was appointed Governor of the Cape Colony. An experienced military man in the Dutch army, his appointment was seen as an earnest attempt by the Dutch East India Company's authorities, to strengthen and improve the military force of the Colony.[23)]

The Dutch military commissioners, J.O. Vaillant, C.A. Verhuell and J.F.L. Gravenstein visited the Cape in 1789. Their visit was merely to enquire into and advise the Governor on local military matters.[24)] In a missive directed to the Governor on 10 July 1789 they enquired about the burgher militia and whether the freed slaves and coloured men were used in a separate military unit.[25)]

It was evident from their enquiries that the commissioners were keen to see that freed slaves, Hottentot and coloured men were used in a military capacity at the Cape. They realized, however, the financial implications of the scheme, and were also aware of the generally declining economic situation in the colony at that time.[26)]

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23) de Villiers, J., *op. cit.*, p. 15.

24) C. 795 Military documents, 1745–1795: Questions regarding payment, etc. of the militia by Vaillant, Verheull and Gravenstein, 1780–1789, unpaged.

25) C. 797 (A) Military Commissioners, 1789–1795: Vaillant, Verheuell and Gravenstein – Governor, 10 July 1789, no. 13.

26) Theal, G.M., *History of South Africa, IV,* pp. 248–250.

The garrison at the Cape was drastically reduced in numbers in view of the economic position. In 1791 Van de Graaff was recalled to Holland and was replaced by Johannes Isaac Rhenius. He was again replaced by two commissioner-generals of the Dutch East India Company, Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh and Simon Hendrik Frijkenius with specific assignment to improve the economy and to ensure that the colony was adequately equipped and the soldiers well trained against a possible foreign attack.[27)]

Meanwhile, events throughout Europe changed dramatically. The French Revolution resulted in a political storm in Holland, dividing the country between the supporters of the House of Orange, and the Republicans. The French Republicans, having destroyed the monarchy, assisted the Dutch republican party to establish the Batavian Republic. Prince William of Holland, immediately fled to England and appealed to the English to send a force to occupy the Cape in order to keep the French out.[28)]

The authorities in Holland informed the Cape Government on 30 March 1793, that Holland was preparing for war against the French and that the local garrison should be prepared to withstand a possible French attack.[29)]

In a despatch to the authorities in Holland, dated 22 April 1793, commissioners Frijkenius and Nederburgh reported that at the end of December of that year, the garrison consisted of only 83 white soldiers and that no recruits were available for the proposed *National Battaillon* as well as the artillery-corps.[30)]

3.2.1 The establishment of the corps of Pandours and Pennists

Just as in 1781, the authorities were compelled to make use of every available man in the colony to strengthen the local garrison. Nederburgh and Frijkenius justified their

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27) de Villiers, J., *op. cit.*, pp. 16–17.
28) Theal, G.M., *History of South Africa, IV*, p. 298.
29) C. 479 Inkomende Brieven, 1793: Council of XVII – Cape Government, 30 March 1793, p. 309.
30) C. 691 Brieven van Commissarissen – Generals Nederburgh and Frijkenius, III: Commissioners – Commander, 22 April 1793, pp. 439–440.

decision to include coloured, Hottentot and freed slaves by emphasising the fact that the economy of the colony would suffer if farmers were to leave their lands for long periods in order to engage in military training.[31] This resulted in the establishment of the *Corps Pandoeren* and *Corps Pennisten.* The Pennists consisted of officials of the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie.

On 30 April the Political Council issued an official placard calling on all able bodied coloured and Hottentot men to report for military service.[32] In a similar official placard dated 2 May it was announced that burghers from the districts of Cape Town, Stellenbosch and Swellendam were to send their coloured and Hottentot workers to Cape Town immediately for military training.[33]

The call-up was a tremendous success despite initial opposition from the mission stations and from the Graaff-Reinet district: the latter, having been declared an independent district in 1786, was involved with an uprising against the Black invaders on its borders. Three months after the official announcement, 135 men were recruited,[33] and in March 1794, more recruits from the mission station at Baviaanskloof reported for military service at Cape Town.[34]

The official register of the Corps Pandours indicated that the Corps consisted of the indigenous peoples of the country. This fact is a clear indication that coloured and Hottentot men were included.[35]

A further interesting fact emerging from the official register of the Pandours, is that a large number of surnames are typically Dutch, (i.e. Jansen, van Wyk, Hendriks,

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31) C. 691 Brieven van Commissarissen – Generals Nederburgh and Frijkenius, III: Commissioners – Commander, 6 May 1793, no. 190, pp. 447–448.

32) C.687 Origineel Placcaat Boeke, 30 April 1793.

33) C. 697 Verslag en Bijlagen van Nederburgh en Frijkenius, VI: Naamlijst van het Corps Pandoeren, 3 August 1793 no. 22, pp. 91–93; Register, no. 22.

34) Theal, G.M., *History of South Africa,* IV p. 294.

35) C. 687 Origineel Placcaat Boek, VIII, 2 May 1793, p. 289

Philip, Noordhuis and Bosman).[36] This again is an indication of the early mixing of blood in the Colony as outlined previously.

The surnames – Labberlot, Moedas, Balie, Careel, Ali, Zool, Adams, Boiva, Lawak, Lardoes, Kadamoen en Ram, from the same register indicates that these soldiers were probably some of the freed slaves imported earlier from India, Ceylon and the Malay Archipelago. These surnames are still found today amongst the South African Malay community.

The Pandours camp was situated on the coast near Cape Town. It took about two hours on horseback from Cape Town to reach the camp.[37]

3.2.2 Training of the Corps Pandours

Just as in the case of the previous unit, the Corps Bastaard Hottentotten, this new unit was commanded by white officers. The unit was organised and trained according to European military methods.[38]

Two of the known officers of the Corps Pandours were Johan Gerhard Cloete who was commanding officer in 1795[39] and Hans Abue who succeeded him.[40]

The Corps received training in musketry, military drill and manoeuvres. A few men were trained as drummers, buglers and flautists for the unit's own band. The Corps also had its own banner.[41]

By September 1793 the total military force at the Cape stood at a thousand men – 600 infantry and 400 artillery.[42]

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36) C. 697 Verslag en Bijlagen van Nederburgh en Frijkenius
VI: Naamlijst van het Corps Pandoeren, 3 August 1793, no. 22 pp. 91–93.

37) de Villiers, J., *Hottentot Regimente aan die Kaap 1781–1806*, p. 26.

38) *Ibid.*, p. 26.

39) C. 109 Secrete Resolutien, 26 June 1795, p. 519.

40) C. 109 Secrete Resolutien, 11 September 1795, p. 519.

41) C 797 (B) Specificatie Boek, June – September 1795, pp. 43, 193.

42) de Villiers, J., *op. cit.*, p. 27.

After a stay of fourteen months at the Cape, Commissioners-general Nederburgh and Frijkenius departed and Abraham Josia Sluysken was appointed as the new Commissioner-general.[43]

3.2.3 Uniform and equipment

The Cape government supplied the Corps with food, uniforms and the necessary weapons. As Col. Hoy described their uniform it "consisted of a short scarlet jacket with yellow collars and cuffs and trimmed with a kind of white lace, blue cloth trousers with a black and red stripe and a round felt hat". [44]

This description is supported by Majors Tylden[45] and Stratford.[46] The type of uniform mentioned by the three writers would be more in line with the colourful uniform issued by the British after they occupied the Cape in 1795.

Archival evidence suggests, however, that the Pandours wore the same uniform as those issued to the prisoners at the Cape, i.e. jacket and trousers made of leather,[47] black cotton shirts[48] and round leather caps.[49] As far as can be ascertained no shoes were issued.

Each soldier was issued with a muzzle-loader flint-lock rifle[50] or was compensated if he owned owned one.[51] Large quantities of gunpowder, flint, lead, a powder-horn and a piece of canvas were also issued to each soldier.[52]

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43) C. 691 Brieven van Commissarissen-Generaal Nederburgh en Frijkenius, III: Commissioners – Political Council, 28 August 1793, no. 233, p. 721.

44) Hoy, C.N., Our South African Regiments – The Cape Corps (Nongqai, XXXV, no. 4, April 1944, p. 426).

45) Tylden, G., The Cape Coloured Regiments, 1793–1870. (*Africana Notes and News,* VIII, no. 2 March 1950, pp. 537, 574).

46) Stratford, D.O., The Coloureds in Defence of South Africa (*Commando,* vol. 14 no. 5, May 1963, p. 34)

47) C. 108 Resolutien, 27 March 1795, pp. 537, 574.

48) C. 797 (B) Specificatie Boek, July and August 1795, pp. 100, 172.

49) C. 797 (B) Specificatie Boek, June 1795, Table 2.

50) C. 687 Origineel Placcaat Boek, VIII, 2 May 1793, p. 289.

51) C. 797 (B) Specificatie Boek, August and September 1795, p. 148.

52) C.697 – Verslag en Bijlagen van Nederburgh en Frijkenius, VI: Naamlijst van het Corps Pandoeren, 3 August 1793, no. 22, pp. 91–93.

3.2.4 Conditions of service

Furlough was probably granted on a rotation basis to members of the Corps to ensure a strong defensible garrison at Cape Town. The register of 3 August 1793 recorded 31 members on leave of absence.[52)]

Leave of absence was occassionally granted to the Pandours to visit their families at the Baviaanskloof mission station.[53)]

In addition to rations of food, wine and tobacco, each soldier received two rix-dollars a month in salary.[54)]

3.3 The First British Occupation of the Cape 1795

On 11 June 1795 a British fleet of nine ships under Admiral Elphinstone, with troops under General Craig, arrived in Simonstown. The military force at the Cape consisted of between 2500– 3000 men. Of this number approximately 200 were members of the Corps Pandours.[55)]

Commissioner Sluysken refused to accept the Stadtholders' mandate to surrender, and began preparing his forces to defend the Cape against the English.[56)] On 26 June he informed the Political Council of the appointment of Johan Gerhard Cloete as Commanding Officer of the Corps Pandours.[57)]

Sluysken's strategy was one of defence, rather than attack. He was supported in this by Col. Gordon, commanding officer of the local Dutch forces, and the Political Council. Muizenberg became the focal point of this defensive strategy.[58)]

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52) *Ibid.*,
53) de Villiers, J., *op. cit.*, p. 34.
54) *Ibid.*,
55) Theal, G.M., *History of South Africa, IV*, p. 312.
56) Young, P.J., *Boot and Saddle*, p. 6.
57) C. 109 Secrete Resolutien, 26 June 1795, p. 271
58) C. 109 Secrete Resolutien, September 1794 – September 1795, p. 250.

3.3.1 The battle of Muizenberg

On 11 July a large contingent of Britsh soldiers landed at Simonstown and immediately occupied the evacuated battery, *Zoutman* and the hospital building. They thereupon made arrangements to march on Muizenberg,[59] but the end of July it was still quiet on the war front.[60]

Eventually on 7 August 1795 the Britsh advanced on Muizenberg. Kalk Bay was occupied without any resistence.[61] Meanwhile Muizenberg came under heavy canon fire from the four British ships in the harbour. The Dutch immediately fell back to Wynberg; General Alured Clarke arrived with reinforcements on 4 September, and the Dutch were driven away from their position by 14 September: two days later the Dutch Governor surrendered the Colony.[62] The final articles of capitulation were signed at Rustenburg on the 16th September 1795.[63]

3.3.2 Assessment of the Corps Pandours as a fighting force

For the first time in the history of South Africa coloured men were involved in conventional warfare. From available evidence it is clear that they acquitted themselves admirably. The majority of them were on active service for two years.

In their Annual Reports, the missionaries of Baviaanskloof made mention of the important rôle played by the Corps Pandours.[64]

According to the report of a commission of inquiry Sluysken maintained that the Corps Pandours was the only infantry-unit which showed any signs of bravery.[65] Almost all the white commanding officers had a very high regard for the Pandours.[66]

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59) de Villiers, J., *op. cit.*, p. 46.

60) *Ibid.*, p. 49.

61) V.C. 75 Journal of P.W. Marnitz: Verhaal van de Overgaave van de Kaap, pp. 125, 118–121, 358–361.

62) Young, P.J., *op. cit.*, p. 7.

63) C. 109 Secrete Resolutien, 15 September 1795, pp. 527–534.

64) de Villiers, J., *op. cit.*, p. 79.

65) C. 800 Commissions of Inquiry: Rapport over den Commissaris Sluysken, n.d. p. 30.

66) V.C. 75 – Journal of P.W. Marnitz: Verhaal van den Overgaave van de Kaap, pp. 118, 144, 171, 179, 209, 436 and 444.

The Corps Pandours were not immediately taken into the British service. The majority of them were returned to their families on the mission stations. those that stayed in Cape Town were employed on camp duties. 67)

3.4 Summary

Coloured and Hottentot men showed a considerable aptitude for army service. Their contribution to the defence of the Colony went far beyond paid service as regulars. During an emergency or whenever the Colony was attacked or threatened, all the Colony's free inhabitants were liable to be called upon to join in its defence without distinction of colour. Coloured and Hottentot men fought side by side with whites in the early commandos against the Bushmen on the northern frontier as well as in various border skirmishes.

Later the authorities were compelled to form them into permanent military units. This resulted in the establishment of the Corps Bastaard Hottentotten (1781–1782) and the Corps Pandours (1793–1795). The Corps Bastaard Hottentotten was never actually involved in a war of any kind, whereas the Corps Pandours served with distinction against the English during the fighting immediately prior to the first British Occupation of the Colony.

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67) Young, P.J. *op. cit.*, p. 7.

CHAPTER 4

THE CAPE ALTERNATELY UNDER BRITISH AND DUTCH RULE 1795–1806

4.1 The Cape Corps enters British service

The new British rulers of the Cape Colony did not raise a coloured and Hottentot Corps to strengthen their military forces immediately. They were, however, aware of the potential of the Hottentot and coloured men as soldiers. They also decided to maintain a force of 5 000 soldiers to defend the Colony.[1] Major-General James Henry Craig[2] acted temporarily as military governor after Admiral G.K. Elphinstone[3] and General A. Clarke[4] had left the Cape in 1795.

4.1.1 Britain's aim in establishing an indigenous military unit

For practical reasons Major-General Craig decided not to use his forces in the outlying areas of the Colony in case of an attack on Cape Town by some foreign power.

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1) i. Canon, R., *History of the Cape Mounted Riflemen,* p. 9.
ii. B.O. 85 Cape of Good Hope Mss.: Military Establishment of the Cape of Good Hope, par. 137, p. 197 and par. 153, pp. 215–216.

2) Craig, Sir James Henry. Soldier and governor. Gibraltar 1748 – London 12.1.1812. In 1795 he became a commander of a task force which was sent from England to capture the Cape. After the surrender of the Cape, Craig was left in charge, and as ruler distinguished himself by his moderation.

3) Elphinstone, George Keith (Viscount Keith) British Admiral. Stirling 7.1.1746 – Tullyallen (Scotland) 10.3.1823. After gaining experience at sea under British East India Company, he had a distinguished naval career. Because of his special knowledge of the eastern routes, Vice-Admiral Elphinstone was given command of the expedition ordered to secure the Cape of Good Hope in 1795.

4) Clarke, Sir Alured. Soldier. England 1745 – Llangollen (Wales) 16.9.1832. He joined the British Army at the age of 15. By 1775 he was lieutenant-colonel and participated in the American War of Independence on the British side. In 1782 he was appointed Lieutenant-General of Jamaica and in 1791 became a major-general while stationed in Canada. Clarke figured prominently in the take-over of the Cape in 1795.

The idea of establishing an indigenous military unit was therefore supported in a report drawn up by the British Administration. The report mentioned the possibility of recruiting suitable men from British Colonies as far afield as India.[5)]

It was further suggested that the proposed unit should be commanded by British officers and that in times of crisis the unit could be used in other territories under British rule.[6)]

The original proposal of recruiting men from other British territories was eventually discarded and it was then resolved to establish an indigenous unit. Major Fielder King of the 2nd Battalion of the 84th Regiment was instructed to proceed with recruiting local coloured and Hottentot men.[7)]

The British authorities were determined from the outset to establish friendly ties with the indigenous peoples of the Colony. It was also their intention to improve their standard of living and to make them better labourers for the developing agricultural industry.[8)] Major-General Craig was also aware of the important rôle such a Corps could fulfil in the event of a foreign power attacking the Colony.[9)]

The local burghers were totally opposed to the arming of coloureds and Hottentots whom they regarded as uncivilized babarians' or 'heathen'. They also feared the loss of their farm-hands if the coloureds and Hottentots enlisted as soldiers. Rumours were spread by the burghers to discourage their farm-hands from joining the proposed new Corps. The burghers knew that the Hottentots were afraid of travelling by ship and told them that they would be recruited and sent on service overseas. They were also told that in the event of a French take over of the Colony, all the indigenous peoples would be enslaved.[10)]

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5) B.O. Cape of Good Hope Mss.: Plans for the Government and Trade of the Cape of Good Hope, The Military Branch, par. 195, p. 200.
6) *Ibid.*, pp. 278, 281–282.
7) Acc. 455 Dundas (Lord Melville) State Papers: Craig – King, 14 March 1796, Addendum no. 22.
8) Acc. 455 Dundas (Lord Melville) State Papers: King – Henry Dundas, 1 November 1798, no. 22.
9) B.O. 48 Letter Book: Craig – Henry Dundas, 14 April 1796, p. 118.
10) Acc. 455 Dundas (Lord Melville) State Papers: Craig – King, 14 March 1796, Addendum no. 22.

Major-General Craig instructed Major King to assure the Hottentots, through their chiefs, that they would never be sent away from the Colony and that they would not be compelled to travel by ship. In addition, Craig was to tell them that they would be well cared for in that they would receive the same rations of food and drink as the British soldiers. Furthermore they would receive one shilling per week to buy tobacco. They would also be given an area where they could build their own dwellings and they would get full protection from the British Government.[11)]

4.1.2 Recruiting and Training

The British authorities launched an extensive recruiting drive early in 1796. Several local officials including magistrates were used to help in this regard.[12)]

On the 12th April 1796 Craig reported to the Imperial Government that 40 or 50 recruits were assembled at Stellenbosch under Major Fielder King of the Light Infantry Brigade. They were initially employed as cooks and given other camp duties, but as their numbers increased they were embodied into a corps under Lieutenant John Campbell of the 98th Foot with a sergeant of the same regiment.[13)] A month later 1 000 Hottentots were recruited from the Moravian Missionary Station at Baviaanskloof. This resulted in a decrease of the male population of the station and the missionaries feared that this would ultimately lead to famine as the women and children would not be able to support themselves.[14)]

The soldiers of the new corps moved to the miiitary camp at Wynberg which was situated 11 km, about two hours travelling on horseback, from Cape Town.[15)] The wives and children of some of the Hottentot soldiers were allowed to stay with them in camp.[16)]

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11) Acc. 455 Dundas (Lord Melville) State Papers: Craig – King, 14 March 1796, Addendum no. 22.

12) B.O. 24 Letters from Swellendam: Faure – Craig, 11 March 1796, p. 69.

13) Cannon, R., *History of the Cape Mounted Riflemen,* p. 10.

14) de Villiers, J., Hottentot Regiments at the Cape during the First British Occupation 1795–1803 (Text of paper presented to the S.A. Military History Society, Johannesburg, 13 November 1975).

15) *Ibid.,*

16) Percival, R., *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope,* p. 80.

According to Major Craig's observations, the Hottentots were intelligent soldiers. They were well trained in military drill and musketry and adapted very well as soldiers. Literary classes in English were part of their training and many of them gained a workable knowledge of the English language. They were very smart and neat in appearance and compared favourably with the high standard of the smartness of the British soldiers. They also received training in hygiene, and it was a common sight to see them bathing in the river near their camp.[17)]

4.1.3 Uniform

The uniforms issued were very colourful. This was undoubtedly done to keep up with traditional British pomp and ceremony and secondly to impress potential recruits.[18)] Each soldier was issued with a short scarlet jacket with yellow cuffs, trimmed with red and white lace and white buttons. In addition each soldier was given a blue cloth waistcoat and trousers and a round felt hat. They made their own leather shoes. The Hottentot Captains wore light blue serge uniforms and special silver insignia, imported from Britain. Each soldier's kit was completed by the addition of two locally made cotton shirts. [19)] The soldiers were very proud of their uniform. Nine months after recruiting started, the Corps' total manpower numbered three hundred.[20)]

4.1.4 Conditions of Service

Initially the authorities expected the Hottentots to do one year of military service, but they were later compelled to complete two years.[21)]

Each soldier received a weekly pay of six pence (Sterling) to buy tobacco and was provided with arms,clothing and rations.[22)] No mention is made of leave conditions. On

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17) Barrow, J., *An Account of Travels into the Interior of South Africa, II,* p. 50.
18) Percival, R., *op. cit.*, p. 80.
19) B.O. 48 Letter Book: Craig – Henry Dundas, 26 October 1796, pp. 174–175.
20) Barrow, J., *An account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa, II,* p. 49.
21) de Villiers, J. *op. cit.*, (14).
22) *Ibid.*,

being discharged it was expected that they (the Hottentots) should return to the Mission Stations.

4.1.5 Commanding Officers

On the 5th May 1797, George Macartney succeeded Major General Craig to become the first civil Governor of the Colony, with Major General Francis Dundas as his deputy and military commander.[23] During Macartney's rule the headquarters of the Hottentot Corps was moved to Hout Bay on the opposite side of the Cape Peninsula.[24] At that stage Lieutenant John Campbell was in command of the Corps. Some of the Hottentot soldiers were mounted and were used as orderlies and mail-carriers.[25]

A number of British officers were attached to the Corps. The Corps received its first medical officer when a white doctor was appointed in September 1798.[26]

During 1800, the strength of the Hottentot Corps was considerably increased. The Imperial Government at the Cape officially acknowledged the Corps in its new form and from then on the Corps became known as a British Imperial Regiment.[27] This new Regiment was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel King, with Major D. Campbell as second in command. The Regiment which was also known as the *Cape Regiment* was stationed at Groenkloof, near Cape Town, with detachments at Graaff-Reinet and Port Elizabeth.[28] The headquarters of the Cape Regiment was moved in 1802 to the Government Post at Riet Valley near the coast and the mouth of the Salt River, north-east of Cape Town.[29]

According to de Villiers,[30] who checked the Muster Rolls in the War Office documents of the Public Record Office in London, the following officers served in the Cape Regiment:

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23) de Villiers, J., Hottentot-Regimente aan die Kaap 1787–1806, p. 99.
24) Acc. 33 Fortifications at Hout Bay: Abstract of Work performed at the Cape in the Engineering Department, 19 October 1797, pp. 5–6.
25) Young, P.J., *Boot and Saddle,* p. 7.
26) Theal, G.M., Records of the Cape Colony 11: Macartney – Henry Dundas, 24 October 1798, p. 286.
27) B.O. 55 Letters Despatched within the Colony, 1802–1803: Ross – van der Riet, 19 June 1802, pp. 122–123.
28) de Villiers, J., Hottentot-Regimente aan die Kaap 1781–1806, p. 99.
29) de Villiers, J., *op. cit.*, (14).
30) *Ibid.*,

Staff:

Lieutenant Colonel Fielder King
Major Donald Campbell
Adjutant Duncan Stewart
Quartermaster James Wilkie
Surgeon John Jones
Paymaster Charles K. Jenkins

First Company

Captain Thomas Christian
Lieutenant Duncan Stewart
Ensign John Calder

Second Company

Captain John Andrew Pick
Lieutenant George Lowan
Ensign Henry McDermet

Third Company

Captain Archibald Campbell
Lieutenant William Anderson
Ensign John Burcham

Fourth Company

Captain James Jervy
Lieutenant Donald McLeod
Ensign James Lane

Fifth Company

Captain John Campbell
Lieutenant S.D. Kelly
Ensign Langley

Sixth Company

Captain Goodwin Purcell
Lieutenant (vacant)
Ensign James McCrowhan

Seventh Company

Captain JamesHall
Lieutenant (vacant)
Ensign William Appleton

Eighth Company

Captain James Maitland
Lieutenant (vacant)
Ensign William Bexall

4.1.6 Military involvement of the Cape Corps under British command

The first encounter the Hottentot Corps had with an enemy force took place on the 6th August 1796, when Admiral Engelbertus Lucas in command of a Batavian fleet arrived at Saldanha Bay with instructions to recapture the Colony. Craig and Brigadier-general McKenzie with a force of 2 500 which included a company of Hottentot soldiers marched to Saldanha Bay to oppose the invading fleet.[31] The British infantry who took up position on the beach on the 16 August were fired upon by the frigate *Bellona.* According to a British eye-witness most of the Hottentot soldiers either fell down or fled panicstricken, despite the fact that no casualties were reported.[32] Lucas was however forced to surrender when 14 British war ships arrived at the Bay on the 17th August under the command of Admiral Elphinstone.[33]

During 1799 a company of 50 Hottentot soldiers and a strong detachment of dragoons were sent to the district of Graaff-Reinet to suppress the Van Jaarsveld rebellion. The British troops were commanded by General Thomas Pakenham Vandeleur.[34] The

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31) Theal, G.M., Records of the Cape Colony, 1, Craig – Henry Dundas, 19 August 1796, pp. 433–435.

32) Renshaw, R., *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope,* p. 44.

33) Acc. 455 Dundas (Lord Melville) State Papers: Elphinstone – Henry Dundas, 19 August 1796, Addendum no. 33.

34) B.O. 52 Letters despatched within the Colony: Francis Dundas – Bresler, 23 February 1799, pp. 40–41.

Hottentot soldiers were used as scouts and by 21 March they reached Graaff-Reinet.[35]

The burghers were violently opposed to the Hottentot soldiers and threatened to join forces with the Xhosas against the British.[36] Vandeleur, however, ignored their threats and sent for reinforcements from Cape Town.[37] Fifty additional Hottentot and a number of British soldiers arrived which so discouraged the burghers that most of them abandoned their ideas of resistance and surrendered.[38] The ringleaders fled across the eastern frontier.[39]

The show of force by the British so impressed the local coloured and Hottentot people that a large number indicated their willingness to join the Corps. One hundred men were eventually enlisted.[40]

A number of Hottentot soldiers and a company of dragoons were stationed at the drosdy when Vandeleur left Graaff-Reinet after the rebellion. A Hottentot soldier died on 16 April 1799 and was buried with full military honours.[41]

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35) Theal, G.M., Records of the Cape Colony; II (Vandeleur – Francis Dundas, undated), p. 388.

36) B.O. Disturbances in the Interior of the Colony: Evidence and verdict of the van Jaarsveld trial, 3 September 1800, p. 606.

37) Theal, G.M., Records of the Cape Colony II (Vandeleur – Francis Dundas, 21 March 1799, pp. 397, 403–404.

38) Difford, I.D., *The Story of the 1st Battalion Cape Corps*, p. 3.

39) B.O. 26 Disturbances in the Interior of the Colony: Evidence and verdict in the van Jaarsveld trial, 3 September 1800, p. 606.

40) Theal, G.M., Records of the Cape Colony, III (Answers to questions proposed by Sir George Yonge relative to the District of Graaff-Reinet, 24 February 1800), p. 59.

41) B.O. 88 Portions of Journals: Journal, 16–17 April 1799 unpaged.

The Hottentot soldiers were very loyal to the British authorities and did valuable work as soldiers on the eastern frontier and in the subsequent border skirmishes that followed.[42] Only one case of desertion is mentioned.[43]

On the 10 August 1799 a force of 50 Hottentot soldiers, 25 light infantrymen and 30 dragoons under the command of Vandeleur pursued a band of marauding Xhosas for about six miles across the eastern frontier before the enemy was eventually defeated.[44]

During 1801, Hottentot soldiers were also actively involved in defending the properties of the burghers on the eastern frontier.[45]

4.2 The Cape Corps retained in Dutch Service 1803–1805

It became evident that the Cape Colony would be restored to the Batavian Government of the Netherlands after the signing of the Treaty of Amiens on the 28th March 1806.[46] The future and welfare of the Hottentot Corps were kept in mind by the British when the Treaty was signed. Feelings between the British and the burghers were still strained since the van Jaarsveld Rebellion and the subsequent troubles in Graaff-Reinet. The burghers regarded the Hottentot soldiers as bondsmen and conspirators of the British.[47]

The British Government negotiated for a long time with the Batavian rulers to maintain the services of the Hottentot Corps.

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42) Theal G.M., Records of the Cape Colony, II (Vandeleur – Francis Dundas, 22 August 1799), p. 475.
43) C. 104 Resolution, 16 December 1793, pp. 724–728; B.O. 26 Disturbances in the Interior of the Colony: Bresler – Francis Dundas, 29 July 1799, p. 297.
44) Theal, G.M., Records of the Cape Colony, II (Vandeleur – Francis Dundas, 13 August 1799), pp. 467–468.
45) B.O. 26 Disturbances in the Interior of the Colony: van Vogel – and Melksrivier – Francis Dundas, 28 November 1801, pp. 735–737.
46) de Villiers, J., Hottentot Regimente aan die Kaap 1781–1806, p. 143.
47) *Ibid.*,

4.2.1 The Corps is transferred to the Batavian Republic

The Batavian Troops under the command of the Governor Designate of the Cape Colony, Jan Willem Janssens, accompanied by Commissioner-general Jacob Abraham de Mist arrived in Table Bay on the 23 December 1802.[48] The Treaty of Amiens which was concluded on the 28 March 1802 made provision for the transfer of the Colony to the Batavian Republic.[49]

Governor Dundas took the trouble to explain the problems of the Hottentot Corps to the Batavian Commissionary de Mist on the 27 December 1802 in Cape Town. Dundas informed de Mist that the Burghers were violently opposed to the Corps. He also gave de Mist an indication of the numerical strength of the Corps. At that stage the Corps which was stationed at Rietvlei consisted of 300 soldiers and 400 women and children. He also warned de Mist of a possible Hottentot rebellion if they were not properly treated.[50]

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48) B.R. Brieven van Commissaris-Generaal de Mist aan het Betaafsche Gouvernment, 1802–1804: De Mist – Batavian Authorities, 28 December, 1802, p. 2.

i. Janssens, Jan Willem. Soldier and colonial governor. Nimeguen 12.10.1762 – The Hague 23.5.1838. In February 1802 the Batavian Republic appointed him governor and general en chef of the Cape. Janssens worked under Commissioner General J.A. de Mist in the dual role as head of the government and military command. Only when de Mist left in 1805 could Janssens act as sole head of the government at the Cape.

ii. De Mist, Jacob Abraham (Uitenhage). Netherlands stateman; Commissioner-General at the Cape. Zaltbommel (Gelderland) 20.4.1749 – Middenburg nr Voorburg (South Holland) 3.8.1823. Because of his persistent efforts to colonise the Cape, he was sent there as Commissioner-Genral in 1802. De Mist returned to Holland in July 1805.

49) De Villiers, J., *op. cit.*, (23).

50) B.R. Brieven van Commissaris-Generaal aan het Betaafsche Gouvernment, 1802–1804: De Mist – Batavian Government 1802, p. 8.

De Mist concluded that the burghers had to be assured of their safety against the Hottentots. In letters sent to them he gave that assurance.[51]

On the other hand, the Hottentot soldiers were also concerned about their future under a new government. They were also aware of the animosity of the burghers towards them. Major Campbell, their capable Commanding Officer, tried to allay their fears by assuring them that the Batavian Government would be good to them and that they need not fear the burghers as they would be under the protection of the new Government.[52]

De Mist personally visited the Hottentot camp at Rietvlei on the 11th January 1803, but was dismayed at what he saw. He concluded that the camp would be of little or no military value for the Batavian cause.[53] The uncertainty of their future as soldiers and the fact that they were inactive while waiting for the official transfer of government added to the Hottentot soldiers' problems.[54]

The Colony was officially handed over to the Batavian rulers on the 11th January 1803. Many of the Hottentot soldiers were "moved to tears", according to an eye-witness who was convinced that the Hottentots would support any future British return to the Cape Colony. [55]

4.2.2 Commanding Officers

Captain Le Seur was temporarily appointed as commanding officer of the Hottentot Corps. He was highly recommended in a testimonial by Louis Michel Thibault, a high ranking officer stationed at the Cape. In his testimonial to commissioners Nederburgh and Frijkenius, Thibault emphasised the fact that Le Seur's knowledge and background

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51) B.R. 105 Brieven van Commissaris-Generaal de Mist aan het Betaafsche Gouvernment, 1802–1804: De Mist – Batavian Government 28 December 1802, pp. 8–9.

52) van Pallandt, A., General Remarks on the Cape of Good Hope, 1803, p. 21.

53) B.R. 100 Secrete Notulen, Commissaris-Generaal J.A. de Mist, 9 June 1803, p. 86.

54) van Pallandt, A., *op. cit.*, pp. 21–24.

55) de Villiers, J., Hottentot Regiments at the Cape during the First British Occupation, 1795–1803 (Text of a paper read to the S.A. Military History Society, Johannesburg, 13 November 1975).

as a civil engineer would be of great benefit to the Company and the Colony.[56] Le Seur occupied a house at Rietvlei which he hired from the authorities.[57] As far as can be ascertained, Captain Le Seur remained the only commanding officer of the Hottentot Corps. He was from time to time assisted by the various Hottentot captains with whom he worked in close liaison.[58]

4.2.3 Maintenance of the Corps

When the Corps was transferred to the Batavian Republic the regiment consisted of two hundred and fifty privates, thirty corporals and seventeen drummers.[59]

The Quartermaster Henricus Coens Voget supplied the Hottentot Corps with the daily essentials from his available stock.[60] The records indicate that the Corps consumed large quantities of rice. From April 1803 to September of that same year, 6507 lbs of rice was issued to the Corps.[61]

Bread was supplied by the baker C. Greffrath, who received 753 rix-dollars for his services in may 1803.[62] The same baker supplied the British authorities with bread.

The Batavian authorities realised that it was going to be expensive to maintain the Corps and wanted some return for their investments. Some of the Hottentot soldiers were therefore used as farm-hands and were also put to work on government projects, such as in the forestry department.[63] Another 100 were used by the local authorities in Cape Town to maintain the roads and parks.[64]

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56) C. 695 Verslag en Bijlagen van Nederburgh en Frijkenius, 1792–1793: Tibault's testimonial, 13 September 1792 no. 248, p. 1313.
57) B.R. 49 Bijlagen: Le Seur – Janssens, 26 October 1803, pp. 21–22.
58) B.R. 2 Resolutien. 16 June 1803, pp. 659–662.
59) Difford, I.D., *op. cit.*, p. 3.
60) B.R. 35 Bijlagen: J. Deel – Governor and Political Council, 27 April 1803, pp. 17–18.
61) B.R. 137 Governor and General J.W. Jansens, Incoming letters, 1803–1805: Voget – Janssens, 26 March 1805, unpaged.
62) B.R. Resolutien, 26 May 1803, p. 410.
63) B.R. 2 Resolutien, 5 May 1803, p. 234.
64) B.R. 88 Uitgaande Brieven, 1803–1804: Neethling – Janssens, 17 May 1803 and Governor and Political Council – Asiatic Board, 2 June 1803, pp. 31–32, 51.

Later De Mist protested very strongly to the local authorities in Cape Town for using the soldiers with prisoners and chained-slaves. The authorities apologised and assured him that it would not happen again.[65]

The high maintenance costs of the Hottentot Corps was mentioned in a missive directed to the authorities and drawn up by De Mist on the 2 June 1893. He also reported that the scheme to hire the Hottentot soldiers on a voluntary basis to the burghers was proving to be very successful and that the daily maintenance costs of the Corps had been reduced to 80 rix-dollars a day.[66]

Several requests were made to the Batavian authorities to disband the Hottentot Corps.[67] Baron Van Pallandt, Janssen's private Secretary, and a staunch supporter of the Corps, vigorously campaigned for the Corps to be retained. In his letters of protests and his circulars he criticised the burghers and the authorities for the manner in which they maltreated the Hottentot soldiers.[68]

When it became evident that relations between Britain and France had deteriorated, the Batavian Government, as an ally of France, feared a possible attack by the British and therefore instructed De Mist to consolidate his forces at the Cape.[69] Suddenly the Hottentot Corps was again regarded as an asset.

4.2.4 Conditions of service

Immediately after taking over the Colony from the British, Janssens gave instructions that the Hottentot Corps should receive the same salary and benefits which they had

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65) B.R. 110 Notulen van den Commissaris-Generaal J.A. de Mist, 19 June 1803, pp. 52–53.
66) B.R. 100 Secrete Notulen, Commissaris-Generaal J.A. de Mist, 9 June 1803, pp. 85–87.
67) B.R. 2 Resolutien, 9 June 1803, pp. 550–555.
68) Van Pallandt, A., General Remarks on the Cape of Good Hope, 1803, pp. 3, 22.
69) B.R. 100 Secrete Notulen, Commissioner-Generaal J.A. de Mist 6 July 1803, pp. 104–105.

received from the British.[70] This was evidently done to gain the confidence of the Hottentot People in general and the Corps in particular.

Hottentot soldiers were entitled to ask for a discharge from military service and arrangements were made with the local burghers to employ them. The Hottentot was not compelled to take up employment from the burghers.[71] On discharge a soldier was entitled to his arrears of salary.

On enlistment the Hottentot soldier could be posted anywhere in the Colony. Leave was also granted on a rotation basis.[72]

The soldiers were supplied with the necessary arms and ammunition.[73] The uniform, which was also issued free of charge consisted of a blue tunic with red facings, white buttons and a round felt hat.[74]

4.3 The Corps Vrije Hottentotten

4.3.1 International repercussions and conditions at the Cape 1803

The political turmoil in Europe in 1803 gave cause for concern at the Cape. The smallness and inefficiency of the garrison at the Cape compelled de Mist to review the whole military situation. In the light of his investigations, and on the recommendations of a report drawn up by Captain Le Seur, de Mist had no alternative but to conclude that a new and stronger Hottentot Corps had to be established. At that stage the Corps was

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70) Van Pallandt, A., General Remarks on the Cape of Good Hope, 1803, pp. 21–22.
71) B.R. 2 Resolutien, 18 April 1803, pp. 117–118.
72) B.R. 35 Bijlagen: General Rapport, 16 May 1803, p. 655.
73) Van Pallandt, A., General Remarks on the Cape of Good Hope, pp. 23–25.
74) Notes on the Military History of the Coloured (Notes prepared by the S.A. Defence Force), p. 3.

sadly depleted and very disorganised.[75] De Mist worked in closed co-operation with Janssens.[76]

On the 25 August 1803, Janssens announced new measures to improve the military strength of the colony. Firstly the old Hottentot Corps had to be dissolved and a new Corps established.[77] Secondly unmarried Hottentot men would be given first preference and thirdly they would be signed up for one year with the option of another year if circumstances warranted it.[78]

4.3.2 Recruiting for a new Corps

Captain Le Seur was put in charge of the recruiting drive. Members of the old Corps as well as the Hottentot tribal captains were approached to help Le Seur. They were given strict instructions not to accept men who were already employed by the burghers unless permission was first obtained by their employers. Le Seur was to submit a weekly report on his progress to the Commanding Officer of the Cape garrison, Colonel P.L. Henry.[79]

Janssens advised Le Seur to visit the Moravian Mission Station at Baviaanskloof and to ask the missionaries to encourage the Hottentots to join the new Corps.[80] As a result of this visit 22 Hottentot men were enlisted. They appealed to the authorities to support their dependants at the mission station during their absence. Le Seur assured them that he would support their appeal in his report to the authorities.[81]

Janssens was very keen to recruit more Hottentots from the mission station as he found them more loyal, advanced, and honest then the other local Hottentots. According to him they would be ideal as junior officers in the new Corps.[82]

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75) B.R. 110 Notulen van Commissaris-Generaal J.A. de Mist, 8 August, 1803, pp. 3–4.
76) B.R. Uitgaande Brieven, 1803–1804: De Mist-Batavian Government, 28 December 1802, p. 8.
77) B.R. Resolutien, 25 August 1803, p. 1547.
78) B.R. 3 Resolutien, 26 August 1803, pp. 1554–1555.
79) B.R. 41 Bijlagen: Janssens – Le Seur, 26 August 1803, pp. 33–336.
80) de Villiers, J., Hottentot Regimente aan die Kaap 1781–1806, p. 173.
81) *Ibid.*,
82) *Ibid.*, p. 175.

Recruiting was not very successful and by October 1803 Janssens had to issue a special proclamation whereby the field Commandants and the field-cornets were instructed to recruit as many Hottentots as they possibly could and to send them to Cape Town immediately.[83] Recruits would be accepted, subject to the following three conditions: firstly they had to be adults and of good standing; secondly they had to be physically fit and brave; and thirdly they should, if possible, be single and without dependants.[84]

In his desperation to bring the new Corps to its full strength, Janssens finally by way of another proclamation instructed the magistrates of the various districts to commandeer suitable recruits on a quota basis in their respective districts.[85]

The commandeering of Hottentots was very successful. By December a contingent of 92 recruits reported at the drostdy in Stellenbosch and another 60 was personally commandeered for military service by Captain Linde.[86]

Recruits had to report to the military administrator J. Deel, and were then examined by a military doctor. Those selected were issued with the necessary kit and despatched to their camp at Rietvlei.[87]

4.3.3 A new Corps established

Towards the end of 1803 a new Corps was established, which was officially known as the *Corpse Vrije Hottentotten.* This Corps was stationed at Rietvlei.[88] The Corps was initially to consist of only one unit of armed soldiers and provision was made for a second armed infantry unit if more men enlisted.[89]

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83) Kaapsche Courant, 29 October 1803.
84) *Ibid.*,
85) Kaapsche Courant, 26 November 1803.
86) B.R. III Notulen van den Commissaris-Generaal J.A. de Mist: De Mist-Janssens, 6 December 1803, pp. 206–207.
87) Kaapsche Courant, 26 November 1803.
88) B.R. 142 Paysheets and other Military Financial Documents: Leenings Lijst, Corps Vrije Hottentotten, 31 August 1803 no. 189, unpaged.
89) De Villiers, J., *op. cit.*, p. 171.

Janssens also intended using them as transport drivers in times of war,[90] as well as cannon drivers attached to the artillery corps.[91]

(a) Maintenance of the Corps Vrije Hottentotten

The authorities kept their promise and supported the families of members of the Corps which were left behind at Baviaanskloof. Grain was delivered weekly at the mission station.[92]

The expense account of the Corps Vrije Hottentotten increased tremendously. The budget for November 1803 which was only 200 rix-dollars had to be supplemented to cover the salaries of the soldiers which amounted to 383 rix-dollars. By January 1804, the budget had increased to 1 500 rix-dollars.[93]

It is evident, judging from the financial statements and reports, that the Corps was well fed and well clothed.[94]

(b) Conditions of service

The Corps was treated on equal terms with the Batavian infantry units. They did not, however, receive the joining allowance which was automatically paid to the Batavian soldiers on enlistment. Furthermore they were signed up for one year with an option of a second year's service if it was felt necessary by the authorities.[95]

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90) B.R. 3 Resolutien, 26 August 1803, pp. 1556–1557.
91) B.R. 4 Resolutien, 26 October 1803, pp. 2126–2131.
92) De Villiers, J., *op. cit.*, p. 179.
93) B.R. 42 Bijlagen: Deel-Governor and Political Council, 28 November 1803, p. 775.
94) B.R. 140 Military Documents: Distributie Lijst van Vleesch aan het Corps Vrije Hottentotten, 31 October 1803, unpaged; B.R. 141 Distribution lists, bread and meat to the military authorities: Vleesch aan het Corps Hottentotten, 30 September 1803, unpaged; B.R. 142. Paysheets and other Military financial documents, 31 August, 30 September and 31 October 1803, unpaged.
95) B.R. 3 Resolutien, 26 August 1803, pp. 1554–1555.

The Hottentot soldiers received extensive training in military drill and discipline. Courses were also given in basic hygiene, ethics and military rules and regulations.[96] Some men were trained as transport drivers and a maintenance crew was also established.[97]

Two Hottentot soldiers that were enlisted on the 27 August 1803 received 5 stivers per day in salary each.[98] The Hottentot officers (two corporals) that were later appointed, received 7 stivers per day each in salary.[99]

The Director of hospital services, Reinier De Klerk Dibbetz was responsible for the medical care of the Corps Vrije Hottentotten.[100] Arms, uniform and other requirements, were supplied by the Quarter-master.[101]

(c) Commanding Officers

Since its inception all the officers of the Corps Vrije Hottentotten were white. They consisted of a Commandant, adjutant-major, Quarter-master and a drummer-corporal. They were all members of the Batavian occupation force.[102]

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96) B.R.41 Bijlagen: Janssens – Le Seur, 26 August 1803 pp. 333–336.

97) B.R.4 Resolutien, 26 October 1803, pp. 2126–2131.

98) B.R. 142 Paysheets and other Military Financial Documents: Leenings Lijst, Corps Vrije Hottentotten, 31 August 1803, number 189, unpaged.

99) B.R.142 Paysheets and other Military Financial documents: Leenings Lijst, Corps Vrije Hottentotten, 30 September 1803 no. 189 unpaged: The following currency were used during the Batavian occupation at the Cape:*

1 Rix-dollar	=	2 guilders;	1 Guilder	=	20 Stivers;
1 Rix-dollar	=	8 Skillings;	1 Stiver	=	16 Pennies;
1 Skilling	=	6 Stivers;			

* Cory, G.E., *The Rise of South Africa. Vol. I*, pp. 160–162.

100) B.R.4 Resolutien, 12 December 1803, pp. 2609–2610.

101) B.R.43 Bijlagen, 8 December 1803, pp. 136–138.

102) De Villiers, J., *op. cit.*, p. 189.

The 400 Hottentot soldiers were grouped into 3 detachments. Each detachment had its own commanding officer, a first adjutant officer and five adjutant officers (all white). The rest of the detachment consisted of 100 soldiers, 10 corporals and 2 drummers – all Hottentot.[103)]

4.4 The Battaillon Hottentotsche Light Infantry

4.4.1 The Hottentot Corps acquires a new name

Towards the end of 1803, Janssens appealed to the Batavian authorities to establish a permanent battalion of Hottentot infantrymen at the Cape. He stressed the fact that such a battalion would be an asset to the authorities as the Hottentot soldier was ideally suited for this purpose. He further maintained that the authorities would also assist with the general upliftment and development of the Hottentot tribes. Janssens was convinced that the Hottentot soldier was far better equipped mentally and physically for frontier and bush work than his European counterpart. Janssens suggested that the new Corps be officially known as the *Battaillon Hottentotsche Ligte Infanterie.*[104)]

4.4.2 The Commanding Officers

All the officers were to be white and they were to receive the same salary and allowances as the officers of the National Infantry.[105)]

The Hottentot battalion was to be divided into four divisions and each division would consist of:[106)]

1 Captain	1 Farrier
1 First Lieutenant	1 Cadet
1 Second Lieutenant	10 Hottentot Corporals
1 Sergeant-Major	2 Hottentot drummers
5 Sergeants	100 Hottentot soldiers

103) B.R.4 Resolutien, 12 December 1803, pp. 2611–2613.

104) B.R.4 Resolutien, 12 December 1803, pp. 2603–2606.

105) B.R.43 Bijlagen, 8 December 1803, pp. 133–136.

106) B.R.43 Bijlagen, 8 December 1803, pp. 133–136.

Janssens suggested that the entire battalion should consist of 448 Hottentot soldiers and 52 white officers.

The Batavian Government accepted Janssens proposals,[107] and the first officers were officially appointed on the 10th October 1804.[108]

On the 13th October 1804, Janssens officially converted the *Corps Vrije Hottentotten* to the *Battaillon Hottentotsche Ligte Infanterie.* The increase in numbers justified the changing from a Corps to a full battalion. Le Seur was appointed Commanding Officer with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.[109] On the 31st October 1804, Martin Karl Hinrich Lichtenstein was appointed surgeon of the Hottentot Battailon.[110]

4.4.3 Uniform

The Uniform of the *Battaillon Hottentotsche Ligte Infanterie* consisted of a blue jacket with red cuffs and white buttons. They wore short leather pants and a round hat or cap.[111]

The Commanding Officer of the Battaillon Hottentotsche Ligte Infanterie was confronted with a number of problems. Firstly an epidemic similar to acute diarrhoea broke out and a large number of soldiers were affected when they contracted the disease. Fortunately the health authorities at the Cape were able to control the epidemic.[112]

The second major problem was that a large number of the Hottentot soldiers deserted and could not be traced because of the poor condition of the roads and the lack of transport facilities.[113]

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107) B.R. Resolutien, 10 October 1804, p. 3154.
108) B.R. Resolutien, 10 October 1804, pp. 3154–3155.
109) Kaapsche Courant, 27 October 1804.
110) Almanak voor die Kaap de Goede Hoop, voor het jaar 1805: Naamlijst der officeren behorende tot het Corps d'Armee, unpaged.
111) Tylden, G., *The Armed Forces of South Africa,* p. 49.
112) Kaapsche Courant, 17 November 1804.
113) de Villiers, J., Hottentot-Regimente aan die Kaap 1781–1806, pp. 235–236.

These deserters later became a threat to the authorities when they attacked isolated farmsteads in search of food and ammunition. Several civil commandos were very successful and brought many deserters to trial.[114)]

4.5 Summary

The British continued to use Hottentot soldiers after they had occupied the Cape Colony. The Corps was issued with very colourful uniforms. The Commanding Officers were all white. Their first military involvement was a total disaster when they all fled panick-stricken when fired upon by the frigate *Bellona,* one of the ships of an invading Batavian fleet. They suffered no casualties.

The Corps was retained when the Cape Colony was restored to the Dutch in 1803. They were later reorganised, first as the *Corps Vrije Hottentotten* and later when they became known as the *Battaillon Hottentotsche Ligte Infanterie.*

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114) Kaapsche Courant 23 February 1805.

CHAPTER 5

THE SECOND BRITISH OCCUPATION OF THE CAPE 1806

Lord Castlereagh, Secretary of State for the War and Colonial Departments, issued instructions to Major-General Sir David Baird* on the 25th July 1805 to take command of a large force, and, with the utmost expedition and secrecy to sail for the Cape. The British feared that the French would succeed in capturing the Cape before them.[1] Janssens, who was aware of the impending British invasion, tried as best he could to prepare the small inadequate garrison for a full scale battle, but every circumstance was adverse to him.[2] Janssens' decision to strengthen his army by recruiting more local Hottentot and coloured men was obvious as he was aware that it was virtually impossible to expect reinforcements from abroad.[3] He decided to use the Battaillon Hottentotsche Ligte Infanterie to its full advantage.[4] Every district in the Cape was compelled to send a quota of Hottentot and coloured recruits to Cape Town to strengthen the ranks of the Battaillon.[5]

The troops who were ready to oppose Sir David Baird on his arrival at the Cape on the 3rd January 1806 consisted of the 22nd Battalion Infantry of the Line, 5th of Waldeck, 1st Hottentot Light Infantry, 9th Jagers, 5th Artillery, one squadron of Light Dragoons, a small body of Horse Artillery, the field train, Malay artillery and the Burghers Militia: in all between two and three thousand men.[6]

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* Baird, Sir David (1757–1829), a British soldier. He was born at Newbyth, East Lothian, Scotland. In 1779 he went to India as captain of the 73rd Grenadier Regiment. In 1805 Baird led a successful expedition against the Dutch Settlements at the Cape of Good Hope. He was created a baronet in 1810.

1) Cory, G.E., *The Rise of South Africa,* Vol. I, p. 144.
2) Fortesque, J.W., *A History of the British Army* Vol. 5 (1803–1807), p. 307.
3) Kaapsche Courant, 4 January 1806.
4) B.R. Bijlagen, November–December 1805: Extract uit de Secrete Notulen van het geresoheerde in Rade van India, 11 June 1805, pp. 547, 551–552.
5) Kaapsche Courant, 4 January 1806.
6) Difford, I.D., *The Story of the 1st Battalion Cape Corps (1915–1919),* p. 3.

The British fleet under the command of Admiral Home Riggs Popham with an invading force of 6 360 men commanded by Baird was sighted off Table Bay on the 4th January 1806.[7] After a delay, because of the violence of the surf, about 2 000 British troops eventually landed at Melkbosch Point, about 15 miles north of Cape Town.[8]

5.1 The battle of Blaauwberg

Blaauwberg (758 ft) is part of a range of hills about four miles south of Melkbosch Point. As soon as Janssens heard that a British landing was actually in progress he proceeded in haste with about 2 000 men and sixteen guns in the hope of occupying the advantageous heights of the Blaauwberg. But too late; the British were found to be already in possession, and with a force of over 4 000 men approaching Cape Town – the battle of Blaauwberg had begun.[9]

"The Dutch forces stood the fire of the invading armies with firmness, and maintained their position," wrote Cannon, "but the charge of the British troops with bayonets proved irresistible, and the enemy was forced to precipitate retreat".[10]

The Dutch suffered heavy casualties.[11] Seventeen Hottentot soldiers of the Battailon Hottentotsche Ligte Infanterie were reported either dead, wounded, missing or captured.[12]

Janssens, with only 972 men, excluding officers, retreated to the interior of the Colony hoping to cut off food supplies from the farmers to the British.[13]

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7) Fortesque, *op. cit.*, p. 306.
8) Cory, *op. cit.*, pp. 145–146.
9) *Ibid.*, p. 144.
10) Cannon, R., *History of the Cape Mounted Riflemen.*
11) Hook, T.E., *The Life of General, the Right Honourable, Sir David Baird, II,* p. 114.
12) Borcherds, P.B., *An Autobiographical Memoir*, p. 258.
13) B.R. 86, Kaapsch Rapport, 1802: Lading onmooglik te beletten, item 125, p. 124.

5.1.1 The British occupy the Wynberg camp

A detachment of 500 British soldiers arrived at the Wynberg camp the night following the battle of Blaauwberg. Among those taken prisoners after a thorough search of all the huts were the missionary Kohrhammer, his wife, second lieutenant Meyer-Vissingh, a Hottentot corporal, six Hottentot soldiers and a number of sick Hottentot soldiers.[14)]

Kohrhammer and his wife were well treated by the British. He was allowed to move about freely and was even permitted to visit Janssens on two occasions. On the 12th February 1806, the missionary and his wife were given permission to leave the Wynberg camp. They decided to settle at Genadendal the mission station previously known as Baviaanskloof.[15)]

5.1.2 The Hottentot soldiers in action

At the time of the battle of Blaauwberg, Major Horn was in charge of a few infantrymen and two companies of the *Battaillon Hottentotsche Ligte Infanterie.* They were stationed at Steenberg, Muizenberg and False Bay. Immediately after Blaauwberg heights were captured by the British, Janssens commanded Horn to use his troops to destroy the Batavian ships of war which were lying at anchor in Simon's Bay as a floating fort and all Batavian cannons, arms and ammunition, as these would be vital to the British if captured. Military equipment that could not be burned or made inactive, was to be dumped into the sea. On completing their assignment, Horn was to take the infantrymen and the Hottentot soldiers and retreat to the Hottentot-Holland pass in order to defend that strategic position as best he could.[16)]

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14) G.H. 18/1, Letters Received by Sir David Baird from Governor J.W. Janssens, January-March 1806, n.d. unpaged.

15) V.C. Overgave van de Kaap, 1806: Rapport van den Generaal J.W. Janssens, 27 January 1806, p. 38. On the 1st of January 1806 the name of the mission station Baviaanskloof was officially changed to Genadendal.

16) V.C. Overgave van de Kaap, 1806: Rapport van den Generaal J.W. Janssens, 27 January 1806, p. 38.

Janssens' defeated army reached the Hottentot-Holland Pass early on the morning of 10th January 1806 to find Horn and his men already in possession of the Pass. For the first time since the British invasion, the four companies of the Hottentot soldiers were together and consisted of 426 soldiers and white officers with Lieutenant-Colonel Le Seur in charge.[17)]

On the 11th January 1806, Baron Von Prophalow surrendered Cape Town and its vicinity officially to the British. On receiving this news, Janssens moved his army with all available arms, ammunition and food over the Hottentot-Holland mountains.[18)]

Janssens' force was fast dwindling owing to desertion and Baird, while making his dispositions to attack and cut him off, endeavoured to end matters by a letter complimenting him upon his gallantry, urging the fruitlessness of resistance, and offering honourable terms for surrender of the Colony. After a little hesitation these were accepted, and on the 18th January 1806 was signed the final capitulation which delivered the Cape Colony to the British.[19)]

"It provided that the whole settlement should at once be surrendered to his Britannic Majesty. That the Batavian troops should retain all private property, and the officers their swords and horses; but their arms, treasures, and public property of every description should be given up. That the troops should not be considered prisoners of war, but be embarked and sent to Holland at the expense of the British government, they engaging not to serve against his Britannic Majesty or his allies before they were landed in Holland. That the officers and men should be subsisted at the expense of the British government until their embarkation and when on board transports be treated in the same manner as British troops. That the Hottentot soldiers should be allowed to return to their homes, or to enter the British service as they might think proper".[20)]

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17) *Ibid.*,

18) Kaapsche Courant, 11 January 1806.

19) Fortesque, J.W., *A History of the British Army Vol. 5 (1803 1807)*, p. 309.

20) V.C. Overgave van de Kaap, 1806: Articulen van Capitulatie, 18 January 1806, p. 7.

5.1.3 The Battaillon Hottentotsche Ligte Infanterie is finally disbanded

On the 24th January 1806, all the Hottentot soldiers were assembled at the camp on the shores of the Liesbeeck River and informed by Janssens of the implications of the British Occupation of the Cape. The battalion at that stage consisted of 343 men including the white officers. All the Hottentot soldiers were honourably discharged on the same day and the battalion was officially dissolved by Janssens.[21)]

The Hottentot soldiers who did not want to enlist in the British Army, were given their papers of discharge and allowed to return to their former environment. A large number returned to the Mission station at Genadendal.[22)]

Janssens finally left the Cape on board the *Bellona* on the 6th March 1806 accompanied by 94 Batavian officers, 573 Batavian soldiers, 31 Batavian civil servants and 53 women and about the same number of children. Three officers of the disbanded Hottentot Corps including Lieutenant-Colonel Le Seur, were among the passengers.[23)]

5.1.4 The significance of the Battaillon Hottentotsche Ligte Infanterie

In his report to the Batavian authorities written on board the *Bellona,* Janssens mentioned the high and efficient military standard achieved by the Battaillon Hottentotsche Ligte Infanterie in 1806. According to him the behaviour and good example of the Hottentot and coloured soldieres were responsible for the sound relationship between the burghers and the indigenous peoples which prevailed during the Batavian government's rule in the Cape.[24)]

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21) De Villiers, J., *Hottentot Regimente aan die Kaap 1781–1806,* p. 389.

22) *Ibid.,*

23) G.H. 18/1 Letters Received by Sir David Baird from Governor J.W. Janssens, 1806; Lijst der Sterkte der getrouwde Officieren en Soldaaten behoorende tot het Corps d'Armee van den Generaal Janssens en niet begreepen zyn onder de Capitulate van de Kaapstad, undated, unpaged.

24) V.C. 80 Overgave van de Kaap, 1806: Rapport van den Generaal J.W. Janssens, 23 April 1806, Demissien en Paspoorten 26 March 1806, pp. 77, 265–266.

Janssens maintained that the Hottentots were ideally suited for military service and was convinced that they could play a vital rôle in the future defence of the territory. His personal view was that they were better equipped mentally and physically for military service in the interior of the colony than their white counterparts. He strongly recommended the use of Hottentot soldiers on a permanent basis in the Colony, if the Batavian authorities were to occupy the Cape again in the future.[25)]

5.2 The establishment of the Cape Regiment

5.2.1 The British enlist coloured men

Immediately on taking command, Sir David Baird realised the necessity of strengthening the territory's military force by enlisting all available coloured men.[26)] Consequently the following proclamation was issued:[27)]

"January 13th, 1806. Whereas I find it expedient for His Majesty's service that a corps of Hottentot infantry be raised as soon as possible, I do, therefore, notify all magistrates and other inhabitants to direct and encourage all Hottentots immediately to report to the Castle, where Major Graham will be ready to receive and to form them into a corps, which will be paid and subsisted on the same footing as His Majesty's other troops of infantry."

Most of the coloured men were willing to remain as soldiers and they were formed into a corpse which was soon enlarged to five hundred rank and file under Lieutenant-Colonel Graham with headquarters at Wynberg, a detachment of fifty being sent to Fort Frederick.[28)]

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25) De Villiers, J., *op. cit.*, p. 292.

26) Coloured men were erroneously called 'Hottentots' during the early part of the nineteenth century. Young in his book *Boot and Saddle*, p. 62, states that "this curious error appears in most South African history books by various writers. The word 'Hottentot' was in those days loosely used when referred to Coloured folk, by which we mean people of mixed white and other blood."

27) G.H. 1/1 Despatches from England during the Administration of Sir David Baird and the Earl of Caledon 1806–1811.

28) Theal, G.M., *History of South Africa since 1795*, Vol. 5, pp. 206–7.

The new unit was named the *Cape Regiment* and according to Difford[29] "may be looked upon as marking the inception of the *Cape Mounted Riflemen* (C.M.R.), although in its full European significance the C.M.R. may be said to have commenced as such after the disbandment of the *Frontier Armed Mounted Police* (F.A.M.P.) in 1879."

Soon after the Cape Regiment was formed their strength increased from the initial five hundred to eight hundred. There was a mounted section as before, with one company stationed at Graaff-Reinett and another on the Eastern Frontier.[30]

Sir David Baird was anxious that the Cape Regiment show allegiance to the British Crown and therefore immediately discarded the Batavian Republic red and blue uniform. A new green uniform with black facings and a round felt hat was introduced.[31]

The influx of Xhosas into the Zuurveld area created a serious problem for the British authorities. The Cape Regiment was employed in operations in the Zuurveld under Colonel Graham against the chiefs Ndhlabe, Cungwa and others. Their main duty was rounding up bodies of squatters and removing them beyond the boundary of the Great Fish River, as well as checking stock thefts by the Xhosas. At the end of September 1810 the whole regiment was assigned to Algoa Bay for important military duties.[32]

A detachment of the Cape Regiment under Major Prentice crossed the Sunday's River on Christmas Day 1811 and made camp at Commando Kraal. From this base they cut roads through the Addo Bush to get at the Xhosas who used the bush as refuge. Meanwhile Landdrost Stockenström who was well respected by the Xhosas was sent to exhort them to take the advice of the authorities and depart in peace. While negotiating with the Xhosas, he together with eight of his companions and their coloured interpreter, Philip Buys, was killed.[33]

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29) Difford, I.D., *The Story of the 1st Cape Corps (1915–1919)* p. 4.
30) Africana Notes and News Vol. 7: The Cape Coloured Regular Regiments 1793–1870, article by Major G. Tylden, p. 40.
31) Difford, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
32) Young, P.J., *Boot and Saddle*, p. 11.
33) Theal, G.M., *op. cit.*, p. 254.

A detachment of the Cape Regiment under Major Fraser recovered the bodies of Stockenström and his nine companions after walking into an ambush, but succeeded in killing twenty Xhosas and dispersing the rest.[34)]

Sir John Cradock, the new Governor of the Cape Colony decided to establish a permanent military force in the Zuurberg. In may 1812, he ordered Colonel Graham to select a site for a new headquarters. A suitable site was found, which later developed into a settlement which was called Grahamstown in honour of Colonel Graham.[35)]

Opposition to the Cape Regiment was very strong at that time. The Imperial Government was urged in 1814 to disband the regiment and to replace it with a white battalion. The British authorities agreed in principle to this request, but there were no white troops available to replace them and the matter was therefore not further pursued. The Cape Regiment continued for the next two years in doing extremely valuable work patrolling the frontier and recovering stolen cattle.[36)]

5.2.2 The Slachter's Nek Rebellion

Lieutenant-General Lord Charles Henry Somerset became governor of the Cape Colony on the 6th April 1814. He is described as "a man of ability and energy."[37)]

At the time of his appointment great changes were taking place in Europe, owing to the reverses sustained by the emperor Napoleon. This no doubt had a very great influence on his administration of the Cape Colony.[38)]

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34) Theal, G.M., History of South Africa since 1795, Vol. 5, p. 254.
35) Young, *Op. cit.*, p. 12.
36) Difford, *op. cit.*, p. 5: Notes on the Military History of the Coloured, issued by the South African Defence Force, p. 3.
37) Lieutenant-General Lord Charles Henry Somerset became governor of the Cape Colony on the 6th April 1814. He was the second son of the duke of Beaufort and younger brother of the Marquess of Worcester. His mother was a daughter of Admiral Boscawen. He was Governor until 1824.
38) Theal, G.M., *Op. cit.*, p. 275.

The cost of the Cape Regiment was a charge against the Colony's revenue and its existence was very objectionable to the colonists. There was still much bitter feelings amongst the farmers on the eastern districts caused by the prosecutions before the circuit court three years earlier. The presence of the coloured soldiers on the frontier was a further source of irritation to the colour prejudiced white inhabitants of especially Uitenhage and Graaff-Reinet.[39)]

During 1815, a charge of ill-treatment of a coloured servant was brought against a farmer named Frederick Cornelis Bezuidenhout who threatened to shoot the Messenger of the Court if he approached his premises. Consequently a warrant of arrest was issued and the army was asked to assist. Captain Andrews, who was in charge of the military post, directed Lieutenant Frans Rousseau and twelve coloured soldiers to accompany the under-sheriff to Bezuidenhout's farm. Ensign McKay also accompanied the party.[40)]

After a desparate defence Bezuidenhout was shot dead in a cave. This deed so angered the farmers in the Somerset and Tarka districts that they rose in arms and had to be subdued by Major Fraser and Colonel Cuyler, commandant of the frontier forces.[41)]

Bezuidenhout's brother, some relatives and friends tried to form an alliance with chief Ngqika of the Xhosas against the British to avenge his brother's death. Their plans miscarried and after a number of military operations against them, thirty nine rebels were caught and sent for trial.[42)]

Five of the men were hanged and the rest were sentenced to various punishments, ranging from banishment to life imprisonment for one month or a fine of fifty six rixdollars.[43)]

The Bezuidenhout rebellion and the subsequent use of coloured troops on the frontier, often against white colonists, was perhaps a major factor that was to influence the strong white prejudices against people of colour in South Africa up to the present time.

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39) Theal, G.M., History of South Africa since 1795, Vol. 5, p. 275.

40) Difford, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

41) Theal, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

42) Venter, Al J., *Coloured: a Profile of two million South Africans*, p. 260.

43) Theal, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

The coloured soldiers nevertheless made good horsemen and breakers. They were also excellent horsemasters and some of them were later attached to the Royal Artillery as drivers.[44] They received extensive training in mounted drill, tracking and survival courses and were therefore ideally equipped for policing the frontier.[45]

5.2.3 The Cape Corps is established

Early in 1816, Lord Charles Somerset was instructed by the Imperial authorities to cut down expenditure in the Colony in every possible way. This also meant the reduction of the local garrison. At that time the military force in the Colony consisted of 324 artillerymen, the 21st light dragoons, 1 000 strong, the 83rd regiment of the line, over 900 strong, the first battalion of the 60th consisting of 1 000 men and 800 members of the Cape Regiment.[46]

In 1817, at the instigation of the governor, the Cape Regiment was disbanded. This was in effect a direct gain to the Imperial revenue, though its cost had been defrayed by the Colonial treasury.[47]

On the 24th September 1817, a new corps of "Hottentot and mixed breeds", called the *Cape Corps*, was formed. Major George Sackville Fraser commanded the new corps with five commissioned officers, 78 cavalry and 169 infantry.[48] The new corps was less expensive and the British authorities ordered the surplus revenue to be paid to the commissariat in aid of the maintenance of the British troops.[49]

As a mounted unit the Cape Corps was given the responsibility of patrolling the eastern frontier. This task they did exceptionally well. During the Battle of Grahamstown the Cape Corps played a major rôle when very heavy fighting took place at their barracks.[50]

The attack was made soon after sunrise on the morning of April 1819 by between nine and ten thousand men led by a fanatical black called Makana. He was a hero among the Africans

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44) Difford, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
45) Hook, D.B., *'Tis but Yesterday*, p. 54.
46) Theal, *op. cit.*, p. 326.
47) De Villiers, J., Die Militêre tradisie van die Kleurlinge, p. 182.
48) Africana Notes and News, Vol. 7, p. 41.
49) Theal, *op. cit.*, pp. 327–328.
50) *Ibid.*,

and his memory is revered by them until today.[51] The Imperial troops consisted of forty-five men of the 38th infantry, one hundred and thirty five men of the Royal African corps, thirty-two armed men unattached, and one hundred and twenty-one men of the Cape Corps.[52]

The attack took place while Captain Willshire was inspecting a detachment of the Cape Corps a distance from the town. The largest of the Xhosa's three column attacking force was directed against the barracks. Colonel Willshire immediately returned with the Cape Corps in defence of the town. After an exceptionally fierce battle, where at one stage the troops were engaged in hand-to-hand combat, the Xhosas were defeated. The loss to the Xhosas was estimated at between seven hundred and thirteen hundred men, and many more died of their wounds before reaching the Fish River. The casualties on the English side were three men killed and five wounded.[53] Lieutenant-Colonel Willshire paid tribute to the bravery and loyalty of members of the Cape Corps.[54]

At the end of the war the Cape Corps was reorganised. The strength of the unit was raised to 23 officers and 450 other ranks. Nearly a third were officially classed as cavalry and remounts were available.[55]

During the defence of the eastern frontier, after the Battle of Grahamstown, the Cape Corps was sometimes referred to as the *Cape Light Infantry* and the *Cape Cavalry*.[56]

In 1823 the regiment was increased by the addition of two troops for the defence of the frontiers. This brought the strength of the regiment to 260 cavalry and 250 infantry with Colonel G.S. Fraser in command until September of that year. At the beginning of October, Major Somerset succeeded to the command.[57]

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51) Difford, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
52) Records of the Cape Colony, Vol. 12, 30 June 1819, p. 242.
53) Theal, *op. cit.*, p. 338.
54) Difford, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
55) Africana Notes and News, Vol. 7, p. 42.
56) Notes on the Military History of the Coloureds: Publication of the South African Defence Force, p. 3.
57) Difford, *op. cit.*, pp. 6–7

Frontier duties continued to require activity and vigilance to check depredations by the Xhosas. Cape Corps patrols recaptured many thousand head of cattle stolen from border farms. It was a great task constantly extending and expanding as smaller tribes amalgated with chief Maqoma's followers – thus becoming a real and dangerous threat to peace and stability in the Colony.[58)]

5.3 The Cape Mounted Riflemen (C.M.R.) 1827–1870

By order of the Secretary of State, the composition of the Cape Regiment was changed. This move should be seen as a measure of retrenchment, as the infantry of the regiment was disbanded while the 250 strong cavalry was retained under the new title of the **Cape Mounted Riflemen**. Despite this, the terms Cape Corps, Cape Mounted Riflemen and Cape Regiment were all simultaneously used. The new regiment consisted of three companies of mounted riflemen commanded by a major and were allocated headquarters at Fort Beaufort.[59)]

In 1828, the Government promulgated Ordinance 50 with a view to improving the conditions of the Hottentots and other persons of colour in the Colony.[60)] The coloured soldiers who were still members of the Cape Mounted Riflemen and thus "under the necessary military discipline, proved themselves useful and exemplary members of the community".[61)]

5.3.1 The Sixth Frontier War

During the later part of 1834, the Xhosas became a real threat to peace in the Colony. To add to the problems, the troops assigned to patrol the eastern frontier were so few in number that it was very difficult to control the plundering and stock theft committed by the invading hordes of Xhosas tribesmen. The cost in human lives and property was very great.[62)] The position reached crises point when 22 farmers and 12 traders were murdered, five hundred homes burned down, 121 000 cattle and horses and 162 000 small stock taken from frontier people.[63)]

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58) Young, P.J., *Boot and Saddle,* p. 16.
59) Difford, *op. cit.,* p. 7.: Africana Notes and News Vol. 7, p. 42.
60) Ordinance No. 50 1828.
61) Cory, G.E., *The Rise of South Africa, Vol. 1*, p. 145.
62) Young, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
63) Theal Vol. 1 and 2 under Hottentot Regiment in index: Van Warmelo, *History of the Matiwane and the Amangwa Tribe*, Pretoria Government Printer, 1938, pp. 235–238.

Many incidents are recorded concerning the bravery and loyalty of the coloured troops of the Cape Mounted Riflemen.[64]

During the campaign Colonel, who later became Sir Harry Smith, commanded the regiment. In a despatch to London the governor of the Colony, Sir Benjamin D'Urban justified the extra expenses incurred by including "three Provincial Coloured troops to be attached to the three existing Troops of the Cape Mounted Riflemen."[65]

It is recorded that there was hardly "a skirmish or engagement during this trying time in which the Cape Corps, or Provisional Battalion did not take a prominent part until the termination of hostilities.[66]

5.3.2 The C.M.R. in action in Natal 1842

The coloured members of the Cape Mounted Riflemen continued to serve with distinction in the subsequent Seventh and Eighth Eastern Frontier Wars. Some divisions even saw action outside the Cape Colony in the Orange Free State, Lesotho and Natal – in fact they played a major rôle in recapturing Port Natal for the British.[67]

From February 1840 to April 1842 the territory between the Drakensberg and the sea was under the government of the emigrant farmers from the Cape Colony and they termed this area the republic of Natal. The republic was divided into three magisterial and ecclesiastical districts, named Pietermaritzburg, Weenen and Port Natal, with the Volksraad as the supreme legislative body.[68]

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64) Theal, M., *History of South Africa after 1795* Vol. 2 p. 96.

65) C.O. Despatches received from Sir Benjamin D'Urban to Secretary of State in London, 1834–1838.

66) Difford, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

67) Militaria: Military Historical Periodical, published by the Directorate General Management Systems, 1974, p. 40.

68) Theal, G.M., *History of South Africa from 1795–1872* Vol. 2, p. 398.

This particular form of government was not sufficiently democratic and did not function very well. The whole system often resulted in utter anarchy with decisions of one day being frequently reversed the next.[69]

In 1842 came a proclamation by Sir George Napier[70] announcing the decision to re-occupy Natal as a British Colony. Captain J.C. Smith of the 27th Regiment was appointed as Commandant of Natal. Captain Smith with a small force of two hundred well equipped and trained men including members of the Cape Corps, set off on the next stage of his march to Natal.[71]

In the course of the operations which followed until Natal was once again in the hands of the British, the Cape Corps played a very decisive rôle including the disastrous attack on Congella on June 23rd.[72]

The memory of two members of the Cape Corps is enshrined on a tombstone in the Durban cemetry with the following inscription: "Sacred to the memory of Private A.W.E. Wessels and C. Jacobus C.M.R. (Cape Corps) who were killed in action in Port Natal 28th June 1842."

5.3.3 The War of the Axe

In March 1846, the War of the Axe broke out and saw the regiment at its best as a fighting force. Bisset, who as a member of the 7th D.G.s, saw a great deal of fighting in this war, gives an excellent series of pictures of his coloured men in action in his book published in 1875.[73]

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69) Theal, G.M., *History of South African from 1795–1872* Vol. 2 p. 401.

70) Major-General George Napier was installed Governor of the Cape Colony on the 22nd January 1838 and retired on the 18th March 1844. A distinguish soldier who until his appointment as Governor had not occupied an important civil post. He was accompanied to the Cape by his wife, two sons and two daughters. He was created a knight commander of the bath, of which order he was only a companion when he arrived.

71) Young, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

72) Difford, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

73) Bisset, J., *Sport and War.*

On the 16th March a black, who had been detected in the act of stealing an axe at Fort Beaufort was sent to be tried by a magistrate at Grahamstown. The offender was accompanied by three British subjects who were also sent to be tried for some crimes committed earlier. For security reasons they were handcuffed in pairs. The party was ambushed by a group of Xhosas who freed their comrade by cutting off the hand of the Hottentot to whom he was manacled. This particular incident gave rise to a number of reprisals and counter reprisals between the Xhosas and the British and led to the Seventh Frontier War – or the War of the Axe.[74)]

The members of the Cape Corps acquitted themselves very well indeed during the battle of Goolah Heights, the siege of Fort Peddie and the engagement at the Beeka Mouth where many Xhosas were killed and vital arms, ammunition and supplies were saved. For their brave and gallant actions they received the special thanks of the Commandant of the forces.[75)]

5.3.4 The Battle of Boomplaats, 1848

Sir Harry Smith[76)] became the new Governor of the Cape Colony in November 1847. Prior to his arrival there had been fighting between emigrant farmers who had migrated north of the Orange River and the natives to whom the territory belonged.[77)]

The local chiefs approached H.M. Government for assistance and Sir Harry Smith convened a meeting with the emigrant leaders in Bloemfontein to discuss the dispute. As no agreement could be reached, Sir Harry Smith proclaimed "the Queens sovereignty over the territory between the Orange and the Vaal Rivers." Major Warden with 58 men of the regiment was left to administer the territory. This policy was violently opposed by the emigrant farmers who took up arms and in 1848 Commandant General Pretorius with a strong force of Transvaal men as well as Freestaters forced Warden to evacuate the Orange Free State.[78)]

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74) Theal, G.M., *History of South Africa since 1795*, Vol. 3 pp. 1–64.

75) Difford, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

76) Sir Harry George Wakelyn Smith, Governor and High Commissioner of the Cape Colony and adjacent territories. Installed 1st December 1847, retired 31st March 1852.

77) Theal, G.M., *op. cit.*, pp. 41–90.

78) Africana Notes and News, Vol. 7, p. 46.

Sir Harry Smith immediately assembled a force of about 700 soldiers and proceeded personally to supervise the operations against the emigrant farmers. Of the four companies of the C.M.R. only one was composed entirely of whites. With three guns the force gathered at Colesberg and crossed the Orange River in August 1848 and proceeded towards Bloemfontein. Enroute, they found the insurgents massed at Boomplaats. An advanced guard consisting of fifty members of the Cape Corps was forced to retire when it came under heavy fire from the farmers. The enemy became careless following their initial success with the result that they were exposed to a dramatic attack by the British, who advanced in full force and routed them. The entire battle lasted nearly three hours and is described by Sir Harry Smith as "one of the most severe skirmishes I believe ever witnessed."[79]

5.3.5 The C.M.R. is assisted by the Levies 1850–1852

In 1850 Lieutenant Colonel Sutton succeeded Colonel Somerset as Commanding Officer of the C.M.R. with headquarters at Grahamstown. The regiment at that time consisted of 33 officers and 868 men, one third of the latter being white. They were well equipped, disciplined and well mounted.[80]

On Christmas Day 1850 the longest and most severe of all frontier wars broke out. Sir Harry Smith found himself with many problems. Firstly his only mounted men, the C.M.R., were in a state of mutiny. Nearly all the black policemen who assisted in patrolling the frontier deserted to their fellow Xhosas tribesmen and were followed by over fifty coloured members of the C.M.R. The situation was aggravated when the coloured clans on the frontier also went over to the Xhosas. A further three hundred coloured men had to be disarmed. The rebels together with the Xhosas immediately occupied Fort Armstrong, near Fort Beaufort. Somerset, assisted by his son Major Charles Somerset moved against the Fort with a strong force of all arms, including 230 C.M.R. Coloured members of the regiment who stayed loyal to the British faced the agonizing decision of fighting against their relatives and friends. This they did with honour and distinction.[81]

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79) C.O. 1454, Smith's Boomplaat's despatch.

80) Africana Notes and News, Vol. 7, p. 47.

81) Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research, Volume 22, p. 31.
Blue Book 1851.

The Fort was recaptured on 22 January 1851 and a large number of coloured rebels were taken prisoner.[82)]

The fighting continued and except for commandos of farmers and the C.M.R., the Governor was without mounted troops. The reinforcements he asked for from England could not arrive for months.[83)] Finally in desparation and to the horror of the colonists the Governor enlisted every coloured man he could lay his hands on including the captured rebels and prisoners taken at Fort Armstrong and used them as mounted Levies against the Xhosas. These coloured men were commandeered from all over the Colony. The following Levies played a major rôle during this time:[84)]

Armstrong's Horse
Cape Town Levy
Genadendal Levy
Riversdale Levy
Clanwilliam Levy
Albany Levy
Kat River Levy

The officers and white N.C.O's of the C.M.R. stood up to this severe test throughout the long trying campaign.[85)]

5.3.6 The first decorations

Sir Harry Smith was very pleased with the bravery shown by several members of the Cape Corps during their participation in the various skirmishes and wars under his command. He was particularly impressed with their behaviour when his escort of members of the Cape Corps "had to run the gauntlet through a country swarming with enemies." He

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82) Africana Notes and News, Volume 7, p. 48.
83) Blue Book, 1851, p. 52.
84) Notes on the Military history of the Coloured, issued by the South African Defence Force, p. 5.
85) Africana Notes and News, Volume 7, p. 48.

ordered a special medal for gallantry and distinguished conduct to be designed. Members of this escort were among the recipients of this medal and a few were also awarded for the Battle of Boomplaats.[86]

Two men from the coloured mission station at Genadendal, Lodewijk Kleinhans (sergeant) and Johannes Jass (sergeant major) were decorated with these medals.[87]

5.3.7 The formation of the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police (F.A.M.P.) 1852–1855

On the 14th of January 1852 Sir Harry Smith was recalled on account of the dissatisfaction with the manner in which he conducted the war, and he was succeeded by Lieutenant-General Sir George Cathcart.[88]

By 1853 recruits from England arrived to strengthen the local force. At that time a third of the total force was coloured.[89]

The organising of the coloured levies and their maintenance in the field proved too costly for the British authorities. Sir George Cathcart was determined to reduce the number of these auxilliaries and he employed in their stead a force of armed and mounted white policemen. This Colonial police force officially became known as *The Frontier Armed and Mounted Police* from 1855. In the Eastern Province, this new corps enlisted whites only and was unregimented since their inception in 1852 up to 1855.[90]

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86) Difford, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

87) Moravian Mission: Diary December 1851. The medal is described by Difford in his book as follows: Obverse lion statant regardant upon a wreath of laurel.
Below 1851
Reversed in raised letters: "Presented by His Excellency Sir H.G. Smith, Bart., G.C.B., to ....., C.M.R., for gallantry in the field."

88) i. Cathcart, Sir George. Governor and commander-in-chief at the Cape. London 12.5.1794 – Inkerman (Russia) 5.11.1854. He took over the posts of governor and commander-in-chief of the Cape, with the rank of lieutenant-general from Sir Harry Smith on 31 March 1852. He was also instrumental in establishing the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police to assist the farmers against attacks from the black tribes.

ii. Theal, G.M., *History of South Africa since 1795*, Vol. 3 p. 111.

89) Africana Notes and News, Volume 7, p. 50.

90) Theal, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

Act No. 5 of 1878 the "Cape Yeomanry Act" for the first time excluded coloured men from military training. This Act made provision for a Permanent white Colonial Force. The F.A.M.P. became partly militarised when Act No. 9 of 1878 was promulgated and took the name of the Cape Mounted Riflemen, their only connection with the older unit. This unit was composed almost entirely of whites, although a few coloured men were retained.[91]

For the first time a distinction is made between military training for coloureds and whites in Act No. 7 of 1878 the "Burgher Force and Levies Act", and Act No. 10 of 1878, "Regulations of Volunteer Corps." Neither Act specifically prohibited the establishment of a coloured corps, and coloureds continue to serve their country faithfully.

5.4 The Period 1880–1902

During the Basuto War of 1880–81, more coloured men were used than whites. Some were used as soldiers and the rest in non-combatant capacities, principally in connection with transport.[92]

When the Matabele campaign started in Rhodesia in 1896, Major Robertson, an old officer of the Royal Dragoons, recruited in various parts of South Africa a strong contingent of "Cape boys." Cecil Rhodes convinced the British authorities of the value of using coloured men. The Cape Corps lived up to its reputation by rendering sterling service, as is evident from the despatches of Colonel Baden-Powell and later in the works of Colonel Plumer and Major Alderson. The Corps was disbanded in December 1896.[93]

The Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902) saw the coloureds fighting on both sides in non-combatant capacities as transport drivers and servants.

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91) Notes on the Military History of the Coloureds: Issues by the S.A.D.F., p. 5.

92) Basutoland Records, Volume 3, p. 582.

93) Notes on the Military History of the Coloureds: Issued by the S.A.D.F., p. 6.

Large numbers of coloured men were, however, armed by the British authorities and used as garrison troops. In most of the larger centres they were also incorporated into the so called "Town Guard" in separate companies as part of the defence programme during this particular war. The town of Oudtshoorn for instance had two companies of 100 men each.[94)]

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1) Difford, I., *The Story of the 1st Cape Corps*, p. 18.

CHAPTER 6

EARLY ATTEMPTS TO EDUCATE THE COLOURED PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA

The last five years of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth century can be regarded as a very significant period in the missionary field. It was during these years that a number of mission societies were established in Europe with a view to spreading the Gospel among the indigenous tribes of South Africa. The South African Missionary Society, an off shoot of the European missionary movement, was founded in 1799 and consisted predominantly of Cape burghers.[1)]

6.1 The status of the indigenous tribes in the Cape Colony

When the British took over from the Dutch East India Company in 1795, the Hottentots in the Cape Colony had sunk to a level of landless peasants. Circumstances had forced them to enter the services of the white settlers. A few Hottentot kraals which were later converted into missionary stations survived in the western Cape. The position in the east was, however, different in that no traces of Hottentot independence were left owing to the fact that the Hottentot tribes had been much weakened by Xhosa expansionism before the arrival of the settlers.[2)]

6.1.1 Census statistics

The census figures show that by 1805 there were 29,545 slaves and 20,006 Hottentots (including Bastards and Bushmen) in the Cape Colony. By 1821 the number had increased to 35,698 slaves and 28,835 Hottentots.[3)]

The size of the coloured people increased rapidly as indicated by the following official census figures:[4)]

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1) Du Plessis, J.: *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa*, p. 168.
2) Marais, J.S., *The Coloured People 1652 1937*, pp. 109–111.
3) *Ibid.*, p. 31.
4) *Census Report, 1960, Vol. 1.*

7 March 1875	196,562
5 April 1891	310,401
17 April 1904	444,991

6.1.2 Official Policy and legal status of the coloured people in the Cape Colony

When Janssen and Proot presented their report to the Council of Seventeen in 1649, they pointed out that the Hottentots possessed large herds of cattle and these could be used to provide fresh meat for the Dutch fleet on their way to the east. The indigenous people would be an ideal labour force and there would be an opportunity for the missionaries to convert them to Christianity.[5)]

Jan van Riebeeck,[6)] soon after his arrival, found the position extremely different from what was reported to him. He found the instructions to treat the Hottentots "gently", totally unacceptable because of their "thieving, laziness and general aggression" towards the white settlers. He regarded them "a brutal lot without conscience."[7)]

As a result of the settlers' problems with Hottentots, Van Goens proposed some form of territorial segregation.[8)] Several suggestions were made to the authorities, but these proved impracticable.[9)] It was eventually decided in 1685 that the Hottentots should be persuaded by means of gifts to accept certain boundaries.[10)]

The official policy of the Dutch was to regard the indigenous peoples as free and independent and not as subjects of the Dutch Government. They were to run their own affairs

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5) Theal, G., Mc C.: *History of South Africa before 1795,* II. p. 4.
6) Van Riebeeck Johan Anthoniszoon (Culemborg, Neth. 21.4.1619 + Batavia 18.1.1677) *DSAB Vol. II,* pp. 798–804. First Commander at the Cape. Reached the Cape on 6.4.1652 with three ships – *Drommedaris,* the *Reijger* and *Goede Hoop* and two cargo ships the *Olifant* and the *Walvis.* Compiled a Journal of his stay which is now found in the Archives, Cape Town. Established a progressive community at the Cape. Van Reibeeck and his wife left the Cape on 7.5.1662.
7) *Journal 1651–1662 I,* p. 51.
8) V.C. 36. *Rapporten der Commissarissen 1657–1764,* pp. 16–17.
9) *Journal of van Riebeeck II,* p. 554.
10) Theal, G., Mc C. *op. cit.,* p. 275.

and had to respect and obey the laws of the colony.[11] As far as the law was concerned, however, they were regarded as minors. It was evident that no Hottentot could therefore lay charges of any kind against a colonist as the authorities were afraid that "the Hottentots would, if this happened, be led to believe that they enjoy equal status with the burghers."[12]

Towards the end of Van Riebeeck's term of office certain measures were introduced to protect the Hottentots from exploitation and abuse by the burghers.[13]

The successive English and Batavian governments were also committed in their determination to ensure that the Hottentots were justly treated.[14]

6.1.3 Labour Regulations

In 1787 regulations were promulgated which prohibited Hottentots from moving from an established dwelling place without prior consent of the authorities. The purpose of this new regulation was twofold. Firstly the authorities hoped to curb the Hottentots from roaming aimlessly about the territory and secondly to provide a permanent labour force for the burghers.[15]

Further restrictions on the freedom of movement were introduced for the Hottentots with the introduction of the so called apprenticeship system in 1775. The measure made provision for Hottentot children from the age of one and a half years to be assigned to a farmer until they reached the age of 25 years.[16] This system was still enforced long after the Dutch left the colony.[17]

The English government at the Cape continued with similar regulations and eventually introduced a service contract with the sole purpose of protecting the Hottentots, thereby making sure that they honoured their part of the contract.[18]

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11) V.C. 36: *Rapporten der Commissarissen 1657–1764*, p. 106.
12) B.O. 21: Letters from Stellenbosch, Landdros and Heemrade Goewerneur G.2 1797, No. 139, p. 501.
13) C. 62: Resolutien 1787, 29.06.1787, p. 470.
14) B.O. 53: Letters Despatched, Yonge-Landdrost, 16.08.1800, p. 209.
15) C. 82: Resolutien, 1787, 29.06.1878, p. 470.
16) Theal, G., Mc C.: *History of South Africa before 1795, III*, p. 168.
17) G.R. 15/43: Contracts of Service, 1786–1882.
18) B.R. 34: Bijlagen, 18.04.1803, p. 194.

These new labour regulations were, however, not very effective as large numbers of Hottentots left the farming areas and either joined the local garrison or moved to the mission stations.

Further attempts by English Governors Caledon (1809) and Cradock (1812) to provide labourers to the farmers through the apprenticeship system and pass-laws proved successful and were extended in 1819 to include orphaned Hottentot children.

6.2 The Advent of the Missionaries

6.2.1 Jan van Riebeeck's attempts to educate the coloured people

Soon after establishing a settlement at the Cape in 1652, Jan van Riebeeck was determined that something should be done for the intellectual and moral welfare of the slaves. He was motivated firstly by the resolution of De Dotdsche Synode in 1618–19 which, because of the Dutch Government's Colonisation Policy, came to the conclusion that heathen children "should be instructed as they were ready for some form of education." Secondly because of his contact with Harry*, a Hottentot who was able to communicate with him.[20]

An early attempt by the Company's first Sick Comforter, Wijlant to educate the Hottentots, "and to teach them to read and write and thereby to lead them to salvation,"[21] proved disastrous. On two separate occasions Wijlant took a few Hottentots into his home, but eventually came to the conclusion that they were "a pathetic and impoverished people in body and soul bereft of all knowledge of God, living like animals with no conception of the Christian religion."[22] Their nomadic existence was one of the most important factors which made it extremely difficult for the settlers to embark on a meaningful educational programme for them.[23]

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19) *De Dotdsche Synode 1618–19*, pp. 104–7.
20) Van Riebeeck, J.,: *Journal I, 7.4.1652*, p.9.
21) Spoelstra, C.: *Bouwstoffen voor de Geschiedenis der Ndederduitsche-Gereformeerde Kerken in Zuid-Afrika (Vol. I, Amsterdam, 1906–1907)*, p. 4.
22) *Ibid.*
23) Du Plessis, J., *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa*, p. 25.
* Harry, a Khoikhoi (Hottentot) interpreter who used his knowledge of the Dutch language and his friendship with Van Riebeeck to enrich himself and gain political influence with the white settlers.

Jan van Riebeeck, however, had more success when he took into his household a Hottentot woman named Eva. His aim was to civilize and educate her. His efforts proved very successful, because at the age of fifteen she had a good command of the Dutch Language and she was encouraged to tell her people about Christianity and what she had been taught. She never forgot what she had been taught nor omitted to say her prayers.[24)]

After this initial success, two Hottentots were sent to Batavia after receiving their basic education in the Cape. One of them died in Batavia and the other one called Doman "raised considerable expectations as to his future usefulness."[25)]

Less than a month after the arrival of the first batch of slaves to be imported into the Cape Colony in 1658, Van Riebeeck opened a school for them. This was to be the first school to be established in South Africa. His brother-in-law Pieter van der Stael, the Sick-Comforter appointed by the Dutch East India Company, was the first teacher. The curriculum included the Dutch language and the rudiments of religion.[26)] By 1661 the enrolment included a few Hottentots.[27)]

The farmers were reluctant to allow their slaves to attend this school as it was situated near the Slave Lodge where conditions were very bad. Immorality was rife as no separate quarters were provided for men and women and between the hours 8 and 9 in the evenings the Lodge served as a brothel for soldiers and sailors.[28)]

The second school was established in 1663. Pieter van der Stael immediately put in a request for an increase in his salary as he intended to concentrate more on the education of the slave and Hottentot children.

The school opened with twelve white and four slave children and it is also recorded that a "Hottentoosie" was enrolled and was to receive free tuition together with the four slave children. White parents who could afford to do so, paid a small fee.[29)]

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24) Theal, G., Mc C.: *op. cit.*, p. 73.
25) Du Plessis, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
26) Van Riebeeck, J., : *Journal I, 17 April 1658.*
27) Horrell, M.: *The education of the Coloured Community 1652–1970,* p.3.
28) Walker, Eric, A.: *A History of Southern Africa,* p. 84.
29) V.C. 4: *Journal 1662–1666, 30.11.1663,* p. 495.

Not many Hottentots took advantage of the educational facilities offered as their numbers dwindled rapidly. This fact, together with the introduction of strict regulations by the Company for the control of its slaves after a number of them deserted, was apparently the main reason for the school being closed down by the authorities.[30]

While visiting the Cape Colony during 1682, Governor-General Van Goens ruled that all slave children under twelve years of age were to attend school, while those who were older were to receive instructions twice a week.[31] The response from the Hottentots was, however, very poor and few if any girls attended.[32]

The first attempt at a policy of segregating white and non-white children into separate schools was contained in a resolution passed by the Church Council in 1676. "The Political Council received the request sympathetically, but ruled that the best among the non-European children were to continue attending the existing school until such time as suitable provision could be made for non-European children."[33]

The first free school for the children of slaves was opened near the Slave Lodge in 1685. The children from the mixed school were transferred to this new school. Children of mixed ancestry were allowed to attend on condition their parents paid a small fee. Jan Pasqual, a half-breed, taught the boys while the girls were instructed by a freed slave named Margaret. Some emancipated slaves were later recruited as teachers. The attendance of pupils dropped from 84 in 1779 to 47 in 1794. The more advanced youths worked as apprentices with artisans and were taught useful trades.[34]

This school continued to function during the British Occupation of the Cape Colony. By 1823 the total enrolment had dropped to only 17 pupils. Several attempts by Lord Charles Somerset to revive the school by appointing new teachers failed and the school was finally closed after the emancipation of the slaves in 1834.[35]

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30) Du Plessis, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
31) *Ibid.*, p. 42.
32) Du Plessis, *op. cit.*, p. 168.
33) *Ibid.*
34) Horrell, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
35) *Ibid.*

The mixed school, which was established earlier for children of white and mixed blood, continued for several years with success. The emphasis was placed on getting the children to read the Bible in order to meet the duties of Church membership and to repeat the catechism and daily prayers. The children were also taught to write and to do basic arithmetic exercises in calculation, addition and the subtraction of guilders and stivers.[36]

6.2.2 The work of a few missionaries

There was a dramatic decline in missionary work in the Cape Colony at the beginning of 1670. This was attributed mainly to the "low state of private morality into which the colonists speedily relapsed."[37] Commissioner Van der Broeck blamed the colonists for not setting a good example and thereby negating any effort made by the missionaries to Christianize the slaves and the Hottentots.

This prompted Van Goens on leaving the Cape to instruct Van der Stael as follows: "It would be a very desirable thing if we could induce the Hottentots to adopt some kind of civilized habits, and thus teach them to be faithful to us."[38]

Missionary endeavour increased at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Rev. Kalden of Cape Town gave a very positive report on his missionary work and mentioned among other things the progress that had been made in educating white and slave children.[39]

Kalden was very keen to educate the Hottentots. He acquired a good command of their language and was able to do a lot for them. His work was interrupted in 1708 when he had to return to Holland to defend himself against accusations brought against him by his colleagues. "The Hottentots were thus deprived of the service of one who had grappled with the difficulties of their language, and might well have become their earliest spiritual teacher."[40]

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36) Du Plessis, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
37) Moorrees, A.: *Die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Afrika 1652–1873*, p. 362.
38) Moodie, D.: *The Record, or a series of official papers relative to the condition and treatment of Native tribes in South Africa*, p. 116.
39) Spoelstra, C.: Bouwstoffen ... *op. cit.*, Kalden-Classis, Amsterdam, 2.4.1706,p.87.
40) Du Plessis, *op. cit.*, p.47.

Francois Valentyn the explorer writer, visited the Cape on four occasions. It was during these visits in 1685, 1695, 1705 and 1714 that he came to the conclusion that: "It appears that some elements of knowledge can be important to these people, however stupid and ignorant they have hitherto been considered."[41)]

No systematic missionary policy was thus applied during this period except for the work of a few concerned individuals. The well known missionary George Schmidt was the first person to introduce and implement a systematic plan to christianize and educate the Hottentots in 1737.

George Schmidt sailed from Germany on board the ship " 't Huis te Rensburg" and arrived at the Cape on the 9th July 1737.[42)] He was a member of the Moravians or United Brethren with headquarters in Saxony. Immediately after this arrival he proceeded to the Company's outpost in the Sonderend River valley where he built a hut and cultivated a patch of ground. After seven months he decided to move closer to the Hottentot settlement and eventually established Baviaanskloof.[43)]

He was initially well received by the colonists and the authorities. The Political Council even commended him for his efforts in trying to christianize and educate the Hottentots.[44)] These praises were, however, shortlived and it was not long afterwards that Schmidt was condemned by the very same people who had earlier lavished praises on him for his work. The real reason was the colonists and Political Council's refusal to accept any foreign missionaries except the Dutch, at the Cape.[45)] Another reason for his departure was the fact that he could not baptize converts, neither could he dispense the Sacrament of Holy Communion.

He applied for an ordination licence to the head of the Moravian mission in Europe and also declared his willingness to submit to an examination by the Reformed Ministers in Cape Town. On receiving his licence in 1742 he immediately baptized five Hottentots. The established Church lodged an objection when some of the colonists complained.

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41) Theal, G. Mc C.: *History of South Africa before 1795 III,* p. 68.
42) Theal, G., Mc C.: *op. cit.,* p. 68.
43) Du Plessis, *op. cit.,* p. 54.
44) C. 30: Resolutien Political Council, 11.07.1737.
45) Du Plessis, *op. cit.,* p. 54.

Schmidt was summoned to Cape Town and forbidden to dispense the Sacraments of baptism and Holy Communion. Rather than submit to the Church's ruling, he decided shortly afterwards, in 1744, to leave the country.[46)]

Schmidt's first school was opened on the 4th May 1739 for adults and children at Baviaanskloof. The school day was short, owing to the fact that the Hottentots could not concentrate for long periods of time, but he managed to have a full hour during the evenings as well. The men, women and the boys were divided into two classes while the girls were grouped in one class. By 1740 he had a class of 32 consisting of 10 men, 10 women, 7 boys and 5 girls. Among these, fifteen were able to read the Bible.[47)]

George Schmidt could thus be regarded as the first missionary/teacher amongst the Hottentots. The Hottentots had to wait nearly fifty years before they were again subjected to some form of educational programme during the great religious revival in Europe and other parts of the world at the end of the eighteenth century. The Moravians were again to play a leading role in this revival and especially amongst the Hottentots in South Africa.

6.2.3 White education in the early days of the Cape Colony

As the colonists extended their agricultural activities away from Cape Town, new villages were established in the hinterland. As these villages grew, elementary schools for the colonists' children were established. Although these schools were primarily envisaged for white children, slave children were also admitted. In 1737 there were four of these schools and by 1779 the number had increased to eight, with an enrolment of 111 white children and 25 children of mixed blood. The schools were under the control of an educational commission called the Scholarch, which worked under the supervision of the Governor and his council.[48)]

The needs of the children of the farmers in the outlying districts were also catered for. The services of the itinerant teachers provided only the most rudimentary education. Some of them were quite well-educated men, who on account of some misdemeanours

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46) Marais, *op. cit.*, p. 135.
47) Extracts from Periodical Accounts .... Schmidt -- Directors, Moravian Mission, 18.11.1840, p.2.
48) Malherbe, E.G., *Education in S.A.*, p. 37.

fled into the interior to escape being brought to justice by the authorities. Besides their duties as teachers they also assisted with chores on the farm and many of them earned an extra income acting as scribes for particular families. Some good hearted farmers allowed their slaves' children to attend these classes, but the majority did not.[49)]

6.3 The Moravian Mission in South Africa

After an absence of nearly fifty years, the Moravian Missionary Society was again granted permission to continue their work at the Cape.

6.3.1 The arrival of the Moravian Missionaries

H. Marsveld, D. Schwinn and J.C. Kühnel were the three missionaries selected to continue with the work of George Schmidt. Practically no evidence was left of his work except for a pear tree which he had planted. They also found an old Hottentot woman at the station who regularly read the Bible. They reached the conclusion that she could not have been instructed personally by Schmidt, but may have been instructed by one of his pupils.[50)]

The statistics on their arrival reflected 25 adults and at the end of the first month the number had grown to 41 which number increased to 80 at the end of April. Within a month a garden was laid out, a house built and a school for the Hottentots was established with an initial enrolment of 61 children, some of whom had to cover great distances to attend this school.[51)]

The work progressed rapidly. At the end of 1794 they had to apply to their headquarters for permission to enlarge the building which they used as a house, church and school. Permission to proceed with extending this all purpose structure was only received in 1795 and on the 24th March 1796 the new building was officially opened and consecrated.[52)]

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49) Horrell, M.: *The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa 1652–1970*, p. 5.
50) Cruse, H.P.: *Geskiedkundige Oorsig oor Kleurlingonderwys*, p. 4.
51) Schmidt, R.: *Terugblik op het begin en de voortgang van het werk in de School te Genadendal* 1737 1814 en 15 Julie 1814 15 Julie 1914, p. 2.
52) Liebenberg, B.A.: *Vroeë pogings om die Hottentotte op te voed (1795–1814)*, p. 43.

The first official church building was started in 1798 when permission was granted by Macartney. The corner stone was unveiled on the 8th January 1799 and in January 1800 the church was officially consecrated. The Hottentots were responsible for making 200,000 bricks and the timber was supplied by the government forests. The church provided seating for one thousand people.[53)]

6.3.2 Attitudes of the colonists towards the missionaries

The colonists soon began to oppose the work of the missionaries maintaining that the missionaries treated the Hottentots as friends and proposed giving them an education that was not available to the burgher children. Hostility increased when large numbers of Hottentots began leaving farms in the district to go to Baviaanskloof. Antagonism between the two groups was so bad that Governor Sluysken, in order to appease the colonists, refused to give permission for the erection of a church.[54)]

Attitudes towards the Moravians changed during the British Occupation in 1795. They were encouraged to continue with their educational work and the British even provided a garrison at Zoetemelk Valley near Baviaanskloof to protect them.[55)]

Complaints from the colonists continued for some time. Farmers in the adjoining areas accused the Hottentots of trespassing on their lands and later border disputes arose between farmers and the missionaries. General Craig instructed his officials to draw up a detailed report of complaints with regard to border disputes.[56)]

The attitudes of the farmers gradually changed as they discovered that the Hottentots who had been trained at the mission made better employees than did the rest.[57)]

The Moravians were dedicated in their work and proved to be very successful despite the opposition and sometimes hostilities from the farmers. The Hottentots were taught to

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53) Schmidt, R., *op. cit.*, p. 78.
54) Du Plessis, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
55) Liebenberg, B.A., *op. cit.*, p. 44.
56) B.O. 49: Letters Despatched, Craig – van der Riet, 27 G, 1796, p. 166.
57) Marais, *op. cit.*, pp. 142–166.

forego their nomadic mode of life, to build cottages, to acknowledge the dignity of labour and the need for discipline and regular habits and to grow corn. By 1813 various artisan shops were operating and gardens flourished.[58)]

The progress so impressed Governor Janssens during an official visit, that he made a small government grant on behalf of the Batavian Republic. It was also at his suggestion that the name of the mission was changed to Genadendal (Vale of Grace).[59)]

The British government also gave recognition to the work of the missionaries after they re-occupied the Cape in 1806 when the Earl of Caledon visited Genadendal and offered the missionaries a second site at Groenkloof, now known as Mamre between Cape Town and Saldanha Bay. Further stations which were to play a very important role in the culture and history of the coloured people were later established at Eton in the eastern Cape, Elim in the present district of Bredasdorp and Wittewater and Goedverwacht near the present Piketberg.[60)]

The very first attempt at the training of teachers in South Africa was undertaken by the Moravians when they began training Hottentot teachers at Genadendal.[61)]

6.3.3 The Moravians' educational policy

Under the missionaries' influence it was obvious that the Hottentots were making the difficult transition from a nomadic to a more settled life.[62)]

A strict code of discipline was applied at the mission station. Hottentots who transgressed any of the laws were temporarily forbidden to attend church services or to attend the school or their land was taken away from them. One Hottentot who assaulted his wife regarded the confiscation of his A-B-C-reading book as "the greatest punishment that could have been given to him."[63)]

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58. Horrell, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
59) Du Plessis, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
60) Horrell, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
61) Horrell, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
62) Marais, J.S., *op. cit.*, p. 145.
63) Geschied *Verhaal van Genadendal*, p. 15.

Religious instruction and the conversion of the Hottentots to Christianity was the primary aim of the Moravians. Other educational aspects used in their programmes were the means by which they hoped to achieve this aim. Provision was therefore made for children as well as adults in their educational system.[64]

(a) Religious and general education

The building erected in 1792, as already mentioned, was used to house the missionaries, as a church and also as a classroom. During bad weather, the place was very uncomfortable and crowded but on good days the classes were held in the open under the old pear tree planted by George Schmidt.

Classes started at eight in the morning for the adults followed by a session for the children who were also instructed in the afternoons but the adults had to attend evening classes as well. The day programme consisted of formal instructions in reading, writing and handwork while the evenings were taken up with religious instruction.[65]

It often happened that some of the Hottentots left the mission to take up employment with the farmers which caused considerable problems when they returned to the mission station. During the harvesting season classes for the adults were temporarily suspended when the farmers needed labourers to assist them in harvesting their crops. Classes for the children continued except for Saturdays and Wednesdays when the school was closed.[66]

Except for the normal tuition in religious instruction, reading and writing, provision was also made for the Hottentot women to be instructed in the basic domestic practices by the wives of the missionaries, although some difficulty in obtaining a regular attendance by the Hottentot women was experienced.[67]

A significant breakthrough came in April 1812 when the governor presented the missionaries with a book entitled "The British System of Education", by J. Lancaster. The missiona-

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64) Periodical Accounts. (Diary of Missionaries), p. 10.
65) Geschied *Verhaal van Genadendal*, p. 15.
66) Periodical Accounts ... Diary (9.2.1792), p. 24.
67) Theal, G.: *Records, X*, Rapport Rondgaande Hof - Cradock 1813, p. 91.

ries from then on used the book extensively in their educational programme which proved to be a tremendous success.[68)]

A visit by the Colonial Chaplain, the Rev. R. Jones on the 30 September 1813, proved to be an added boon. He was on his way to Swellendam as a member of the newly appointed School Commission to establish a new school based on the Lancasterian method. The missionaries made use of the opportunity to learn as much as they could from him and applied it in their own school at Genadendal.[69)]

On a visit to Genadendal, the Rev. Jones realised the importance of a separate school building and immediately proceeded to raise the necessary capital for this purpose. His own contribution of 100 Rix-dollars "for the purpose of introducing the system of education recommended and practised by Dr. Bell and Mr Lancaster", was followed by other sympathetic donors such as Lady Cradock, the Bible and School Commission, Reverends Hough, Fleck, Hesse, A. Faure and others.[70)]

The foundations of the new school building measuring fifty by twenty two feet was prepared on the 27th January 1814. At that stage the pupil enrolment stood at 243. The school was completed on the 15th July of that same year. The boys received instructions during the period before lunch time and the girls during the afternoons.[71)]

The building Fund launched by the Rev. Jones was a tremendous success. At the end of July 1814 the fund stood at 1849 Rix-dollars 4 skillings of which 17 Rix-dollars were contributed by the children themselves. Final estimates showed a shortfall of only 427 Rix-dollars, 1 skilling.[72)]

(b) Agricultural education

The Moravians devoted their energies almost exclusively to social and economic improvement of the inhabitants of their institutions and achieved excellent results. Agricultural education was an important aspect of this programme.

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68) Liebenberg, B.A., *op. cit.*, p. 52.
69) Schmidt, R., *op. cit.*, p. 4.
70) *Ibid.*
71) *Ibid.*
72) *Ibid.*

It was the policy of the Moravian Brothers to encourage every family unit to cultivate a patch of ground. Visitors to the mission stations were impressed with the results. The ground was very fertile with fruit trees growing and variety of vegetables such as potatoes, maize, pumpkin, watermelon and leguminous plants which "cheer the eye and prepossess the heart with a favourable idea of the Institution itself."[73]

Besides the two or three morgen of ground allocated to each family, a large tract of ground was communally worked and produced a good crop of corn annually. The Hottentots were instructed in crop rotation, harvesting methods, the care of implements, methods of fertilization and irrigation.[74]

(c) Handicraft

Where agriculture was used as the means to economic independence, handwork was taught as the basis of community service.

In building their own homes, and other public structures, like the church and school, they had to make their own bricks, window-frames, doors and rafters. Even the simple tables and chairs found in their homes were evidence of the progress that had been made in educating the Hottentots.[75]

As black-smiths they were trained as wagon builders and were even taught to manufacture such items as knives which proved very popular with the farmers although they were more expensive than the ones imported from Britain.[76]

The missionaries at Genadendal were more successful than their counterparts at Bethelsdorp in providing a much broader type of education. They placed considerable emphasis on the dignity of labour, discipline and cleanliness "and to practise these social virtues as religious duties," which prompted visitors to remark that "the beneficial effects of this instruction are visible in walking through this little Hottentot village."[77]

73) Theal, G., *Records X*: Rondgaande Hof-Cradock 1813, p. 91.
74) *Ibid.*
75) Burchell, W.J., : *op. cit.*, p. 112.
76) Von Bouchenroeder, B.F.,: *op. cit.*, p. 112.
77) Theal, G.,: *op. cit.*, p. 91.

6.3.4 Groene Kloof[78)]

Governor Caledon (1807–11) was so impressed with the work of the Moravians at Genadendal that he asked them to start a new station at the Groene Kloof and handed over to them three Government farms, Groene Kloof, Cruywagens Kraal and Louw's Kloof, on which there were living about 100 Hottentots under the control of a captain called Klapmuts. The ground was very fertile and was good grazing land with ample timber and a good water supply.[79)]

In March 1803 the missionaries Kohrhammer and Schmidt, together with their wives, proceeded to Groene Kloof to establish, with the help of the Government, a new station.[80)]

Since 1808 more than 600 Hottentots and people of mixed blood established themselves at the new station "gradually improving in civilization and besides being taught to believe the Gospel, they are instructed by the missionaries in useful arts."[81)]

Caledon's successors, Cradock and Somerset, considered it a great pity that land so ideally suited for a Governor's country residence should have been given away. Some of the neighbouring farmers also showed considerable hostility to the new institution. Somerset went further when he suggested in 1814 that the Groene Kloof missionaries break up their settlement and transfer the inhabitants to Genadendal. Through the intervention of the friends of the missionaries, the Colonial Secretary in England ordered Somerset to afford to Groene Kloof the "security which is necessary to give permanence to that useful institution."[82)]

Groene Kloof as a station proved a partial success but could never really equal the good work which was done at Genadendal.

The Moravians laid a solid foundations and played a significant role in the education of the coloured people of South Africa. Their success at Genadendal can be attributed to the

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78) The Groene Kloof Institution, known since 1853 as Mamre, is situated some forty miles northof Cape Town.
79) Marais, *op. cit.*, p. 140.
80) *George Schmidt ensy opvolgers*, p. 22.
81) Theal, G., : *Records X*: Latrobe - Bathurst, 9.3.1815., p.259.
82) Theal, G., : *Records IX*, pp. 35, 259–63.

methods they applied: "Without neglecting to preach and to teach, they (Moravians) taught the Hottentots the necessity of toiling with their hands. As practical artisans they were able to instruct the Hottentots in the trades they had themselves mastered."[83]

6.4 The South African Missionary Society

During the eighteenth century nothing that is worthy of mention was done by the Church or any missionary society towards the christianization of the slaves in the Cape Colony. Even the benches reserved for slaves in the Groote Kerk, Cape Town, were no longer used by them at the end of the century.[84]

By the end of the eighteenth century, however, the Protestant Churches in England were caught in the grip of an evangelical revival with the emphasis on missionary work amongst the slaves. This resulted in the establishment of the "Society for Missions in Africa and the East" in England in 1776, the "London Missionary Society" in 1795, the Netherlands Missionary Society" (Rotterdam) in 1797 and two years later in England the "Religious Tract Society."[85]

6.4.1 The founding of the South African Missionary Society

In 1799 the South African Missionary Society was formed as a direct result of a letter from the London Missionary Society and the efforts of its bearer Dr. van der Kemp. While the other missionary societies interested themselves almost exclusively in Hottentots and Blacks, this indigenous society, whose members consisted predominantly of Cape burghers, from the outset turned its attention to the slaves.[86]

Several ministers were eager to proceed with the work in the colony. Two pioneers in the field were Rev. van Lier* and Rev. M.C. Vos** (who was a slave-owner himself).[87]

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83) Du Plessis, *op. cit.*, p.235.
84) Marais, J.S., *op. cit.*, p. 168.
85) *Zuid Afrikaanse Tydschrift, II*, p. 17.
86) Marais, *op. cit.*, p. 168.
87) *Ibid.*

* Van Lier, Helperus Ritzema (4.11.1764 – 21.3.1791) *DSAB Vol. II*, pp. 788–790. Scholar and minister at the Cape. Arrived at the Cape on 8 October 1785. He was a firm believer in education. As a writer he made a name for himself.

** Vos, Michiel Christiaan (Cape Town 31.12.1759 – +Tulbagh 26.12.1825). *DSAB Vol. II*, pp. 822–824). Minister at the Cape. Spent 13 years in Holland as a minister and returned to S.A. in 1793.

"Het Zuid Afrikaansche Genootschap ter bevordering van Uitbreiding van Christus Koningrijk" (The South African Missionary Society) had as its basic aim – "to enlighten the ignorant and to teach the heathen."[88] Throughout the Colony correspondents were appointed to liaise with the Society and to arrange fund raising drives.

A further extension of the South African Missionary Society's work was the establishment of local committees in the outlying areas whose sole purpose was to encourage and support financially their mission workers. De Mist[89] was not very pleased about these committees and only allowed them to continue with their work under the strict supervision of a local church council.[90]

Meanwhile in Cape Town, the Directors of the South African Missionary Society emphasised their desire ... "to concentrate all their energies on the heathen youth and through education develop them intellectually and thereby making them susceptible to the truth."[91] Financial and other considerations prevented the appointment of a person "capable of being appointed schoolmaster and who will be able to take on full responsibility for educational matters."[92] Consequently an appeal was directed to the Rotterdam Society via the London Missionary Society "for a Dutch schoolmaster, well qualified (examined and promoted) as an evangelist", to be appointed at the Cape.[93]

It is evident, therefore, that the South African Missionary Society's aim was twofold. Firstly to convert the heathens to the Christian Faith and secondly to educate and teach the heathen children. The control of the schools for the children was vested in the School Commission. The Society was permitted to nominate at least three of its members to serve on the School Commission. Except for the examinations conducted by the School Commission, provision was also made for an annual public examination for the children.[94]

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88) S.A.M.S. 4/1: *Report* – 25.8.1802.
89) De Mist, Jacob, Abraham, Uitenhage (*Zalbommel, Netherland, 30.4.1749 – + Voorburg, 30.4, *DSAB. Vol. II,* pp. 174–179) Commissioner-general of the Batavian Republic at the Cape. He arrived in Table Bay on 23.12.1802.
90) Liebenberg, *op. cit.,* p. 70.
91) S.A.M.S. 3/1: Letters Despatched, Directors S.A.M.S. – Directors L.M.S., undated.
92) *Ibid.*
93) *Ibid.*, Ref. also S.A.M.S. 3/2 Books on Despatched Letters. Directors S.A.M.S.– Directors Rotterdam Missionary Society 10.9.1801, p. 2.
94) S.A.M.S. 4/2: Minutes and Reports, Bywetten van het Z.A.Z.G., 25.8.1802.

The schools established in 1810 and 1813 for the slaves functioned only on Sundays and Thursday evenings and provided religious and secular instruction. The enrolment of these schools numbered 500 and another 150 were instructed on Wednesday and Fridays. The teachers were very pleased with the childrens' progress.[95]

6.4.2 The South African Missionary Society's educational policy

The work of the South African Missionary Society soon expanded throughout the Colony. Local co-ordinating committees were established at Stellenbosch, Wagenmakersvallei, Roodezand, Graaff-Reinet, and wherever a concentration of burghers and their slaves were found.[96]

Later many of these branches became independent centres such as the one at Stellenbosch.[97] A number of missionaries were sent from London and Rotterdam to assist with the work in the Cape Colony. Men like van der Lingen, Read, Tromp, Anderson, Bakker, Vorster and Manenberg made substantial contributions to the missionary work in this country.[98]

M.J. Bakker did outstanding work in Stellenbosch with the consent and support of the local Church Council. On Sundays he preached in the Church and during the week he devoted his time in teaching the slave children – "the total, if all attended, numbered about forty."[99] Progress was so good that some of them were able to read from the Bible.[100]

All over the Colony Missionaries were actively engaged in converting and educating the slave and other indigenous peoples. The Directors were inundated with requests for "capable schoolmasters who could assist in driving out the deep rooted ignorance,"[101] found among the natives.

6.5 The London Missionary Society (L.M.S.)

The London Missionary Society was the first British society to commence its labours in the Cape Colony in 1799.

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95) S.A.M.S. 7/1: School Commission minutes – Erection der Scholen.
96) Liebenberg, B.A., *op. cit.*, p.74.
97) S.A.M.S.,: 11/1: Minutes on Stellenbosch Centre, 1910–1825.
98) S.A.M.S., 1/2: Minutes Board of Directors, 9.5.1804.
99) S.A.M.S., 2/2: Letters from Bakker to Directors, 11.9.1804.
100) *Ibid.*
101) S.A.M.S. 2/3: Letter from May to Directors, 19.4.1800.

As previously stated, its foundation, like that of its sister societies in Britain, may be directly traced to the great Evangelical Revival heralded by the Wesleys.

For thirty years this British society laboured in South Africa and was later followed by a number of other societies. Its advent marked the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the coloured people as well as in the general history of South Africa.

The L.M.S., being British with British non conformist traditions, had an entirely different attitude to the Government. Its missionaries in the Cape Colony, whether of British or Dutch nationality, had grown up in countries with a true democratic spirit, where criticism of the Government was not only legitimate but also habitual. The two most outstanding missionaries of the L.M.S. were the Dutchman Dr. van der Kemp[102] who held strong political views while still living in his native land and the Scotsman Dr. Philip[103] who was continually accused of being more of a politician than a missionary.[104]

Van der Kemp, probably the most outstanding figure among the Colonial missionaries, laboured for some time (1794–1802) among the Xhosas beyond the eastern frontier before deciding to move into the Colony and work among the Hottentots. His decision to abandon his work beyond the eastern frontier was precipitated by the frequent attacks of Xhosa tribesmen and rebel Hottentots.[105]

The Dutch Governor, General Janssens,[106] in 1803 offered Dr. van der Kemp a site for a Hottentot settlement near Algoa Bay and thus the institution of Bethelsdorp was established.[107]

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102) Van der Kemp, Johannes, Theodorus (Rotterdam Netherlands, 17.5.1747 – +Cape Town 15.12.1811, *DSAB. Vol. II,* pp. 774–777). Dutch officer physician and missionary of the L.M.S. He was ordained a minister in the Crown Court Chapel, London on 16.11.1798. Arrived in Cape Town on 31.3.1799 with three other assistant missionaries. Worked with the Hottentots but was very unpopular with the farmers. Established the mission station of Betheldorp on 2.6.1803.

103) Philip, John (14.4.1777 –27.8.1851, *DSAB. Vol. I,* pp. 612–620). Superintendent of the L.M.S. in South Africa, minister of the Congregational Church in South Africa. Departed for S.A. in 1819. All philantropic and humanitarian undertakings received his active support. Was an advocate of the rights of the Hottentot race. Philip had a great influence on education at the Cape and also devoted considerable attention to the slaves.

104) Marais, J.S., *op. cit.,* p. 142.

105) B.O. 55: Letters Despatched, Smyth – Van der Kemp, 15.9.1802, No. 203.

106) Janssens, Jan Willem (*Nijmegen, the Netherlands, 12.10.1762 – +The Hague, 23.5.1838, *DSAB. Vol. III,* pp. 442–444) Dutch general and Governor of the Cape Colony from 1803–1806. After he surrendered to the English in 1806, he went back to the Netherlands where he held a number of important posts.

107) B.R. 93. Brieven van Gov. Janssens op zijn Landreizen geschreven, Janssens – van der Kemp, 31.5.1803, p. 234.

Van der Kemp soon realised the unsuitability of the land which had been selected for him and soon after the second British Occupation more than one effort was made to have the Bethelsdorp institution removed to a more suitable site. Several suggestions were put forward and Governor Caledon even appointed two commissioners to deal with the matter, but to no avail.[108)]

6.5.1 The attitude of the colonists towards the work of the L.M.S.

For many years Bethelsdorp was the centre from which there emanated strong criticism both of the colonists and the Government, who maintained that the Bethelsdorp institution was nothing but a "hotbed of indolence and vice", and that by keeping the Hottentots at the institution the missionaries were depriving the colonists of a much needed labour force. To these critics Van der Kemp replied that ..."the Hottentots are recognized to be free people, and the colonists have no more right to force them to labour than you have to sell them as slaves."[109)]

There is no denying the courage and ability of Van der Kemp in his efforts to secure a fair and just policy for the Hottentots. On the other hand in his hot resentment of the abuses he witnessed or was told about (and intended to believe without sufficient investigation), at times he defied the Government in a way which it could not condone. This criticism of the Government continued for some time, even during Philip's regime, but they never went so far as to disobey a direct Government order if it could possibly be carried out.[110)]

6.5.2 Official policy and the educational work of the missionaries amongst the coloured inhabitants

The authorities at the Cape came to the conclusion that everything possible had to be done to "encourage these institutions for instructing and civilizing the Hottentots."[111)]

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108) Marais, *op cit.*, pp. 142–144.
109) Lovett, R., : *The History of the London Missionary Society, I*, p. 509.
110) Marais, *op. cit.*, p. 143.
111) Theal, G. Mc C.: *Records ... IV*, 31.10.1801, p. 90.

In his scheme "for amending the Interior Policy in the colony of the Cape of Good Hope," W.S. van Ryneveld strongly recommended the establishment of such schools that will contribute to peace and stability within the Colony.

His recommendations included the following:

(a) Schools to be registered with the authorities.
(b) Yearly returns to be submitted to the magistrate reflecting the number of Hottentots at these schools.
(c) The number of Hottentots at these schools to be restricted unless evidence could be produced that they would be able "either through gardening, hiring themselves for the whole or part of the year to the farmers in the neighbourhood, or other modes of industry."[112]

Even General Janssens had to admit initially that Hottentots formed an integral part of the Colony's development and that they had to be protected and educated.[113] This attitude gradually changed and by 1805 he reported to the Batavian Government: "The work of some missionaries to convert the heathen has been without progress and they are actually doing more harm than good."[114]

This resulted in the issue of a proclamation[115] by Janssens on the 23rd of February whereby a number of restrictions were placed on the missionaries and their work. This meant that the missionaries were allowed to operate within the boundaries of the colony, but nobody from Bethelsdorp was allowed to leave the institution without prior permission from the authorities. Only Hottentots without a fixed abode were allowed into the institution so that those in the employ of local farmers could not leave their work to live at Bethelsdorp.

The missionaries were also forbidden to instruct the Hottentots in reading and writing as this was, according to the authorities, not necessary in the civilizing process. The mission-

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112) Theal, G. Mc C., *Records ... IV*, 31.10.1801, p. 90.
113) B.R. 117: Instruction 4.7.1803, p. 8.
114) Col. Arch. 4375: Janssens – As. Read, 8.1.1805, Janssens Br. and Bijl, 1802–1806, p. 259.
115) Report – *Commissioners of Inquiry upon the Hottentot of the Cape of Good Hope*, Cape Press, I, p. 14.

aries were also instructed to show allegiance to the Batavian Government in their daily programmes, with specific reference to religious instruction.[116]

These drastic measures were primarily aimed at Van der Kemp and his workers at Bethelsdorp where they were confined until 1805 when war broke out and he and Read were summoned by Janssens to Cape Town. They were released in March 1806 when the English for the second time occupied the Cape, and were allowed to continue with their work at Bethelsdorp.[117]

(a) General Education

The work at the mission stations was divided into certain categories. These categories were defined according to the abilities and interest of the missionaries ("naar mate van onderscheidene geschiktheden der Zendelingen").[118] So for instance some missionaries were responsible for religious instruction and others were responsible for matters pertaining to education. In 1802 Van der Kemp decided to make one missionary responsible for education.[119]

Initially children and adults were educated together during the morning and evening periods. Van der Kemp was himself responsible for catechism every Wednesday morning and Saturday afternoon, while the teaching of the children in reading and writing was left to Brother Smith.[120]

The educational policy of Bethelsdorp was centred round religious instruction. Therefore in order to be able to read the Bible, the Hottentots had to be taught to read and write. This was basic policy until the Batavian authorities in 1805 forbade the missionaries to instruct the Hottentots in the art of writing, although Van der Kemp and Read immediately continued with instructing their Hottentots in writing on their return from Cape Town where they were detained.[121]

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116) Liebenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 99.
117) Transactions III, Read – Directors, L.M.S. 10.2.1807, p. 153.
118) S.A.M.S. 5/3: Instructions to Missionaries, 1799–1926.
119) *Ibid.*
120) Transactions – III: Wimmer – Bogue, 1.1.1817, p. 410 and Read – Whitaker, 23.1.807, pp. 155–6.
121) Liebenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

So much emphasis was placed on these two aspects (reading and writing) at Bethelsdorp that Collins in his report remarked ... "Persons of all ages and sexes were employed in this study; and some above the middle age, were learning the alphabet."[122] In his report, Collins recommended that attention also be given to agricultural and technical education.[123]

The missionaries at Bethelsdorp were very keen to establish an orphanage and this prompted Van der Kemp to write to his authorities for permission to commence with this work ... "In other places, it serves only for the education of orphans, and children abandoned by their parents, but at Bethelsdorp, and in general among the Hottentots the education of children is so shamefully neglected, that we fear the rising generation, which is numerous, will become burdensome and even dangerous to the colony, unless some efficacious means be adopted, by which children, belonging to the institution, may, from their infancy, be accustomed to an industrious and decent life."[124]

To achieve this aim it was further recommended that a seminary be established where not only orphans could be educated, but also children neglected by their parents. These children were to work in order to support themselves at the institutions.[125]

The financing of the proposed project would be divided between headquarters in England and the children themselves "who may be employed in manufacturing soap, mats, straw hats, baskets, leather caps and fishing nets, as tailors, shoemakers', carpenters or smiths' work."[126] It is also further recommended that a school for girls be established where they could be taught in needlework, knitting and weaving.[127]

Van der Kemp realised that it was almost impossible to implement all the recommendations immediately but emphasised that a beginning should be made and that the other recommendations should be gradually introduced when the finance and manpower was available.[128]

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122) Theal, G. Mc C., *Records ... VIII,* Collins' Report, 6.8.1809, p. 107.
123) *Ibid.*
124) S.A.M.S. 4/2: Report for 1809, p. VI.
125) S.A.M.S. 4/2: Report for 1809, p. VI.
126) *Ibid.*
127) *Ibid.*
128) S.A.M.S. 4/2: Report for 1809, p. VI.

Van der Kemp believed very strongly in the freedom of choice and this was very evident in his approach to the education of the Hottentots, "for ... according to the system adopted there, everyone must have his liberty so far even that no person was allowed to force the children to school."[129] When the authorities again enquired "with regard to the children, who should constitute the chief object of instruction and civilization," he (Van der Kemp) replied "that the most unlimited freedom of choice was allowed them, whether they though prefer to go to school or not, for instruction."[130]

(b) Agricultural Education

During the British occupation of the Cape, Dundas instructed one of his officials, Bresler, to look for a suitable site for a mission station for Van der Kemp and that "its local advantages and fertility must be adequate to the numbers that are to subsist there."[131] The British plan never materialised and it was left to Janssens when his government took control of the colony to appoint a commission consisting of, amongst others, James Read and Dirk van Reenen to look for a suitable site for the proposed mission station. Janssens emphasised that the ground should be suitable "to enable the Hottentots to lay out gardens, establish wheatfields and pasturages for their cattle."[132] They were also instructed to look at the water resources as this will be vital for the agricultural development of the institution.[133] Janssens was already committed to the idea of concentrating on the agricultural development of the institution as a means to economic independence.[134]

The whole scheme was, however, not very successful on account of the poor condition of the soil and inadequate water supplies.[135] Consequently the missionaries appealed to the authorities for better land "where agricultural activities could be initiated, because the longer we have to wait the more time is wasted in doing nothing."[136]

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129) Theal, G. Mc C.: *Records VIII*, p. 303.
130) *Ibid.*
131) B.O. 54: Letters Despatch, Ross – Bresler, 27.11.1801, p. 291.
132) B.R. III: Notulen De Mist, 12.1.1804, p. 292.
133) Van Reenen, D.G.,: *Journal*, Janssens – Van Reenen, 28.5.1803, p. 20.
134) B.R. 93: Brieven van Gov. Janssens, Van der Kemp and Read – Janssens, 13.5.1803, p. 247.
135) S.A.M.S. 2/3: Letters Received, Tromp – Directors, 29.4.1805.
136) *Ibid.*

The hard work paid dividends when in 1808 they had a good harvest of corn, rye, rice, beans, peas and pumpkin. For the first time they could produce enough to meet their own needs. "The ground was more productive, in consequence of copious rains, so that ... the corn raised on their land was more than sufficient for their purpose."[137] The following year, because of good rains another bumper crop was harvested.[138] The report for the following year was interesting in that mention is made of the beginnings of animal husbandry.[139]

(c) Handicraft

In one of his reports to the Batavian Government, Van der Kemp mentioned the possibility of instructing the Hottentots in useful handicrafts like woodcutting, leather tanning and the making of soap. Further possibilities, according to Van der Kemp, included the preparation of products such as salt, dried fish, butter, cheese and the making of straw which he hoped to sell to the garrison at the bay.[140]

After many years, Van der Kemp succeeded in making his institutions economically viable. The 1810–11 reports indicated that several useful articles such as baskets and mats were produced and sold at Fort Frederick and elsewhere in the colony. The manufacturing of soap, salt and the timber that was used in the waggon building industry greatly assisted the institution in becoming self sufficient.[141]

A black-smith and carpenter shop was also established and a windmill was erected which greatly assisted the handicraft industry. The fact that Van der Kemp put in a requisition for iron, waggon wheels, plough shears, hand axes, knives and saws,[142] is an indication of the success of this venture.

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137) *Memoir of the late Rev. J.T. van der Kemp*, p. 34.
138) S.A.M.S. 4/2: Reports: Van der Kemp – Directors 1820.
139) Transactions ... I, p. 324.
140) B.R. 93: Brieven van Gov. Janssens, Van der Kemp and Read – Janssens, 13.5.1803, p. 247.
141) S.A.M.S. 4/2: Reports for 1811 : Transactions III, p. 391.
142) B.R. 8.

(d) Needlework classes for women

During the absence of Van der Kemp and Read the work at Bethelsdorp continued under the leadership of Messrs. J.G. Ulbricht and D. Tromp, assisted by the dynamic "mother" Smith who initiated knitting and needlework classes for the Hottentot women. Classes began with four girls and eventually grew to sixteen, which included a number of women.[143] Mrs Smith[144] gave a great deal of her time instructing the women and for the first year she financed the classes out of her own purse.[145]

The nomadic nature of the Hottentots was one of the basic problems Mrs Smith faced in her work. To overcome this she supplied them with corn, meat, peas, beans and pumpkin which she bought with her own money, "until by the sale of their various pieces of work to the farmers, military men, and others, sufficient money was collected to purchase a few cows."[146] Through her drive and initiative, she eventually succeeded in making the institution self sufficient. Profits were used to acquire materials and clothes "and in consequence of this care and attention, the knitting school was more remarkable for neatness and cleanliness than any other branch of the institution."[147]

On his return to Bethelsdorp in 1806, Dr. Van der Kemp was impressed with Mrs Smith's work. Besides her duties in nursing the sick, she taught the women "in all the conveniences and comforts of domestic life; teaching them how to conduct their simple household affairs with economy, cleanliness and order; how to manage their children properly, and how to make and repair family garments."[148]

She continued with her work until she returned to Cape Town in 1808. She insisted that somebody be found to take her place before she left and on leaving presented each child

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143) Philip, J., : *Memoirs of Mrs Mathilda Smith*, p. 122.
144) Mrs Mathilda Smith (nee Combrink) was brought up in a Christian atmosphere. She was twice married but lost both husbands and her children. She laboured amongst the slaves and soldiers at Cape Town and thereafter for a prolonged period among the heathen at Roodezand (Tulbagh). It was towards the end of 1805 that she under took the arduous journey to Bethelsdorp in order to render such assistance as she could during the absence of the recognised heads of that mission. (Du Plessis, *op. cit.*, p. 129).
145) Philip, J., *op. cit.*, p. 122.
146) *Ibid.*
147) *Ibid.*
148) *Ibid.*

in her class with a cow or some other gift equivalent to the price of a cow.[149] The work that she started with so much love and devotion, continued to flourish long after she left the institution.[150]

6.5.3 The establishment of Pacaltsdorp

The numbers at Bethelsdorp increased considerably between 1804 and 1812.[151] It thus became clear that additional ground had to be obtained from the authorities in order to continue with missionary work. An additional institution was also necessary as Bethelsdorp would not be able to accommodate a large number of people and secondly the ground was not very fertile for agricultural activities and proved too expensive to develop.[152]

The missionary Erasmus Smith proposed to the authorities that part of Bethelsdorp be moved to a new area. Consequently Governor Caledon decided in 1809 to remove "two thirds if not the whole of his establishment to a place better watered and more expensive."[153]

In 1813 Pacalt, one of the missionaries from Bethelsdorp, found a suitable place near George called Hoogen Kraal. He found the ground fertile with sufficient water and with a number of Hottentot families founded a new institution. The name was later changed to Pacaltsdorp. The Circuit Judges suggested that only children whose parents were unable to support them would be allowed to stay at Pacaltsdorp. They would be allowed to stay there until they reached the age of sixteen years. Their education should be modelled in such a way that they would be able to live independently once they left the institution.[154]

By the end of 1813 more than a hundred Hottentots were accommodated at Pacaltsdorp. The adults worked for the neighbouring farmers while their children were educated at the institution. The children were very eager to learn and were soon "really tolerable well ad-

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149) Transactions, III, Annual Report 1806, p. 148.
150) S.A.M.S. 4/2: Schedules and Reports for 1811.
151) Transactions I, p. 370.
152) S.A.M.S. 11/3: Letters Despatched, Directors of L.M.S., 11.9.1807.
153) Theal, G. Mc C.,: Records VII, Caledon Castlereagh, 16.10.1809, p. 174.
154) Theal, G. Mc C., : Records ... Circuit Judges – Cradock, 1813, p. 89.

vanced in reading,"[155] and later it was reported that "de Begeerte tot Onderijs neemt dagelijks toe."[156]

6.5.4 The Zak River Settlement

The missionaries were always on the look-out for suitable ground to extend their work and it was for this reason primarily that Kicherer and Edwards left Cape Town on the 22nd May 1799.

They moved in a northerly direction and were joined by a third missionary, Cornelius Kramer at a place called Roodezand, today known as Tulbagh. The three men then proceeded until they reached Blijde Vooruitzight Fountain on the 16th July1799 where they decided to start a settlement as the ground was good and there was an abundant water supply.[157]

In March 1800 Kicherer left Blijde Vooruitzight Fountain and with a number of Hottentot and Bushmen Families, found another settlement at Zak River. He was later joined by Kramer where he continued with his work until he left for Holland at the beginning of 1803. During his absence the work at Zak River was spread between the missionaries Vos, his wife and a missionary called Botma. They did outstanding work. They concentrated on the Christian doctrine, reading and spelling.[158] The day's programme began with prayers, Scripture reading and the singing of hymns. After morning assembly, the adults left for their work, while the children were instructed in the Dutch language, reading and spelling. The rest of the time until midday was devoted to gardening and household chores. A similar programme was followed in the afternoons and the day's activities were rounded off with prayers, Scripture reading and the singing of hymns.[159]

Vos realized the importance of a disciplined, organized school system and therefore divided the children into seven class groups at the beginning of 1806.[160] He also realised that

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155) Theal, G. Mc C., *op. cit.*, p. 89.
156) S.A.M.S. 4/3: Report, S.A.M.S., u.d. [the desire for education increased daily].
157) Transactions, II, p. 5.
158) Lichtenstein, II, pp. 233 234.
159) *Ibid.*
160) S.A.M.S. 4/1: Schedules and Reports. Dag Journal van de Bezending aan Zakriver, 10.2.1806.

in order to show any progress in the educational field, more missionaries had to be found to deal with this aspect of their work. It was suggested that bachelors could be used for this purpose but the education of the girls should be the responsibility of a married missionary and his wife.[161]

Statistics show that by 1804 53 children were instructed in reading and 56 in spelling. Adults who desired instruction in the subjects offered to the children, were not turned away, although not many of them availed themselves of this opportunity.[162]

The Zak River Settlement was by all accounts not very successful. The missionaries had great difficulty in getting the Bushmen and Hottentots to work on the lands. Their 'laissez faire' attitude was a great stumbling block and the main factor in the missionaries' failure at Zak River. Kicherer decided to close the institution and was called to serve the community at Graaf-Reinet as their minister.[163]

Before he took up his new appointment, Kicherer, together with Kramer, Scholtz and a few Hottentots joined Anderson at Rietfontein to work with a "variety Bastards, Koranas and also a few Namaqua Hottentots on the other side of the Great Orange River."[164] Here they built a church to accommodate four hundred people. Their instructions were to christianize the indigenous peoples, and to instruct them in the useful arts of handwork, to develop them intellectually and thereby contribute to a standard of civilization.[165]

For nearly ten months, Anderson continued with his work at Rietfontein before he moved to a new area, called Sandkraal on the banks of the Orange River. He made use of those Hottentots who were advanced with their studies to teach the children and paid them a small salary.[166]

The experiment proved to be very successful as the statistics for 1802 indicated that between 5 and 60 children and adults received education. Of this total 20 could read fairly

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161) Transactions II, p.171.
162) S.A.M.S. 4/1: *op. cit.*
163) Transactions, III, Kicherer – Directors, L.M.S. 8.1.1807, pp. 159–160.
164) S.A.M.S. 4/1: Schedules and Reports, Vraag Puncten ter Beantwoording voorgestel aan den Missionaris William Anderson, 7.9.1802.
165) S.A.M.S. 5/3: Instruksie voor den Zendeling Kramer, 15.5.1805.
166) S.A.M.S. 4/1: Schedules and Reports, Vraag Puncten ter Beantwoording voorgestel aan den Missionaris William Anderson, 7.9.1802.

well, a good number were able to spell and the rest were busy mastering the alphabet.[167] By 1803 the number receiving some form of formal education rose to a hundred, of which 56 could read fluently. The children were more advanced than the adults. The old and familiar problem of children not doing their work was evident in a report which indicated "dat veel van zij zelven hunne lessen niet geleerd."[168]

6.5.5 Klaarwater is established

For many years the missionaries Anderson and Kramer were content to live a nomadic existence with the Hottentots along the banks of the Orange River, until finally they were able to persuade them to settle at Klaarwater in July 1805.[169] During their stay at Klaarwater, they were assisted in their work by Lambert Janszens.

The inhabitants of Klaarwater consisted of Hottentots and Bastards (a mixed race of Hottentots and white colonists). Anderson described them as a "very indolent obstinate and revengeful people, who were inclined to look upon the Korana and Namaqua Hottentots as inferior beings."[170] During his visit to Klaarwater in 1805, Lichtenstein[171] described it as a "Hottentot Republic under the patriarchal government of the missionaries."[172] He was very impressed with what he saw and gave a favourable report to the authorities. Droughts and locusts were some of the problems they had to face in their work.[173]

(a) Agricultural education at Klaarwater

While Kramer was on furlough during 1804/5, the missionary Anderson decided to introduce to the Hottentots and Bastards at Klaarwater the basic "knowledge of agriculture

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167) *Ibid.*
168) S.A.M.S. 4/1: Schedules and Reports, diary of C. Albrecht and J. Seydenfaden, 13.12.1805, p. 12. (A number of them did not do their work).
169) S.A.M.S. 4/1: Schedules and Reports ... *op. cit.*
170) Transactions, III, Anderson – Waugh, 12.8.1806, p. 12.
171) Lichtenstein, Martin, Hinrich, Carl (*Hamburg, Germany, 10.1.1780 + 3.9.1857, *DSAB., Vol. III.*, pp. 520–523). Traveller, physician, naturalist, and writer on the Cape. Arrived in S.A. in December 1802 and remained in Southern Africa until 1806. Succeeded in compiling a comprehensive account of the topography, politics, natural history and ethnography of South Africa.
172) Du Plessis, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
173) S.A.M.S. 2/2: Letters received, Janszen – Directors, 13.1.1808.

and other improvements."[174] By teaching them to build a house and cultivate a patch of ground, Anderson hoped to gradually reform their wild and wandering habits, and promoting their civilization."[175] Each family unit was housed separately and was allocated a patch of ground to cultivate. Progress was slow at first, but gradually things improved to such an extend that they could barter their corn for cattle from the Namaquas and the Bechuanas.[176] The result of this experiment was that they became more and more dependent on agriculture for an existence although the crop yield had to be limited on account of the short supply of water from the spring.[177]

(b) Educational aspects

Despite the numerous difficulties experienced at Klaarwater, the missionaries were able to report some progress in the educational field.[178] Between 80–90 children received instruction in education daily while 30 adults and 50 children were instructed in reading.[179] The missionaries were forbidden to teach their students to write, but Anderson presented a favourable report to the authorities in 1810 and permission was granted to teach them this art.[180] During a visit by the explorer Burchell[181] to the mission station he found that the children were instructed in reading and writing in the church building. The entire population numbered 784 and consisted of Hottentots, Namaquas, Griquas, Koranas and Bastards.[182] Burchell's personal observations of conditions at Klaarwater were contrary to the favourable reports that had been received from the missionaries from time to time. Despite this fact, it was generally accepted that the missionaries were doing good work "in catechising the children and instructing them in the rudiments of common learning."[183]

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174) Transactions III, Anderson – Hardcastle, 1.8.1806, p. 12.
175) Transactions I, p. 284.
176) Theal, G. Mc C., *Records ... IV,* 30.5.1808, p. 348.
177) Transactions III, Anderson – Waugh, 12.8.1806, p. 18.
178) Transactions III, Journal, 4.7.1807, p. 216.
179) *Ibid.*
180) S.A.M.S. 4/2: Schedules and Reports, 10.5.1810.
181) Burchell, William, John (*Fulham, London, 23.7.1781–+23.3.1863, *DSAB. Vol. II,* pp. 104–106). Naturalist, traveller, artist and author. Sailed for Cape Town on 10.10.1810. Travelled extensively in the interior exploring, making notes on the vegetation and plant life of the Colony. Spent nearly four years sketching the scenes of that time. Sailed for England in August 1815.
182) Du Plessis, J., *op. cit.,* p. 109.
183) Transactions I, p. 304.

By 1810 the population had increased to 800 and Anderson and Janszen were busy "in the instruction of the adults, and especially the children, in reading, in promoting industry, and particularly in cultivating the earth, while Anderson's wife concentrated her efforts in the education of the womenfolk."[184]

The indigenous peoples living in and around Klaarwater were fortunate to receive some form of formal education, while those in the outlying areas had to be content with the limited instruction they received from time to time from those Hottentots who were able to read and write. The books and material were supplied by the missionaries.[185]

During his visit to the mission in 1813 Campbell was very impressed with the progress in the educational field when to his surprise he found a number of Hottentots who could read very well. The reading and spelling books used by Anderson were adequate, but there was a shortage of supplementary books.[186]

In general the work of the missionaries at Klaarwater proved to be successful. The success can be attributed to the fact that the inhabitants subjected themselves to a set of rules drawn up by Campbell which assured them of an orderly and progressive existence.

6.6 Colonisation of the North-Western Cape

6.6.1 Mission work in Great Namaqualand

The L.M.S. started missionary work in the north-western Cape in 1799. In 1804 they had persuaded groups of nomadic Hottentots, freed slaves and people of mixed blood to gather in a small settlement at Griquatown and later further settlements were established further to the north and in the present Namaqualand.

On his return from Holland in 1805, Kircherer was accompanied by a number of missionaries sent by the Rotterdam Missionary Society. Among these were J. Seidenfaden and the brothers A. and C. Albrecht. They were assigned to work amongst the Namaqua tribes.[187]

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184) Transactions I, p. 304.
185) *Ibid.*, pp. 328-9.
186) Transactions III, Janszens - Directors, L.M.S. Rotterdam Missionary Society, 22.2.1811, p. 439.
187) Liebenberg, B.A.: *op. cit.*, p. 135.

They left Cape Town on the 22nd May 1805 and on the 5th September they met Cornelis Kok the Griqua captain who advised them to stay at Kokskraal for a while to familiarise themselves with the habits and customs of these people. While based at Kokskraal they set out daily on reconnaissance trips and while on one of these trips C. Albrecht discovered two strong springs.[188)]

A temporary mission was established at Stille Hoop at a point where the Hartebees joined the Orange River. One of the prominent inhabitants of this station was the son of the Griqua captain Jager Afrikaner.[189)] This temporary mission station was abandoned at the beginning of 1806 in favour of the much more demanding work at Blijde Uitkomst. Owing to the nature of the country the people were forced to be largely nomadic, following their flocks and herds from one part of the station to another, which meant that the civilising influences of the mission and its school could reach them only intermittently.[190)] This resulted in the establishment of a number of smaller stations around springs with a good water supply and fertile irrigable garden land. Such were the conditions at a place called Warmbad, although the Albrechts found it difficult to dig a canal from the springs to the cultivated lands on account of the rocks surrounding the springs.[191)]

For a considerable time the missionaries studied the prospects of moving west towards the coast to establish a station. The roaming Hottentots gave favourable reports of the west coast, indicating good grazing lands, ample water supplies and fertile ground.[192)]

6.6.2 Education

The basic aim in educating the indigenous peoples was very strongly tied up with the religious aims which the missionaries were instructed to fulfil, i.e. education was used as a means to prepare them for baptism and eventual membership of the Church. Religion and education were thus inseparable.

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188) *Ibid.*, p. 136.
189) Transactions III, p. 31.
190) S.A.M.S., 1/1: Letters Received, C. Albrecht – Directors, 7.12. 1806.
191) S.A.M.S., 2/2: Letters Received, C. Albrecht – Directors, 8.5. 1807.
192) S.A.M.S., 2/2: Letters Received, A. Albrecht – Directors, 8.5. 1807.

The provisional instructions issued to the missionaries and which were used as a guide by them, distinguished between two educational aspects i.e. religious education and general education.[193]

Obviously the first schools were established to instruct and teach adults in order to prepare them for baptism and consequently the question – and – answer method was applied. The same question was repeated several times followed by the correct answer every time the question was posed. This method proved very successful in memorising the catechism. The school hours had to be adapted to suit the nomadic habits of the Hottentots.

The textbook used in preparing the Hottentots for baptism was titled "De Kortbegrip van de Christelijke Religie."[194] (A short concept of the Christian Religion).

The Holy Bible was used in addition to this book as textbook and reader. The adults also received singing and writing lessons daily. The classes started with the Lord's Prayer, followed by the singing of hymns.[195]

The first school for children was established at Kokskraal and later continued at Blijde Uitkomst. Progress at Warmbad was very poor despite the fact that classes were held in the mornings and during the late afternoons except for Mondays and Saturdays when classes were confined to the morning period and the students were instructed in learning the alphabet, spelling and reading.[196]

A shortage of textbooks motivated C. Albrecht to write to the Directors of the South African Missionary Society pointing out that unless these books were supplied, he would not be able to do justice to his job as a teacher. He requested them to send him 500–1000 books and Bibles. The request was repeated during 1809.[197]

The lack of books had a detrimental effect on the standard of education. In order to overcome this problem the school week was shortened to three days a week. There was a tre-

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193) S.A.M.S. 5/3: Instructions to Missionaries. Hierin Provisioneele Instruktie voor die Zendelings-Broederen bestem voor de groote Namaquas.
194) S.A.M.S. 2/2: Letters Received, C. Albrecht – Directors, 20.4.1809.
195) *Ibid.*
196) S.A.M.S. 2/2: Letters Received, C. Albrecht – Directors, 6.4.1807.
197) Transactions I, 10.4.1809.

mendous drop in attendance from 100 at the beginning of 1807 to only 42 by April of that same year.[198]

At first the missionaries were the only teachers, but were later assisted by their wives who concentrated mostly on the women and young girls. The idea of using literate Hottentots as auxiliary teachers was discarded in 1800, although much more use was made of people of mixed blood (Bastards) as interpreters and teachers. Jan Magerman was such a Baster who did outstanding work at Warmbad and was eventually appointed as full time teacher.[199]

The missionaries were later forced to leave Warmbad on account of the hostile attitude of the Hottentots. Several commandos consisting chiefly of Basters were sent to curb the Hottentot tribes, but were unsuccessful in their attempts.Warmbad was eventually totally destroyed by the marauding Hottentots and black tribes of the area.[200]

The Directors of the London Missionary Society decided in 1811 to continue with their work in South Africa and immediately arranged for a number of missionaries to be sent to South Africa.[201] A number of these missionaries on arrival decided to work on the mission stations south of the Orange River. The missionary Seidenfaden preferred to work amongst the followers of Cornelis Kok who therefore decided to establish himself at Kamiesberg.[202]

6.6.3 Little Namaqualand and the work at Pella

The Albrecht brothers were anxious to continue their work in Little Namaqualand at Leliefontein at the foot of the Kamiesberg range and immediately wrote to the Directorate requesting permission to proceed with the establishment of this new station. The authorities reacted favourably to their request and Governor Caledon in a letter addressed to the magistrate at Tulbagh instructed him to investigate the matter and, if found favourable, to allocate a piece of land to the Albrechts.[203]

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198) S.A.M.S. 2/2: Letters Received, C. Albrecht – Directors, 6.4.1807.
199) Transactions, III, p. 320.
200) S.A.M.S. 2/2: Letters Received, Albrecht – Directors, 5.2.1811.
201) S.A.M.S. 4/2: Schedules and Reports, 9.5.1811.
202) Liebenberg, B.A. *op. cit.*, p. 151.
203) S.A.M.S. 2/2: Letters Received, C. Albrecht – Directors, 18.11.1809.

After several months of negotiations the Albrechts were given a large tract of land south of the Orange River, the first concession for the mission work in Little Namaqualand.[204] Later Seidenfaden was given a concession to the farm of J.A. van der Heever, "Kammas", where he and Tromp, on the 15 September 1809, founded a station. The spring at Kammas, later to be called Pella was situated about an hours' ride on horseback from the Orange River where good grazing ground is found and where gardens could be started.[205]

By 1810 Seidenfaden had to admit that very little progress was made at the station owing to continuous drought conditions and diseases amongst the cattle.[206]

The missionaries were instructed to educate the indigenous youth in spelling and reading and thus to prepare them for acceptance into the christian community.[207] Statistics of 1809/10 indicated that between 400–500 coloured and Hottentots had settled at Kamiesberg. Of this number 34 could read the Bible and a large number were instructed in reading and spelling techniques. Another significant development was the appointment of Lukas Kommede as the first coloured school teacher at the station and the work of the two auxiliary teachers who assisted at the school during Seidenfaden's absence.[208]

Seidenfaden was later joined by four new missionaries, Schmele, Sass, Ebner and Helm who assisted him with the work at Pella. The blowing of a horn signalled the commencement of the school and church service. In view of the shortage of paper and books, the pupils had to practise their calligraphy in the sand. Despite these limitations the pupils were so determined to learn that some of them were later able to write fairly simple letters on paper.[209]

When Campbell of the L.M.S. visited the station he found that Sass had taken over from Seidenfaden who had settled at Zuurbraak, where he was later dismissed from his post by Dr. Philip. From 1813 the coloured and Hottentot people left Pella and settled further afield thus setting the pattern for future mission work in these new areas.

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204) C.O. 44: Letters received, folio no. 30, van der Graaf Col. Secr, 10.11.1809.
205) S.A.M.S. 2/3: Letters Received, Seidenfaden – Directors, 24.9.1809.
206) S.A.M.S. 2/3: Letters Received, Seidenfaden – Directors, 24.9.1809.
207) S.A.M.S. 5/3: Instructions to the Missionaries: Concept Instructie voor de Zendelingen Kester en Maij.
208) Liebenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 155.
209) *Ibid.*, p. 156.

6.7 Government Schools

6.7.1 State education at the Cape during the Batavian and British occupation 1795–1806

As mentioned earlier the first public school to be started in South Africa was opened on the 17th April 1658 in Cape Town for the slaves of the Dutch East India Company and had no restriction on the ages of the pupils.[210]

When the British occupied the Cape in 1795 "as a matter of political expediency" there were 474 government slaves in the Slave Lodge. The school mentioned earlier was continued as the records at that time indicated that of the total number of slaves 31 were boys and 27 girls but no mention was made of the salary of the teacher.[211]

The British realised the importance of slaves in the development of the colony, that the Acting Governor at the Cape, Major-General Francis Dundas had no hesitation in importing 400 slaves in March 1799 to meet the needs of the colony. The slaves belonging to the Dutch India Company were sold to the British for 150 Rix-dollars each and were used as drivers and in the construction of fortifications and were generally available in "service of His Majesty's Government."[212]

General Janssens and Commissioner De Mist displayed a great interest in the state of the general education of the inhabitants of the Cape when the colony was transferred to the Batavian Republic in 1803. Despite these good intentions from both the British and the Dutch governments very little was actually done at the turn of the century in regard to the education of the slaves.

6.7.2 Government Schools for slaves 1806–1834

When the British occupied the Cape in 1806 the population returns for that year showed a total of 26,359 Christians of whom 14,207 were children. This figure included a number

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210) C. 584. *Dagregister 1652–1658*, 17.4.1658, p. 439.
211) Marais, J.S., *The Cape Coloured People 1652–1937*, p. 87.
212) *Ibid.*

of slaves, Hottentots and people of mixed blood who were converted to Christianity. The slaves numbered 29,861 of whom 7,230 were children.[213]

Lt.-General Grey, who took over the government at the Cape for a short period 1807 immediately concerned himself with the schools in Cape Town. As a first step he instructed the School Committee to appoint English teachers at both the Latin School and the school for young ladies.[214] These efforts as well as the efforts of the Earl of Caledon during his term of office as governor were not productive of any great changes or advances with regard to the general education and upliftment of the slaves.[215] It was left to a later English governor, Sir John Cradock to give serious attention to educational matters in the Cape Colony.

The School Commission in 1809 brought out a report on the state of education in the colony and noted that the system was subjected to a number of defects. The Commissioners made several recommendations for the improvement of the system and emphasised the importance of free schooling for every child in the colony, especially the children of the poor and those in the outlying districts.[216]

Soon after his assumption of office in 1811, Sir John Cradock[217] interested himself in the welfare of the slaves and in the general education of the colony. As a first step he issued a proclamation on the 9th October 1812 repealing the law of 10 April of that same year which made it possible for slave owners to dispose of their slaves who had been converted to Christianity. The rationale being to climinate such obstacles that prevented the spread of the Christian religion amongst the slaves and their conversion to Christianity.[218]

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213) Theal, G., : *Records ... VI,* p. 75.
214) C.O. 1806, No. 97: School Commission – Grey, 1 April 1807.
215) C.O. 45 (1809): Report of School Commission to Governor Caledon and Colonial Secretary, II, 16.01.1809.
216) C.O. 45, 1809: *Report of School Commission.*
217) Cradock (Caradoc), Sir John Francis (*Dublin, Ireland, 12.8.1762 – + Ireland, 26.7.1839, DSAB Vol. II, pp. 148–149). Soldier and colonial governor of the Cape Colony. Was appointed governor of the Cape Colony in 1811. His was the first in the long series of military governorships which ended with the appointment of Sir George Grey in 1854. He supported education for coloured people very strongly.
218) Theal, G. : *Records of the Cape Colony VIII,* p. 500, IX, p.164.

Later during that same year he was approached by English speaking slave-owners to establish an English medium school for slaves and duly agreed and instructed the School Commission to investigate this possibility. Mrs H. Vawser was appointed as teacher for this independent school which later merged with the Lodge School.[219]

Cradock's next step was the establishment of the Bible and School Commission in 1813 to provide for free schools for the poor based on the English Monitorial System designed by Bell and Lancaster. This was followed by introducing a voluntary "common and extensive fund" to provide the necessary funds for these free schools for the poor to which slave children were also admitted.[220]

Lord Charles Somerset[221] succeeded Sir John Cradock as governor at the Cape on the 5 April 1814. Somerset was in a much more favourable position to carry out his assignment as governor when the Colony had formally become a permanent British possession and was therefore regarded as an integral part of the British Empire.[222] During this time there was a great Parliamentary movement in Britain for the improvement of conditions of the slaves in the British colonies. His personal attitude and administration of the Colony thus reflected the official policy of the Home Government.

The old Lodge School, which had faithfully served the educational needs of the slave children during all these years, was the first educational project to receive Somerset's attention. He appointed W. Vawser an English schoolmaster to assist the teacher A. van Hogenberg and in 1822 Hanna M. Vawser was appointed additional English Schoolmistress for the slave school. The slave school had an enrolment of 9 boys with an age range of 4 to 12 years and 6 girls between the ages 3 and 14 years.[223]

The salaries for the two teachers at the Slave School were 560 to 767 Rix-dollars per annum and fluctuated from year to year. These salaries compared very favourably with

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219) C.O. 91. No. 32.
220) Theal, G., *Records of the Cape Colony, IX*, pp. 218–219 and XXXV, pp. 364–367.
221) Somerset, Lord Charles, Henry (*Badminton, Gloucestershire, 12.12.1767–+ Brighton 20.2.1831, *DSAB., Vol. II*, pp. 685–690). Governor of the Cape Colony. The single most important event during Somerset's governorship was the arrival of the British Settlers in 1820. He was also responsible for the establishment of a definite policy in relation to the Xhosa tribes on the eastern frontier.
222) C.O. 1327, No. 2079: Russel – Napier, 23.12.1839.
223) Theal, G., *Records ... XIX*, pp. 266–268.

those paid to teachers at other public schools in the Colony. The slave children were also provided with free stationery and other articles needed to further their education by the government.[224]

Sir Rufane Donkin[225] acted as governor during Somerset's absence from 1820–1821 and provided the slaves with new quarters near the government gardens. He had an old government building renovated where provision was made for the schoolroom and living quarters for the schoolmaster.[226]

Somerset was recalled to Britain in 1826 "to furnish the necessary explanations to certain charges,"[227] and Major-general Bourke took over the administration during his absence. He found that the slave lodge required immediate attention and was urged by the Commissioners of Enquiry, who were at the time investigating conditions at the Cape, to adopt some measures for the regulation of the slave lodge.[228]

The Commissioners found that there were not more than 21 slave children of school going age.[229] Consequently Bourke concluded that the English teachers attached to the slave school had little or nothing to do and therefore recommended that all able-bodied slaves be emancipated and the lodge should be used as a charitable hospital for those unable to support themselves because of ill-health or old age. He further suggested that all children of proper age be apprenticed and that the school teachers be transferred to other employment.[230]

Bourke was supported by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Bathurst, who immediately acted on Bourke's suggestion by disbanding the Slave Lodge and emancipating all government slaves.[231]

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224) Theal, G., *Records ... op. cit.*, pp. 376–379.
225) Donkin, Sir Rufane Shaw(e) (*Ireland, September 1772 –+ Southampton, England 1.5.1841, *DSAB., Vol. III.*, pp. 234–235) Acting Governor of the Cape Colony from 12.1.1820. Was responsible for settling the 4000 British Settlers. His cut back in the lavish Government House expenditure infuriated Somerset. The feud between them was fanned in many ways, particularly in matters relating to the settlement in the Eastern Province.
226) Theal, G., *Records ... XIV*, pp. 462–3; Items of expenditure for 1820.
227) Theal, G., *History of South Africa since 1795, Vol. I*, p. 425.
228) Theal ... Records XXVI, pp. 497–500.
229) Theal ... *Records XXVI*, pp. 497–500.
230) *Ibid., XXX*, pp. 323–4.
231) *Ibid., XXVI*, pp. 494–506.

Despite the educational facilities provided by the Administration, the slaves and other non-whites were by circumstances prevented from making use of the facilities, since their attendance at school was contingent upon the attitude of the white colonists and their inferior and subservient economic condition.

6.7.3 The education of the coloured people after emancipation

Slavery was abolished in the Cape Colony on the 1 December 1834. The Slavery Abolition Act, however, provided that slaves for a fixed period after 1 December 1834, continue to work for their previous owners as apprentices. In the case of the Cape Colony this period was four years and full emancipation was effected only on the 1 December 1838.

In 1834 the Bible and School Commission submitted certain regulations to the Cape Government in connection with the general educational system. The two main suggestions were firstly the abolition of free education and secondly that instruction should be in English and Dutch. They argued that public money should not be wasted on communities who made no effort to sustain their schools. They opted for a schedule of fees to be paid by the parents and that these amounts should be added to the teacher's salary. Provision was also made for certain pupils to be exempted upon thorough investigation. According to this scale of fees, the parents were to pay nine pence per month for first class or elementary instruction, one shilling and six pence for second class instruction or instruction in spelling and reading and two shillings and three pence for third class instruction or instruction in grammar, writing and arithmetic. The buildings were to be provided by the government but parents had to supply all the materials required in the schools, while the teacher's salary was determined on the basis of the enrolment.[232)]

The Bible and School Commission's regulations were promulgated and accepted by the Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban. These regulations also made provision for the appointment of local school committees who could make recommendations for the appointment of teachers.[233)]

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232) C.O. 736, 1834: Bible and School Commission to Acting Colonial Secretary, Cape Town 11.3.1834. Extracts from records passed at meeting of Bible and School Commission on 6.3.1834.

233) *Ibid.*

The new school system proved to be a dismal failure. Various causes were responsible for the failure of the system, such as the ineffective control of the Bible and School Commission, the scarcity of qualified teachers, petty jealousies and animosity amongst the religious groups.[234]

The Secretary of the Cape Government, Colonel Bell submitted a memorandum to the Governor in 1837 on the whole question of education at the Cape Colony. He blamed the lack of direction and ineffectiveness of the educational set up on the Bible and School Commission. He pleaded for the appointment of an impartial person to the post of Director-General of Public Schools in the Colony.[235] When the English astronomer Sir John Herschel visited the Cape, Sir George Napier who succeeded D'Urban as governor asked him to read the memorandum and make certain recommendations.[236]

The result was that in March 1838, Sir George Napier submitted the proposals of Bell, Herschel and also Fairbairn on the question of the reorganisation of education at the Cape to the Secretary of Colonies, Lord Glenelg.[226] The creation in May 1839 of a Cape Department of Education under the control and supervision of a superintendent-general of public education, was a direct result of this move. James Rose-Innes was appointed as the first incumbent of this new and important post.[237]

The new Department of Education had as its principal function the control, organization and administration of education in the Cape Colony. A new system of education was introduced in the Cape replacing the system followed by the Bible and School Commission which was dissolved when the new Department was constituted. The new system provided for First Class or Principal schools in which both a primary and a secondary course of instruction were given, and Second Class schools, in which only primary curriculum was followed.[238]

The elementary course of instruction was to be free in all schools and it was the express desire of the government that the schools should be not only accessible, but available to

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234) *Ibid.*
235) C.O. 1367–1838: Enclosures of Despatches of Sir George Napier.
236) Malherbe, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
237) C.O. 1448 (1838–1840) No. 11.
238) *Ibid.*, p.76

all classes without distinction.[239] This paved the way for coloureds and other non-whites to be admitted to the public schools, although the numbers were very small. The Dutch population of the Colony from the outset opposed the admission of non-white children to public schools.[240]

Because of the prejudiced attitude of the Dutch colonists, most coloured children preferred to attend the mission schools which were open to all.[241] These mission schools, however, had been wholy dependent on philanthropic donations, and were not always in a position to cope with the demands owing to limited financial resources.

State aid was eventually made available to mission schools in 1841. On 10 June 1841 a memorandum was published setting out the conditions upon which allowances would be granted by the Colonial Treasury in aid of the funds of mission and certain other schools not on government establishment.[242] The aid offered was in the form of an annual grant to be renewed annually and provided the school was conducted to the satisfaction of the Superintendent-General of Education. The grant was to be used to supplement the salary of the teacher. The following further conditions had to be observed when applying for state aid: The Department reserved the right to inspect the school and ascertain its efficiency; the school had to be open to all and while it was permissible for the education to be principally religious in character, other subjects had to be included in the curriculum; it was compulsory to teach the English language in all aided schools, and where practicable it had to be used as the medium of instruction.[243]

By 1843 twenty one state-aided schools with an enrolment of 3,322 pupils were recorded and the following year the number of schools increased to twenty seven which prompted Rose-Innes to comment that the system had "proved highly beneficial to the cause of education among the lower classes of the community."[244]

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239) *Ibid.*
240) *Ibid.*
241) *S.A. Commercial Advertiser,* 9.3.1836.
242) Malherbe, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
243) C.O. 2084: 1854: Van Velden – Rose-Innes, 26.10.1854; Rose-Innes – Colonial Secretary, 22.11.1854.
244) Rose-Innes, *Memorandum* ... pp. 15–16.

The missionaries at the Cape made extensive use of state-aid which resulted in the establishment of a number of new schools especially in the remoter agricultural districts when the scheme was extended to these areas in September 1843. The conditions for state-aid differed from those applied in the area surrounding Cape Town. The government for instance gave a fixed allowance of £30 per annum for the teacher and the local people had to provide and maintain a proper school building which they had to administer and act as trustees of all school property and also act as school committee. Parents were taxed five shillings per child per quarter as a school fee.[245)]

The education in the Cape Colony remained a serious concern for the authorities and several committees were constituted to investigate and report on the matter.

In November 1859 Langham Dale succeeded James Rose-Innes as Superintendent-General of Education. He was well qualified for the post, having been professor of English and Classics at the South African College, Cape Town. He also made an extensive study of the systems of instruction in some of the major schools in the United Kingdom.[246)]

Two years after Dale assumed duty, the Cape Parliament appointed a Commission headed by E.B. Watermeyer to investigate the whole question of education in the Colony "and to consider and report what measures, if any, it might be desirable to adopt for the extension of sound elementary instruction to all classes of people."[247)]

The Watermeyer Commission presented its report within 18 months on receiving their assignment and found that the mission schools concerned themselves little with secular education.[248)]

The Commission further found that despite the government's attitude and good intentions to provide education to all, regardless of race, colour or creed, a system of segregation had in effect been introduced in government schools which was reserved for white children

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245) Malherbe, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
246) C.O. 5673 : 1857–1859; Col. Secretary – Rose-Innes, 29.10.1859.
247) Malherbe, *op. cit.*, p. 94.
248) *Cape Government Report 24: 1836*, pp. LXXIII – LXXIV.

only. It was only in the poor districts and in the outlying areas where the self imposed colour bar was not applied.[249]

The recommendations of the Watermeyer Commission were adopted in 1865 which resulted in the promulgation of the Education Act of 1865 providing for State-aid for three types of schools to supplement the Government Schools.[250]

Firstly (as previously) there were the public, undenominational schools, which were now to be subsidized on the R-for-R principle. It was left to the school committees to raise the balance of the money. As few coloured communities could afford to do so, the churches encouraged their congregations to assist in this regard. Mission schools with a mixed enrolment (coloured and white) received grants varying from R30 to R150 a year depending on the range of tuition they offered and schools catering for Africans received R30 a year. These grants could, however, be used for supplementing the salaries of the teachers. The grants were from time to time subsequently increased.[251]

The welfare and education of the whites was the primary concern of the Government while coloured parents had to be content with whatever form of education, if any, the authorities provided for their children. This was evident from Langham Dale's report in 1889 when he wrote: "The first duty of the government has been assumed to be to recognize the position of the European colonists as holding the paramount influence, social and political; and to see that the sons and daughters of the colonists ... should have at least such education as their peers in Europe enjoy, with such local modificiations as will fit them to maintain their unquestioned superiority and supremacy in this land."[252]

The only other alternative left for the coloured people was the system of State-aided mission schools which in fact played a vital role in the education of the coloured people during the nineteenth century. By 1833 there were almost 33,000 coloured children attending state-aided mission schools.[253]

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249) *Ibid.*
250. *The Education Act of 1865, Act 13 of 1865.*
251) *Ibid.* Rand-for-Rand. Currency unit in the Republic of South Africa . 100 cents = 1 Rand.
252) *Cape Government Report 6A, 1890*, p.3.
253) C.O. 4288–1891. Dale to Colonial Secretary, 20.8.1891.

Dr. Thomas Muir succeeded Langham Dale as Superintendent-General of Education on the 23rd May 1892 and immediately on assuming duty gave attention to the matter of removing such white children who were attending the mission schools for coloured children.

The policy of total segregation of whites and non-whites into separate schools was consolidated firstly by various ordinances accepted by the Cape Provincial Council and later by various legislative enactments of the Union after 1910.

6.7.4 Early attempts at training coloured teachers

No attempt was made to train coloured teachers during the occupation of the Cape by the Dutch India Company, the Batavian Republic or the British. In the early days the teaching was done by the missionaries or by imported teachers from abroad. The missionaries trained their own evangelists as teachers to help them in their work. The first missionary to adopt this system was Barnabas Shaw who in 1817 began to instruct a young Namaqua called Jacob Links as an evangelist-teacher. For several years Links was employed as schoolmaster and assistant missionary. He laboured amongst the Bushmen and other indigenous tribes with success.[254] Because of this initial success Shaw trained a second teacher called Andries Orang, who became a teacher and active member of the church at Leliefontein. These two pioneers were followed by Eva Bartels, a mulatto woman and a Hottentot female called Diana, both of whom did outstanding work amongst the females at Leliefontein. At Wupperthal several persons were trained in this way by the Rhenish missionaries and at Worcester Nela Februarie was trained by the missionary Esselen.[255]

In 1813 Cradock introduced the Monitorial System of teacher-training into the Cape Colony. The system provided for a teacher to train an older student in his class to help with the younger ones. This system was used in Government and State-aided mission schools.[256]

The first training school for teachers in South Africa was established in 1838 at Genadendal for coloureds. The founder of the Genadendal Teachers Training Institution was the

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254) Horrell, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
255) *Wilcock's Commission, U.G. 54/1937*, p. 356.
256) *Cape Town Gazette No. 391*, 8 July 1813.

Rev. H.P. Hallbeck, Superintendent of the Moravian missions in the Cape at that time. During his term of office several hundred coloured teachers were trained, among whom was Ezechial Pheiffer who together with his descendants have given yeomen service to coloured education in the Cape.[257]

A pupil-teacher system was introduced in some measure in 1842 and extended after 1858. The requirements were the attainment of a satisfactory standard in reading, writing and arithmetic and the candidate had to spend five years assisting in the infant classes. This period was later reduced to three years. The course also included a daily one hour period of instruction in English, Dutch, reading, writing, arithmetic and school management.[258]

An Elementary Teacher's Certificate was introduced in 1874 which ensured that the possessor thereof was proficient to teach in third class public schools or mission schools.[259] The entrance qualification to this course was changed in 1894 to Standard IV and was later raised to Standard V.

An interesting development was the establishment of a school to educate the sons of African Chiefs from beyond the borders of the Colony by the Anglican Church in 1858. This school, Zonnebloem, initially had a multi racial enrolment. The number of African and white students, however, dwindled with the result that the school was eventually used for the training of coloured teachers.

6.8 Summary

In 1795 the Hottentot clans and other people of colour were either in the employment of the white colonists as herdsmen and farm hands or living a hand to mouth existence in the thick bush, kloofs and valleys. They later found refuge in the number of mission stations especially established to civilize and christianize them to become acculturated to nineteenth century colonial society. They and their children were given a basic form of education in reading and writing and were also taught to praise God through the singing of hymns. A few advanced students were used to help as catechists and preachers.

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257) Papers re measures adopted for the melioration of the conditions of the Cape Slave Population ... 50 of 1835, pp. 26–27.
258) Horrell, *op. cit.*, pp. 16–17.
259) *Government Gazette No. 4683:* Examinations for teachers Certificate, 7.8.1874.

CHAPTER 7

THE KAT RIVER SETTLEMENT

7.1 The origin of the Kat River Settlement

During the period 1820–45 the British philanthropic or humanitarian movement exercised its greatest influence upon the course of events in South Africa. The influence of this movement was felt not only in the Cape Colony, but beyond its borders – wherever contact between the white colonists and the non-European groups existed. For the coloured people of South Africa the two most important events precipitated by the philanthropists were the Cape Ordinance 50 of 1828 which liberated the Hottentots within the Cape Colony, and the British Act of 1833 which abolished slavery throughout the British Empire including the Cape Colony.

The promulgation of Ordinance 50 in Cape Town in July 1828,[1] was due mainly to the pressure exerted by representatives of the London Missionary Society and in a large measure through the efforts of Dr Philip[2] on the British Government. Ordinance 50 repealed legislation of previous years and made "Hottentots and other free people of colour" equal before the law with whites.[3]

The coloured people reacted to Ordinance 50 with jubilation as this would, for the first time, permit them to become landowners in the true sense of the word. The white farmers on the other hand reacted with shock and fear of "Hottentot vagrants" and labour shortages on their farms.[4]

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1) *Cape Government Gazette,* July 25, 1828.
2) Dr John Philip (14.4.1777–27.8.1851) *DICTIONARY OF SOUTH AFRICAN BIOGRAPHY, VOL. I,* pp. 612–620. (Ref. Chapter 6).
3) Marais, J.S., *The Cape Coloured People 1652–1937,* p. 156.
4) Sales, J., *Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape 1800–1852,* p. 101.

7.1.1 The Government's attitude towards establishing the Settlement

The Government was obliged during the second half of 1828 to devise ways and means of meeting the situation created by the promulgation of Ordinance 50. Many Hottentots were wandering aimlessly about the country causing great concern among the white colonists. Andries Stockenström,[5] the Commissioner-General for the Eastern Frontier, whose memorandum had provided Major-General Richard Bourke[6] with the basis for Ordinance 50, was aware of the fears of the white farmers. As a possible solution he therefore recommended that deserving Hottentots be permanently settled in a defined area, the so called "Ceded Territory." This was a tract of country on the Colony's eastern frontier on the upper reaches of the Kat River which had been taken away from the Xhosas in 1819.

The allocation of land, according to Stockenström's plan, should be done on a non-discriminating basis – white and coloured claimants to be settled "indiscriminately together." Within this territory the farms were to be as small as natural conditions would permit "in order to secure a dense population and greater strength."[7] The Government, in supporting Stockenström's scheme, therefore, had a twofold aim. Firstly the coloureds and Hottentots were experienced soldiers of the Cape Mounted Riflemen and would thus strengthen the Colony's defences against the Xhosas and secondly such a settlement would provide a "home" for the newly liberated Hottentots and coloured people.[8]

7.1.2 Favourable notices towards establishing the settlement

The missionaries were at first opposed to the establishment of an exclusive coloured and Hottentot settlement. Dr Philip complained when he discovered what had happened. The

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5) Sir Andries Stockenström (1792–1864) *DICTIONARY OF SOUTH AFRICAN BIOGRAPHY, VOL. I,* pp. 774–778. Cape frontier administrator and politician. Given a commission as an ensign in the Cape Corps in January 1811. He supported the introduction of Ordinance 50 of 1828. He was instrumental in establishing the Kat River Settlement.

6) Sir Richard Bourke (1777–1855) *DICTIONARY OF SOUTH AFRICAN BIOGRAPHY, VOL. I,* pp. 106–108. Acting Governor at the Cape from 1826–1828. He handed over the governorship to Sir Lowry Cole on 9.9.1828.

7) Hutton, C.W., (Ed.) *The autobiography of the late Sir Andries Stockenström, Bart ..., Vol. I,* pp. 350–2.

8) Sales, *op. cit.,* p. 101.

hardearned wealth of the mission communities, along with the human resources which had been nurtured, had almost all been removed in June 1828 when the parties moved off to the new settlement.[9] It was not a reduction in numbers at the mission stations that was opposed, especially since the members had increased greatly after Ordinance 50 and during the period when vagrancy acts were widely discussed. After all the mission stations were the only place available to those coloureds who did not want to continue yearly contracts with farmers.

The objection that Dr. Philip raised was to the loss of the elite of the mission stations. He could not however, oppose the choice which individuals made to move to the Kat River, for it supplied an opportunity to show that the Hottentot community could be diligent and could live in a "civilized" manner under their own leadership. Dr. Philip's original pique did not last long, and he and other missionaries were soon trying to help the Kat River people in whatever ways they could.[10]

In April 1830, Stockenström reported that, when his arrangements were completed, there could be at least 400 Hottentots and Bastards settled in the area. The area comprised about 400 square miles of mountainous country. It had a good rainfall and there were fertile valleys where fields could be irrigated, though much of it was too steep for large scale agriculture. Nearby were forests which could also provide employment and the lower slopes of the mountains offered excellent grazing.[11]

One of the main purposes in establishing the Kat River Settlement was, no doubt, to strengthen the Colony's defence against the Xhosas. A great many of the settlers were old discharged soldiers of the Cape Corps.[12] They were used in regular commando duties and were also employed at a number of garrisons in the Colony. They were ideally suited for this type of work in the light of their many years of loyal military service, first under

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9) *Ibid.*
10) *Ibid.*, p. 102.
11) *Cape Legislative Council documents:* Stockenström – Government Secretary, 26 April 1830. L.C. Documents, Vol. I, 1856.
12) British Parliamentary Papers: *Report from the select Committee on the Kaffir Tribes.* Evidence of Sir G.T. Napier, Vol. 4, p. 221. Also, Evidence, Revd. J.J. Freeman, Vol. 4, p. 11.

the Dutch Government and later under British rule. During their military training they received a basic form of education. They often discharged military duties in the field without pay as long as their dependants were cared for. After a military call up, members of the Cape Corps were normally detained longer than their white counterparts, the argument being that the whites had to return to work their farms. Even Sir Henry Pottinger,[13] who wanted to do away with the burgher force, eventually had to appeal for volunteers and the Hottentots and coloured people responded in great numbers.[14]

7.1.3 Population of the Settlement

Possible settlers were carefully selected by Stockenström. They came from all parts of the Cape Colony. Considerable numbers came from overcrowded L.M.S. institutions, mainly Bethelsdorp and Theopolis. A number of the Bastards from the districts of Somerset East and elsewhere in the Colony were among the first settlers, while a few Gonas[15] were allowed to remain behind as settlers after Makomo's expulsion[16] A group of Bushmen from the Graaff-Reinet district and some 'Mantatess', Sotho refugees, were also allowed in as settlers. The original plan was to admit only people who possessed property in animals, wagons or plows. Those who had none, however pleaded for an opportunity to prove themselves also.[17]

"At the Kat River the meaning of the term 'Coloured' – with all its variant antecedents – became apparent. Firstly, the few years following the founding of the settlement, ex-slaves began to join the community as their apprenticeships were concluded in 1838. Then by 1850 there was probably some representation of all the genetic material that

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13) Sir Henry Pottinger (1789–1856) *DICTIONARY OF SOUTH AFRICAN BIOGRAPHY VOL. II,* p. 557. Appointed Governor and High Commissioner of the Cape in September 1846. His short term (10 months) of office was not a success. Left Cape Town on the 7.2.1848 for Madras, where he was Governor until 1854.

14) British Parliamentary Papers: *Report from the Select Committee on the Kaffir Tribes.* Evidence of Sir Andries Stockenström, Vol. 4, p. 268.

15) During the early part of the 19th century, the term Gona was still frequently used in the Eastern Colony to designate a Xhosa whose colour and general appearance approached those of the Hottentots. (Theal, G.M., *History of South Africa from 1795–1872, Vol. II,* pp. 141–50).

16) Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

17) Sales, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

constituted the various 'races' of people in the Cape Colony, and its surrounding areas. Yet it was thought of as a Hottentot settlement, and the Hottentots were probably the dominant element."[18]

7.1.4 The plan on which the settlement was colonised

In April 1830, Stockenström proceeded to colonise his settlement on a carefully considered plan.[19] His plan resembled a similar scheme which the British initiated in 1820 to strengthen the southern portion of the Xhosa frontier. People were settled in groups consisting of not less than ten male adults capable of bearing arms with a headman in charge of each group. Each group formed a "location" with an allocation of between four to six thousand acres each. Locations were further sub-divided into a number of irrigable agricultural allotments which were assigned, one each, to individual families. The allotments varied in size from four to six acres, the smaller denominations being more common. "The allotments in the settlement are so laid out," wrote W.F. Hertzog, Stockenström's surveyor, in 1842, "that they constitute regular villages or hamlets, and that at some places one village forms a location by itself having its own grazing area separated from the others – while at other parts two or more villages or hamlets are combined in one location, using the extent of grazing allotted for that part in common, though each village or hamlet has its own dam and watercourse for irrigation."[20]

By 1831 there were 34 locations and this number increased to 60 by 1833. The names the people gave to their locations were interesting as it gave an indication of the people's loyalty to the philanthropic party either at the Cape or England. Philipton was a location for the London Mission Church as well as the main centre for their activities. Other names included Wilberforce, Buxton, Fairbairn and Readsdale.[21]

Regulations for the conduct of the settlement were contained in two documents drawn up by Stockenström. The first of these, the so called "Provisional Regulations of 1829"

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18) *South African Almanack and Directory for 1831*, pp. 223–237.
19) British Parliamentary Papers: *Report of Select Committee on the Kaffir Tribes, Vol. 4;* evidence by G.T. Napier, p. 220.
20) Cape Government, *Parliamentary Papers: G18, 1859*, p. 57.
21) *South African Almanack and Directory for 1831*, pp. 233–237.

was largely concerned with the commando duties of the inhabitants in times of war and with the precautions to be taken against stock thieves at all times. The "Plan" of 1831 contained the conditions in which the land in the various locations was to be allotted. These documents also made it compulsory for the coloured settlers to assist their white neighbours if attacked by the Xhosas. Evidence indicated that the coloured settlers did their utmost to aid their white neighbours in times of crisis.[22)]

The management of the affairs of the settlement was entrusted to a few coloured colonists with a Commandant, who took charge of the whole settlement. A number of assistants were also appointed who were in charge of a particular ward but they had to act under the Commandant's orders.[23)] During his term as Commissioner-General, Stockenström made regular inspection tours and was very well received by the settlers, who trusted and respected him. After Stockenström's resignation in 1832 that vigilant superintendence ceased.[24)] The Government seemed to show an interest in the settlement only in times of a Xhosa attack when it wanted the inhabitants to take part in the defence of the Colony. The affairs of the settlement were administered by the coloured people themselves up to the year 1847 when for the first time a white resident magistrate was appointed.

The only other times whites were in control were during the wars of 1834 and 1846. Prior to the appointment of the first resident magistrate, the Civil Commissioner of Albany stationed at Grahamstown was the nearest white official to the settlement. The only whites of influence who resided permanently in the settlement before 1847, were the two Rev. James Reads, father and son, who were in charge of the large L.M.S. congregation, and the Rev. William Thomson, a missionary appointed and paid by the Government. Their interests were mainly spiritual and educational and they possessed none of the temporal authority vested in the person in charge of a missionary institution.[25)]

The Kat River Settlement was the only institution for which the Government made itself directly responsible and yet the authorities seriously neglected their responsibilities to-

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22) Cape Legislative Council Documents : H. Calderwood and others – Government Secretary, 8 August 1850, 1856, Vol. I.
23) Hutton, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 369.
24) *Ibid.*
25) Marais, J.S., *The Cape Coloured People 1652–1937*, p. 221.

wards the inhabitants. This had a disastrous affect on the welfare of the settlement. The people were promised title-deeds to their allotments when the northern portion of the settlement was surveyed in 1834, but by 1853 when the settlement ceased to exist as an exclusive coloured establishment only ninety-one of the 509 authorised erf-holders had received their title-deeds.[26] Stockenström's grazing regulations as well as the provision of the plan directed against squatting, were never enforced with the result that the inhabitants were faced with numerous problems.[27]

7.2 Progress at the Settlement

7.2.1 Favourable reports on the progress at the Settlement

Visitors to the Kat River Settlement during its first years of existence were loud in their praises for the industry displayed by the inhabitants. The warmth and unanimity of this testimony is impressive. Considerable financial assistance was given to the 1820 British Settlers by the Government, while very little assistance was given to the Kat River Settlers. The Kat River people were provided with seed-corn at a total cost of R44,10 and were supplied with a limited quantity of ammunition and given some guns on loan.[28]

In a letter published in the "Grahamstown Journal", R. Godlonton, a newspaper editor, who was later to become one of the most powerful enemies of the settlement, wrote in 1832, after a visit to the Kat River Settlement: "Hitherto great activity has been displayed, and the incipient marks of civilisation observable in every direction, clearly indicate that where no impediment oppress, they (the Hottentots) are capable of attaining a respectable station in the ranks of society."[29] Godlonton further added, however, that "the excessive poverty of the bulk of the people," is a great hindrance to the progress of their improvement.

Giving evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, Captain Spiller[30] praised the industry of the Hottentots. He believed that the Government at the Cape was

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26) *Cape Government Parliamentary Papers, G18, 1859,* pp. 422–3.
27) Marais, *op. cit.,* p. 222.
28) British Parliamentary Papers: *Report of the Aborigines Committee, Volume I, 538 of 1836,* pp. 154–6.
29) Hutton, *op. cit.,* p. 408.
30) British Parliamentary Papers: *Report from the Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements) 1836,* p. 72.

much indebted to the Kat River people for supplies at Grahamstown during the time that there was a scarcity of forage and grain.[31] Captain C. Bradford, testifying before the same Committee remarked that the Kat River people were "generally speaking, a more moral and better conducted class than a very great number of the lower class of settlers residing in South Africa."[32] Captain Bradford's testimony was supported by Colonel Wade. Both of them were prominent military men stationed at the Cape. Despite many deprivations and constant harassment by marauding bands of Xhosa tribesmen, "it was evident that they (the Kat River people) could be industrious, and were as capable of contending with ordinary difficulties as their fellow-men."[33] Messrs Bockhouse and Walker, members of the "Society of Friends", concurred that the Kat River people had been "raised to a state nearly equal to that of the labouring classes in England, and in some respects superior; certainly above that often found in some of the manufacturing districts."[34]

7.2.2 Successful agricultural experiments at the Kat River Settlement

In 1830, the first year of the settlement, the population consisted of 900 souls of whom from 250 to 300 were available for the purpose of defence. At that time, however, they had barely produced sufficient grain for food or seed.[35]

In 1833 the whole settlement had been subdivided into 640 allotments capable of irrigation with grazing commons attached. The average size of the allotments was three morgen, or six acres. The population of the settlement, according to official returns "amounted to 2 114 of all ages and sexes: their stock consisted of 250 horses, 2 444 head of cattle and 4 996 sheep; they had reaped 2 300 muids of wheat and barley (6 900 imperial bushels); besides temporary cottages of wattle-and-daub, they had built

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31) *Ibid.*
32) *Ibid.*, pp. 170–171.
33) *Ibid.*, pp. 288–290.
34) *Light and Shade:* In the Character of the Hottentots of the Kat River Settlement, and in the conduct of the Colonial Government towards them. (Published by Saul Solomon and Company, Cape Town 1854), pp. 54–55.
35) British Parliamentary Papers, *Reports from Committees of the Kaffir Tribes, Vol. IV:* Memorandum on the Kat River Settlement by the Rev. Henry Renton, p. 402.

twelve substantial stone houses, planted thirteen orchards, and completed fifty five canals for irrigating their allotments, of which forty-four measured 141,750 feet, or, in round numbers, twenty four miles."[36]

With the most wretched implements they cultivated an extent of land which astonished everyone. Instances of uncommon exertion and perserverance are manifested in the construction of channels, which convey water to their fields and gardens. "In some places those canals were carried through solid rock; in others it was necessary to cut to the depth of ten or twelve feet to preserve the level; while their entire length through all the locations extended to upwards of 20,000 yards."[37]

The constantly increasing population meant that, in spite of good crops as a result of the diligent efforts, the amount of money among the Kat River people was still small. But the level of co-operation was high, and the reports are of steadily improving houses and gardens, of decently clad people at church, of schools being built and teachers being paid, though their salaries were very small.[38]

7.2.3 The Temperance Society established at the Settlement

It was a commonly accepted practice during the early history of the Cape Colony to pay workers in part with spirituous liquors for their labour. This practice persisted for a long time and was common in towns such as Grahamstown, Uitenhage, and Port Elizabeth. As early as 1809, Colonel Collins had pointed out the evils of this system.[39]

Through the rigorous efforts of Dr. Philip, who was assisted by his son-in-law John Fairbairn, a campaign was launched to have this evil practice stopped. He had a meeting with the Kat River people in which he recorded details of all employers who engaged in this practice. He also appointed people to continue to report such facts to him after he left

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36) *Ibid.*, p. 403.
37) *Grahamstown Journal,* June 1832. (Letter by the Honourable Robert Godlonton, M.L.C.) Quoted in Light and Shade ... p. 44.
38) Sales, *op. cit.*, p.105.
39) *Ibid.*, p. 107.

town. Finally he made a public statement threatening to publish the names of those who continued with giving liquor to their workers in the "South African Commercial Advertisor", the Cape Town newspaper, edited by Fairbairn. In this way, the temperance movement was born.[40)]

At the Kat River Settlement the sale of liquor had been absolutely barred at the request of the inhabitants themselves. One of the clauses in the title-deeds was specific in this regard and stated very clearly that "no canteen or shop for the sale of Wine, Spirituous liquors, Beer or malt shall ever be kept on the land hereby granted or within the limits of the Location in which such land was situated."[41)]

Since nearly 1600 people signed the pledge instances of drunkenness were a very rare occurrence in the Settlement. One of the things most often commented on by visitors to the Settlement was the importance of the temperance movement and its success there.[42)]

7.2.4 The education of the people of the Settlement

Visitors to the Kat River Settlement were very impressed with the progress and the desire of the people for education for their children. This prompted Stockenström to write: "The settlers at Kat River now display the utmost anxiety to have schools established among them, and several that have been opened are in a very flourishing state. So eager are they for instruction that, when better teachers cannot be obtained, if they find any person of their own class who can merely spell, they get him to teach to the rest the little that he knows."[43)]

James Read Junior* organised the first school at Philipton in January 1830 which later became the central and higher school. Some of its students were later sent out to the

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40) *Ibid.*, p. 108.
41) Cape Legislative Council Documents, 1856, Vol. I: Copy of Title-deed in the Kat River Settlement.
42) Sales, *op. cit.*, pp. 105–106.
43) Pringle, Thomas, *Narrative of a Residence in South Africa,* p. 260.
* James Read Junior was a half-breed, the son of a Hottentot mother. Marais, J.S., *op. cit.*, p. 229.

surrounding locations to teach. They had to return to Philipton every Wednesday for further instruction. James Read served as superintendent of schools as well as principal teacher at Philipton.[44] He was well equipped for his task having studied under Foster at Bethelsdorp and at the South African College in Cape Town, the most advanced school in the country at that time. Dr. Philip supervised his studies while he was in Cape Town and he gained further teaching experience by teaching convicts in prison during his spare time.[45]

A totally new concept in teaching was introduced at the settlement by James Read's two daughters. They had learned about infant school teaching from a Mrs Atkinson at Bethelsdorp in 1828/9 and immediately started an infant school. The plan of these schools was to use singing and rhythmic games to make learning easy and interesting. Children were enrolled from about three years of age and stayed until they had mastered the basic elements of reading and writing probably at about six or seven. This left the regular schools free to gear their work to somewhat more advanced curriculum.[46]

The community spirit which existed at the Kat River Settlement was excellent as was evident from the willingness of young men to serve as schoolmasters with limited training and income. Of this spirit J. Rose Innes[47] wrote: "I speak in perfect sincerity, when I say that I had seldom met with a more interesting body of young men. It is neither from their attainments nor experience that I thus speak of them, for high expectations cannot be reasonably formed of either, but it is the spirit and the zeal of the teachers. Their unwearied activity, directed by the younger Mr Read, is the soul of the system; and I cannot but admire the efforts they have made for personal improvement under considerable difficulties."[48]

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44) Sales, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
45) *Ibid.*
46) *Ibid.*
47) James Rose Innes (1799–1873) *DICTIONARY OF SOUTH AFRICAN BIOGRAPHY, VOL. I,* pp. 397–399. First Superintendent of Education in the Cape Colony. He was instrumental in reforming the educational system in the Cape. He was a member of the Watermeyer Commission on Education in the Cape Colony. Most of the Commission's recommendations were eventually provided for in the Education Act of 1856, including the extension of the State-aided school system and more effective financial provisions.
48) British Parliamentary Papers: *Report of a Select Committee ... Vol. 4*: Evidence by the Revd. H. Renton, p. 400.

During a visit to the Kat River by Dr. Philip a special meeting was held to discuss the appointment of a permanent minister and assistants for the schools from the L.M.S. James Read was appointed minister as a result of this meeting. His selection was very popularly received as the community would benefit because his son was a qualified schoolmaster and his two daughters were also teachers who could be used for the Infant and Sewing Schools and furthermore the Society would make small grants available to help with the salaries of the teachers.[49)]

By the year 1846 the L.M.S. had established both a printing-press and a circulating library in the settlement, and 1200 persons were receiving elementary instruction. The Superintendent-General of Education was very impressed with the coloured teachers and the progress in general. Sir G.T. Napier in his evidence to the Select Committee on the Kaffir Tribes testified that on visiting the settlement he was astonished to find himself met by four or five "dinstinct columns of children and adults, with schoolmasters." He further reported that "everyone of these children could read or write to a certain degree."[50)]

7.2.5 The effect of the frontier wars (1834–5 and 1846/7) on the Kat River Settlement and the part played in these wars by the Kat River people

From a military point of view the Kat River Settlement was very important. The large number of Cape Corps soldiers settled in the area played a vital role in the defence of the Colony against the continued attacks of the Xhosas. The success of the Kat River Settlement in the educational as well as the agricultural fields could be attributed to the presence of the unit in the area. The Rev. Renton in his evidence to the Select Committee on the Kaffir Tribes testified that in the "whole of the males of the settlement capable of bearing arms were required to do duty in the field or in the garrison; that, I had understood, amounted to 90 percent of the whole population."[51)]

War was started in 1834 by the Xhosas, largely in order to recover territory taken away from them. Among the greatest sufferers were the people of the Kat River whose homes,

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49) Sales, *op. cit.*, p. 105.
50) British Parliamentary Papers: *Report of a Select Committee ... Vol. 4:* Evidence by Sir G.T. Napier, p. 220.
51) British Parliamentary Papers: *Report of a Select ... Vol. 4:* Evidence by the Rev. H. Renton, p. 400.

fields, irrigation works, churches, schools were all destroyed and consequently they had to receive support from the Board of Relief established by the Government.[52)]

The war of 1835 caused a lot of uncertainty in the Colony and this event, coupled with the emancipation of the slaves in 1834, was probably, according to most historians, the main reason for the mass exodus of whites from the colony. While many of the white farmers were preparing to move northwards in what is generally known as the 'Great Trek', the coloured people of the Kat River Settlement settled down to rebuild their farms. The Kat River losses included 20 lives lost in battle, 200 lives lost from fever in the encampment, all crops destroyed and 1200 cattle lost.[53)]

When war again broke out in the Cape Colony in 1846, the Kat River settlers were the first of the burghers to take the field against the enemy.[54)] Four hundred men of the settlement were employed by Captain Sutton who was in charge of military operations. While they were fighting the Xhosas in the Amatolas, their families were drawn together to places of concentration in a most precipitate manner. On their return they found that most of their property was destroyed by the enemy. They were resettled in three other areas but lost most of their livestock as a result of overgrazing and lack of water. A good number of cattle was also taken by the enemy.[55)] This state of affairs continued throughout the war of 1846/7.

The Kat River people, while accommodated at their new places, did sterling work defending themselves against the enemy while also doing such military duties as escorting wagons and despatch riding. In addition, contingents went out at least four times during this year to fight the enemy.[56)]

In March 1847 the General in Command of the forces stated that out of the 1000 male adults in the settlement 900 were on active service, as compared with "not more than three per cent of the adult population ... of any other Division of the Colony." Four

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52) Marais, *op. cit.*, p. 227.
53) Sales, *op. cit.*, p. 135.
54) Hutton, C.W., *op. cit.*, pp. 374–7.
55) Marais, *op.cit.*, p. 229.
56) Hutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 374–7.

hundred of the 900, were in the field and the rest were garrisoning the important posts in the settlement. "Under the general rule, the wives and families of the 400 men in the field only would receive rations; but from the nature of the duties of the remaining 500, although not actually with me in the field, they are wholly prevented from attending their agricultural pursuits, or in any other way providing for their families, as I conceive the posts they hold too important to be abandoned in the present crisis, I beg to submit ... that for the present, the wives and families of those men also should be allowed rations."[57]

The Xhosa wars came to an end in December 1847. The Kat River people lost a great deal more in this war than they did during the war of 1834/5. James Rose Innes visited the settlement again in 1848 and estimated the people's losses at R60 000 and "to complete their misery, the floods of 1848 carried away dams, water courses and all the apparatus they had constructed for the purpose of irrigation."[58]

7.3 Events which led to the Hottentot rebellion of 1851

Sir Andries Stockenström, in a speech in defence of the Kat River Settlement, described several important events as the "turning point" in the people's attitude towards the Government.[59] Up to March 1847, the loyalty of the vast majority of the Kat River people was described as "beyond suspicion", but soon after that date there was much dissatisfaction among the people.[60] The events which followed gradually estranged the people from the Government and eventually led to the rebellion of 1851.[61]

Sir Henry Pottinger assumed office in January 1847 as Governor and High Commissioner of the Cape Colony. He had no knowledge of the Cape or special qualifications for his new post. The Kat River people soon became aware that the new Governor was not carrying out promises made to them.[62] The previous Governor, Maitland,[63] had been

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57) British Parliamentary Papers: *912 of 1848,* p. 52.
58) Hutton, *op. cit.,* p. 52.
59) Light and Shade ... *op. cit.,* p. 18.
60) Le Cordeur and Saunders, *The War of the Axe, 1847,* p. 77.
61) Marais, *op. cit.,* p. 230.
62) *Ibid.,* p. 231.
63) Sir Peregrine Maintland (1777–1854). *DICTIONARY OF SOUTH AFRICAN BIOGRAPHY, VOL. II,* pp. 431–433. British soldier and Governor at the Cape. Fought at Waterloo. Appointed Governor and military Commander-in-Chief of the Cape Colony in December 1834. Upon his return to England he retired from the army and public life. In 1852 he was awarded the G.L.B.

wrong in his assessment on the conclusion of the war when his successor arrived in 1847. On the contrary, the war was to continue throughout the ten months of Pottinger's brief governorship.

In Grahamstown Pottinger received reports of the "great insubordination" which was manifesting itself in the Kat River Settlement as well as amongst the men in the field.[64] The men in the field objected to the unfair manner in which cattle, taken from the enemy, had been distributed and the way they had been deprived of the blankets which had been used while on campaign.[65] Those in the settlement complained at the delay in the issue of clothes which had been promised them as a protection against the bitter cold of the winter in that particular area.[66]

The major complaint at that stage concerned the material needs of the people i.e. rations, blankets and clothing. These "grumblings" could easily have been stopped by a little sympathetic attention from the authorities. Instead Pottinger, forming a hasty judgement on one-sided information, rejected their arguments.[67]

Contrary to Pottinger's decision, Captain Sutton, who had been in charge of the Kat River men in the field, continued to distribute rations to the people; although he informed Pottinger and explained his reasons for doing so in a letter. "In Grahamstown, however, Pottinger was confirmed in his prejudice against the Settlement by those who coveted its fertile lands for sheep-farming." He was incensed when he read Sutton's letter and called for his immediate dismissal.[68]

7.3.1 Magistrate T.J. Biddulph's administration

Pottinger was keen to replace the coloured settlers of the Kat River with white farmers and therefore in March instructed his officials in Cape Town to enquire into the tenure on which they (the coloured people) held their land. The reply he received on the

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64) Le Cordeur and Saunders, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
65) Hutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 376–7.
66) Marais, *op. cit.*, p. 231.
67) Le Cordeur and Saunders, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
68) *Ibid.*, pp. 82–83.

14th April 1847, confirmed the fact that he erred in thinking that the men of the Kat River held their lands on military tenure ... "grants were accordingly issued without reference to military service, and surveys of erven unconnected with any party were made."[69]

Pottinger's negative and prejudiced view of the Kat River Settlers continued. He labelled the R8 800 spent on the settlement as money spent "in positive disobedience" and in defiance of his instructions, adding that they (the Kat River people) wished "to wallow in filth and idleness at the expense of the government."[70]

On the 16 May 1847 he appointed Thomas Jarvis Biddulph, "a bankrupt farmer,"[71] to the settlement as its Civil Superintendent or Magistrate, with specific instructions to stop the supply of rations immediately.[72]

The appointment of Biddulph as the very first Magistrate of the settlement, was a complete failure. He was heavily influenced by the Governor and "descended upon the Kat River Settlement in the guise of an avenger rather than as the healer of the grievous wounds which had been inflicted."[73] His reports served to reinforce Pottinger's prejudices. Biddulph set about dispersing the people from the two military posts at Elands Post and Fort Armstrong (the Government had ordered them to these posts) and ordered them back to the land.[74]

In doing so, he used harsh and insulting language, referring to the two military posts as "immense dunghills", and telling them that they were a set of lazy paupers, only good to be hired out to the local farmers and the British Settlers.[75] He sold the oxen, seed and clothes which were intended for the use of the people of the Settlement. The seed that

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69) Le Cordeur and Saunders, *op. cit.*, Pottinger to Grey, 14 April 1847, p. 91.
70) *Ibid.*
71) Tony Kirk, ' Progress and decline in the Kat River Settlement, 1829–1854', *Journal of African History 14(3).*
72) Cape Legislative Council Documents, 1856, Vol. 1: Memorandum by Pottinger dated 17 May, 1847.
73) Marais, *op. cit.*, p. 231.
74) Le Cordeur and Saunders, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
75) Marais, *op. cit.*, pp. 231–232.

was given to the people was done because it "happened to be actually in hand, and likely to perish if not used at once."[76]

As military action in the area had ceased, the Kat River people returned to their settlement to resume their agricultural activities. They, however, refused to undertake any military service until they had the Governor's assurance that their families would be supported during their absence.[77]

The Kat River people were determined to resume their agricultural activities on the settlement. In order to acquire the necessary capital to support themselves, buy livestock and implements, they took to working the forests. When James Rose Innes visited the settlement in 1848 he counted "upwards of ninety saw-pits in active operation."[78] Biddulph, however, in November 1847 raised the licence fee payable on a wagon load of timber from 15 cents to 60 cents.[79] This exorbitant tax made Stockenström remark that "in no part of the Colony had, in the most prosperous time, so high a tax been imposed as here fell upon the Hottentots in their misery."[80]

Biddulph used as argument the necessity for this high tax increment the fact that he wanted to protect the forests from being "exhausted". His main reason, however, was to compel the Kat River Settlers to turn to agriculture and stockraising or to take service with white farmers who needed labourers.[81]

A lengthy report on the settlement was drawn up by Biddulph in October 1847 and submitted to Pottinger. The report was published in the Government Gazette on Pottinger's instruction. The report showed that it cost the Government R1 066 per annum to maintain the settlement. This amount included R310 for schools and R500 for the Government missionary. The Settlers'contribution to the General Fund was, according to his

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76) *Ibid.*
77) Le Cordeur and Saunders, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
78) Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 426.
79) Cape Legislative Council Documents, 1856, Vol. I: Government Notice dated 17 November 1847.
80) Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 378.
81) Cape Legislative Council Documents, 1856, Vol. I: Report on Crown Forests of Stockenström: Bowker to Government Secretary, 14 January, 1850.

report, negligible, although the erf-holders, during the two years preceding the last war, contributed R66 to the Colony's Road Fund. The report dealt in length with what Biddulph termed "the abode of idleness and imposture", though he admitted that the Bastards had cultivated the land well.[82)]

In December 1847 the British Settlers supported a document which attacked the Kat River Settlement for not making good use "of the best watered and most fertile district on the frontier."[83)]

Sir Harry Smith,[84)] who succeeded Pottinger as Governor of the Cape Colony, visited the settlement early in 1848. He was surprised at Biddulph's report and found aspects of the report unacceptable.

He also soon realised in dealing with the inhabitants of the settlement, that Biddulph was very unpopular because of his prejudices. He immediately replaced him with J.H. Bowker who belonged to one of the best known Settler families. Bowker, however, was as ill-fitted for this important position as his predecessor. The settlers were not well disposed to the coloured people generally and in particular to the Kat River people. Bowker committed so many blunders which bore oppresively on the people, that in June 1850 a Kat River resident wrote to the Revd. J.J. Freeman[85)] to the effect that "if the kaffirs should again attack the Colony, it was questionable if the Hottentots would be induced to come forward in its defence."[86)]

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82) *Grahamstown Journal,* December 4, 1847.
83) *Grahamstown Journal,* December 4, 1847.
84) Sir Henry (Harry) Smith (1787–1860) *DICTIONARY OF SOUTH AFRICAN BIOGRAPHY, VOL. II,* pp. 672–677. Soldier and Governor of the Cape Colony Transferred to the Cape on 24.7.1828 where he served as Quarter-master-general under Sir Lowry Cole. He was also involved in a political crisis over the drafting of a constitution to give the Cape Colony representative Government.
85) Joseph John Freeman (1794–1851) *DICTIONARY OF SOUTH AFRICAN BIOGRAPHY, VOL. II,* p. 241. Secretary of the L.M.S. and Biblical translater and writer. Arrived in Cape Town on 25.2.1849 to visit the South African stations of his society – having visited the Cape Colony occasionally in the past. Was very critical of Sir Harry Smith's frontier policy, and took up the cudgels on behalf of the Kat River people who were directly involved in the war of 1850–53.
86) British Parliamentary Papers: Minutes of evidence taken before the Select Committee on the Kaffir Tribes, Revd. J.J. Freeman, Vol. 4, p. 4, dated 6 June 1851.

The Xhosas and Fingoes gradually gained access to the Kat River Settlement and caused a serious problem by squatting illegally. The Government was well disposed towards the Fingoes, much to the annoyance of the Kat River people. The problem became so serious that an official report quoted the Hottentots as giving the Fingo occupation as one of the reasons for the Rebellion in 1851.[87)]

The Government, finally in June 1850, instructed Bowker to expel the Xhosas from the settlement. Bowker blundered very badly in the execution of his duties. Innocent people's huts were burnt down (some of these were bone fide servants of Hottentot erf-holders) and women and children, together with their menfolk, were expelled. The expulsion took place on a bitterly cold Sunday morning and was carried out by Sir Harry Smith's newly appointed "Kaffir Police" force. A commission of inquiry refuted a claim by the Superintendent of police that shelter had been provided for the unfortunate people. Those that were allowed to return to the settlement received no compensation for what they had lost and the wrong they had suffered.[88)]

Several cases of maladministration came to light and these were dealt with by two commissions of inquiry conducted in May and August 1850 respectively. One of these cases concerns the exploitation of one Cobbe, Superintendent of the Xhosas and Fingoes. He was found to impound cattle belonging to the Kat River people illegally by not fencing in his grazing commonage thereby adding to his own income considerably. He was also accused of assaulting Hottentots and at least one conviction had been obtained against him. The other nine cases had reference to Bowker's administration. In all of them except one, the commission found against the magistrate.[89)]

Bowker's administration became so bad, that he was asked to resign to escape the ignominy of dismissal. In August 1850, the Government Secretary found that he was "in every way unfit for the responsible duties belonging to a Magistrate." Cobbe was allowed to continue as Superintendent of the Xhosas and Fingoes.[90)]

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87) Cape Legislative Council Documents: Report ... by the Civil Commissioner Fort Beaufort, 1 August 1853, L.C.D. Documents 1855, Vol. II.
88) Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 381.
89) Marais, *op. cit.*, pp. 236/7.
90) Cape Legislative Council Documents: Montagu to Bowker, 1 June and 22 August 1850: Report of a Commission of Inquiry, dated 8 August 1850, Vol I, 1856.

During July 1850, the first hint at the possibility of rebellion was made in a letter written to the Government Secretary by Andries Stockenström on behalf of Andries Botha. Stockenström, who at that time was living quietly on his farm, was visited by the Feldcornet Andries Botha who complained bitterly about the administration of Bowker and Cobbe. He asked Stockenström to write to the Government and warn the authorities of the inevitable consequences, if nothing was done to check or stop the maladministration of Bowker and Cobbe.[91]

7.3.2 Attitudes of the Colonists towards the coloured people of the Kat River Settlement and other parts of the Colony

A number of events took place in the Colony during the second half of 1850 which added to the prevailing unrest amongst the coloured people. Firstly the colonists complained bitterly against the so called coloured institutions, robbing them of their labour force. They demanded a more stringent Masters' and Servants' Law. Secondly, the coloured people feared that their new-found freedom would be taken away when the Cape Parliament became a reality. For them it meant "that the Queen's government was about to cease in this country and that they would again be placed under oppressive laws."[92] A third, and perhaps the most important, aspect was the hostility exhibited by the white people against the coloured people in general. "As frontiersmen who had to bear the brunt of the wars and the general insecurity of life on the frontier, the settlers, or most of them, had come to cherish a strong dislike of the non-European, the Kaffir in the first place, but also the Hottentot."[93] Visitors from England were shocked at the intensity of this feeling. The old idea that prison is the only school for the Hottentots had not changed much. Repeal of Ordinance 50 was still a common topic of conversation among some of the whites of the Eastern Cape.

The Colonists used every conceivable means to make their prejudices known. They published their anti-native sentiments in petitions to the Government, at public meetings and in the press. The Kat River people read the Settlers newspaper "The Grahamstown

91) Hutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 427–432.
92) Marais, *op. cit.*, p. 238.
93) *Ibid.*

Journal" which, in its editorial correspondence columns, reflected in depth the negative attitudes of the Settlers towards the Kat River people in particular and the coloured people in general.[94)]

Land belonging to the Kat River Settlement had on more than one occasion been granted to the British Settlers. The British Settlers living in the vicinity of the Kat River Settlement continually blamed the coloured people for stock losses with the result that the Government appointed a Settler Commission to inquire into the matter. The proceedings of the commission caused much dissatisfaction in the Kat River Settlement.[95)]

7.4 The Hottentot Rebellion of 1851

7.4.1 Hermanus Matroos[96)]

Hermanus Matroos was the son of an absconded slave from the Cape Colony and a black woman. He grew up with the Ngqika tribes but left them to live among the farmers on the eastern frontier where he learnt to speak Dutch fluently and also acquired an imperfect knowledge of English. During his early manhood he returned to the Xhosas. He later joined the British Government service as an interpreter but was later found unsatisfactory and dismissed in 1828. He was however, allowed to remain in the Colony and allowed to settle on the Blinkwater with a few followers on account of his services to the authorities.

For a number of years he acted as a spy for the authorities and was given full access to the Kat River Settlement. For two consecutive wars 1834/5 and 1846/7, he fought on the Colonial side against the Xhosas, and it was apparently on this ground that the Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban[97)] granted him land in the Kat River Settlement. Between 1836 and 1849 not much is heard of Hermanus.

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94) Sales, *op. cit.*, p. 146.
95) L.C. Documents 1856, Vol I: Report of a Commission .. (R. Godlonton, R. Bovey, W. Gilbert and J. Blakeway) dated, 26 November 1850.
96) Hermanus Matroos. *DICTIONARY OF SOUTH AFRICAN BIOGRAPHY VOL. II,* pp. 454–455.
97) Sir Benjamin D'Urban (1777–1849) *DICTIONARY OF SOUTH AFRICAN BIOGRAPHY. VOL. II,* pp. 205–207. British soldier and Governor of the Cape Colony from 1834 to 1838. At the Cape, constitutional innovation was his priority. In 1840 he agreed to take up the command of the British troops in Canada.

7.4.2 Matroos changes sides and leads the rebellion

During 1849,the Government decided to levy an annual quit-rent of R2 on all adult male Fingoes and Xhosas living at the Kat River. The Government intended the money to be used to "supervise and civilize" them. Hermanus, who was described by official and other visitors as a man of good sense, shrewdness and courage, refused to pay his rent on the ground that he and his people held their land on a tenure similar to that of the Hottentots who paid no rent. A commission was appointed to investigate Hermanus's claims and also claims from the colonists against him for stock theft and harbouring of criminals. The Commissioner warned the Government not to take action against Hermanus and his followers until both claims had been fully examined. The examination never materialised and Hermanus and his followers were continually threathened with expulsion from their land by Government officials. This made him form an alliance with the Xhosas and thereby increasing the number of his followers, so that by November 1850 he had in his location 300 men capable of bearing arms.[98)]

On Christmas eve 1850 the Xhosas rose against the Colony. At that stage Hermanus had recruited 900 men under his command and was ready to begin hostilities in the Kat River Settlement. Many of his recruits were black servants who, because of being dissatisfied with their employers, deserted to join up with him. Hermanus's rising spread to the Hottentots. There is no evidence, according to Marais, that the Hottentots had premeditated rebellion, still less that there had been any collusion between them and Hermanus or their traditional enemies beyond the frontier. It is evident that if the people were not yet rebellious on Christmas Eve, 1850, they were nevertheless full of resentment. "They were still prepared to defend their settlement against the Xhosas, but not to leave it and fight the Government's battles as they have done in the previous wars."[99)]

The authorities were not really concerned at that stage as most of the men were unarmed. Their Magistrate Bowker, because of complaints from the Colonists, had earlier ordered them to surrender their arms to the Government stores. On the other hand, despite having

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98) L.C. Documents, 1856, Vol. I: Correspondence concerning the quit-rent imposed on Hermanus's tribe, 22 June 1850.

99) Marais, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

been warned of Hermanus's increasing following and his motives, the Government, nevertheless, supplied him with ammunition as late as 26 December 1850, the day on which he commenced hostilities.[100)]

7.4.3 The spread of the rebellion

As a result of his powerful charisma, Hermanus was able to persuade some Hottentots in the southern part of the Kat River Settlement to join his rebellion. This contagion spread gradually among the Hottentots, until it had inflicted the whole settlement. Those Hottentots who stayed loyal to the Government, were helpless as they received little or a few arms to defend their property.[101)]

The northern part of the settlement was relatively peaceful during January 1851 and the people were loyal to the authorities. On the 21st of February 1851, Government forces for the first time entered the settlement, and sparked off a number of dramatic events which fostered the spirit of rebellion amongst the people of the settlement and those in other parts of the Colony. Willem Uithaalder, a pensioner of the Cape Corps, took command of the rebels after Hermanus was killed during an attack on Fort Beaufort. A Hottentot was now leading the rebellion and gained considerable support from his kinsmen. His military experience as a member of the Cape Corps and the fact that most of the Kat River Settlers were ex-members of this regiment, stood him in good stead. The Hottentot escort with Magistrate Wienand, had to flee for their lives when they were attacked by an irate Settler militia at Fort Beaufort. These events evidently led to the spread of the rebellion in the Kat River.[102)]

The missionaries did everything in their power, at times at the risk of their lives, to stem the tide of dissatisfaction. Their efforts proved a failure and together with the loyal coloureds and Hottentots they were instructed by the authorities to evacuate the Kat River and move to Fort Hare. Soon after evacuation had been accomplished the complete ruin of the Kat River homes, schools and churches was accomplished by the rebels and the Xhosas.[103)]

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100) British Parliamentary Papers: 635 of 1851, p. 419.
101) Marais, *op. cit.*, p. 241.
102) *Ibid.*, p. 242.
103) Sales, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

7.4.4 The rebellion is crushed

Government forces at length arrived in the settlement and quelled the insurrection after serious fighting. By May 1852, the war was over and the origin of the rebellion was never really established, despite several attempts by the authorities to have the causes officially investigated. Many of the rebels were killed and the rest imposed a self banishment from the colony and settled in the forests of the Transkei where they were able to survive selling timber through the new port of East London.[104] The only man found guilty of treason was a local colonist named Andries Botha. He was condemned to death but the jury recommended mercy on account of his former service to the colony. He served a short sentence and was later pardoned – a broken old man.[105]

The rebellion of 1851 ruined the Kat River Settlement. The destruction which was started during the 1834 and 1846 wars, was completed by the 1851 rebellion. This prompted the the Government in 1853 to decide to "break up the Hottentot exclusive settlement," which according to them, had become a "hotbed of sedition,". So for the first time provision was made to admit whites into the settlement as landholders.[106] A total of 243 allotments were confiscated from the rebels and others by order of the 1853 commission and mostly allotted to whites. The settlement was later re-surveyed and title-deeds were issued to both whites and coloureds.[107]

7.6 Summary

The provision of land at the Kat River Settlement in 1829 provided an opportunity for coloured people, Hottentots and ex-slaves to build an economically viable community. This bold scheme had exciting possibilities as most of the inhabitants were ex members of the Cape Corps who were disciplined soldiers. They could therefore be used extensively in the many agricultural and educational schemes that were in fact initiated and which

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104) *Ibid.*
105) *Ibid.*
106) Cape Government: G18, 1859, pp. 60- 63.
107) Cape House of Assembly: A12, 1854, p. 3.

proved to be very successful. The plan was however, negated because of the insistence of the authorities to use the Kat River Settlement as a military buffer against the Xhosas.

The continued wars of 1835, 1846 and 1851 eventually destroyed the settlement and, especially from the last war, it did not recover.

CHAPTER 8

THE CAPE CORPS AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR: 1915–1919

During the first Great War nearly 25 000 coloured men were enlisted to fight against the Imperial German Army. In this war the Cape Corps excelled as a fighting unit.

8.1 Recruitment

Initially, a section of the white population resented the idea of raising a force of coloured men for employment in the fighting line. On the other hand, a large number of whites were in favour of organising a coloured force to assist in the South-West Campaign. Strong re-representations from coloured leaders were made to allow suitable coloured men to fight for their country. Eventually the acceptance of the principle that the coloured man should be allowed to become a soldier became a reality when the Imperial Army Council accepted the offer of the Union Government to raise an Infantry Battalion of Cape Coloured men for service overseas.[1)]

8.1.2 Conditions for recruitment

A Cape Corps Recruiting Committee consisting of prominent members of the coloured and white communities, was established with headquarters in Cape Town: Senator Colonel Walter Stanford, C.B., C.M.G., was appointed Chairman. The following leaders of the coloured community served on the committee: Dr. Abdurahman M.P.C., Mr H. Hartog, Mr P. Ryan, Mr M.J. Fredericks and Mr J. Currey.[2)]

A very high standard of selection was maintained during the recruiting campaign. Only men of exceptionally good character between the age 20–30, minimum height of 5 ft 3 inches, chest measurement of 33½ inches, unmarried and without dependants were considered.[3)]

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1) Difford, I., *The Story of the 1st Cape Corps*, p. 18.

2) Difford, I., *op. cit.*, p. 20.

3) Notes on the Military History of the Coloured: Compiled by the South African Defence Force, Pretoria, p. 7.

Major C.N. HOY, D.S.O. and Bar – Second in Command of the 1st Battalion Cape Corps.

After attestation a coloured man became an Imperial soldier under the Army Act for the period of the war and six months afterwards, or until legally discharged. The rates of pay were the same as for the British Infantry units.[4)]

The coloured soldiers were dissatisfied with the initial conditions of service as applied on attestation. Later on certain concessions were made in response to very strong representations made to the then Union Minister of Defence (Lieut.-General J.C. Smuts), by a deputation of the Recruiting Committee.This resulted in the age limit being extended both upwards and downwards (18–35 years) and a percentage of married men being allowed to enlist, and separation allowances and pensions and gratuities being granted to their next of kin. The latter two were based on a similar scale as that granted to the British West Indian Imperial Service Contingent.[5)]

The Recruiting Committee used various means to recruit suitable soldiers. These included street parades, bands, public meetings in outlaying districts, speeches at cinema shows, stirring posters and press notices. The response was magnificent and the first group was attested on the 25th October 1915.

By the 12th December 1915 the full complement was reached and recruiting was temporarily stopped. One thousand and sixteen coloured men volunteered.[6)]

8.1.3 Commanding Officers

Major George Abbott Morris of the Natal Carbineers and the son of Mr J.W. Morris was duly gazetted as Lieut.-Colonel and Officer Commanding of the Cape Corps on the 5th October 1915. On the 1st November 1915 Major C.N. Hoy also of the 1st Natal Carbineers was appointed as second in command of the Cape Corps.[7)]

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4) The Rand Daily Mail, 22 October 1915.
5) D.C. 298: Recruiting for Cape Corps (file 31047) u.p. 17 August 1916.
6) Difford, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
7) *Paratus*, Vol. 27, No. 9, September 1976, p. 31.

LIEUT-COLONEL GEORGE ABBOT MORRIS,
C.M.G., D.S.O. Officer Commanding 1st Battalion
Cape Corps throughout its existence
(October, 1915 – September, 1919).

Several qualified white officers who had seen service in the Anglo-Boer War and the South-West African Campaign were appointed to serve in the newly established Cape Corps Battalion. Amongst them were Captain W.G. Gunningham (Adjutant), Captain I.D. Difford (Quartermaster), Lieutenant J.E. Dennison (Signalling Officer), Lieutenant C.J. Lever (Paymaster) and Lieutenant W.P. Anderson.[8)]

The following men had the honour to serve as the first coloured N.C.O.'s of the Cape Corps:[9)]

First Provost Sergeant	:	William Thomas McLeod (111) 24.10.15
First Transport Sergeant	:	J.W. Peake (138) 24.10.15
First C.Q.M. Sergeants	:	P.F. Heeger (21) 25.10.15
		A.J.Daniels (13) 25.10.15
		C.D. Sasse (209) 28.10.15
		A.J. Hendricks (1067) 7.12.15
First Sergeant Shoemaker	:	J.J. Petersen (943) 6.12.15
First Pioneer Sergeant	:	J.C.M. Paulsen (432) 13.11.15
Transport Sergeant	:	Simon February (1357) 19.1.16
First Bugler Sergeant	:	J.G. Brown (228) 22.11.15
Machine Gun Section	:	Sergeant S.W. Dunn (1134) 17.12.15
First Sergeant Cook	:	J.H. Jacobs (5) 22.10.15
Sergeants	:	A.J. Daniels (28) 24.10.15
		A.C.L. Felton (169) 25.10.15
		W. Koetenberg (39) 25.10.15
		P. Daniels (1) 25.10.15
		C. le Grange (143) 27.10.15
		H.E. Smith (146) 27.10.15
		H.J.R. Hiber (145) 27.10.15
		E. du Plessis (137) 27.10.15
		C.A. Ruiters (132) 27.10.15
		A. Olieslager (182) 27.10.15

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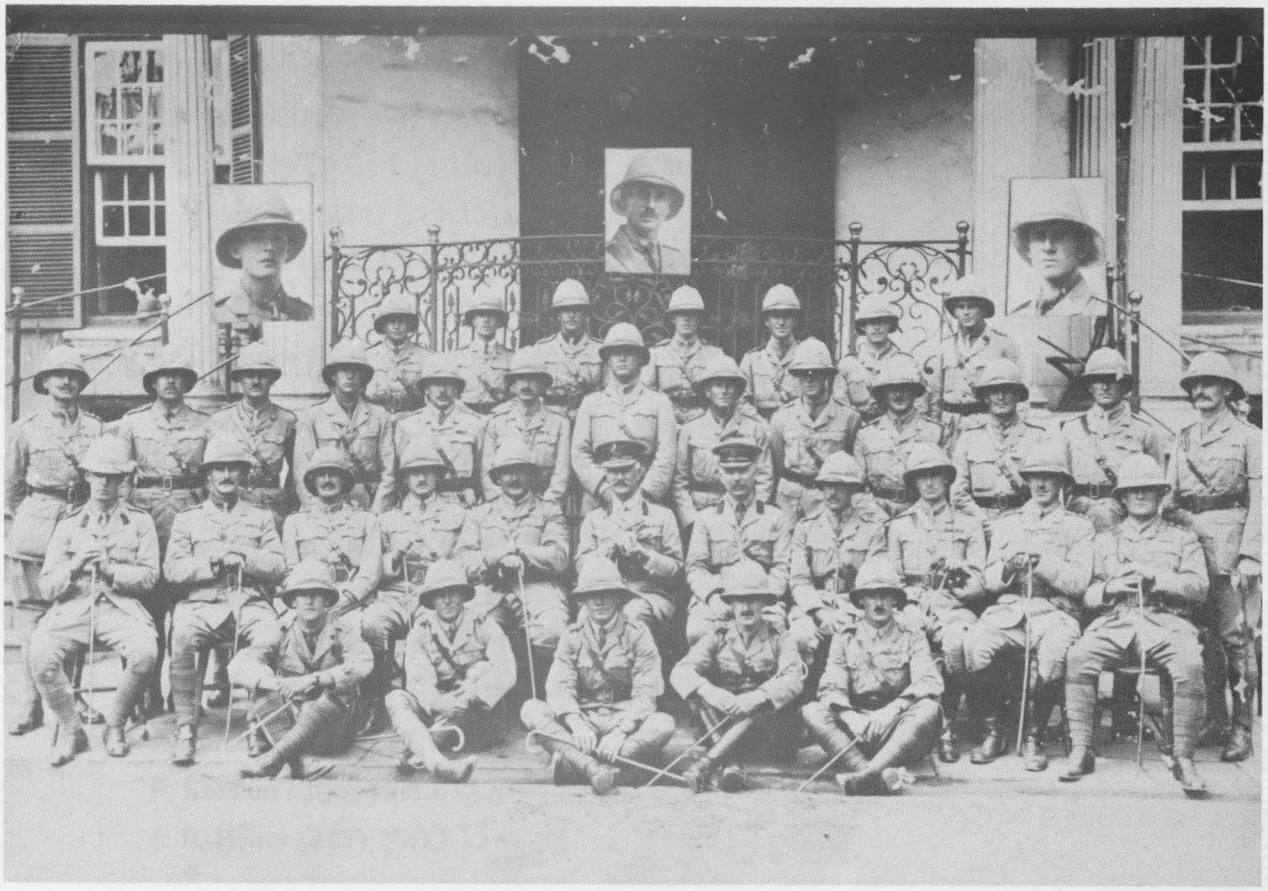
8) Report on the Cape Corps – Major-General Charles W. Thompson, C.B., D.S.O., G.O.C., South African Military Command, 9 December 1916, Cape Town.

9) Difford, *op. cit.*, pp. 37–38.



THE FIRST OFFICERS OF THE BATTALION TAKEN WITH MAJOR-GENERAL THOMPSON (G.O.C. SOUTH AFRICA) AND LIEUT.-COLONEL FINCH (G.S.O.I.) AT THE CASTLE, CAPE TOWN, IN JANUARY, 1916, SHORTLY BEFORE EMBARKATION FOR EAST AFRICA.

Top row: Lieutenant J.V. Harris, 2nd Lieutenant S.W. Whitaker, 2nd Lieutenant H. Edwards, 2nd Lieutenant T.P. Rose-Innes, 2nd Lieutenant D.K. Pearse, 2nd Lieutenant G.C. Macintosh, Captain A. Earp-Jones (Chaplain).

Second row: Captain H.G. Warr, Captain J.E. Robinson, Lieutenant F. Burger, Lieutenant F.C. Hallier, Lieutenant D.W. Robertson, Lieutenant W.J.R. Cunningham, Lieutenant J.M. Michau, Lieutenant J. Arnott, D.C.M., 2nd Lieutenant F. Murchie, 2nd Lieutenant W.W. Procter,Lieutenant J.E. Dennison (Signalling Officer), Captain I.D. Difford (Q.M.R.), Lieutenant C.E. Stevens.

Third row: Captain R.M. Robb, S.A.M.C., Captain L. Campbell (Q.C. Machine Guns), Captain F.J. Bagshawe, Major C.G. Durham, Lieut.-Colonel G.A. Morris (Officer Commanding), Major-General Thompson (G.O.C., South Africa), Lieut.-Colonel Finch (G.S.O.I., South Africa), Captain W.R. Cowell, Captain W.G. Gunningham (Adjutant), Captain F.E. Bradstock, Captain W.P. Anderson.

Fourth row: 2nd Lieutenant F.W.C. Stanford, Lieutenant S. Ashley, Lieutenant J.H. Tandy, Lieutenant B. Boam (Paymaster), Lieutenant S. Youart.

Insets: 2nd Lieutenant E.J. Rackstraw, Lieutenant W.W. Alexander, 2nd Lieutenant R. Wilson.

Absent on duty: Major C.N. Hoy (Second in Command).

C. Calvert (152) 27.10.15
H. May (127) 27.10.15
J.D. Samson (219) 28.10.15
F. Hendricks (225) 28.10.15
S.J. Fredericks (255) 30.10.15
J.P. Corrolissen (280) 1.11.15
S.F. Lackey (105) 1.11.15
C. Veldsman (284) 1.11.15
J.G. Brown (228) 1.11.15
M.J. Abrahams (318) 3.11.15
P.D. Schoor (480) 15.11.15
J. Lock (609) 27.11.15
L. la Fleur (758) 1.12.15
W.F. Barbier (875) 4.12.15
F.N. de Jongh (873) 4.12.15
H.D. le Roux (904) 6.12.15
J.W. Langford (905) 6.12.15
H.W. Herman (978) 7.12.15
J. Karele (1038) 8.12.15
P. Karsten (1031) 8.12.15
R.E. Henry (327) 20.12.15

8.1.4 Mobilization

The Mobilization and training camp was situated at Simonstown, just above the Noah's Ark Battery and about two and a half miles from the railway station. The site was not a very good choice on account of its topography and exposure to violent gale winds. An orderly room and office, officers' and men's messes, a camp medical hut and quarter-master's store (all wood and iron buildings), were provided. Officers and men were accommodated in bell tents. The parade ground was on an extremely rough and stony slope.[10)]

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10) *Paratus*, Vol. 27, No. 9, September 1976, p. 31.

The Union Defence Department, acting on behalf of the Imperial authorities, was responsible for recruiting, clothing and feeding the battalion. The costs of this were debited to the Imperial Authorities. Training and discipline were however the responsibility of the Imperial Authorities with the Officer Commanding being responsible to the G.O.C. South African Military Command at the Castle, who at that time was Major-General C.W. Thompson, C.B., D.S.O.[11]

8.1.5 Training

The instructors of the Cape Corps were faced with a tremendous task as almost all the recruits were extremely raw. Despite this the coloured men showed a keen desire to absorb as much as they possibly could in the shortest possible time.

Training started at 5 a.m. during the summer months with physical drill and bathing parades. Lectures and classroom instruction were wisely blended with practical demonstration on the parade ground. Recruits were issued with arms and taught the mechanism and parts of a rifle and were later put through an extensive musketry course. A percentage of the men were also instructed in field engineering, bridge building, the use of the bomb, signalling, pioneering, medical work, motor drivers and mechanics, cooks and butchers.[12]

A machine gun section was also formed and put through its paces. The training was so severe that a number of men were later discharged as physically unfit for service or as unlikely to become efficient soldiers.[13]

Towards the end of January 1916, having completed training the battalion took to the field for the first time: on the plateau extending from about Simonstown to Cape Point they spent three days in field training and manoeuvres.[14]

Sixteen men with some rudimentary musical knowledge were selected in November to be trained as buglers. By the end of that year they were able to blow the principal calls.[15]

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11) Difford, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
12) Report on the Cape Corps-Major-General W. Thompson, C.B., D.S.O., G.O.C., South African Military Command, 9 February 1916, Cape Town.
13) Difford, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
14) Micro film: 76 851; 76R 238P 126; HWA/A16/5/7: History of the Cape Corps during World Wars 1 and 2.
15) Militaria: Military Historical Periodical, published by the Director General Management Systems, 1974, p. 40.

Sergeant (A/C.S.M.) J.P. CARROLLISSEN (280)

C.Q.M.S. W.H. LA VITA (1127)

Towards the end of January 1916 orders were received that the Battalion would embark for Mombasa, East Africa on H.M.T. *Armadale Castle* on the 9th February. Embarkation was carried out with such speed and smoothness that Lieutenant-Colonel Morris was highly complimented by the Embarkation Staff Officer. The Battalion was given a rousing send-off by the coloured community of the Cape Peninsula. The soldiers reached their destination after seven days at sea.[16)]

8.2 The East African Campaign

On arrival at Kilindini, the harbour for Mombasa, the Battalion was transported by rail to Kajiado. After a pleasant stay of three days at Kajiado they were moved to Longido-West, their advanced post in German Territory where they were attached to the 2nd Brigade of the 1st East African Division.[17)]

8.2.1 The Cape Corps' first encounter with enemy forces

The 1st East African Division began its offensive on the 5th March 1916. Six hundred members of the Cape Corps and one hundred and twenty nine Baluchis were ordered to attack Ngare Nairobi from the Ngare Nanjuki Swamp area. The plan was however frustrated by the enemy when the flat and swampy area was flooded.[18)]

The Battalion got their first baptism of fire when on the night of the 8th March, they were involved in a skirmish with the enemy and they took four prisoners. Valuable information was given by the prisoners which resulted in the capture of ngare Nairobi, without opposition from the enemy,even after calling for reinforcement.[19)]

From March to June 1916 the Battalion was chiefly engaged in the maintenance and guarding of roads. Simultaneously with these duties, road and bridge making was also undertaken. The training in field engineering done at Simonstown proved of great value to the Battalion. Lieutenant-Colonel Morris was highly complimented by Brig.-General Edwards D.S.O., Inspector-General of Communications, East African forces for the splendid work

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16) *Paratus*, Vol. 27, No. 9, September 1976, p. 31.
17) Militaria, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
18) Micro Film: 76–851 76R 238P – HWA/A16/57: History of the Cape Corps during World Wars 1 and 2.
19) Venter, Al J., *Coloured: A Profile of two Million South Africans*, p. 264.

done by the men in opening up communications from Kilindini to Moshi. The strenuous work was done under extremely unfavourable weather conditions – heavy rains alternating with extreme heat. On completing their assignment successfully the Battalion began to collect at Tsame, south of the Pare mountains on the Moshi-Tanga railway a few miles east of Kahe. Here they were transferred to the divisional troops under Bt.-Colonel A.R. Hoskins C.M.G., D.S.O. Commander of the 1st East African Division.[20)]

Lieut.-Colonel Morris became Post Commandant on the 23rd June 1916 when the Battalion Headquarters was moved south-east to German Bridge on the Pangani River. Major Hoy assumed temporary command of the Battalion.[21)]

In July 1916 a detachment of the Battalion under the command of Major Hoy advanced to Lukigura to curtail enemy activities in that area. Later the whole Battalion was used to patrol the Kangata-Handeni sector – a forty kilometre strech of road. During this operation Private Dernos (No. 220) of the Cape Corps became the first coloured man to be decorated for bravery when he located a land mine and demolished it. This he did despite the fact that he had had no previous training or experience in the handling of explosives. For this deed he was awarded the Military Medal.[22)]

After being instrumental in capturing Morogoro, the Cape Corps was given leave from 2 September to 12 December so that the men could recover from battle fatigue and the dreaded diseases of malaria-fever and dysentry which a large number of the men had contracted.[23)]

While recuperating, the Cape Corps was transferred to the 2nd Brigade of the 3rd East African Division commanded by Major Coen Brits. Six hundred Cape Corps soldiers discharged from hospital at Tanga, were brought by Major Hoy to reinforce the Battalion Headquarters. Recruits were also received from South Africa with the result that the Battalion's strength was increased by two additional companies. The total strength of the Battalion stood at over 1 500 men.[24)]

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20) Difford, *op. cit.*, pp. 47–59.

21) Militaria, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

22) Difford, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

23) File HWA/A 16/5/5/7 – History of the Cape Corps in World Wars 1 and 2 (Documentation Section S.A.D.F., Pretoria), p. 2.

24) Venter, *op. cit.*, (Chapter 25: The Cape Corps – A Fine Tradition), pp. 257–272.

By December the 5th 1916, more recruits were received from South Africa when Major Hoy arrived at the Headquarters with 1 350 men. This brought the strength of the Cape Corps in East Africa to nearly 3 000 men.[25]

8.2.2 The Rufiji River Battle

On the afternoon of December 12th, Major Hoy left Morogoro with "B" and "C" Companies and two machine gun sections, in all about seven hundred and fifty men. A and D Companies (770 men) were commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Morris. Their instructions were to capture and occupy enemy strongholds in the Rufiji River area. Medical casualties and excess baggage were left in charge of Captain Jardine at Morogoro.[26]

On the 2nd January 1917, Lieut.-Colonel Morris was ordered to take 500 men of the Cape Corps, a section of the 1st Kashmir Mountain Battery, the Faridkot (Indian) Pioneers, and to force a passage across the Rufiji River higher up at Makalinso. During a twelve hour march in which they covered fifty kilometres, Lieut.-Colonel Morris and his men succeeded in wiping out an enemy camp across the Rufiji River during a fixed-bayonet charge.[27]

The next victory gained by the Cape Corps took place on the 20th January when 685 Cape Corps soldiers under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Morris inflicted heavy casualties and finally defeated an enemy force estimated to be about 800 strong at Mkindu.[28]

During the rainy season operations were greatly restricted and the Cape Corps was based at Mpangas. Most of the soldiers contracted malaria fever and dysentry. It was then decided that Major Hoy take all the sick and wounded to Morogoro and Lieut.-Colonel Morris to continue the offensive against the enemy. On March 12th the remnant of the Battalion, still further depleted by sickness, marched out of Mpangas en route to Morogoro. On March 21st Lieut.-Colonel Morris marched into Morogoro with seventy half-starved men, the meagre remnant of a Battalion of over fifteen hundred fit soldiers and officers who had left for the Rufiji campaign three months and one week earlier.[29]

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25) Militaria, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

26) Martin, C.A., *The Durban Light Infantry, Vol. 1 1854–1934*, pp. 298–302.

27) File HWA/A 16/5/5/7: History of the Cape Corps in World Wars 1 and 2 (Documentation Section S.A.D.F., Pretoria), p. 2.

28) Difford, *op. cit.*, pp. 87) 89.

29) *Ibid.*,

R.Q.M.S. C.D. SASSE (209)

8.2.3 Guerilla Operations

By the end of January 1917 the enemy had been driven into the south-eastern corner of German East Africa. The British occupied the region from Kilwa-Kiswani on the coast running in a westerly direction south of the Rufiji River to a point north of Mahenge, then north-west to Iringa and south-west through Lepembe and Ssongea.[30)]

Lieut.-Colonel Morris went on leave to South Africa on the 1st April and Major Hoy took over the command of the Battalion. On the 17th April Major Hoy received orders to advance to Itigi. He departed the same day with a detachment of four hundred rifles and four machine guns. The detachment was organised into two companies. From Itigi it took them six days to travel through the swamp areas to reach Kiromo, where Colonel Murray took over the command. Their orders were to deny the enemy access to the Kiromo area, where food was plentiful, and if the opportunity arose, to strike. The German commanders Wintgens, Naumann and Zingel made good use of the appalling weather conditions and the rough and bushy terrain in their guerilla operations against the British forces.[31)]

On the 10th July Lieut.-Colonel Morris (back from his leave) together with 19 officers, 526 members of the Cape Corps, 109 machine-gun and 21 stretcher bearers left Morogoro by train for Arusha. Major Hoy and his detachment left on the 20th July for Dodoma.[32)]

The German Commander Ober-Lt. Naumann finally capitulated and surrendered to Lieut.-Colonel Morris. His request for a conference prior to his surrender, was rejected and on the 1st October 1917, he surrendered unconditionally to Lieut.-Colonel Morris.[33)]

During their chase after Naumann, the Battalion covered eleven hundred miles, three-fourths of it on foot in their pursuit of the enemy. On the 30th October the Battalion returned by train and boat to Njangao.[34)]

Two Companies of the Cape Corps, unassisted by any other unit was also responsible for capturing the German commander Zengels force at Thogowali.[35)]

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30) Militaria, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
31) General Staff Defence Headquarters: *Union of South Africa and the Great War 1914–1918*, p. 86.
32) General Defence Headquarters, *op. cit.*, p. 90.
33) Copy of letter addressed by Ober-Lieut. Naumann to Lieut.-Colonel Morris, 30 September 1917, Luita. (Documentation Section, S.A.D.F., Pretoria).
34) Difford, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
35) Venter, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

8.2.4 Decorations for bravery

For nearly two months (20th October to 16th December 1917) the members of the Cape Corps worked very hard in the Lindi-area. Despite their normal duties of road and bridge building patrolling and guarding of strategic points, they were also actively involved in a number of skirmishes with the enemy forces.

It was during one such encounter that four members of the Cape Corps were decorated for bravery. With 226 porters, the Battalion commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Morris engaged an enemy force at Mkungu. On the 5th of November Sergeant W.H. Abrahams and a small body of men crept behind the German lines and operated there independently for several days. He managed to stay there pretending to be one of their Askaris. He also succeeded in cutting their telephone wires. For this deed he received the Military Medal (M.M.) having two months previously received the Distinguished Conduct Medal (D.C.M. The other recepients were Cpl Samuelson M.M., L/cpl Le Roux M.M.; and C.Q.M.S., Calvert D.C.M.[36]

8.2.5 Departure from East Africa

Their last engagement in East Africa took place on the 26th November during the attack on Nambwindingas. During this encounter they suffered a number of casualties but had also inflicted two or three times as many on the enemy. After occupying Nangoo the Battalion left for Massassi. A thorough medical examination revealed that most of the men were unfit for further active service and consequently arrangements were made for the Corps to return to South Africa. On the 20th December 1917 all the members of the Cape Corps boarded H.M.T. *Coronia* bound for South Africa.[37]

8.2.6 The 2nd Cape Corps Battalion

Because of the success of the 1st Cape Corps Battalion the authorities found it wise to establish establish a second battalion. The official proclamation was gazetted on the 15th March 1917.

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36) a. The London Gazette (2172) 18 February 1918.
b. The London Gazette (3893) 28 March 1918.

37) Militaria: Military Historical Periodical, published by the Director General Systems, 1974: Article on the Cape Corps by J. Jacobs and Dr Ploeger ACAD, p. 42.

The second battalion would consist of two companies with an additional two companies to be formed later. White officers from the East African Campaign were used to train the new recruits.[38)]

Lt.-Colonel J.C.B. Clayton, M.C. was appointed Officer Commanding and Major R.W. McChiskie was appointed second in command. The battalion was transported to Nyasaland where most of the training took place. From there they were despatched to M'tengula in Portuguese East Africa where they were involved in military operations, mostly patrol work.[39)]

As a result of diminishing activities in German East Africa the 2nd Cape Corps Battalion was ordered to return to South Africa. It arrived in Kimberley on the 1st of September 1918 and was demobilized during November/December 1918.[40)]

The following table shows the total number of Cape Corps casualties during the whole period of service in East Africa.[41)]

TABLE I

TOTAL CAPE CORPS CASUALTIES DURING EAST AFRICAN CAMPAIGN:
17 FEBRUARY 1916–20 DECEMBER 1917

	Officers	Other rank	Total
Killed in action	4	19	23
Died of wounds	1	12	13
Died of disease and accident	1	126	127
Total Deaths	6	157	163
Wounded in action	12	94	106

38) The Rand Daily Mail, 23 March 1917.
39) Notes on the Military History of the Coloureds: Compiled by the S.A.D.F., p. 7.
40) Militaria, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
41) A.G. (3) 22; File 350/54: Minute No. G.O.C. 71/115
Documentation Section S.A.D.F., Pretoria.

8.3 The Cape Corps back in South Africa

8.3.1 Arrival

The *Coronia* docked at Durban on Christmas Day 1917. The local press and people gave the soldiers a very warm welcome. A War Office cable published in the morning paper, praised the Corps for their loyalty and valuable service to their country. The report also stated that the Army Council desired, and has accepted in principle to make further use of coloured soldiers and that the necessary steps had already been taken in this regard.[42)]

Dispersal arrangements were quickly finalised and three hundred men were entrained for Potchefstroom and a similar number for Kimberley. The rest were moved to Jacobs Camp near Durban.[43)]

8.3.2 Recuperating

All the men returning from East Africa were subjected to severe medical tests and examinations for several days. They were put on a special diet, being given such luxuries as fresh eggs and milk. As a result of this treatment the majority picked up wonderfully and quite a few were ready to be officially discharged within three weeks. Some were sent home on a month's recuperative leave. The very weak and disabled soldiers were hospitalised and later discharged as permanently unfit for further war service.[44)]

Most of the Cape Corps soldiers decided to stay on and were put through various courses to prepare them for their next adventure – the advance into Egypt.

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42) D.C. 968: File 0/3/23266A; Minute from Q.M.G., U.D.F. advising the various Directorates of Services of the U.D.F. of the troops on board Coronia for South Africa.

43) D.C. 971: File 0/3/23406: Demobilization of the Cape Corps Minute to be Q.M.G. re demobilization regulations from Adjutant General, U.D.F., Pretoria 21 November 1918.

44) D.C. 971: File 0/323266 – Minute from the Director of Medical Services to the following:

For Action	For Information
A.D.M.S. Durban.	Chief of the General Staff.
A.D.M.S. Kimberley	Quarter Master General.
D.A.D.M.S. Pathology	Director of War Recruiting.
D.A.D.M.S. Convalescent Camps	Provost Marshal.

8.4 The Advance into Egypt

8.4.1 Mobilization and Training

After a well earned period of rest, the 1st Cape Corps Battalion was mobilized and sent on board the *Magdalena* from Durban for Egypt on the 3rd April 1918. The Battalion disembarked at Port Suez on Friday 19th April and immediately left for Kantara on the Suez Canal, midway between Suez and Port Said.[45)]

Every man and N.C.O. was paid the equivalent of fifty cents, a gift from the Cape Corps Gifts and Comforts Committee. Lieut.-Colonel Hoy, who now commanded the Battalion immediately sent a memorandum to Army Headquarters in Pretoria outlining the Battalion's past record, personnel, training, service, and honours won in the field. This had the desired effect, for within a few days orders were received for the commencement of intensive training with a view to the Battalion taking its place in the front line.[46)]

All the men and officers were subjected to various extensive training and education courses at El Arish. These included Vickers, Stokes and Lewis gunnery, musketry, bombing, trench warfare, physical drill and bayonet fighting.[47)]

Nearly all the officers and N.C.O.'s and twenty per cent of the men went to Schools of Instruction in various parts of the country. The machine training was based at the Imperial School at Zeitoun (Cairo); bombing, trench warfare, scouting and Lewis gunnery were learned at El Arish School; signalling at Kantara East; Bayonet fighting and physical drill at Mustapha (Alexandria); gas warfare at Rafa; transport work at Ludd and cookery at Ismailia. Practically all the officers and men passed their courses well. For some of the Cape Corps members the written examinations proved to have been a stumbling block. Those who could read and write received higher percentages than the others who made up in practice and application.[48)]

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45) D.C. 971: File 0/3/23266A – Letter from the Acting Q.M. to the Chief Ordinance Officer and the Director of Supplies reorganisation of the 1st Cape Corps for service in Egypt, 27th November 1917.

46) Difford, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

47) Venter, *op. cit.*, pp. 263–266.

48) Difford, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

On the 15th July the Corps was attached to the 160th Brigade and was moved to the Palestinian front with Rham Alla as their destination. Dysentry, malaria and fever reduced the Corps' number of active soldiers to 340 on the 20th August. By September 18th, the situation improved when 561 men were declared medically fit for active service.[49]

8.4.2 The Battle of Square Hill

On the 16th July 1918, Lieut.-Colonel Morris was informed that the Battalion had been allotted to the 160th Infantry Brigade, the 53rd Division and the 20th Corps. They were to form an integral part of General Allenby's[50] master plan for victory. Part of this plan was to make his main attack in the coastal plain in the south of Palestine, rather than through the Hills north of Jerusalem where the topography afforded the enemy position natural military cover.[51]

The Cape Corps was assigned to take a series of high lying points above the plain (Dhib Hill, Chevron Hill, Crest Hill, End Hill and Square Hill). On taking Square Hill they were to protect the right flank of the brigade against possible counter-attack from the enemy. On completion of this task they would be relieved by a Lewis gun detachment.[52]

Led by Lt.-Colonel Hoy after dark over very rough terrain, they were fired upon on approaching Wye Hill but managed to capture this position, suffering a few casualties in the process.[53]

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49) Militaria, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

50) Allenby, Edmund Henry Hynman, 1st Viscount of Megiddo and Felixtowe, British General born in 1861 at Felixtowe, Suffolk. Became a famous British soldier during the Boer War and the Bechuanaland expedition. He rose to the command of the British Third Army during World War 1 and contributed to the Allied victories on the Somme and Aisne. He was British High Commissioner in Egypt from 1919–1925. Died in 1936.

51) *Paratus*, Vol. 29, No. 28: "They remember Square Hill", August 1978, p. 43.

52) *Commando*, Vol., 14 No. 5 May 1963 (The Coloureds in Defence of South Africa, article by Major Strattford), p. 35.

53) Militaria, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

Square Hill was taken by D-Company after some fierce fighting which included close combat tactics and mainly bayonet fighting. The next hill captured was Dhib Hill which was regarded by the command as the pilot from which the whole attack would be directed at the main objective, Beisan. This would allow the supporting cavalry to break through from the coastal area.[54)]

The success of the whole operation depended very much on the efficient manner in which the signallers did their work. At that stage one hundred and eighty prisoners were taken in some of the fiercest fighting, when the Cape Corps was locked in close combat tactics with fixed bayonets. They had to hold on to their captured positions at all costs and were given the task of capturing the strong position of Kh Jebet. Due to an error in communication the attack on Kh Jebet had to be launched during the early morning period when the enemy forces had the advantage of good visibility. The Turks inflicted heavy casualties on the Cape Corps men with their machine guns. Despite this, the Corps managed to capture two machine guns and twenty prisoners.[55)]

The Turks increased their attack with the result that all the officers were either killed or wounded. It became evident that retirement from captured positions was necessary. Non-commissioned coloured officers were left with no alternative, but to direct the rearguard action and the withdrawal of the remaining soldiers. This they did, according to all accounts, in an orderly and disciplined fashion.[56)]

On retreating from Kh Jebet the whole Cape Corps battalion was ordered to move in on Square Hill which was now being heavily bombarded by the enemy. At that stage one hundred and fifty two members of the Cape Corps were casualties.[57)]

On receiving infantry reinforcements the Cape Corps was able to recapture Kh Jebet. At one stage during the battle of Square Hill low flying aircraft were used to order the non-commissioned officers of the Cape Corps to retreat.[58)]

During the following week cavalry, aircraft and armoured cars ensured the success of General Allenby's forward thrust into Palestine.[59)]

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54) Difford, *op. cit.*, pp. 223–233.
55) Notes on the Military History of the Coloured, p. 10.
56) Difford, *op. cit.*, p. 224.
57) *Ibid.*,
58) *Paratus*, September 1977, p. 47.
59) Notes on the Military History of the Coloured, p. 10.

Hostilities in the Middle-East ceased on the 31 October 1918 and the Cape Corps battalion was sent to Egypt, and while there were once again used in a military capacity as guards. The battalion was eventually placed on board the *Tambo* and arrived in Cape Town on the 5th November 1919 where they were demobilized and the battalion was disbanded.[60]

8.4.3 Decorations and citations for bravery

During the Middle East campaign a number of men distinguished themselves for their gallant behaviour. Seven thousand men of the two Cape Corps Battalions, served their country loyally during the First World War. The following decorations were made to the Members of the Cape Corps:[61]

Distinguished Conduct Medal	:	16
Military Medal	:	8
Mentioned in dispatches	:	34
Medaille Militaire (French)	:	1
Order of the Crown of Italy	:	2
Decoration Militaire (Belgian)	:	2

The two battalions also received the following British battle honours:

1st Cape Corps:[62]
Megiddo
Palestine 1918
Kilimandjaro
Behobeho
Nyangao
East Africa 1916–17
Nablus

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60) Militaria, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
61) Curson, H.H., *Colours and Honours in South Africa*, p. 62.
62) G.O.5997: 21 April 1926: Authority Letter dd. 24 February 1926 from His Excellency the Governor General of the Union of South Africa (File HWA A/16/5/5/7 Documentation Service S.A.D.F., Pretoria).

2nd Cape Corps:[63]
East Africa 1917–18.

The following telegram received by the Commanding Officer of the Cape Corps Battalion from General Sir Edmund Henry Hynman Allenby G.C.M.G., Commander-in-Chief in Egypt and Palestine, is an indication of the important rôle the Cape Corps played during this campaign:[64]

"I desire to convey to all ranks and all arms of the Force under my command my admiration and thanks for their great deeds of the past week, and my appreciation of their gallantry and determination, which has resulted in the total destruction of the 7th and 8th Turkish Armies. Such a complete victory has seldom been known in all the history of war."

8.5 The Cape Coloured Labour Battalion and the Cape Auxiliary Horse Transport

In addition to the two Cape Corps infantry battalions, a great many coloureds served as non-combatants in France in the Cape Coloured Labour Battalion and the Cape Auxiliary Horse Transport.[65]

The First Cape Coloured Labour Battalion was established on the 8th June 1916 when the necessary proclamation was gazetted. Recruits consisted entirely of dock workers.

The men were mobilized at Rosebank near Cape Town and later Simonstown. One thousand and twenty men left for France on the 1st September 1916 and were shortly followed by another group of 425 on the 21st September 1917 and 500 on the 12th May 1918. They were used as parallel formations to the labour battalion in the regular territorial army. They did excellent work in the French ports of Rouen, Bolougne, Le Harve, Dunkirk and others before being sent back to South Africa in July 1919.[66]

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63) G.O.6569: 2 November 1927: 'Authority Letter PM 39/12 dd. 8 October 1927 from the Secretary of External Affairs (File HWA A/16/5/5/7 Documentation Service S.A.D.F., Pretoria).
64) Copy of telegram from General Sir E.H.H. Allenby, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., Commander-in-Chief in Egypt and Palestine, to the Cape Corps Commanders of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force, 26th September 1918. Documentation Service, Pretoria.
65) Venter, *op. cit.*, p. 266.
66) *Commando*, Vol. 14, No. 5 May 1963, p. 35

Towards the end of 1916 the manpower position reached a critical stage in Europe. The result was that the British Government appealed to the Union Government for assistance. Two thousand three hundred and sixteen coloured drivers were recruited and formed into eight companies. By 17 March 3 428 men were mobilized at the De Beers mine near Kimberley. Lt.-Colonel J.A. Anderson was appointed Commanding Officer on 25 February 1917. After a short training period the men left for France. They again acquitted themselves excellently in their jobs as drivers. The first group to be repatriated arrived in South Africa on board the *Ebani* on the 2nd July 1919 followed by the last group on board the *Chepston Castle* on the 22nd August 1919. Soon after their arrival they were demobilized.[67)]

8.6 Committees who assisted the Cape Corps during the Great War

8.6.1 The Cape Corps Gifts and Comfort Committee

A group of prominent members of the coloured and white communities decided to establish a body to look after the welfare and comfort of the men at home and abroad. This resulted in the establishment of the Cape Corps Gifts and Comfort Committee. The committee was officially recognised by the Military Authorities and also received the whole hearted support of public spirited men, led by the mayor of Cape Town, Mr Harry Hands. Several branches were formed in the Cape Peninsula and as far afield as Stellenbosch, Paarl, Wellington, Worcester and Kimberley.[68)]

The Committee, besides providing food parcels to men serving abroad during special occasions, and financial assistance to sick and disabled soldiers, also organised entertainment to the men at the various depots at home.[69)]

As the demands for aid increased, it was finally resolved to affiliate to the South African Gifts and Comfort Committee, a national organisation which assisted its affiliate with liberal cash grants. Branches were eventually established throughout the country. Children of coloured soldiers were treated to a Christmas party each year.[70)]

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67) Militaria, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
68) Difford, *op. cit.*, p. 322.
69) Venter, *op. cit.*, pp. 265–266.
70) Difford, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

8.6.2 Coloured Troops rest House Cape Town

As many coloured soldiers annually passed through Cape Town either on duty, leave, or on a visit, it was obvious that some sort of accommodation should be provided for them. A Troops Rest House for white soldiers situated on the Grand Parade, Cape Town proved a veritable haven of refuge to thousands of white soldiers and overseas troops passing to and from Cape Town.[71)]

The South African Gifts and Comfort Committee therefore decided that a similar home-from-home was not only desirable but essential for coloured Troops, and immediately erected a Coloured Troops Rest House on a site near the Grand Parade. The Rest House on completion was administered by the Cape Corps Gifts and Comfort Committee. The opening ceremony of the Rest House on the 10th October 1917 was an elaborate occasion performed by Sir James Rose-Innes, Chief Justice of the Union of South Africa and attended by amongst others Brig-General Cavendish C.M.G., G.O.C. South Africa and the mayor of Cape Town Councillor Harry Hands. Various prominent members of the coloured community were also present.[72)]

8.6.3 The Governor-General's Fund

The Fund was established to give temporary financial assistance, or loans or cash grants to enable ex-soldiers to start a business or trade or to resume a business or trade interrupted by his period of active service or to rehabilitate himself in civil life. Money from the fund for ex Cape Corps members were channelled through the Returned Soldiers' Advisory Board which was established in Cape Town in November 1918, with offices on the Grand Parade.[73)]

Recommendations from the Advisory Board resulted in relief being given to all ex Cape Corps soldiers by way of financial assistance from the Governor-Generals Fund. Every case was carefully scrutinised to avoid possible abuses.[74)]

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71) Difford, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

72) The Cape Times, 11 October 1917.

73) a. D.C.978: File 2; Presentation of £10 000 to the Governor-Generals Fund, to assist Returned soldiers;

b. Difford, *op. cit.*, pp. 327–329.

74) Army Education Section: *Getting into the Picture*. Some notes for U.D.F. repatriates and other members of the South African Armed Forces (Compiled by the Army Education Section, U.D.F., pp. 65–93.

8.6.4 Cape Corps' Memorial Fund

The Cape Corps' Memorial Fund was established by officers of the battalion. Every man demobilized during 1919 contributed a day's pay to the Fund. Before demobilization the officers voted that the balance of the Regimental Fund and the Officers Mess Fund be credited to the Memorial Fund. The Cape Corps Concert Party also contributed towards the Fund by giving concerts in the Cape Peninsula and as far afield as Port Elizabeth.

The Trustees were desirous of erecting a suitable memorial to all members of the Cape Corps who died on active service. The memorial site was planned for Cape Town with preference been given to the Castle Grounds.[75)]

8.6.5 Pensions

The Union Parliament in 1920 passed a Pensions Bill increasing the pensions of South Africans disabled during the war as well as the pensions of the dependants of those men killed in action. Disabled members of the Cape Corps and the next-of-kin of men killed did also benefit to some extent – though much less than their white compatriots.[76)]

8.7 Recreation and Education

8.7.1 Vocational Training

Initially no Vocational Training for disabled coloured men were provided although white disabled soldiers enjoyed this privilege for quite some time after the outbreak of hostilities. The matter was, however, rectified when in April 1919 provision was made to deal with and train disabled coloured soldiers.

Members of the General Advisory Board also constituted the Committee of the Coloured Vocational Training Institute. The Institute started in a small building in April 1919 and by October 1919 had moved to larger premises where 100 learners could be accommodated.

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75) Difford, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

76) a. The Cape Times, Friday 13 August 1920.

b. Debates of the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa as reported in the Cape Times, 20th November 1915–25th June 1923. (State Library Report No. 3, Pretoria), pp. 333–340.

Qualified instructors taught the men bootmaking and repairing saddlery and harness making and general leather work. On qualifying the men were given a free set of tools to start their own business. The Committee also took on the responsibility of placing the men in good jobs by consulting local businessmen in the greater Cape Town area. Regular meetings were also arranged with the men to sort out any problem that may have arisen since they left the Institute.[77)]

8.7.2 Sport and Athletics

During their term of service as a unit, i.e. three years and ten months, the members of the Cape Corps had very little time to indulge in such pleasures as soccer, cricket or athletics. After Armistice they were, however, given ample opportunity to make up for lost time. During their nine months stay in Egypt before returning home, officers and men participated in such sporting activities as cricket, soccer and athletics in competition with the other units of the Egyptian Expeditionary Forces. It is recorded that they "distinguished themselves."[78)]

8.7.3 Regimental Band

The Regimental Band was formed in March 1918, at Kimberley after receiving a set of instruments from the Cape Corps Gifts and Comfort Committee. Mr. C. Linsell former member of the Royal Irish Constabulary was appointed Bandmaster after being attested as a member of the Cape Corps. The men selected quickly mastered their various instruments and the band became the pride of not only their own battalion, but of all the Allied soldiers in the Middle East. After Armistice the band made many public appearances in Cape Town and the Peninsula and also played at Kimberley.[79)]

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77) Venter, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

78) Difford, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

79) D.C. 2789: Bands of the U.D.F., The Cape Corps Regimental Band: File 1004/10; History of the 1st Cape Corps Band (Documentation Service, S.A.D.F., Pretoria).

8.8 Conclusion

So ended a glorious chapter in the history of the coloured people. Months after returning for final demobilization, their smartness, military bearing and discipline was the subject of general and favourable comment.[80)]

The letter written by Field Marshal Viscount Allenby G.C.B., G.C.M.G., then His Majesty's High Commissioner in Egypt to Dean Robson in Kimberley, is perhaps the best proof of the high regard in which the Cape Corps was held by the Military Authorities:[81)]

"I heard that you are creating a Roll of Honour containing Cape Corps names. I had the honour of serving with many Cape Corps in Palestine, and I should like to add my tribute of appreciation. The record of those of the Cape Corps who fought under my command is one that any troop might envy. Especially on September 19 and 20 1918, they covered themselves with glory, displaying bravery and determination that has never been surpassed."

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80) The Cape Times, 25 April 1921.

81) Copy of a letter from Field Marshal Viscount-Allenby G.C.B., G.C.M.G., His Majesty's High Commissioner in Egypt to Dean Robson of Kimberley, 1st June 1920. (Documentation Service S.A.D.F., Pretoria).

CHAPTER 9

THE CAPE CORPS AND WORLD WAR II (1939 – 1945)[1)]

During the period 1919–1940, ex-members of the 1st and 2nd Cape Corps Battalions formed themselves into the *Cape Corps Association*, a loosely structured body with branches in all the major urban centres of South Africa.[2)] The Regimental Band, a legacy of World War 1, was the main reason for the existence of the Association for such a long time. The band was very popular with the coloured people and performed in all the major centres throughout the country. The proceeds from these functions helped to maintain the band and paid for other expenses incurred by the Association.[3)]

9.1 The Cape Corps re-established

9.1.1 Early History

Shortly after the outbreak of World War 11, the authorities decided to re-establish the Cape Corps as a non-combatant unit. On the 8th May 1940, instructions were given to Lt.-Col. C.N. Hoy, D.S.O., to proceed immediately with the recruiting and formation of five M.T. Companies of the Cape Corps.[4)]

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1) World War II, an international conflict beginning in Europe on September 1, 1939, with the invasion of Poland by Nazi Germany. Eventually involving the entire world, including South Africa as a member of the British Empire. It came to an end in Europe on May 7, 1945 and in the Far East on September 2 of that year.

2) Notes on the Military History of the Coloured, p. 12.

3) *The Nongqai*, April 1944, p. 426.

4) U.W.H. 158, Record of Non-European Army Services, p. 1.

Lt.-Col. Hoy, who was put in command of the Cape Corps, had been Second-in-command of the 1st Battalion of the Cape Corps in the 1914–18 War.[5)]

The Indian Services Corps was formed on the 26th June 1940 under command of Col. Morris C.M.G., D.S.O. with headquarters at Crown Mines outside Johannesburg. This Corps was intended to consist of South African Indians only, but found itself multi-racial with Indians, Cape Malays and Cape Coloureds joining. This prompted the military authorities to change the name of the Corps to the Indian and Malay Corps.[6)]

A separate "Native Military Corps" was formed on the 1st July 1940 which drew recruits from all over South Africa with large numbers of Africans from the Northern Transvaal enlisting.[7)]

The Military Authorities decided to combine the three non-white Army Services under one Director. The result was the formation of the Directorate of Non-European Army Services (D.N.E.A.S.) on the 12th July 1940. The first Director was Lt.-Col. B.W. Martins who, prior to his appointment was the Director of Native Labour of the Witwatersrand. He was assisted by Major F. Rodseth M.B.E. who was appointed A/DNEAS.[8)]

The functions of the DNEAS and his staff were to direct and co-ordinate the services of the Cape Corps, Indian and Malay Corps and Native Military Corps as required by the Chief of the General Staff (C.G.S.) on behalf of the Government.[9)]

9.1.2 Recruiting

The first priority was to recruit suitable instructors, by no means an easy task. The problem was partially resolved when twelve Platoon Sergeants of the 1st Battalion of the Cape Corps of the previous War were recruited. Among those enrolled as clerks or instructors were the following well-known N.C.O.'s and W.O.'s: Sergeant-Major Calvert, D.C.M., Sergeant-Major Hendricks, D.C.M. and Sergeant Arendse, D.C.M.[10)]

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5) Historical Records – Cape Corps, S.A.D.F. Documentation Services, Pretoria.
6) U.W.H. 158, Record of Non-European Army Services, p. 2.
7) *Ibid.*,
8) Notes on the Military History of the Coloured, p. 13.
9) U.W.H.158 – Employment of Non-Europeans in the U.D.F. Outside South Africa, p. 1.
10) Cape Corps Souvenir, p. 4.

After having completed an intensive refresher course to supplement their earlier training, the twelve Instructors were promoted to the rank of Staff Sergeant Instructor. They were all trained at Kimberley and later played a very important part in the training of the first Companies of the Cape Corps. Meanwhile the Mayor of Kimberley, Mr. E.E. Doherty assisted the Military Authorities to acquire Bultfontein Compound from Messrs De Beers Consolidated Mines as a barracks for the troops.[11)]

Kimberley was decided upon as the camp for the Cape Corps and the station to which all recruits would be sent. Authority was also given for recruiting officers to be posted at Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town and Kimberley; the four points in South Africa where the largest concentration of coloureds were found.[12)]

After an initial set back due to lack of equipment, the recruiting campaign got under way when the first trainees were accepted during the first week in July 1940. The coloured community responded splendidly to the call for recruits from all centres at which recruiting officers were established, and throughout South Africa generally. Because of the success in the recruiting drive, additional accommodation had to be obtained from Messrs. de Beers. For this purpose the Du Toitspan and Wesselton Compounds were hired.[13)]

Bultfontein was used as the M.T. Depot. The Driving School did a magnificent job in training drivers. A well-equipped workshop was also established at which all repairs were done. Fifteen numbered M.T. Companies were formed in accordance with the authorised establishment, while drivers were supplied to various other units and formations to complete establishments and as reinforcements.[14)]

Du Toitspan was the Pioneer or Works Depot where 17 Pioneer Companies were formed. Later when Works Companies were no longer formed, the Barracks became a Detachment-Depot where other formations were trained.[15)]

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11) *The Nongqai*, April 1944, p. 426.

12) Historical Records – Cape Corps, u.p.

13) U.W.H. 158 – Records of the Non-European Army Services, p. 8.

14) *The Nongqai*, April 1944, p. 427.

15) *Ibid.*.

Recruits were received and classified at the Wesselton Depot. They were supposed to undergo six weeks initial training in Physical Training, Squad Drill, Discipline, Compliments, Behaviour, Esprit de Corps, etc.[16)]

In September, 1941, owing to the scarcity of farm labourers in the Western and other parts of the Cape Province, it became Government policy to prohibit or restrict the recruiting of coloured, Malay and Indian personnel from the following agricultural areas:[17)] Bredasdorp, Caledon, Ceres, Malmesbury, Montagu, Paarl, Robertson, Somerset West, Swellendam, Tulbagh, Wellington, Worcester. Coloured, Indian and Malay volunteers employed in skilled occupation on war production work were also not acceptable for whole time service. Forty-five thousand seven hundred and eighty three coloured men joined the Union Defence Force to fight for their country – at a time when many whites actively supported the Nazi government of Germany.[18)]

9.1.3 Training and Education

Apart from the technical training which the first recruits underwent in M.T. driving or road-making, the Cape Corps was trained, from the start, in the use of rifles.[19)]

Over 1 200 Cape Corps soldiers were also trained for Ground Defence for the South African Air Force. This was in addition to the drivers, cooks etc. normally required for what was known as "ground hands" in the S.A.A.F. The recruits for Artillery (Field Regiments) were trained by the Artillery.[20)]

Physical Training was an essential part of the training programme with a view to keeping the men fit in the various barracks. Recruits were also given special nutrition treatment. A well equipped hospital with an X-ray plant and dental section provided a satisfactory health service to the men.[21)]

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16) U.W.H.158 Records of the Non-European Army Services, p. 9.
17) U.W.H. 158 – Circular from the Director of Recruiting to all Recruiting Officers and Magistrates and the D.N.E.A.S. (for information) 26 September 1941.
18) Military History of the Coloured, p. 14.
19) A.G. 3: 154/42/46/4; Adjutant-General's Circular, 15th July 1940.
20) Historical Records, Cape Corps, p. 3.
21) *The Nongqai*, April 1944, p. 427.

The Young Men's Christian Association (Y.M.C.A.) assisted in providing amenities for leisure hours, while all ranks were catered for in sport.[22)]

Kit and rations were issued on the white soldiers' scale; the kit of course, with modifications according to the branch of the Service.[23)]

A second Cape Corps Training Centre was established at Ladysmith where provision was made for 5 000 trainees to be split up equally into two sections. Here the men were trained as drivers, artisans and sappers. The training area at Kimberley, provided for a Training Area Headquarters and 5 900 trainees, divided up as follows:

1 800 trainees were drafted to the M.T. Training Depot,
2 000 trainees to the Pioneer Training Depot,
2 100 trainees as a Recruits' Training Depot.

In addition to the above, there was a Reception and Dispersal Depot and a Central for all "Q" matters.[24)]

Propaganda lectures were regularly given in the camps to prepare the men for when they went on leave. The lecture subjects included:[25)]

1. The history of the coloured as a soldier.
2. Ethnography.
3. The Axis Powers.
4. The importance of the Army and training afforded.
5. The reasons for which the Allies declared war.
6. The treatment of the conquered by the Axis.
7. The German-Herero War.
8. Abyssinia.
9. The Japanese-Chinese Conflict.
10. Map Reading.

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22) *The Nongqai*, April 1944, p. 427.
23) U.W.H. 158: Records of Non-European Army Services, p. 22. The badge of the Cape Corps is the Figure symbolic of the Cape Province, viz. Good Hope represented by a female in the standing position with her left hand resting on an anchor.
24) U.W.H.159: Record of Non-European Army Services 1939–1945, Chapter 8.
25) U.D.F., Plan for the Development of Manpower, p. 30.

The following is the 10 weeks General Course laid down for Cape Corps and Indian and Malay Corps recruits:[26]

TABLE II

GENERAL 10 WEEKS COURSE FOR CAPE CORPS AND INDIAN AND MALAY CORPS

Subject lectures	Weeks										Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Address by O.C.	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
Discipline and M.D.C.	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	–	–	–	10
Compliments and saluting	2	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5
Standing orders and Routine	3	2	2	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	10
Hygiene and application of field dressing	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	–	–	–	10
Guards and Sentries	–	–	–	1	2	–	–	–	–	–	3
March discipline and care of feet	–	–	–	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	3
Fire Orders S.A.T. Vol. 1	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
PRACTICAL											
Physical Training	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	40
Squad Drill	13	12	12	8	5	4	–	–	–	–	54
Test of elementary training	–	–	–	–	–	2	3	–	–	–	5
Sentry-go-drill	–	–	–	1	4	–	–	–	–	–	5
Platoon Drill	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	–	–	–	4
Company Drill	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	4	3	3	14
Visual Training	–	–	–	1	3	3	–	–	–	–	7
Fire Orders	–	–	–	1	3	3	–	–	–	–	7
Judging Distance	–	–	–	2	2	–	–	–	–	–	4
Musketry	4	9	11	9	6	10	6	–	–	–	55
Section Leading	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	13	14	–	27
Routine Marches	–	–	–	3h	3h	4h	4h	4h	4h	5h	27
Bayonet Training	–	4	4	3	3	2	–	–	–	–	16
Laying out of kit	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
Kit Inspection	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	–	9
Range Practices	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	4	–	–	8
Embussing and debussing	–	2	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4
P.A.D.	–	–	–	–	–	–	12	10	14	28	64
Revision Periods (C.O.)	2	1	1	–	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
Issue of Kit	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
TOTAL	41	41	41	41	41	41	41	41	41	41	410

Note: i) The last 15 minutes of the first squad drill period was devoted to compliments and saluting (Practical).
ii) The last 10 minutes of drill periods with arms was devoted to Rifle Exercises.
iii) Training was arranged as follows: Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Fridays, 8 periods each.
iv) Wednesday 5 periods, the afternoons were utilized for washing clothing and scrubbing barrack rooms. Saturday 4 periods.

26) U.W.H. 159: Record of Non-European Army Services, Chapter 8.

9.1.4 Pay and Allowances

(a) Married and Dependents' Allowances

Married men were paid an allowance at the rate of thirty five cents per day with no children, or at the rate of 45 cents per day if married with a child or children. Equal or lesser amounts (at the discretion of the Secretary for Defence) were in certain circumstances claimed by members in respect of reputed or illigitimate children, where it was proved that they were dependent on the member. This rule applied only to children under the age of 18 years. In order to qualify for married allowances Cape Corps men had to make the following allotments from basic pay:[27)]

Private	15 cents per day.
Non-Commissioned Officer	17½ cents per day.
Warrant Officer	20 cents per day.

A lodging allowance of five cents a day was also paid to members if the C.O. certified that no quarters were available.

(b) Ration Allowance

Fifteen cents ration allowance per day was paid when rations in kind were not supplied. This allowances was very seldom claimed as they were seldom placed in a position where rations were not supplied.[28)]

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27) U.W.H. 158: Conditions of service, Non-European Army Services, p. 29. All monies have been converted to the present decimal coinage system which was introduced in South Africa in 1961. The unit one Rand (R) is equal to 100 cents. One British pound sterling is equivalent to about two Rand. The following conversation table have been applied:

1 penny (d)	= 1 cent;	7d	= 6 cents
2d	= 2 cents;	8d	= 7 cents
3d	= 2½ cents;	9d	= 7½ cents
4d	= 3 cents;	10d	= 8 cents
5d	= 4 cents;	11d	= 9 cents
6d	= 5 cents	12d (one shilling)	=10 cents

28) *Ibid.*,

(c) Trade Allowance

Trade allowances at the rates of 20 cents, 10 cents or 5 cents per day were payable to members of the Cape Corps with approved trade experience who were filling authorised trade posts in units such as the Cape Corps Works and Construction Corps. The amount varied with the degree of proficiency and nature of the trade, e.g. Blacksmiths, fitters and bricklayers were classified as "A" Class Artisans and qualified for 20 cents per day, while linesmen, plasterers and rivetters were classified as "B" Class Artisans and qualified for 10 cents per day. All the men were trade tested by qualified technical officers nominated by the C.O.'s and appointed by DDNEAS for this purpose. Trade tests were conducted according to special standard of proficiency which were laid down.[29)]

(d) Extra Duty Allowance

Extra Duty Allowances at the following rates were payable to Cape Corps men where volunteers were qualified to perform and were satisfactorily filling authorised posts, in respect of duties indicated:[30)]

Bandsmen	2½	cents per diem
M.T. Instructors	5	cents per diem
Clerks-Sergeants	10	cents per diem
Clerks-Corporals	7½	cents per diem
Clerks L/Cpls and Privates	5	cents per diem
M.T. Mechanics	10	cents per diem.

A cost of living allowance was also paid and arrangements were made for deferred pay (payable to the member concerned on his discharge).

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29) U.W.H.158: Conditions of Service, Non-European Army services, p. 32.
30) *Ibid.*,

Finally the following table shows the basic pay per day each received by members of the Cape Corps.[31)]

TABLE III

CAPE CORPS – BASIC PAY PER DAY

Rank	Amount
Private (on attestation)	25 cents
Private (after not less than 6 months satisfactory service)	30 cents
Lance Corporal	35 cents
Corporal	40 cents
Sergeants	47½ cents
Staff Sergeants	52½ cents
Warrant Officer II	65 cents
Warrant Officer I	75 cents

The average remuneration paid to members of the Cape Corps, compared favourably with the Civilian earnings coloured men received during that period. Whether it was adequate is another matter.[32)]

9.1.5 Publicity

A certain amount of publicity was given to the Cape Corps by the Military Authorities and the various news media in the country. It was, however, generally felt that more could have been done to publicise the vital part played by these men as part of the war efforts as for example the following remarks made by Lt. Hallack in his report on the

31) Union Defence Force, *Consolidated Pay Instructions.*

32) Government Printers – *Union of South Africa – Statistical Year Book 1940/1.*

Non-European Army Services:[32] "It is, of course, questionable whether Non-Europeans should have been mentioned separately when the work of any Corps or Unit in which they were serving was praised. If the public in South Africa (and even the U.D.F. generally) realised how the various units were constitued and appreciated the Non-European contribution to the success of such formations this would not have been necessary, but because such organisation was not generally known it is considered the Non-European Army Service efforts justified more specific publicity."

9.2 The Employment of Non-white soldiers outside Africa

9.2.1 Attitude of U.D.F. Officers and other Ranks to employment of non-Whites

The employment of non-Whites in purely non-White Army Services such as the Cape Corps and the Native Military Corps (N.M.C.), Security Battalions, Works and Con-Struction Companies and M.T. Units, proved more acceptable to both Officers and Other Ranks than using non-White to dilute white units.[33]

White opposition was very strong and criticism was at times very severe especially when non-White soldiers were employed in the same capacity as whites and where they had to work together for example as cooks and M.T. drivers. Dr. Malan[34] as leader of the Opposition in the South African Parliament was entirely opposed to coloureds in uniform.[35]

The general attitude in South Africa was therefore that white soldiers regarded non-Whites as inferior and resented the fact that they (the non-Whites) be allocated equal responsibilities. This inherit prejudice was typical of the white South African Society's attitudes towards non-Whites in general and was further enforced by legislation as reflected in the Government's Segregation Policy.[36]

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32) U.W.H.158: Record of Non-European Army Services, p. 53.

33) *Ibid.*,

34) Daniel Francois Malan, South African political leader, born May 22 1874, at Riebeeck West. From 1905 to 1914, he was minister of the Dutch Reform Church. He served in Parliament from 1919. During that time he also served in various National Party cabinets. During the 1930's he led the Nationalist Opposition. He became Prime Minister in 1948 and remained in power until his retirement in 1954. His politics which he called 'Apartheid', sought the permanent political and social subordination of non-White citizens.

35) Venter, Al J., *Coloured: A Profile of two million South Africans*, p. 267.

36) U.W.H. 158: *op. cit.*, p. 53.

9.2.2 The choice of white officers for the N.E.A.S.

The Military Authorities created many problems by their choice of white officers and N.C.O.'s. From the start redundant white Officers and N.C.O.'s from the other Corps were used. Many of these men were totally unsuited to lead non-Whites, mainly because they were not interested and had no faith in the coloured and African as soldiers and they seldom tried to understand or appreciate the mentality and quality of the men they were called upon to lead.[37)]

The employment of non-Whites outside the Union of South Africa, created further administrative problems. For this reason a new post of Deputy Directorate of Non-European Army Services was created. Senator Colonel E.T. Stubbs, O.B.E. was nominated for this important post of D.D.N.E.A.S. and tackled his new assignment with such vigour and determination that excellent results were achieved. This success was due mainly to a considerable amount of reshuffling in the depots, disciplinary and regimental training and by the careful selection of the best white and non-white Staffs.[38)]

9.2.3 U.D.F. is forced to employ non-White troops for duty inside and outside South Africa's borders

One of the biggest problems the Union Defence Force had to deal with since the start of the War was the pressing manpower problem. Most white South Africans were not prepared to do the many onerous duties which had to be performed during a war situation. As the war progressed much mechanical transport was needed to keep the victorious and rapidly advancing South African and Allied troops supplied along the long and hazardous Lines of Communication in East Africa. The choice was obvious – non-Whites had to be used to safeguard the country.[39)]

Once accepted as soldiers, Cape Corps members were engaged in all the other branches of the Union Defence Force. As indicated earlier, they served as ground hands in the South African Air Force at home and in Africa, while a thousand joined the Seaward Defence guarding South Africa's coast.[40)]

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37) Venter, *op. cit.*, pp. 266–269.
38) U.W.H. 158: Record of Non-European Army Services, p. 5.
39) Orpen, N., *War in the Desert*, p. 46.
40) Army Education Section, U.D.F., *Getting into the Picture*, p. 46.

They acquitted themselves admirably carrying out the many hazardous tasks, escorting prisoners and tending battalion axis lamps. According to Orpen, "their unflinching and selflessness as stretcher bearers throughout the many actions in which South African units were involved, deserves special mention."[41)]

9.3 The Dilution Policy

9.3.1 Background

White man-power began to fall short at the beginning of 1940 and the policy of diluting white Units with non-Whites was initiated, a priority being laid down under which units to be diluted could claim non-White personnel. The following order of priority was envisaged:[42)]

1. South African Air Force
2. South African Engineer Corps
3. Artillery
4. "T" Service artisans.

Col Hoy, O.C. of the Cape Corps objected to the Adjutant-General to the Dilution Policy fearing the loss of identity of the Cape Corps. The Chief of the General Staff on instructions from the Minister of Defence ruled that members of the Cape Corps should definitely be incorporated into the other Units and that once they became members of these Units, they must wear the appropriate badges.[43)]

A Welfare Officer was attached to each diluted unit to attend to differences and act as an interpreter between white and non-white sections. This virtually introduced a divided control in every unit, but as experience was gained, gradually the non-whites became an integral part of each unit.[44)]

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41) Orpen, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

42) A.G. 3: Extracts from Staff Conference (No. 21) 8 October 1941.

43) *Ibid.*,

44) U.W.H. 159: Record of Non-European Army Services 1939–1945. The Dilution Policy.

9.3.2 Dilution Policy in Artillery Units

In October 1940, a board of officers met in Potchefstroom to consider the possible use of African Personnel in the artillery units.[45] The Board felt that Cape Corps personnel were unsuitable for training as gunners as "they lacked the moral fibre and education necessary for the specialised work."[46]

It was generally believed that the Zulus would be ideally suited as gunners in view of their past history as excellent soldiers. The result was negative as the Zulus were not interested stating: "It was the white man's war and they have nothing to do with it."[47]

The acute shortage of white personnel continued and this led to the modification in the policy in regard to the employment of Cape Corps personnel in artillery units. On the 16th May 1941, instructions were issued for them to be trained as gunners and accommodation was provided in one of the tentage camps at Potchefstroom the 22nd Field Regiment being established as the training regiment for the Cape Corps personnel. According to Miller the Cape Corps details showed remarkable aptitude in their training as gunners and became proficient in laying and signalling, too. A few even specialised as Observation Post Assistants. The success of this experiment led to the extension of the policy of using Cape Corps personnel as gunners and led to the 6th Field Regiment being augmented by 100 members of the Cape Corps for training as gunners.[48]

The Dilution Policy ran into snags when the arming of gunners was commenced with. The arming was necessary to protect the Artillery Wagon Lines. This prompted Colonel Adler to submit the following report to D.C.S.: "Policy is NOT to arm Non-Europeans in the Union but Cape Corps and Indian and Malay Corps to receive musketry instructions." He continued by saying: "My responsibility is to make the diluted Regiments in the Union efficient fighting Units. I propose, unless I receive orders to the contrary, to take all necessary steps to train all ranks, irrespective of colour, in modern tactics of all-round defence, including the use of small arms."[49] Finally permission was received from the D.C.S. to "train non-Whites in L.M.G."[50]

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45) U.W.H. 159: Record of Non-European Army Services 1939–1945. The Dilution Policy, Chapter 6, p. 90.
46) Miller, E., *Gunning through Africa*, pp. 137–8.
47) C.G.S. 744/49A, Report of a meeting at the Native Commissioner's Office, Eshowe, Natal 5 February 1941.
48) Miller, E., *op. cit., pp. 137–8.*
49) D.C.S. G137/1/1/119: Report of Col. Adler to D.C.S., 18 November 1941.
50) C.W. 8907 1/4: Instruction from D.C.S. to D.F.A.A.T. dated 1st April 1942.

There was inevitable objection on the part of certain whites to serving in "diluted" regiments, especially as gun crews were mixed. Some of the objectors asked to be transferred to all white units. The situation was resolved when the A.G. replied to one particular objector as follows: "It is pointed out that, quite apart from the fact that the question of colour bar or segregation forms no part of the conditions of service of a member of the U.D.F. who has taken the all Africa Oath, this office considers that transfers under these circumstances can not be countenanced as they would not only create a dangerous precedent,but possibly unfortunate repercussions, and finally it is considered that such transfers would not be in the interest of the Services."[51]

Coloureds continued to be trained as gunners and all the units which used Africans were instructed to gradually replace the Africans with coloured and white personnel.[52]

9.3.3 The Dilution Policy in Anti-Aircraft Units

Up to early 1942, Anti-Aircraft personnel, especially non-Whites, were trained on Robben Island on equipment placed there for operational purposes. By August, authority was requested for the further expansion of Ottery Camp for the purpose of accommodating a Training Regiment, involving 40 officers, 700 white ranks and 400 Non-European Army Service personnel.[53]

Various memoranda and minutes were sent to Pretoria to persuade the authorities to step up the dilution policy in the A.A. Units. A final ruling on the subject was given on the 8th April 1943 by D.A.G. which read as follows:[54]

> "It has been decided that Coastal A.A. Units will be diluted with N.M.C. personnel, Field Army A.A. with Cape Corps personnel."

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51) D.A.G. (0) 818: Reply of A.G. to Objector re Dilution Policy, 15th April 1942.

52) Miller, E., *Gunning through Africa*, p. 138.

53) U.W.H. 158: Record of Non-European Army Services, p. 120.

54) D.A.G. (0) X / 286: The Dilution Policy: A.A. Units.

9.3.4 Dilution in the South African Air Force

The S.A.A.F. had attested non-Whites long before the D.N.E.A.S. was established. Much of the non-White labour on S.A.A.F. work had, however, right through the War, been done by unattested labour. In May 1941 there were approximately 163 attested non-Whites serving on the Air Force.[55)]

For a while the question of policy in regard to the employment of attested or unattested non-Whites for training and maintenance units in the S.A.A.F. was debated by everybody concerned with this matter.[56)]

Cape Corps Ground Gunners for S.A.A.F. Squadrons were, however, trained on Single Lewis Guns and equipped with twin or triple mounted Lewis Guns by September 1941.[57)]

In an address to a conference in the Middle East, D.D.N.E.A.S. on the 7th August 1943 announced that the Air Force in the North had changed its Cape Corps personnell entirely to Native Military Corps personnel except for Ground Defence Troops which remained coloured.[58)]

A special Ground Defence Training Section was created at N.E.A.S. Depot later to train short service Cape Corps men for Ground Defence to S.A.A.F. Squadrons. The War Diaries of the various Squadrons give sound testimony to the high regard in which members of the Cape Corps were held by the Commanding Officers.[59)]

Initially the Military Authorities decided not to take S.A.A.F. units out of Africa on a diluted basis, fearing that it would be difficult to control large numbers of non-Whites under European conditions.[60)]

Later it was decided that S.A.A.F. Squadrons proceeding out of Africa should shed their Cape Corps Ground Defence personnel. This was done because an arrangement had been

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55) U.W.H. 158: Record of Non-European Army Services, p. 127.
56) D.G.A.F. (A.V.) 414/4: Report of Conference held to discuss attested non-Whites attached to Air Force, 19th June 1941.
57) D.A.P. 24/414/3 13th September 1941.
58) U.W.H. 158: *op. cit.*, p. 157.
59) War Diaries for No. 3, 4, 15 and 60 Squadrons, dated 27th July 1943; 7th August 1943 and September 1943 respectively.
60) S.A.A.F. Administrative H.Q. M.E. War Diary, June 1943, p. 15.

made whereby the Royal Air Force would provide Ground Defence personnel from the R.A.F. Regiment to all S.A.A.F. Squadrons in Europe in return for Cape Corps Ground Defence personnel to be provided by S.A.A.F. for R.A.F. Units remaining in the Desert.[61)]

This arrangement worked very well as it provided highly trained Ground Defence personnel to all S.A.A.F. Squadrons in Sicily and Italy and it enabled D.D.N.E.A.S. to concentrate on the Cape Corps Ground Defence shed by S.A.A.F. into what became 102 Cape Corps Battalion under the command of Lt.-Col. Wocke.[62)]

9.3.5 Dilution Policy : South African Engineer Corps

By April, 1941, seven Cape Corps Works Companies South African Engineer Corps, arrived in East Africa and were at work as far apart as Gilgil, Londiani, Nanyuki, Mogadiscio, Harrar and Berbera. These Companies were employed on all types of construction work and maintenance of Army Camps and Field Hospitals.[63)]

The employment of coloured personnel by the Army in the performance of Defence works in war time as military exigencies was approved by the government in a letter by the Secretary for Labour to the D.C.S. on the 26th April 1941.

It was established that Cape Corps personnel proved more adept as artisans, particularly in the building trades. Therefore, there were many Cape Corps Works and Construction Companies.[64)]

Instructions were issued to all Commanding Officers that non-Whites be trade-tested on the same lines as whites. Prior to this instruction, Commanding Officers used their discretion in trade-testing their non-White personnel. Colonel Mockford was given powers to conduct

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61) U.W.H. 158: Record of Non-European Army Services, p. 152.
62) *Ibid.*,
63) U.W.H. 158: Record of Non-European Army Services, p. 161.
64) *Ibid.*,

trade-testing. Meanwhile Major Swarts worked hard to obtain recognition for the military certificates and, by asking Colonel Hoy to work through extra-military channels, obtained recognition from the Artisan Board, so that the latter was prepared to grant certificates to Cape Corps personnel trade-tested and passed by Colonel Mockford's representatives. Trade testing actually commenced in March 1944.[65)]

The new regulations came into effect on the 10th October 1944 for the Cape Corps Pioneer Battalions, dating back to 14th January 1944 to enable the paying of trade allowances. Provision was also made for a large number of non-White N.C.O. trade-posts as can be seen from the following table:[66)]

TABLE IV

NUMBER OF NEW TRADE-POSTS ESTABLISHED FOR CAPE CORPS N.C.O.'S IN COMPARISON WITH SIMILAR POSTS FOR WHITES:

Rank	Whites	Cape Corps
Officers	4	–
W.O.'s	1	–
Staff Sergeant	6	–
Sergeants	48	30
Corporals	50	72
Lance-Corporal	18	78
Privates	–	1716
TOTALS	127	1896

65) U.W.H. 158: Record of Non-European Army Services, p. 161.

66) A.G. 213/3/27/2 – Non-European Battalion Establishment New Regulations.

Eighteen of the Cape Corps Sergeants mentioned in table IV, were eligible for trade Allowance (in the previous Establishment the Sergeants were non-tradesmen), 72 Corporals could draw Trade Allowance and 6 Extra Duty Allowance, (in the previous Establishment all 156 Lance -Corporals were non-tradesmen) while in the new Establishment 36 Corporals drew trade allowance in contrast to all 60, under the old Establishment being non-tradesmen. Cape Corps non-Trademen's posts could be filled by N.M.C. privates.[67]

When South African troops moved into Italy, some Engineer Units, such as the Road Construction Companies and 46 Survey Company, took a reduced number of Cape Corps personnel into Italy, but quickly discarded them as most of them were not fit for this particular work and they were according to a report "ill-disciplined". The Railway Construction Group also brought about 90 Cape Corps into Italy as batmen, cooks and for general duties. Some of these men were also accused of being undisciplined and discarded, Colonel Evans who commanded the group, however, firmly ruled that "no matter how many Cape Corps failed, those remaining were entitled to a fair chance to prove themselves".[68]

9.3.6 The Dilution Policy in the South African Corps of Signals

When the 1st Division Signals Headquarters went to Egypt, some Cape Corps personnel were among the Establishment of 51. They were mostly unskilled labourers. At the request of the Assistant Director of Signal Training an educational programme of training for coloured Linesmen was introduced the following year.[69]

The programme included unskilled and semi-skilled work. Provision was also made for the more intelligent Cape Corps N.C.O.'s in skilled work, which included the following:[70]

(a) Connecting conductors to field instruments and switch-boards.
(b) Tapping in on earth and metallic circuits.
(c) Testing and inserting cells in field instruments.

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67) A.G. 213/5/27/2; *op. cit.*,
68) U.W.H. 158: Record of Non-European Army Services, p. 164.
69) Weekly report: Signals; Week ending 31 May 1941. Education was needed as some coloured soldiers could not read directions.
70) Training Programme for Coloured Linesmen submitted by Assistant Director of Signal Training to the Director of Signals, 136/6, dated 26th January 1942.

Early in 1942, two hundred and fifty Cape Corps personnel were recruited for training at the Signal Training Centre, Potchefstroom. Of the 250 Cape Corps details trained, 58 were dealt with in the following manner: 38 were found unsuitable and transferred to Wesselton, 16 transferred to the Middle East, I found medically unfit and there were three deserters.[71]

Some Cape Corps men were also trained as telegraph and wireless operators. As a result of the high standard and the educational requirements (standard 8 or its equivalent) the experiment lasted only for a short time.[72]

A similar experiment of employing Cape Corps personnel as Despatch Riders and Linesmen for Army Signals, was also dropped for the same reasons.[73]

Members of the Cape Corps, nevertheless, did outstanding work as Linesmen for nearly three years while operating in the Middle East Force. This was obvious from a report by Major C.H. Hardwick, O.C. 5 Company S.A. L of C. Signals written 5th April 1945 to Union Defence Force Administration Headquarters, Middle East Force.[74]

Approximately 150 coloured linesmen received training with the various Signal Units in the field. The Units to which they were attached were the S.A. Army Signals and 40 Railways and Harbours Telegraph Coy. They were employed exclusively on construction and repairs of army lines under white officers and N.C.O.'s the majority of whom were Post Office officials.[75]

9.3.7 Dilution Policy in the S.A. Veterinary Corps

Members of the Cape Corps and N.M.C. served with the South African Veterinary Corps No. 1 Pack Transport Company in Madagascar. Very few white N.C.O.'s were attached to this Company which was commanded by Major Furness. He trained his men to ride very well.

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71) U.W.H. 158: Non-European Army Services, p. 166.
72) U.W.H. 158: Record of Non-European Army Services, p. 167.
73) *Ibid.*,
74) Annexure C to War Diary of D.D.N.E.A.S. Administration H.Q. (Rear) M.E.F., April 1945.
75) U.W.H. 158: *op. cit.*, p. 170.

The Cape Corps made very good farriers and dressers while the N.M.C. details were used as dressers at the Veterinary Hospital. The Remount Depots started with Cape Corps personnel but these were later replaced by N.M.C.[76)]

In September 1940, the recruiting of Cape Corps as smiths, grooms, etc. was started and by the end of the year, 130 had been trained.[77)]

9.4 The Various campaigns in which the Cape Corps were involved during the Second World War

On the 3rd September 1939, Neville Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister declared war against Nazi Germany. France followed suit and the Australian and New Zealand governments associated themselves with Britain.

The South African Premier, General Hertzog pleaded in the South African Parliament that South Africa should adopt a neutral policy in this War. His motion was however, defeated and as a result Hertzog resigned and General J.C. Smuts[78)] was asked to form a new Government.[79)] The following afternoon, 6th September 1939, South Africa Declared war on Germany.[80)]

9.4.1 The East African and Abyssian Campaigns

The first Cape Corps and Indian and Malay Corps personnel left South Africa by train for Broken Hill on the 3rd September 1940. On arrival at Broken Hill they were supplied with

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76) U.W.H. 158: Record of the Non-European Army Services, S.A. Veterinary Corps, p. 172.
77) *Ibid.*,
78) Jan Christiaan Smuts, South African statesmen born 24 May 1870. Educated at Cambridge and practiced law at Cape Town. During the Anglo-Boer War, he served, first under General De la Rey and later commanded the Boer Forces. He was instrumental in the amalgamation of the four Colonies into the Union of South Africa in 1910. He was Minister of Finance in first Union Cabinet and became Prime Minister in 1919 and again in 1939 when Hertzog resigned. Played a vital role in both World Wars and in the formation of the League of Nations. He died on 11th September 1950.
79) Orpen, N., *East African Abyssinian Campaigns*, p. 1.
80) Proclamation No. 197 of 1939.

their vehicles and equipment and set out for Nairobi over the hazardous roads of Northern Rhodesia, Tanganjika and Kenya. Despite their inexperience, broken springs and mud, the convoys got through regularly in periods varying from two to three weeks.[81)]

In Nairobi the Motor Transport Coys were split. Some were sent in support of the fighting forces advancing along Lake Rudolph, and others were committed to Lines of Communication work between Nairobi, Nanuki and Wajir. As the advance proceeded the Coys split again at Wajir, some dropped down to Magadiscio and then swung inland again on their way to Addis Abeba via Jijiga, Harrar and Deridawa. Others followed up with supplies for the Forces advancing through Moyale and Mega, through the lake area on a direct route to Addis Abeba.[82)]

By March 1941, the Cape Corps MT Units in East Africa and Abyssinia had increased to 23, and the first 4 Cape Corps Coys, i.e. A, B, D and E, had gone overland, along the Nile Route, to Eritrea, where they operated in support of the British and Indian troops.[83)]

Some Coys had swung left from Nairobi and were operating between Nairobi and Juba and the Lake Rudolph area, supplying large numbers of troops in that theatre. Later all the M.T. Coys from Kenya found their way up to Abyssinia where they operated throughout that campaign and moved forward to Eritrea where they were in at the "kill" at Keren.[84)]

The following appreciation from Lt. General William Platt, C.B., D.S.O., G.O.C. Sudan Force, Khartoum, dated 12 April 1941 and addressed to C.G.S. U.D.F., shows the extent

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81) Cape Corps Souvinir.

82) Orpen, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

83) Militaria, Military Historical Periodical, published by the Director General Management Systems 1974, pp. 44–46.

84) Orpen, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–255.

of the contribution of the M.T. Units to the Allied war effort in the Abyssinian and Eritrea Campaigns:[85]

> "Last time General Smuts was here, I told him how splendidly the South African Cape MT Companies had worked for us ever since they arrived in the Sudan in the middle of January. They continued to do so and they continue so. It was due to the great effort of our MT, including your Companies, that enabled us, after many hard days' fighting to smash the enemy at Keren and force him to withdraw 300 miles from that battlefield. After Keren, they naturally contributed their full share to our pursuit of the enemy and the capture of Massawa."

The conclusion of the East African and Abyssinian Campaigns found approximately 5 500 Cape Corps personnel in transport work, 1 500 being employed on constructional work and about 1 600 N.M.C. in the 5th Brigade and Non-Divisional Units in that theatre of operations.[86]

9.4.2 War in the Middle East

Victory in Abyssinia and Eritrea sounded the note for the great trek to the Middle East where German Troops had reinforced the badly mauled Italian Armies. With the disintegration of the 5th Brigade in the fierce battle at Sidi Resegh, the whole of the 1st Division needed reinforcements in large numbers. The two South African Divisions committed to battle with the Desert Army (Later 8th Army) were hopelessly short of manpower. The U.D.F. had no option but to bring in large numbers of non-Whites to strengthen the ranks of these two Divisions.[87]

This urgent need for reinforcements according to Orpen, resulted in the disbandment of the many fine Cape Corps MT and Works Coys "which had performed so splendidly during the East African Campaign". On arriving at the NEAS Depot in the desert at Garawi, north

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85) U.W.H. 158: Record of the Non-European Army Services; Employment of Non-Whites in the U.D.F. outside South Africa, p. 3.

86) *Ibid.*,

87) Militaria, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

of Cairo, the men were drafted to the 1st Division as drivers, mechanics, cooks, batmen and hygiene personnel. Of all the MT and Works Coys which had come through East Africa, only A, B, D and E and N Coys remained intact in June 1942.[88]

N-Company (which later became known as 133 South African Road Motor Transport Company, Cape Corps) had been given the important assignment of ferrying vehicles to Turkey.

During a period of six months this unit moved thousands of vehicles from the Delta Area through the Sinai Desert, Palestine and Syria to Aleppo where they were handed over to Turkish officials.[89]

By April 1942, the number of N.M.C. and Cape Corps men employed with the Union Defence Force and the South African Air Force Units, stood at over 28 000. This was the largest number of non-Whites ever to serve with the South African Forces in the Middle East and Central Mediterranean Forces during the war.[90]

With the tragic reverse suffered by the Allied Forces at the fall of Tobruk in June 1942, the need for more Cape Corps MT Coys became even more vital as about one third of the Allied Transport Units had been lost in the retreat. The fall of Tobruk was a sad and hard blow to the U.D.F. Of the total 10 722 Allied Force members killed, 380 were members of the Cape Corps.[91]

The non-White strengths of the various formations were, however, built up again and this time with better trained and more reliable and experienced men than had previously been available. When the victorious campaign of the famous 8th Army began on the 23rd October 1942 there were about 18 000 Cape Corps and Native Military Corps personnel operating either directly or indirectly in support of the Allied Forces. The following table shows the approximate numbers and most notable formations in which the Cape Corps and Native Military Corps members served in the Delta area and the Western Desert.[92]

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88) Orpen, N., *War in the Desert*, p. 207.

89) U.W.H. 158: *op. cit.*, p. 6.

90) *Ibid.*,

91) Orpen, *op. cit.*, pp. 311–325.

92) U.W.H. 158: *op. cit.*, p. 8.

TABLE V

APPROXIMATE NUMBERS AND FORMATIONS TO WHICH CAPE CORPS AND N.M.C. PERSONNEL WERE ATTACHED DURING THE OFFENSIVES IN THE DELTA AREA AND THE WESTERN DESRT:

Formation	Cape Corps	NMC	Total
1 S.A. Div.	2 000	1 000	3 000
MT Formations	2 000	1 000	3 000
S.A.A.F.	1 000	500	1 500
Med. Units	–	1 000	1 000
SAEC Units	2 000	1 000	3 000
TSC Units	300	200	500
Sig. Units	300	200	500
H.Q. Grounds & Provost Duties	1 500	500	2 000
POW Guard Duties	1 000	–	1 000
TOTALS	10 100	5 400	15 500

Members of the Cape Corps were well represented in the various units which completed the long trek of about 2 000 miles from El Alamein to Enfidaville (Tunisia) where the last grim battles were fought.[93)]

When the 1st S.A. Division was withdrawn from operations after the battle of El Alamein and returned to South Africa, 2 000 Cape Corps soldiers who were serving with the Division accompanied them home. Because of their fine performance during the Middle East Campaign, the Cape Corps soldiers received full credit for their loyalty and work from South Africa and Allied Commander alike.[94)] Even General Dan Pienaar who had previously opposed the employment of non-Whites in the 1st Division, expressed satisfaction with

93) Parkinson, R., *The War in the Desert*, pp. 175–196.

94) Orpen, N., *War in the Desert*, p. 421.

and appreciation of their services when the Division was withdrawn, and warmly praised their splendid contribution during the battle of El Alamein.[95]

So ended the first phase of probably one of the most difficult but brilliant campaigns in history. In May 1943 the Axis Forces had been driven from the borders of Kenya and finally defeated in Tunisia. "The non-Whites were there in large numbers from the beginning to the end. During this time of grave peril they served their country faithfully and well in the best traditions of South African History."[96]

9.4.3 Invasion of Europe

After the defeat of the Axis Forces in North Africa, the South African Forces were reorganised to participate in the invasion of Sicily and Italy. This, however, raised the contentious point of whether non-Whites should be allowed to serve in Europe or not and if sent overseas, on what duties they should be employed.

The controversy about allowing non-Whites into Europe was finally resolved when necessity dictated the policy that they would have to form part of the personnel of Invasion Units as insufficient whites were available to maintain the commitments undertaken.[97]

The Dilution Policy, earlier discussed, was eventually pursued in preparation for Invasion Units. Policy had been defined to the extent that all S.A.A.F. Squadrons and certain Engineer and Signal Units destined for invasion service were to be brought up to strength with Cape Corps and N.M.C. personnel who had volunteered for General Service.[98]

Like all other Allied personnel participating in the assault on Europe, the Cape Corps and N.M.C. members came under the command of the Central Mediterranean Forces (C.M.F.) that is forces operating in Italy and the area west of Tripoli.

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95) U.W.H.: *op. cit.*, p. 9.

96) *Ibid.*,

97) Annexure C: War Diary of D.D.N.E.A.S. Adm. H.Q. (Rear) M.E.F., April 1945.

98) U.W.H. 158: Record of Non-European Army Services, p. 10.

A large number of Cape Corps and NMC personnel were attached to 3 and 7 Wings as well as 40 Squadron S.A.A.F. which landed in Sicily in August 1943. Immediately on their arrival, the critics opposed to non-Whites serving abroad eagerly started spreading rumours (which were later proved unfounded) of drunkenness among the coloured and African soldiers.[99)]

The main problem, however, was the Italian women, who knew or observed no colour bar. Many were only too willing to barter wine or ply their female trade for foodstuffs, soap or cigarettes. These problems were not only confined to non-White South Africans, but they were causing equal concern to all Allied Forces. South Africa's segregation laws and the law prohibiting the sale of alcohol to non-Whites accentuated the problem in the Union Defence Force. The Coloured and African soldiers were told that the Union Laws and customs still applied and were to be observed even though S.A. Forces were outside the borders of South Africa.[100)]

The Engineering Units were given the option of shedding their Cape Corps personnel immediately on arrival in Italy, except for the Railway Construction Companies who retained their 80 Cape Corps soldiers. With the arrival of the 6th S.A. Armoured Division in Italy in April 1944 an additional 2 300 Cape Corps personnel came into this area. They were specially selected to serve in non-combatant capacities and were mostly employed on menial duties, except in "Q" Services where there were many MT drivers and in the two field ambulances where there were coloured stretcher-bearers.[101)]

At the time of the attack on the Gustav Line in Italy (stretching roughly from Pescara on the Adriatic to Cassino on the Mediterranean side) at the end of May 1944, the U.D.F. in the Central Mediterranean Force had more or less reached its peak strength and then included 2 700 NMC with 28 SAAF Formations and some Non-Divisional and SAAF Units. With a strength of over 5 000 non-Whites in Italy the Non-European Army Services represented approximately 8 per cent of the total U.D.F. strength in the C.M.F. This represented about 20 per cent of the total non-White strength outside the Union; the other 80 per cent having been left to serve in the Middle East Forces.[102)]

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99) U.W.H. 158: Record of Non-European Army Services, p. 11.

100) *Ibid.*,

101) Militaria; Military Historical Periodical by the Director General, Management Systems, 1974, p. 46.

102) U.W.H. 158: *op. cit.*, p. 15.

The non-White soldiers made a material contribution to the total U.D.F. effort despite their small numbers. The conclusion of the Italian campaign found them amongst the most advanced elements of the Divisional units and S.A.A.F. formations carrying out the final assault.

In March 1944, 104 Cape Corps Battalion arrived in Algiers and took over security guard duties of military installations in widely scattered areas from Algiers to Bone. Two months later the S.A. Engineering Corps Airfield Construction Group arrived with 250 coloured soldiers attached to the 157 and 158 Works Companies and an additional 50 Cape Corps personnel in each of the 30 and 32 Road Construction Companies. They landed at Oran and immediately proceeded to Rabat in Morocco where they were employed in the construction of one of the most modern airfields in Africa at Rabat Sale near Casa Blanca. By the end of 1944, their task being completed, the Works Companies were transferred to Tripoli-West and the Middle-East.[103)]

Units of the Cape Corps formed between May 1943 until the cessation of hostilities were engaged in various duties pertaining to the war and include the following: 156 Works and Construction Company, 136, 138, 137 and 139 Cape Corps MT Companies.[104)]

9.5 The Junior Cape Corps

The formation of a Junior Cape Corps was officially sanctioned by the Minister of Defence on the 21st December 1942. The new regulations drafted made provision for coloured youths to follow in the footsteps of their fathers who were already serving in the Cape Corps. The Junior Cape Corps with headquarters at Mossel Bay was to function on similar lines to the Youth Training Brigade. The Corps was open to youths between the ages 15 to 17 years.[105)]

Training consisted of military discipline, smartness and character-building. The older boys also received training in artisan occupations and military subjects. Arrangements were also made for an educational scheme to be instituted which covered all grades from illiterates to Standard seven and the senior pupils were encouraged to write the Cape Senior and

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103) Militaria, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

104) *Ibid.*,

105) D.C. 3174: Sub file 1689/2: Formation of Junior Cape Corps.

Junior Certificate examinations. Boys reaching the age of 18 years were transferred to Works Companies.[106)]

A Cabinet decision by the Union Government made provision for the Junior Cape Corps to continue as a peace-time organisation. The Corps was maintained at a strength of 1 000 excluding the permanent staff necessary for its control and administration. While the military aspect of the training programme was the responsibility of the U.D.F., the social, health and pre-vocational aspects were the joint responsibility of the Departments of Defence and Social Welfare.[107)]

9.6 Demobilization

Demobilization progressed satisfactorily after VE Day in South Africa. The relatively small number of non-Whites discharged, (when compared with South Africa's total non-White population) made it possible to place most of the ex-volunteers in industry, domestic service, Public Health and Native Affairs Departments. The average returned coloured soldier was in great demand by prospective employers in South Africa because he was regarded as a disciplined, clean living and more useful citizen.[108)]

9.6.1 Gratuities

Cape Corps details were paid the equivalent of one rand for each month of satisfactory service. A minimum period of six months continuous service was required to qualify for a gratuity. Gratuities were paid through the Post Office and was credited to the Savings Bank Account of the ex-volunteer.[109)]

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106) U.W.H. 158, *op. cit.*, Chapter 2, p. 28.

107) The Rand Daily Mail, 20th October 1945.

108) U.W.H. 159: Record of Non-European Army Services 1939–1945; Chapter 10, p. 15.

109) U.W.H. 159: *op. cit.*,

9.6.2 Civilian Clothing and cash Allowances

D.S.D.C. Circular No. 10a dated 15th June 1945 made provision for coloured volunteers and coloured members of the Essential Services Protection Corps to receive cash payment equivalent to R36 if discharged with benefits and R24 if discharged without benefits. It also stipulated that the civilian and cash allowance would not be payable to volunteers who had less than three months service. Members of the Junior Cape Corps received R12.

9.6.3 Pay in lieu of leave

The following applied to a volunteer on release or discharge:[110)]

(a) Full pay and allowances in lieu of any vacation not taken in his final leave cycle (subject to limitations in the case of volunteers with less than a year's service) plus,

(b) Full pay and allowances in lieu of any ex-north leave (maximum 30 days) not taken and due at the time of discharge or release plus,

(c) Full pay and allowances in lieu of any Prisoner-of-War leave maximum 30 days (in addition to ex-north leave) not taken and due at the time of discharge or release.

The date of release or discharge of the volunteer was the date of expiration of leave due to him.

9.6.4 Retention of Uniform, Clothing and Necessities

Cape Corps personnel were allowed to retain the following items of clothing and necessities when demobilised:

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110) U.W.H. 159: *op. cit.*,

(a) All items of uniform, clothing and necessaries in their possession, plus two blankets, haversack, plus brace pack and 2 supporting straps.

(b) The following items were to be retained by ex-volunteers after March 1945: If a member was not issued with any of these items, an issue was made before his discharge: one ground sheet, one water bottle, and one tins mess.[111]

9.6.5 Employment of ex-volunteers

To assist the Demobilization Directorate in finding suitable employment for ex-volunteers, D.N.E.A.S. established its own Employment Bureau in Johannesburg. Contacts were made with various firms, industries and trades and, in the 19 months preceding April 1945, 1775 discharged soldiers had applied to this Johannesburg Bureau for employment. Of this number, 1727 were placed in suitable occupations. This represented 97 per cent of the applicants being placed.[112]

The Government also appointed a coloured Ex-Volunteer Urban Employment Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Norman Henschilwood, M.P.C. in Cape Town. The main function of the Committee was "to make investigations on the possibility of finding employment for the Cape Coloured ex-Volunteer whose normal domicile is in the Western Province, in industry, construction works of Divisional Councils, Municipalities and Village Management Boards." The Chairman appealed to employers in the Western Cape to assist him in giving volunteers a fair start in civilian life.[113]

9.6.6 Ex-volunteer Organisations

The Springbok Legion admitted non-Whites to its ranks since its inception as they maintained that "all men are equal irrespective of colour." However, during Easter 1945,

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111) U.W.H. 159: Record of N.E.A.S. 1939–1945, Chapter 10 p. 15.

112) U.D.F., *Plan for Development of Manpower*, p. 84.

113) Government Printers, *Union Review*, July, 1945.

the Legion held unity talks with members of the British Empire Service League and a basis for fusion between the two organisations was agreed upon. The following clause in the agreement affected the coloured soldiers membership: [114]

> "Non-Europeans would have membership of the new organisation through separate branches. The manner in which they would be represented at Congress etc., would be decided by a referendum."

Coloured Branches of the B.E.S.L. were soon formed, first in Cape Town and Johannesburg and later in the other major urban centres where numbers of ex-volunteers justified the formation of a branch. The branches functioned independently with a liaison Committee between the coloured and white branches in each Centre consisting of three members from each race group. The white body further had the veto right against resolutions "which might be detrimental to the interest of Ex-Servicemen in the Union of South Africa or contrary to the letter and spirit of the Constitution." Non-European ex-servicemen were also represented by whites on the B.E.S.L. Executive and at Conference.[115]

Several attempts were made to establish other ex-servicemen organisations. The Cape Corps Association and the Cape Corps Legion were both short lived.[116]

9.6.7 War Memorial

After the War, it was generally felt that a suitable and worthy National War Memorial should be erected to the non-White soldiers. Many suggestions were put forward and it was eventually unanimously agreed that the proposed memorial should take the form of "something practical and worthy of the sacrifices of the non-White soldiers."[117]

The Army Educational Services School at Florence in Italy came up with a worthy proposal that the War Memorial should take the form of a "Trust Fund for Non-European Health

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114) The South African Sapper, April, 1945.

115) *The Springbok*, August, 1945.

116) U.W.H. 159: *op. cit.*, p. 178.

117) *Ibid.*,

Services." The result was the formation of *THE WAR MEMORIAL FUND FOR NON-EUROPEAN HEALTH SERVICES* during the latter part of May 1945. The Fund was provisionally controlled by the following four men board of trustees:

Major General F.H. Theron C.B., C.B.E., G.O.A., MEF and CMF.
Major General W.H.E. Poole C.B., C.B.E., DSO GCO 6 (SA Armed. Division.
Lt. Colonel C.H.S. Runge DSO ME Chief Welfare Officer U.D.F.
Lt. L. Kuper.

The object of the Fund was:

(a) "to establish a lasting and living memorial to the South Africans who have given their lives during the war, an Institute of Hygiene, Hospitals or Clinics, or in some similar way to make a substantial contribution towards the improvement of the health of the Non-European races in South Africa, the prevention of disease and the healing of the sick.

(b) To endeavour to secure that Freedom from Disease, as well as Freedom from Want, for all races, shall be realised in our country."[118]

Contributions were received from many quarters. Collection centres were set up in Europe and all the major centres of South Africa. The response was very encouraging.

9.6.8 Honours and Awards

The work of the Cape Corps in the Field has been reflected in a number of awards and mentions to officers and other ranks.[119] The following is a complete list of awards received by members of the Cape Corps:[120]

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118) U.W.H. 159: *op. cit.*

119) *The Nongqai*, April 1944, p. 249.

120) S.A.D.F., Official Honours and Awards Lists. (Appendix A U.W.H. 159).

Nine Military Medals

C274294, Private, J. Rayners – Uitenhage.
C274047, Private, Johannes Stevens – Vryburg.
C276049, Private, John Booysen – Graaff-Reinet.
M14487, Private, Willie Stephen – Cape Town
M11795, Corporal, F. Tonkin, – Cape Town.
C16827V, Lance-Corporal, N. Saphier – Wittelsbosch, Humansdorp.
M16468V, Private, Solomon Fillis – Mossel Bay.
C319812V, Lance-Corporal, William Cloete – Namaqualand.
M10537, Private, Anthony Volsum – Durban.

Four British Empire Medals

C288019, Private, James Edwards – Uitenhage.
C275004, Private, Hendrik Plaatjies – Ladysmith.
C12958, Private, E. Abrahams – Zuider Paarl.
C275994, Corporal, Martin John Carelsen – Oudtshoorn.

Fifty-one Mentioned in Despatches

C164888, Sergeant, B. Gentle – Johannesburg.
C167656, Private, A.A. Joshua – Claremont.
C165882, Corporal, S.T. Hammond, Port Elizabeth.
C285706, Corporal, Abraham Geldenhuys – Cape Town.
C304732, Private, George Rammages – Parow, Cape.
C274881, Private, W. van Westromen – Hermanus, Cape.
M11150, Private, Osman Sydow – Cape Town (M.I.D. and Orders).
M10947, Private, Pieter Davids – Maitland, Cape.
C11758, Private, Mohammed Solly Jacobs, Claremont, Cape.
M10266, Sergeant, Briglal Kanaye – Waschbank, Natal.
M10472, Corporal, Moonsamy Govindsamy – Mayville, Durban.
C166972, Corporal, John Richard Mopp – East London.
C168303, Corporal, Christian Sampson – Kimberley.
M14733V, Private, A. van der Berg – Cape Town.
C274972, Lance-Corporal, William Baker – Riversdale.
C167812, Corporal, T.A.E. Bergsma – Wynberg.
C166152V, Lance-Corporal, Julius Hill – Rosemead.
C274853V, Private, Gert Coetzee – Calvinia.
M13136, Private, Jappie Fleurs – Stellenbosch.

C274123, Private, George Logan – Kokstad.
C304732, Gunner, George Ramages – Parow, Cape.
C300460, Private, Daniel Stanley – Kimberley.
C166936, Private, Christian J. Titus – Caledon, Cape.
C167105V, Private, Sam Vertain, Walmer – Port Elizabeth.
M13547, Private, A.S. Pillay – Pietermaritzburg.
C301782, Sergeant, William Brucher, Isipingo, Natal.
C288174, Private, C. Weebers, Uniondale.
C301424, Sergeant, J. Botha – Douglas, Cape.
C272654, Sergeant, Henry John Folkwyn – Kimberley.
C285574, Sergeant, Abraham Muller – Middelburg, Cape.
C166010, Corporal, Charles C. Brown, Retreat, Cape.
C285082, Corporal, Archibald Broekstein – Maitland.
C285436, Corporal, Leonard N.C. King – Isipingo, Natal.
C17391, Private, Charles, F. Adonis – Mowbray.
C287254, Private, Koos Campher – Uniondale.
M13227, Private, Willie Dickenson – Cape Town.
M14772, Private, George H. Miller – Simonstown.
C285595, Private, Gert Opperman – Oudtshoorn.
M14447, Private, A. Williams – Elsies River, Cape
C287087, Corporal, Wallace Fraser – East London.
C302640, Lance-Corporal, Charles E. Barry, Ariansvlei, S.W.A.
C168291, Private, John Henry Williams – Benoni.
C15061V, Private, Edward Dirkse – Kakamas, Cape.
C276287, Private, Solomon James Rice – Cape Town.
C277315, Private, Hermanus Daniels – Cape Town.
C169662, Gunner, Davis Duikers, Vasco, Cape.
C284842, Private, Willem Magiba – Queenstown.
C287706, Private, John van Heerden – Potchefstroom.
M18266, Sapper, Ebrahim Adams – Cape Town.
M10419, Private, Rudolph Hoover – Durban.
C285302, Sergeant, G. Taylor – Johannesburg.

Two King's Commendations

M11305, Private, Allie Bushney – Kimberley.
C272523V, Sergeant, Martin Baatjies – Port Elizabeth.

Eight Commander-in-Chief Commendations

C274881, Private, W. van Westromen – Hermanus, Cape.
C275167V, Corporal, S.J. Jacobs – Botrivier, Cape.
C274747, Lance-Corporal, J. du Plessis – George, Cape.
C168452V, Lance-Corporal, E.W. Damons, Kimberley.
C276126V, Lance-Corporal, C.J.T. Sharrock – Port Elizabeth.
C289191V, Lance-Corporal, B. Manikus – Swartruggens, Transvaal.
C274481V, Private, P. Harrison – Durban.
C289227, Private, S. Rollison – Holmdene, Transvaal.

9.7 Illiteracy and Education

A surprising number of Cape Corps personnel were found to be illiterate on enlistment. This caused considerable problems to the army authorities. It not only restricted their employment but also meant that almost all their training as mechanics, guards, medical duties, drill instructions and a host of other duties had to be given by visual instructions and practical demonstrations. Besides being costly, these methods were very time consuming. Fortunately most of the coloured soldiers were keen students despite the fact that it took longer to teach them than it would have had they been literate.[121)]

"Probably the most significant event in the history of Adult Education in South Africa was the educational Service created in the South African Defence Force during World War II (1939–1945). It is significant, not only on account of the impact it had on the men and women on active service at home and abroad, but also on account of the permanent offshoots which grew out of that enterprise and which are still flourishing today in the field of adult education."[122)]

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121) Venter, Al J., *Coloured: A Profile of two million South Africans*, p. 270.
122) Malherbe, E.G., *Education in South Africa*, Vol. II, 1923–1975, p. 405.

9.7.1 The Army Education Services

The Army Education Services was specially established to assit all soldiers to further their education while on active service and more over to combat illiteracy amongst the non-Whites. With the assistance of the Army Chaplains, non-White Administration and Welfare Officers, non-Commissioned Officers and Commanding Officers, much valuable work was done to assist the illiterate coloured soldier to read and write.[123)]

The aim of the scheme was to teach soldiers not only what they were fighting against, but also what they were fighting for. "They had to be made aware of their country's cultural, political and economic assets for the preservation of which they were prepared to sacrifice their lives."[124)]

The Army Education Service was later called Army Information Service as it was felt that the ordinary soldier was rather allergic to the word education. Dr. E.G. Malherbe was placed in charge of the whole scheme.[125)]

A cross section of capable men were selected to be trained as instructors. These men were later to play not only leading rôles in their various communiteis but achieved recognition as great South African leaders in their particular fields. "They were practical men of affairs, as well as outstanding academics." The following men made up the team: Drs. H.J. van der Byl and H.J. van Eck on the industrial development of South Africa; Drs. W.J. Busschau and Sidney Haughton on mining; Dr. F. Meyer on finance and taxation; Dr. H. Leppan on agriculture; Dr. T.W. Osborn on food and nutrition; Dr. Danie Craven on recreation and sport; Dr. F. van Biljon on social and economic planning; Prof. R.F.A. Hoernlé on the ideological issues of the war and the meaning of terms such as communism, nazism, fascism, etc., Dr. S. Biesheuvel and Prof. I.D.MacCrone on human relations; Prof. M.C. Botha, Leo Fouché, Theo Haarhoff and C.M. van den Heever on Afrikaans and English culture; Dr. Z.M. Matthews, Mr. Rheinalt-Jones and Mr. Vilakazi on race relations; Prof. O.J.P. Oxley and Mr H. Pierneef on the creative arts; Major Harold Weaver, head of

123) ED. 18 (B21) Report of the Information Officers 6 S.A. Armoured Division.

124) Memorandum submitted to the Military Authorities by initiators of the scheme, Prof. Hoernlé, Mr. Leo Marquard, Prof. H.J. Rousseau and Dr E.G. Malherbe.

125) Personal correspondence with Dr E.G. Malherbe, letter dated 8 August 1979, Salt Rock, Natal.

the film division, on the use of projectors and films; and Major Leo Marquard and Dr. E.G. Malherbe on the various methods of presenting facts to the troops and how to handle discussion groups.[126]

One of the biggest problems facing illiterates was that they found it difficult (if not impossible) to maintain a satisfactory domestic correspondence. Although whites and literate coloureds assisted, the system never really proved satisfactory. This meant that domestic problems invariably magnified in the eyes of the illiterates, mainly because they could not obtain satisfactory or effective information or give personal advice in respect of problems which could usually be solved with comparative ease by literates.[127]

Another problem that the N.E.A.S. had to content with to establish an effective and efficient educational centre in the N.E.A.S. Depot during ME and CMF Campaigns, was the fluctuating number of men in the Depot and the everchanging conditions there. This made it extremely difficult for the A.E.S. section to map out a definite time table and stick to it. It frequently happened, and understandably under such conditions, that they had hardly commenced on a programme when most of the students were whisked away on other duties. This sort of thing naturally militated against effective education.[128]

In contrast to the difficulties experienced at the N.E.A.S. Depot, some splendid results were achieved in many units where the problems were tackled with determination and enthusiasm. Regular classes were started and run under the control and supervision and with the advice and guidance, of an Educational Officer or N.C.O., and with materials (books, blackboards and writing materials) supplied by A.E.S. Whenever possible A.E.S. supplied an Educational Officer or white N.C.O. to a unit or group of units. These Educational Officers had to submit detailed monthly reports concerning their work in each unit. Most units were very sympathetic towards the scheme and supported the efforts to educate the men. Excellent results were also obtained at the driving and maintenance school during the intensive M.T. training programmes when large numbers of Cape Corps personnel were trained not only to drive and maintain their vehicles but also to read road signs and even in many cases to read and write fairly well.[129]

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126) Malherbe, *op. cit.*, pp. 406–7.

127) ED 18 (B21) Reports of Information Officers, 6 S.A. Armoured Division.

128) U.W.H. 159, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

129) U.W.H. 159, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

The following table gives an indication of the type of work done by the Information Officers attached to the 6 S.A. Armed. Division over a period of one year.[130)]

TABLE VI

INFORMATION OFFICER'S REPORT: JANUARY TO DECEMBER 1944: 6 S.A. ARMOURED DIVISION, SHOWING NUMBER OF LECTURES AND SUBJECTS HELD

Months Ending	Attendance	No. of Lectures	No. of Subjects
31 January	600	41	4
28 February	450	34	4
31 March	500	28	3
31 May	700	30	3
30 June	700	25	1
31 August	600	34	3
30 September	600	36	4
31 October	600	36	4
30 November	600	34	4
31 December	600	6	1

The drop in the number of lectures during December, was due to the fact that the men were required for other important duties. Attendances at these lectures were very encouraging as can be seen from the table. Topical and educational subjects were discussed and included the following:

Rôle of an Armoured Division.
The Axis War
The War against Japan.
The Coloured People
Dual Medium Education.

130) ED 18 (B21) Reports of the Information Officers of the 6 S.A. Armoured Division, January–December 1944.

The United States of America.
The German Propaganda Scheme.
War in Eastern Europe.
Co-operative Societies.
War Pensions.
Future Leadership of South Africa.
Industries in South Africa, and many others.

9.7.2 A.E.S. Publications

Various publications were issued by the AES with a view to assist the non-White soldier. Among these were the following:[131)]

(a) Study for the Soldier

This booklet was aimed at giving advice and information to the soldier who wanted to continue his studies. It dealt with:

Part I: The examination system in South Africa.
Part II: Correspondence Courses.
Part III: Vocational Guidance.

(b) Notes on Citizenship Courses

This little booklet was primarily issued to assist the coloured soldier to adapt to civilian life after demobilization.

(c) A Scheme of lessons for teaching Arithmetic

The purpose of this publication was to assist the night school teacher who had little or no experience as a teacher. The various sections were short, but an attempt was made to

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131) ED 18: Publications of the Army Education Scheme.

cover all the essential points connected with organisation principle and method in a practical manner.

(d) Non-European Pamphlet No. 10 – Alcohol

This pamphlet gave a detailed explanation of the dangers of alcohol.

Other publications included the following:[132)]

Basic politics.
South African politics.
Basic economics.
South Africa's resources.
International Affairs.
When we all get home.
Unit education handbook and study guide.
Statistical handbook.
Population problems.
Quiz book.
What the soldier thinks.

These booklets (20–30) pages, were vividly illustrated by means of diagrams and cartoons drawn by such famous cartoonists as Berry, Cross, Leyden and Vic Clapham.

A newsletter for Cape Corps soldiers called "Die Suikerbossie" was also published by the 6 South African Armoured Divisional Headquarters and met with favourable reception. Later the same Division produced a fortnightly newspaper called "Tafelberg Times" which carried information of special interest to coloured troops and also acted as medium of expression. The paper was controlled by an editorial committee consisting of four coloured soldiers and the white Information Officer of the Division.[133)]

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132) Malherbe, E.G., *Education in South Africa*, Vol. II 1923–1975, p. 409.

133) ED 18 (B22): Divisional Headquarters G.P. Reports. Report for month ending 31 December 1943.

9.7.3 The Army Correspondence Scheme

The Directorate of the N.E.A.S. made use of all the facilities that existed for non–Whites at Universities, Technical Colleges and other Vocational Institutions. It also made provision for actual training in industry or in a job. It must be remembered that in the first place admission of Cape Corps volunteers to universities and other educational institutions were in many cases limited, owing to South Africa's Segregated Policy, and secondly very few coloured soldiers qualified for admission to these institutions as a result of their poor standard of education.[134] Nevertheless a few teachers and other better qualified ex-volunteers made use of these facilities after demobilization.[135]

The Military Authorities also made provision for the needs of the ex-volunteer and his family during his period of training and included the following:

(a) Financial Assistance from the Commission of Pensions (in the case of pensionable volunteers).

(b) By the Department of Social Welfare; or

(c) under the Financial Assistance Scheme.

(d) In certain cases where assistance was not available from any other source, the National Readjustment Committee afforded assistance from a special fund which was administered by that Committee.[136]

The following procedure was laid down for ex Cape Corps personnel wishing to enrol at a university or other Professional Educational institution:

(a) A written application had to be submitted to the D.S.G. giving full details regarding, service, rank, and proposed course to be taken etc.

(b) A volunteer who intended to take up Government employment after obtaining his professional qualifications had to apply to the Public Service Commission within 6 months of his discharge from the Army, giving particulars of the course(s) proposed and stating when he would likely to be available.

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134) *Back to Civilian Life*, Information for the Cape Corps volunteer: Printed by U.D.F., p. 17.

135) Venter, Al J., *Coloured: A Profile of two million South Africans*, p. 270.

136) Back to Civilian Life, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

(c) A volunteer was also eligible for a loan up to the equivalent of R720 bearing 4 per cent interest one year after completion of his course.[137]

A number of training schemes was also arranged for the suitable training of volunteers. The main purpose was to equip them for every kind of civilian occupation. At large urban centres, arrangements were made with Technical Colleges and other recognized institutions which made provision for such training. This particular scheme was administered by the Discharged Soldiers and Demobilization Committee.[138]

It is quite evident that valiant efforts were made to overcome illiteracy among the coloured soldiers and the results were reasonably satisfactory. The efforts were justified and worth while as a considerable number of men were taught to read and write.

As a result of the success of both schemes there was a strong feeling among the troops that this sort of adult education should be carried on in civilian life. A large number of the Information Officers expressed their willingness to offer their services if called upon to do so. The Government, however, was unwilling to finance such a project.[139]

After the war a number of night schools were started in the larger urban areas throughout South Africa to promote literacy amongst the coloured and black communities. Many of the Information Officers assisted in organising these schools and actually joined the teaching staff.[140]

9.8 Non-White Prisoners of War

During the Middle East Campaign approximately four thousand non-White soldiers were taken prisoner. They consisted mostly of Native Military Corps personnel captured with the 2nd South African Division at the fall of Tobruk. Some Cape Corps soldiers were captured around Mersa Matruh during the general retreat from Tobruk to Alamein and

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137) Back to Civilian Life, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

138) *Ibid.*,

139) Malherbe, *op. cit.*, p. 414.

140) *Ibid.*,

also when the 5th S.A. Brigade was so badly battered during the epic battle of Sidi Rezegh in November 1941.[141)]

These prisoners were mostly employed on the docks and in hospitals in the larger centres in Africa. They had to work long hours and were generally very badly treated. Some managed to escape during the allied Air Forces' attack on the strategic points such as Tobruk, Derna, Benghazi and Tripoli.[142)]

9.9. Summary

During the Second World War (1939–1945), 45 000 coloured soldiers volunteered to serve their country. In 1942 the controversy regarding the arming of coloured soldiers was finally resolved when Cape Corps personnel were armed and received training in the use of fire-arms.

The shortage of white man-power in the Union Defence Force resulted in the implementation of the Dilution Policy whereby white units were diluted with non-White personnel. Cape Corps soldiers served in the Artillery Units, the Anti-Aircraft Units, the South African Air Force as ground hands, the South African Engine Corps, the South African Corps of Signals and the South African Veterinary Corps. They also excelled as MT drivers and mechanics during the East African, the Western Desert, the Middle East and the Italian Campaigns.

The Army Education Services made valiant efforts to combat the high illiteracy rate amongst the coloured soldiers with satisfactory results being achieved. Provision was also made for ex-volunteers to improve their educational standard through the Army Correspondence Scheme.

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141) U.W.H. 159: Record of N.E.A.S. 1939–1945, p. 55.
142) *Ibid.*,

CHAPTER 10

THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMES OF THE DIRECTORATE OF DEMOBILISATION

10.1 Purpose for establishing the Directorate of Demobilisation

10.1.1 The need to educate and train the discharged soldier

During World War II the Government of the Union of South Africa felt that an organisation had to be established to return demobilised soldiers to civilian life. The idea was probably prompted by the fact that there existed a strong desire by most soldiers who returned home to improve their education and training. This thirst for knowledge was a direct result of the South Africans' exposure to new innovations, cultures and histories with which they came to grips while on active service in north Africa and Europe.

The returning soldiers also realised that an educated person and a fully trained artisan had a better chance of establishing himself in commerce and industry than an illiterate, semi-skilled or unskilled labourer. Their years of active service (from 1 to 7 years) had resulted in their lagging behind their contemporaries who had equipped themselves academically and technically during this period and they therefore had to do something to make up for lost time.

10.1.2 The work of the Information Officers

During the war years (1939–1945) the soldiers' educational needs were catered for by the Information Officers who kept them informed through a variety of instructional courses, lectures and discussions. These courses were given to boost the morale of the soldiers and to make them aware of the cause they were fighting for. They were taught to look at situations critically and were encouraged to take up correspondence courses to improve their qualifications. A large number of soldiers responded by enrolling with colleges offering correspondence courses for Standards eight and ten and various commercial diplomas. Special postal facilities were introduced between the Union of South Africa and North Africa and Europe to cope with the large number of postal items handled between these points.

The work of the Information Officers was augmented by the introduction of the Army Education Services, which was started towards the end of the war and which continued to provide tuition to the soldiers waiting in the various military training camps to be sent back to the Union of South Africa after hostilities ceased in 1945.[1)]

Courses were held in various camps in Europe and Italy and proved to be very popular. The demand became so big, that a large number of applicants had to be turned away.

In 1944 a number of South African officers attended a course which was organised by the English Army Educational Corps. The purpose was to train them to organise similar courses for South African soldiers waiting to be sent home. The first course of the South African Army Education Services was held in February 1945 at the University of Perugia, Italy, under the auspices of the Army Educational Corps. The course lasted four weeks.[2)]

One of the most popular courses held during this time, was the one presented by the Army Education Services at Florence, Italy, from 21 May 1945 to September 1945. It was an extensive course and was attended by South African soldiers who intended completing a degree on their return to South Africa.

Students had to attend at least two lectures per day and the rest of the time they had to either work in the library or attend further lectures. They were encouraged to devote as much of their time supplementing their lectures with available material from the well-stocked library. The lecturers were professors comprising a number of different nationalities and included Americans, Italians, French and South Africans.

The courses presented at Florence made provision for a large number of students and consisted of a comprehensive syllabus which included:

(a) Italian Art and culture
(b) Drama
(c) Shorthand and typing

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1) Malherbe, E.G., *Never a dull moment,* p. 215.
2) De Vos Le Roux, A., *Die Direksie van Demobilisasie se Onderwysfasiliteite vir Oud-Vrywilligers,* p.4.

(d) A special course for Railway workers

(e) Anatomy

Lectures were also held to inform South African soldiers of the problems and difficulties they might encounter when returning home.[3)]

10.1.3 The role of the Union Education Department

Back home the authorities were busy planning various schemes to assist the ex-volunteer to adjust to civilian life. The Civil Re-employment Board in its annual report dated 1 February 1943 outlined a scheme whereby ex-volunteers wishing to continue their studies at a university would be assisted financially to do so. The financial assistance consisted of an annual grant of R100 and an interest free loan of R300 repayable over a period of 15 years and commencing two years after the completion of the proposed degree.[4)] Special grants were also available to universities to compensate for the erection of extra accommodation and equipment. The scheme was introduced in 1942 and was replaced by a revised scheme announced by the Minister of Welfare and Demobilisation in Parliament in April 1944 and which was implemented on the 3rd January 1945.[5)]

The minister appointed three sub-committees to assist with the administration of the scheme. The Advisory University Committee consisted of three university principals and five principals of University Colleges. Their main function was to advise the relevant authorities on policy matters relating to the admission of ex-volunteers to the various universities and University Colleges. The second was the Regional Committee which was instructed to screen all applications and to determine whether an applicant would be suitable academically to pursue a university course. The third was the Allocation Committee the main task of which was to make recommendations with regard to

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3) *Ibid.*, pp. 5–7.

4) *Second Annual Report of the Civil Re-employment Board*, p. 3 par. 60–63. The British currency system (sterling) in use at that time have been converted to the present South African currency system, i.e. two Rand (R2) = one pound (£1). In South Africa 100 cents is equal to one Rand R1).

5) *First Annual Report of the Directorate of Demobilisation, 1 April 1944 – 31 March 1945*, p. 15.

grants and loans to prospective candidates who had been selected and approved by the Regional Committee.

Applications had to be directed to the Union Education Department and had to be accompanied by the applicant's certificate of discharge. Under this scheme about 120 ex-volunteers were admitted to universities of their own choice. Applications from ex-volunteers were later, in consultation with the Secretary of Education, referred to the newly created Directorate of Demobilisation.[6)]

10.1.4 Composition and educational functions of the Directorate of Demobilisation

The Ministry of Welfare and Demobilisation came into being on the 20th August, 1943, with H.G. Lawrence as minister. On the 1st October, 1943, Major-General G.E. Brink was appointed Director-General of Demobilisation.[7)]

Prior to the establishment of the Directorate of Demobilisation, three organisations were primarily charged with the responsibility of dealing with the re-establishment of discharged volunteers in civilian life.

Firstly, there was the Civil Re-employment Board with terms of reference requiring it to enquire into and draft schemes for, and to recommend to the Government measures to provide for the re-absorption of men and women returning from active service to civil life. Its functions were advisory.

Secondly there was the National Re-adjustment Board, which was responsible for dealing with ex-volunteers whose physical or mental disability made it difficult for them to be in the community.

Thirdly, there were the Dispersal Depots under the Department of Defence, through which volunteers had to pass from the army into civil life.

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6) *Ibid.*, p. 3.
7) *Ibid.*, p. 1.

Linked with the Dispersal Depots were the Departments of Labour and Social Welfare, as well as re-employment committees which consisted mainly of persons associated with the Defence Liaison Organisation, all of whom had certain responsibilities in connection with the re-establishment of ex-volunteers.[8)]

These organisations were absorbed, with the exception of the Department of Labour and Social Welfare, by the Directorate of Demobilisation. The Directorate functioned under the Ministry of Welfare and Demobilisation as a separate Government Department, with executive in addition to advisory and co-ordinating powers.

Certain functions of the Directorate were carried out by an Executive Board with the Director-General of Demobilisation, Major-General G.E. Brink, as Chairman. The Board had the power to co-opt any Head of a Government Department whenever any matter affecting that Department and the interests of serving or ex-volunteers was under discussion. When co-opted, the Head of the Department acted as a member of the Board.

The functions of the Board were:

(a) The co-ordination of the work of all Government Departments insofar as the welfare and rehabilitation of ex-volunteers were concerned.

(b) To authorise all payments to be made to ex-volunteers under the Financial Assistance Scheme.

(c) To advise the Directorate of such matters as may be referred to it by the Director-General or by Heads of Departments.

Provision was also made for an Advisory Council to counsel the Directorate on matters of a general nature affecting the return to civil life of ex-volunteers. It was composed of representatives of the coloured and African Forces, of Commerce and Industry; in fact it provided a forum for the expression of views by all those sections of the community which had the welfare of the soldier at heart.

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8) *Debates of the House of Assembly, Vol. 49,* 28th April 1944.

The following sections functioned directly under the Director-General of Demobilisation:

(a) The Financial Advisor to the Directorate.
(b) The Accounts Section.
(c) The Co-ordination of Employment (Government Section).
(d) The Land and Agricultural Section.

The Re-adjustment Services Section functioned in close collaboration and co-operation with both the Military and Liaison and Re-instatement Wings.

The Re-adjustment Service Section's duties were restricted to the readjustment of disabled volunteers.

The Directorate was further divided into a Military Branch (M) and a Liaison and Re-instatement Branch (L and R).

The Military Branch was responsible for taking the volunteer over from the Army and for finalising his military service, while the Liaison and Re-instatement Branch was responsible for re-instating the ex-volunteer in civil life.

A further division in the Military Branch consisted of the following four main sections:

(a) Administration Section.
(b) Dispersal Depot Organisation.
(c) Dispersal Depot Inspectorate.
(d) Information and Intelligence Section.

The Liaison and Re-instatement Branch was also divided into the following six main sections:

(a) Financial Assistance Section.
(b) Co-ordination of Employment Section.
(c) Vocational Training, Education and Re-training Section.
(d) Vocational Guidance Section.

(e) Public Relation Section.

(f) Press Liaison, Publicity and Propaganda Section.

The Directorate was represented in every town in the Union, and also in London, by a Committee, namely the Discharged Soldiers and Demobilisation Committee.[9)]

The conditions pertaining to the Directorate of Demobilisation's educational assistance scheme is contained in the Directorate's First Annual Report.[10)] Ex-volunteers could study full time, part time or through a correspondence course at any university or technical college. The Directorate had no power to erect its own institutions but could use the facilities that existed at Universities, Technical Colleges, State or State-aided or other approved institutions.

Except for the above general regulations, the ex-volunteer had to comply with the following conditions:

(a) Volunteers who could return to their pre-enlistment employment but who had lost touch with their trade or profession through being on military service were eligible for refresher courses. Provision was made for ex-volunteers re-instated in their pre-war employment to apply for refresher courses or re-training.

(b) Ex-volunteers who were fit, but unwilling to return to their pre-war employment were not given vocational training to change their occupations, except under special conditions.

(c) Ex-volunteers who enlisted from school or university, and who had not previously been in employment, and had only general educational qualifications were assisted to undergo vocational training or education whether or not they acquired technical skill during their military service.

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9) D.G.D.20: Discharged Soldiers and Demobilisation Committee Circulars, No. 1 – First and Second Annual Reports of the Directorate.

10) *First Annual Report of the Directorate of Demobilisation, April 1944, March 1945.*

(d) Those who enlisted because they were unemployed, had no occupational qualifications, acquired none while on service, but who had made a good adjustment to service conditions were also assisted.

(e) Ex-volunteers with less than six month's service were not assisted unless they had served outside the Union or such assistance was considered justified.

(f) Ex-volunteers discharged "without benefits" were eligible for vocational training only in exceptional circumstances.

(g) No age limit was prescribed, but training was confined to ex-volunteers who, in the opinion of the Directorate, would benefit by it and who were otherwise eligible.

10.2 Central Organisation for Technical Training (C.O.T.T.)

10.2.1 Technical Training given to soldiers during the War

When war broke out in September 1939[11] South Africa experienced an acute shortage of skilled manpower especially in the technical field. It therefore became necessary for the authorities to embark upon a crash programme to train thousands of men and women as technicians and artisans to assist with the war effort. For this purpose the military authorities established the Central Organisation for Technical Training for the purpose of training soldiers for technical services, the airforce and the general war industries. Training centres were set up in all the major cities including Johannesburg, Pretoria, Germiston, Bloemfontein, Durban, Kimberley and was normally under the direct control of the head of the Technical College in that area or a military officer in the absence of a Technical College. Each course under this scheme lasted six months and by the end of 1942, ± 24,000 soldiers were trained.[12]

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11) World War 2. *A war fought from 1939 to 1945, in which Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union, the United States of America, and other allies defeated Germany, Italy, and Japan.*

12) De Vos Le Roux, A., *op. cit.*, p. 19.

The scheme was so successful, and it was proved that soldiers who took the six month course were in most cases just as competent as the apprentices with five years training. The reason for this was obvious. The soldiers were well motivated and showed a very keen interest in their training.

The military authorities agreed in principle to continue with the scheme after the War ended in 1945.

10.2.2 Training of artisans for the building industry

In view of the huge housing need and the acute shortage of artisans in the building industry which was highlighted by the publication of the annual report of the National Housing Commission in 1944, approval was given to the Directorate of Demobilisation in terms of the Housing (Emergency Powers) Act of 1945, to train 5 000 ex-volunteers as artisans for the building industry.[13] The following table shows the various trades and the number of white and coloured ex-volunteers required:[14]

TABLE VII

ARTISANS REQUIRED IN THE BUILDING AND ALLIED INDUSTRIES

Whites	Effective quote	Coloureds	Effective quote
Bricklayers	1660	Bricklayers	200
Carpenters	1550	Bricklayers/Plasterer	100
Electricians	300	Plasterers	60
Painters	320	Carpenters	50
Plumbers	370	Bricklayers/Plasterers for Country districts	100
Plasterers	310	Painters	50
TOTAL	4510	Total	560

13) *Second Annual Report of the Directorate of Demobilisation 1 April 1945–31 March 1946*, p. 11., par. 153.

14) D.G.D. 20, Circulars Volume A; *Quarterly Report* 1.4.46–30.6.46, p. 48.

The existing institutions could not cope with the training of artisans for the building industry. The Union Education Department, therefore, in the interest of the country, took over this responsibility from the Central Organisation for Technical Training. Whereas for the duration of the War, the C.O.T.T. was the responsibility of the Director-General of Stock (D.G.S.), it was now attached to the Union Education Department and the Directorate of Demobilisation.

The National Advisory Committee for Vocational Training was given the task of investigating and reporting on suitable sites where training schools for the building industry could be established. As a result of their report and recommendations training centres were erected at Milner Park (Johannesburg), Port Elizabeth, Durban and Ottery in the Cape for ex-volunteers of the Cape Corps.[15)]

10.2.3 Training of coloured ex-volunteers at Ottery

The Ottery Road Camp in Cape Town, near Wynberg, was made available for the training of coloured ex-volunteers. The centre was opened in March 1946. Various trades and occupations were catered for.

The following table indicates some of the courses offered, the effective quotes and the number of successful candidates who completed the courses.

TABLE VIII
COURSES, QUOTES AND NUMBER OF SUCCESSFUL TRAINEES AT OTTERY

Course[16)]	Quote[17)]	Totals who completed course
Carpenters	50	52
Bricklayers	200	88
Bricklayers/Plasterers	150	115
Painters	60	52
Blacksmiths	18	18
Chefs	40	10
Waiters	200	56
Shoemakers	44	44
Tailors	25	24
TOTAL	787	459

15) *Report and Recommendations of the National Advisory Committee on Vocational Training for Ex-volunteers dd. 20.12.44*, p. 5.
16) *Discharged Soldiers and Demobilisation Committee Circular No. 133 dd. 24.6.46*, p. 2, par 3.
17) *D.G.D. Circular No. 220* dd. 14.2.46.

Courses were also given in the motor and allied industry which included pedal cycle mechanics, car and truck drivers with a knowledge of running repairs. In addition training was given in commercial occupations to clerks, shorthand typists and storemen.

The conditions and regulations for training coloured ex-volunteers as carpenters, bricklayers, plasterers and painters, were the same as for the white ex-volunteers and can be summarised as follows: [18)]

The Practical training was given under the Central Organisation of Technical Training (C.O.T.T.) and the theoretical training under the Technical Colleges. The first period of training lasted from eight to sixteen weeks for bricklayers, plasterers and painters and was given at the workshop at Ottery. The second period of training lasted from eight to twelve weeks and was given "on the job" under C.O.T.T. instructors.

On completion of their training ex-volunteers were sent back to their home towns provided employment was available for them there, and they received the same wages as white trainees i.e. 20 cents per hour, rising every six months by $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per hour, plus the prevailing cost of living allowance.

At the end of a maximum period of three years each trainee became a qualified artisan provided he passed the final trade test. An important provision, however, was that trainees could on application to the Divisional Inspector of Labour be trade tested at any time during this three year period. When a trainee succeeded in satisfying the examiners that he was capable of performing the work of a registered artisan, he was from that date paid the minimum artisan's rates of pay applicable to the particular trade and the prevailing wages in the area concerned.

It was obvious that ex-volunteers who have had technical training and experience in the U.D.F., could qualify in a lesser period than three years depending on their keenness, ability and skill. Trainees who failed to make satisfactory progress during the 32 hour week intensive practical training period under the C.O.T.T. and the 8 hours additional

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18) *Ibid.*

theoretical training period at a Technical College, and who failed the trade tests were returned to their Dispersal Depots to be found employment at some other occupation for which they were more suited.

Lastly, the Divisional Inspector of Labour, on behalf of this Department, assumed responsibility for trainees for the Building Industry when they had satisfactorily completed the intensive training course.

As far as the educational standard was concerned, ex-volunteers had to possess the educational standard necessary for apprenticeship, i.e. Standard Six.Exemptions from the educational qualifications could be granted in exceptional circumstances by the Selection Committee. Alternatively, in cases where candidates had not quite reached the desired standard, they were required to attend special classes and had to pass an examination before completing their training.[19)]

The courses for cooks, waiters and tailors were more of a practical nature and the educational requirements were not as strict as was the case with the building and allied industries. Trainees were however, strictly selected on appearance, neatness and literacy; in other words they were expected to at least be able to read and write simple sentences.

An intensive course for shoemakers was offered which lasted six months and included all aspects of shoemaking and shoe repairs. They were also taught to manufacture leather items such as handbags and suitcases. On completing their course, they were assisted financially by the Directorate through their local Discharge Soldiers and Demobilisation Committee to start their own business.

The training of cooks at Ottery also proved very successful and lasted for six months, after which they were employed in hotels through the Department of Labour.

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19) *Discharge Soldiers and Demobilisation Committee Circular No. 133, dd. 24.6.46,* p. 2, par. 2.

The blacksmiths who qualified could not find employment because of the attitude of the white controlled union for blacksmiths who were against the employment of coloureds for this particular trade.[20)]

10.2.4 Financial Assistance to Trainees[21)]

Training was financed by means of the R300 grant available to coloured ex-volunteers. Such grants were paid into a pool as was done in the case of grants for white ex-volunteers. During the intensive training period a subsistence allowance of R21 per month for men with no dependents and R27 per month for men with one or more full dependent(s) was paid.

Ex-volunteers with more than one full dependent could apply to the local branch of the Governor-General's National War Fund for additional assistance, but such applications were to be finalised before the applicant was sent to Ottery. Furthermore trainees with one or more full dependent(s) had to sign a document stating that they would allot R15 per month to such dependent(s). The payment of these allotments to dependents were made through the Accountant of the Cape Technical College.

The cost of board and lodging at the Training Centre was R9,50 per month and trainees could at the discretion of the Camp Manager, live out of camp.

The above financial assistance amounted to three fifths of that paid to white ex-volunteers.

10.2.5 Extended training for trainees in the building industry

Many trainees who qualified as builders and plasterers at the various training centres, found themselves unemployed as a result of a shortage of building material and the difficulties in obtaining building permits. This situation had a very demoralizing effect on the ex-volunteers which prompted the Department of Labour in collaboration with the

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20) *Ibid.*
21) *D.G.G. Circular No. 220 dd. 14.2.46*, pp. 5–6.

Directorate to investigate the problem and take the necessary steps to remedy the situation. This resulted in the Directorate issuing a directive on 24 March 1947 making it compulsory for trainees to enrol for an advance course on the completion of their basic training, until they could be placed in suitable employment by the Divisional Inspectorate of the Department of Labour. Trainees who failed the trade test after completing the initial training did not qualify for the advance course and were placed in suitable employment by the Department of Labour.[22)]

Although a fairly large number of coloured ex-volunteers were trained in the building industry, a larger number could not be accommodated for reasons which was explained in a publication issued by the Directorate on the 14 February 1947.[23)]

Some of the reasons advanced were: the shortage of materials and equipment, restricted intake for training, lack of interest in the building industry due to the long delays in training after selection and the attitude of the Deparment of Labour in the selection of trainees.

Despite these difficulties, the scheme was a tremendous success in view of the fact that a large number of artisans were trained for the building trade and in this way hundreds of ex-volunteers were employed thereby contributing once more to the economy and well being of their country.

10.3 Apprenticeship

10.3.1 Assistance for apprenticeship training

In an address to Parliament on the 28 April 1944, the Minister of Welfare and Demobilisation announced that provision would also be made for ex-volunteers requiring training and or undergoing apprenticeship for skilled trades. These skills were defined by the Executive Board in consultation with the authorities concerned.[24)]

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22) *D.G.D. Circular, No. 335*, p. 1. par. 1, 2 and 4.
23) *A History of the C.O.T.T. Training Scheme*, p. 1., par. 1–2.
24) *Debates of the House of Assembly, Vol. 49*, April 1944, p. 17.

The same rules and conditions applied to ex-volunteers undergoing apprenticeship training as those for civilians. They had to attend classes at a Technical College and their employers were responsible for tuition fees, while they could apply to the Directorate of Demobilisation for financial assistance for books and instruments.[25] Additional financial assistance was also available for tools and a bicycle. The total financial assistance (except trainees falling under the "Pool Scheme") was restricted to R500.[26]

10.3.2 Conditions regarding the allocation of trainees undergoing apprenticeship training

Ex-volunteer apprentices could be divided into three categories. Firstly there were those ex-volunteers whose apprenticeship was interrupted by the war and who on being discharged wished to continue where they left off. Secondly the number of ex-volunteers who acquired some basic skills during their military service in a particular trade. Even with no technical experience they could apply for apprenticeship in a trade of their own choice. The last group however, had to complete the full five years of apprenticeship except for the normal 12 months exemption period applicable to all ex-volunteers. Candidates in the first two categories had to do a trade test in order to determine in which year of their apprenticeship they should be placed.

Following representations from the Directorate, the Department of Labour set up a National Trade Testing Board in terms of the Soldier's and War Worker's (Employment) Act of 1944. The Registrar of Apprenticeship was appointed Chairman while the Directorate, the C.O.T.T. and the Union Education Department were each allowed one representative on this Board. The employers and employees of the various trades for which testing was provided, were also represented on the Board. This Board fixed the standard of the tests for the various trades.

Standards were fixed for most trades and arrangements for trade testing for the Certificate of Competency were completed.[27]

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25) *D.G.D. Circular No. 222 dd. 24.2.46*, p. 2, par. 8.
26) *Circular, Chairman Discharged Soldiers and Demobilisation Committee, No. 137, dated 22.7.46*, p. 5, par. 8.
27) *Second Annual Report of the Directorate of Demobilisation 1 April 1945–31 March, 1946*, p. 12, par. 171.

By arrangements with the Department of Labour as well as the Industrial Councils and Apprenticeship Committees, the Directorate established a satisfactory method for determining the amount of remission in the period of apprenticeship to be awarded to an ex-volunteer who failed to achieve the Certificate of Competency. In such a case, the Employment Wing of a Dispersal Depot arranged with the Industrial Council and the Apprenticeship Committee for an ex-volunteer to be placed with a prospective employer for a month to be tested "on the job" while remaining on the strength of a dispersal depot.

After the test period the employer and the foreman of the workshop forwarded a confidential report to the Employment Wing of the Depot. This report and another giving the ex-volunteer's record of service in the army were handed to the Apprenticeship Committee, who decided on the recommendation of the employer, the period of remission of apprenticeship to be granted to the ex-volunteer. The decision was then confirmed by the Registrar of Apprenticeship of the Department of Labour.[28)]

10.3.3 Trades open for Apprenticeship

A large number of ex-volunteers, both coloured and white, made good use of the opportunities which the Directorate made available to them to accept apprenticeship in all the designated trades. The members of the Cape Corps who served mostly as drivers during the war and who were instructed in the maintenance of army vehicles, found the opportunity to be apprenticed as mechanics very attractive. A few were also trained as printers, metal workers, cabinetmakers and for trades in the textile industry.[29)]

The following table indicates the employment statistics for the Cape Corps as reflected in the Second Annual Report of the Directorate of Demobilisation.[30)]

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28) *Ibid.*, p. 12, par. 172–174.
29) *Circular, Chairman Discharged Soldiers and Demobilisation Committee No. 169, dated, 2 January 1947.*
30) *Second Annual Report of the Director of Demobilisation, p.37.*

TABLE IX

EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS – CAPE CORPS, MARCH 1946

Occupational Groups	Number
Mining Occupations	30
Metal Workers	382
Cabinet makers	523
Builders	125
Textile Workers	996
Mechanics	589
Undefined (including Printing)	366
TOTAL	3011

Circular No. 250 dated 2 May 1946 outlined the procedures to be followed by apprentices applying for financial assistance. The following additional information had to be submitted with the application form:

(a) The name and address of the employer
(b) Date of commencement of apprenticeship
(c) Duration of apprenticeship
(d) Date of re-instatement
(e) Remission granted in lieu of military service
(f) Phase of apprenticeship (1st, 2nd, 3rd etc. year)
(g) Present wage
(h) Present cost of living allowance
(i) Contract number
(j) Amount already paid out by the Dispersal Depot

The application form and the additional information was submitted to the Divisional Inspector of Labour for scrutiny before being sent to the Directorate.[31]

31) *D.G.D. Circular No. 250 dd. 2.5.46,* p. 2, par. 5–6.

An apprentice earning a wage and cost of living allowance in excess of R50 per month and who therefore did not qualify for assistance from the "Pool Scheme" could apply for a maintenance grant subject to the number of his dependents as set out in the following table:

TABLE X

MAINTENANCE GRANTS AVAILABLE TO APPRENTICES NOT QUALIFYING FOR ASSISTANCE FROM THE POOL SCHEME[32)]

Service	Wage
a) Up to 2 years Service	
With 2 dependents	R51,00 per month
With 3 dependents	R54,00 per month
With 4 dependents	R57,00 per month
With 5 dependents	R60,00 per month
b) More than 2 years service but less than 3 years service	
With 4 dependents	R57,00 per month
With 5 dependents	R60,00 per month
c) More than 3 years service	
No further support from the Directorate	

In May 1946 it was decided to extend the financial aid applicable to apprentices to other trainees as well. The scales and regulations were the same.[33)]

32) *Circular, Chairman, D.S.D.C. No. 137, dated 22.7.46*, p. 2, par. 6.
33) *D.G.D. Circular No. 260 dd. 6 May 1946.*

10.4 Technical Education for ex-volunteers

10.4.1 Technical Colleges

Besides the number of trainee learners, and apprentices who qualified as artisans by studying part-time at Technical Colleges, a fairly large number was enrolled for full time courses at approved Technical Colleges throughout the country. Coloured ex-volunteers were, however only admitted to Technical Colleges in the Cape Province and Natal.

The Directorate, through their Vocational Guidance Officers, encouraged ex-volunteers to study only through institutions registered with the Union Education Department.[34)]

It is however impossible to tabulate all the courses which ex-volunteers took to assist them to rehabilitate to civilian life and to secure promotion opportunities for them. Statistical analysis is further complicated due to the fact that courses offered included general educational courses, commercial and technical courses given on a part-time and full time basis.

The most popular courses, judging from enrolment figures, which did not distinguish the racial break down, included courses in general education from Standard 6 to Matriculation, the Police and Railway Police Promotion Examination, tailoring, art and commercial art. The popular commercial courses included shorthand, typing, bookkeeping and N.T.C. I, II and III.[35)]

The following table reflects the approximate number of students enrolled at the Technical Colleges as at the end of March 1947. Those Colleges who admitted coloureds are shown with an asterisk.[36)]

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34) *First Annual Report of the Directorate of Demobilisation 1 April, 1944 to 31st March 1945*, p. 42.
35) *N.T.C. I, II and III: National Technical Certificate, I, II, & III.*
36) De Vos Le Roux, A., *op. cit.*, p. 74.

TABLE XI

EX-VOLUNTEER STUDENTS ENROLLED AT TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

Technical College	Approximate Numbers
Witwatersrand	3000
Cape Town	800*
Natal (Durban)	500*
East London	400
Port Elizabeth	400*
Pretoria	150
Pietermaritzburg	75*
Orange Free State (Bloemfontein)	50
Kimberley	20*
TOTAL	5395

The Technical Colleges could cope with the extra students without actually requiring additional classroom accommodation. Classes were arranged in such a way that students had no difficulty in attending lectures. Additional lecturers on a part-time basis were employed by the Union Education Department. These part-time lecturers were paid from a subsidy which the government made available specifically for this purpose. For every R4 an ex-volunteer paid in fees, the government paid R4,50 which had to cover all the expenses incurred by ex-volunteers.[37)]

10.4.2 Correspondence Colleges

All ex-volunteers were eligible to apply for financial assistance to take a course of study by correspondence regardless of the applicant's state of employment. Several members of the Cape Corps made use of this scheme and enrolled for correspondence courses.[38)]

37) De Vos Le Roux, A., *op. cit.*, p. 75.
38) *D.G.D. 12, Circular No. 164*, p. 3.

Several correspondence courses were also offered by the Technical Colleges especially by the Witwatersrand Technical College, but most Cape Corps members preferred to study through one of the many Correspondence Colleges established throughout the country.

The following table shows the approximate numbers of students enrolled for courses at the five main Correspondence Colleges at that time. Again no racial break down is available from available records as at the end of March 1947:[39]

TABLE XII

EX-VOLUNTEERS ENROLLED WITH CORRESPONDENCE COLLEGES AS AT THE END OF MARCH 1947

College	Approximate Number
Rapid Results	± 900
S.A. Tutors	± 900
School of Accountancy	± 700
Trans-Afrikaans K. Kollege	± 400
Harris Freedman	± 200
TOTAL	3100

Members of the Cape Corps availed themselves of this opportunity as is evident from the financial assistance schedules. On the 16 May 1946 an amount of R94,60 was approved to Sergeant J. Manjaya (C 274483) from Durban to complete his Senior Certificate through correspondence, and an amount of R300 was awarded to Private E. Theys (C 568360) spread over three years to complete standards VI, VII and the Junior Certificate through a correspondence college.[40]

39) De Vos Le Roux, A., *op. cit.*, p. 81.
40) *D.G.D. 39: Schedule B.60.* Financial Assistance received by members of the Cape Corps.

The Directorate often had to settle disputes between the colleges and ex-volunteers who for some reason or other discontinued their courses. As a result of these problems the Directorate issued a circular calling on ex-volunteers to register either with the University of South Africa's External study Division, which made provision for correspondence courses up to matriculation level or with a Correspondence College registered with the Union Education Department.[41)]

Private Correspondence Colleges, however, appealed to the Directorate to allow ex-volunteers to enroll with them. The Directorate in a circular dated 29 January 1947 approved on condition that these colleges subjected themselves to an inspection by the Directorate and they had to submit half-yearly progress reports on ex-volunteers who received financial assistance from the Directorate.[42)]

10.5 University Education

When the Directorate of Demobilisation was formed, three committees, appointed by the Minister of Education, were concerned with University training schemes for non-disabled ex-volunteers. They were:[43)]

(a) The University Advisory Committee, which consisted of three heads of Universities and five heads of University Colleges, whose main function was to advise the authorities concerned on matters of policy connected with the absorption of ex-volunteers into Universities;

(b) Regional Committees, whose functions were to examine an applicant's academic qualifications in relation to his proposed course of study and to determine if he should be admitted to a University; and

(c) The Awarding Committee, which decided on the amount of financial assistance within the prescribed limits to be granted to an ex-volunteer applicant.

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41) *Circular, Chairman, D.S.D.C. 155 dd.* 21.10.46.
42) *Circular, Chairman, D.S.D.C. 175,* dd. 29.1.47, p.1., par. 1–5.
43) *First Annual Report of the Directorate of Demobilisation* p. 42.

At that time, financial assistance for ex-volunteers who were accepted for a course of study by the Union Department of Education was by way of a grant of up to R100 a year and a loan of R300 a year (free of interest and repayable over a maximum period of 15 years, commencing two years after completion of a course). This scheme was introduced in 1942 and remained in force until 3 January, 1945, when the amended scheme (announced by the Minister of Welfare and Demobilisation in the House of Assembly in April 1944)[44] went into operation. Under this scheme, an ex-volunteer could be assisted by a grant not exceeding R500 and a loan of up to R1200 (bearing 4 per cent interest from one year after completion of a course and repayable within a maximum period of 15 years). It was decided that if the amounts under this scheme were insufficient, the applicant might be assisted under the Financial Assistance Scheme, that is a grant of R500, a loan of R2500 or a combination of both. Further financial assistance could also be obtained by ex-volunteers from the Governor General's National War Fund.

Universities co-operated fully with the Directorate to assist ex-volunteers to continue their University training. Intensive vacation classes were established where ex-volunteers were assisted by lectures to overcome any difficulties which they may have experienced with their studies.[45]

10.5.1 Ex-Volunteers who qualify for University Training

Ex-volunteers who qualified for university training were normally divided into two groups. The first group consisted of ex-volunteers who:

(a) interrupted their studies to enlist,

(b) enlisted immediately on passing the Matriculation Examination,

(c) after obtaining their Matriculation Certificate had to take employment because they were too young to enlist and who in fact later enlisted,

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44) *Debates of the House of Assembly, Vol. 49,* 28 April 1944.
45) Training and Employment Series No. 4: *University and Professional Training for Ex-volunteers,* p. 2, par. 4. (Issued by the Directorate of Demobilisation)

(d) failed the Matriculation Examination and later enlisted. Ex-volunteers in this category were eligible to enrol at University providing those who did, and did not have the necessary qualifications, obtained an Exemption Certificate from the Joint Matriculation Board.

Group two consisted of ex-volunteers who had previously studied full time at a University. In other words persons who already held a degree. They could be considered for a loan. Ex-volunteers who after their military training and service were desirous of changing their vocations through university study, were also considered. Each case was, however, considered on merit.

Not many Cape Corps members actually qualified for university study. It is however interesting to note that Corporal L.G. Orange (C 285485) of Upington received R203,50 to complete a Bachelor of Science degree at the University of Cape Town and C.H. Rolleston (C 584427) was also assisted financially to complete a degree.[46)]

10.5.2 Assistance to teachers and Ministers of religion

The Directorate was very keen to recruit ex-volunteers for the teaching profession in view of the shortage of teachers in the Union of South Africa. Even before demobilisation, the Union Education Department in co-operation with the Directorate of Demobilisation sent a representative to the war zone in 1946 to encourage volunteers to become teachers on leaving the army.

There are no indications of how successful this campaign was, but one has to presume that a few ex-volunteers were persuaded to make teaching a career on being discharged from military service. The same financial considerations as those offered to University students applied to prospective student teachers.[47)]

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46) D.G.D. 39: *Schedule B.60: Financial assistance received by members of the Cape Corps.*

47) Teacher Training Bursary Scheme.

Several members of the Cape Corps were allowed to qualify as teachers after Standard 8 and 10. The course lasted two years and on completion they were employed by the various provincial education departments. Of the hundred and twenty eight Cape Corps members who qualified as teachers, 89 were employed by the Cape Education Department, 37 by the Natal Provincial Education Department and 2 by the Transvaal Education Department.[48] Similar financial assistance was also available to members of the Cape Corps who wanted to become ministers of religion. A few ex-volunteers made use of this opportunity.

10.6 Readjustment Services

The Directorate of Demobilisation did not concern itself exclusively with the ex-volunteer who was healthy in body and mind, but its educational and training facilities were extended to disabled ex-volunteers as well. It was immaterial whether the disabilities were caused as a result of the war. The main purpose was to ensure that every ex-volunteer received the necessary education and training to enable him to adapt to civilian life.

10.6.1 The National Readjustment Board for invalid soldiers

The National Readjustment Board for invalid soldiers was established in March 1942 under the chairmanship of the then Director-general of Medical Services with the sole purpose of assisting the invalid ex-volunteer to adjust to civilian life.[49]

The Board was an autonomous body responsible only to the Secretary of Defence and the expenditure was debited to the Defence account. The Board worked in close co-operation with the Medical Directorate of the Union Defence Force because it was at the military hospitals that contact was first made with the disabled soldier.

The Readjustment Board arranged for disabled ex-volunteers to receive occupational therapy while in hospital. Through this effort the disabled ex-volunteer was not only

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48) D.G.D. 299: Ex-volunteers (Coloured) employed by the education departments in the four provinces of the Union of South Africa.

49) *First Annual Report of the Directorate of Demobilisation*, p. 35 par. 530 and 531.

productively busy with arts and crafts, handwork and academic studies, but physically the patients were able to record good progress. Patients' needs were established by the Readjustment Officers who regularly visited military hospitals. Individual programmes were then devised by these officers to suit the needs of individual ex-volunteers.

The National Readjustment Board was responsible for providing occupational therapy to disabled soldiers in military hospitals up to June 1944, when this services was transferred to the Directorate of Medical Services on the instructions of the Minister of Defence.[50]

10.6.2 The National Readjustment Committee for invalid ex-volunteers

Soon after the Directorate of Demobilisation was established in February 1944, the Readjust Board was attached to it. The work of the Readjustment Board was later transferred to a Readjustment Committee which functioned under the auspices of the Readjustment Services Section.

The Readjustment Committee was composed in such a manner that it was able to work in close co-operation with the Directorate of Demobilisation and other state departments the primary aim of which was to assist the invalid ex-volunteers to adjust to civilian life. The Secretary of Social Welfare and Pensions, Mr. G.A.C. Kuischke, was the Committee's first Chairman and Mr. A.A. Roberts (Secretary of Education) was a member.[51]

As already stated, the function of the Readjustment Services Section of the Directorate was to assist disabled volunteers and ex-volunteers by means of special measures, where the normal measures of the Demobilisation Scheme did not suffice to adjust them to civilian life. In respect of their readjustment in the community disabled volunteers and ex-volunteers were divided into three groups:[52]

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50) *Ibid.*, p. 35, par 532–535.
51) *Ibid.*, p. 35, par 540–542.
52) *Second Annual Report, Directorate of Demobilisation Services*, p. 14, par. 225.

(a) Those who could return to the ordinary labour market.

(b) Those who in consequence of their disability were incapable of returning to the ordinary labour market, but who were capable of worthwhile remunerative employment under sheltered conditions.

(c) Those wholly incapable of employment who require institutional or domiciliary care.

Special provision was made for those who, as a result of their disability, were prevented from returning to their pre-enlistment employment or from taking up other suitable employment. Such special vocational training for the disabled ex-volunteer was provided entirely at State expense, regardless of the duration of the course.[53)]

The adjustment of volunteers to civilian life was usually achieved by adopting various measures. In the case of group (a) by placement in work in the ordinary labour market without special training or after special vocational training. Group (b) by admission to a settlement for the semi-fit or to urban sheltered employment projects or to community centres for tuberculotics and epileptics or to sheltered employment projects for alcoholics which combined treatment with employment or they were sent to the National Employment Training Corps. Patients classified under group (c) were admitted to settlements for the unfit or to institutions for permanent care such as mental hospitals, chronic sick homes, or other institutions for disabled soldiers, or they were awarded a war veteran's pension, part of which had to be used for their boarding and lodging. Provision was also made for a disabled soldier's wife and dependents in terms of the Children's Act.[54)]

10.6.3 Sheltered Employment for invalid ex-volunteers

Invalid ex-volunteers were at liberty to make use of all the educational and training schemes which the Directorate of Demobilisation had to offer. In addition, the Readjustment Committee offered three vocational training schemes for disabled soldiers.

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53) *Ibid.*, par. 227.
54) *Second Annual Report. Directorate of Demobilisation.* p. 15, par. 226(c).

Firstly training could be given as provided in Article 12 of Act No. 44 of 1942. This scheme was open only to disabled soldiers who received a military pension and certain conditions applied as the costs involved were borne by the Commissioner of Pensions. The scheme made provision for an ex-volunteer to receive financial assistance to pursue a course of study of his own choice subject to the following maximum amounts.[55)]

TABLE XIII

MAINTENANCE GRANTS AVAILABLE TO DISABLED EX-VOLUNTEERS PURSUING A COURSE OF STUDY AT AN INSTITUTION

	Allowance available to ex-volunteers	Allowance available to wife	Children's allowance
Whites	R400 per annum	R60 per annum	R60 per annum per child
Coloured	R150 per annum	R24 per annum	R20 per annum per child
African	R100 per annum	R18 per annum	R12 per annum per child

An Alternative Training Scheme was also available for non-pensioners and disabled ex-volunteers who did not qualify for the first scheme. Students trained under this scheme received the following allowances:

TABLE XIV

ALLOWANCE PAID TO EX-VOLUNTEERS UNDER THE ALTERNATE TRAINING SCHEME

	Allowance available to ex-volunteers	Allowance available to wife	Children's allowance
Whites	R300 per annum	R50 per annum	R60 per child per annum
Coloureds	R150 per annum	R24 per annum	R20 per child per annum
Africans	R100 per annum	R18 per annum	R12 per child per annum

55) *The functions and Powers of the National Readjustment Board for disabled soldiers*, p. 4, par 19.

The maximum amounts available under the Alternate Training Scheme was R480 per annum for Whites, R364 per annum for Coloureds and R142 per annum for Africans. Provision was thus made for the payment of allowances for only three dependents of a student, as well as the tuition fees, costs of books and equipment which the student needed for his studies.[56]

The Readjustment Services Committee also administered a special Fund to which the South African Women's Auxiliary Service (S.A.W.A.S.) and the Sons of England were the main contributors. The fund was used to assist borderline cases who did not qualify under the two main schemes. Selections were strictly done on merit.[57]

The Readjustment Committee made extensive use of existing facilities at Universities, Technical Colleges and other established institutions. Special arrangements were made with regard to apprenticeship training. The following table gives an indication of the number of ex-volunteers who were assisted by the three schemes and the total financial assistance they received.

TABLE XV

NUMBER OF DISABLED EX-VOLUNTEERS ASSISTED BY THE THREE SCHEMES[58]

	Section 12 Act No. 44	Alternate Scheme	Special Fund	Total
Total No. of Students	109	1027	625	1761
Costs	R132114	R198768	R24774	R355656

56) *The functions and powers of the National Readjustment Board for disabled soldiers*, p. 4, par. 19.
57) *First Annual Report of Directorate of Demobilisation*, p. 54, par 551 and 552.
58) *Third Annual Report of the Civil Re-employment Committee.*

10.6.4 The National Board for Sheltered Employment

The National Board for Sheltered Employment was set up by the Minister of Welfare and Demobilisation in October 1944. The Board had to provide suitable employment under sheltered conditions for disabled ex-volunteers who, as a result of mental and physical disability, were incapable of holding employment in the open labour market but who were capable of worthwhile remunerative employment under sheltered conditions.

Centres for such sheltered employment were referred to as projects. Initial difficulty in finding accommodation and equipment were the two most pressing problems. This was later remedied when the Board acquired permanent accommodation for projects in the larger centres.

At the end of March 1945, four projects had been approved and were in operation, namely one for coloured ex-volunteers in Cape Town; one for whites in Johannesburg; one for whites and coloureds and Africans in Pietermaritzburg; and a community centre for white epileptics at Craighall, near Johannesburg.[59)]

Since April 1945, the following additional projects have been approved and most of them were operating successfully:

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59) *Second Annual Report of the Directorate of Demobilisation*, p. 15, par. 231–234.

TABLE XVI

ADDITIONAL PROJECTS IN OPERATION BY APRIL 1945[60)]

	Centre		Race group(s)
(a)	Cape Town	(i)	for white ex-volunteers
		(ii)	a second project for coloured ex-volunteers
(b)	Port Elizabeth	(i)	for coloured ex-volunteers
		(ii)	for white and coloured ex-volunteers
(c)	East London	(i)	for white ex-volunteers
(d)	Kimberley	(i)	for white ex-volunteers
		(ii)	for coloured ex-volunteers
(e)	Johannesburg	(i)	for white ex-volunteers (more particularly nervous and mental cases)
		(ii)	for coloured ex-volunteers
		(iii)	for African ex-volunteers
(f)	Pretoria		for white ex-volunteers
(g)	Bloemfontein		for white ex-volunteers
(h)	Durban		for white ex-volunteers
(i)	Potchefstroom		for white ex-volunteers

The total number of ex-volunteers trained at the various centres under these schemes is given in the following table:

60) *Ibid.*, par. 235

TABLE XVII

NUMBER OF EX-VOLUNTEERS AT SHELTERED EMPLOYMENT CENTRES AS AT 31 MARCH 1946[61]

Controlling Body	Whites	Coloureds	Africans	Total
Industries for ex-volunteers (Johannesburg)	124	–	–	124
Municipal Social Welfare Section (Johannesburg)	45	–	–	45
Rand Epileptic Employment Association	22	–	–	22
Industries for ex-volunteers (Durban)	7	–	3	10
Industries for ex-volunteers (Pietermaritzburg)	27	14	3	44
Industries for ex-volunteers (Pretoria)	59	–	–	59
S.A. Legion of the B.E.S.L. (Bloemfontein)	16	–	–	16
Association for Sheltered Employment (East London)	13	–	–	13
Industries for ex-volunteers (Kimberley)	30	–	–	30
Industries for ex-volunteers (Cape Town)	58	58	–	111
TOTAL	396	93	6	495

The Readjustment Services of the Directorate operated through its 30 regional officers, known as Demobilisation Readjustment Officers, stationed in the major cities of the Union of South Africa. Their main function was to visit patients in military hospitals and to draw up a programme for their readjustment to civilian life. They also had to exercise

62) *Second Annual Report of the Directorate of Demobilisation*, p. 40.

aftercare over those volunteers who had been discharged from the army and needed further assistance as well as those who had broken down in the community in consequence of disabilities and who needed further or renewed assistance. Finally they had to control admission to sheltered employment projects, and, in conjunction with the local Advisory Committee of the National Board for Sheltered Employment, supervised local sheltered employment projects and assisted them.[62)]

The work of the Readjustment Services was not only necessary as far as the disabled ex-volunteer was concerned, but is proved to be of great value to South Africa. Through its various programmes and financial assistance the disabled ex-volunteer was trained and educated to be an asset rather than a liability to the State.

10.7 Summary

On Friday, April 28, 1944, the Minister of Welfare and Demobilisation, Mr. H.G. Lawrence, announced in the House of Assembly the Government's demobilisation plans.

The Directorate of Demobilisation was later established to function under the Ministery of Welfare and demobilisation as a separate Government Department, with executive in addition to advisory and co-ordinating powers.

The Directorate was responsible for allocating monetary benefits such as war gratuities and civilian clothing grants, and made provision for post-discharge employment for all classes of ex-soldiers. Financial assistance to re-establish the soldier in civilian life was one of the major functions of the Directorate. Thousands of ex-volunteers were thus assisted to improve their professional, vocational or technical training at a recognised university or technical college. The scheme made a valiant effort to educate and train the disabled soldier as well.

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62) *Second Annual Report of the Directorate of Demobilisation*, p. 15, par. 238.

CHAPTER 11

THE PRESENT CAPE CORPS

11.1 The Post War Period 1946–1962

Much valuable work was done by the *Education Corps* and the *Army Educational Correspondence Scheme* during the Second World War. Inevitably, however, many men questioned the value of their training on returning to South Africa. They pointed out that because of the segregated laws of South Africa, no matter what qualifications they gained, they could not be promoted to officer level. The position was the same in the private sector where salaries and service conditions were determined according to race classification and not by educational qualifications and work responsibility.[1)]

After the War, coloured leaders appealed to the Government to grant the coloureds full citizenship and equal opportunity. Their pleas were, however, in vain. Within a month opposition members of Parliament were campaigning for the disbandment of the Cape Corps. They used as argument the possible threat of a non-White army emerging to take over the country. The 1st Cape Corps Battalion was officially disbanded on the 30th November 1946.[2)]

In 1947 the South African Defence Force was reorganised. In this new structure the Cape Corps was incorporated as a unit in the Permanent Force.[3)] The unit was, however, disbanded even before it could function properly in 1949.[4)]

Coloured men continued to serve their country when on the 11th August, 1950 the Cape Corps Auxilliary Service was established. The men received training in non-combatant rôles such as motor transport drivers, guards, clerks, artisans, military police and storemen.[5)]

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1) Venter, Al J., *Coloured: A Profile of Two Million South Africans*, p. 270.
2) Notes on the Military History of the Coloured, issued by the South African Defence Force, p. 14.
3) Government Gazette, Vol. CXIIX – no. 38400: Proclamation 160, 4 July 1947, p. 1.
4) Government Gazette, Vol. CLVI – no. 4145: Proclamation 91, 14 April 1949, p. 152.
5) Notes on the Military History of the Coloured: Issued by the S.A.D.F., p. 15.

11.2 The Cape Corps is re-established: 1963–1977

The South African Government officially approved the re-establishment of the Cape Corps as from the 1st April 1963 and the first recruits were enlisted on the 3rd September of that same year. The unit was officially known as the South African Coloured Corps with headquarters at Eersterivier, Cape.[6] It was also decided to train coloureds for the Navy for various non-combatant naval duties at S.A.S. Saldanha.[7]

11.2.1 Conditions of service

Applicants to the South African Coloured Corps had to comply with the following requirements:[8]

(a) Be between the ages of 18 and 30 years on attestation;

(b) Be declared medically fit by a military doctor;

(c) Be in possession of at least Std. 8 school certificate with Afrikaans and English as subjects;

(d) Preference was given to unmarried applicants and all recruits were subjected to a four month period of initial training, after which they did specialised training to qualify for one of the following musterings: Instructors in certain military musterings and musicians for the S.A. Coloured Corps Military Band;

(e) Recruits were also trained as clerks, storemen, cooks, stretcher-bearers, hygiene personnel, drivers and batmen;

(f) All members were subjected to the provisions of the Defence Act, 1957 (Act No. 44 of 1957) and of any regulations framed thereunder;

(g) The rank structure was restricted to that of other ranks, i.e. Private to Warrant Officer Class 1. Initially all recruits were enrolled in the rank of Private, except in a few cases where recruits were granted a higher rank on enrolment;

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6) *Op. cit.*,

7) *Ibid.*,

8) File 1 (514/2/9/1) Unit History: The South African Coloured Corps (Documentation Section S.A.D.F., Pretoria).

(h) Salary scales ranged from R660 to R2 040 per year and commencing salary was determined in consideration of rank, educational qualifications and previous experience. Members also received annual increments subject to satisfactory service;

(i) The first period of enrolment was for two years, after which, members could, subject to satisfactory service, extend their service for further periods of two years up to 10 years. After a period of 10 years continuous and satisfactory service members could apply to sign on for long service, i.e. until attaining the age limit (55 to 60 years depending on rank and mustering).

(j) Free medical attention which was restricted to members themselves but did not include their families;

(k) Free initial issue of a distinctive military uniform;

(l) Vacation leave of 30 days per year which was allowed to acrue;

(m) Sick leave of 120 days with full pay, and 120 days with half pay in every cycle of three years;

(n) Membership of the Permanent Force Pension Fund from date of enrolment;

(o) Railway concession certificate once a year to any place in the Republic of South Africa;

(p) Leave bonus – subject to approval annually;

(q) All unmarried members were required to live in for the first three years of their service. Board and lodging rates were deducted from members' salaries;

(r) Week-end passes were granted to recruits who attained the required standard;

(s) Any member wishing to terminate his service before completion of service for which he has signed on could, on three months' notice, purchase his discharge, according to the rates laid down in the regulations.

11.2.2 Training and education

A special and distinctive dress uniform for special occasions was issued to each member. It was made of pale slate grey material with matching cap and S.A.C.C. Badge.[9)]

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9) *Alpha*, Vol. No. 10, December 1963, p. 6.

Education played a vital rôle in the training programme of S.A.C.C. This afforded the many thousands of early school leavers a second opportunity to broaden and increase their knowledge and skills. The following table shows this drop-out rate for the period 1960–1970:[10)]

TABLE XVIII

PERCENTAGE OF ENROLMENT OF COLOURED PUPILS IN STANDARDS VI, VIII AND X FROM 1960–1970, SHOWING THE TREMENDOUS DROP-OUT RATE:

	1960	1965	1968	1969	1970
Standard 6	4,48	4,32	4,70	4,98	5,10
Standard 8	1,44	1,54	1,60	1,76	1,91
Standard 10	0,36	0,39	0,36	0,40	0,38
Total Enrolment Primary and Secondary	304 830	375 597	450 871	490 442	516 760

Members were also encouraged to attend night classes at nearby local high schools to gain the Senior Certificate. Some men on completing their basic training entered college and qualified as teachers, while a few also became ministers of religion. The Cape Coloured Corps Training Centre also acted as an employment agency where trainees were eagerly sought after as potential employees by Government Departments and the private sector.[11)]

10) Statistics from the following sources: Bureau of Statistics 08-04-01 Tables 3.8 and 3.21.1; Report of the Coloured Affairs Department for 1968/9 pp. 26 and 30; House of Assembly Hansard 18 of 1969 col. 7956, and Assembly Hansard 2 of the second Session in 1970 col. 804.

11) Personal interview with Captain J.S.C. Cupido (since promoted to Major), a career soldier who saw action with the Cape Corps during World War II, Eersteriver, March 1979.

11.2.3 Training and education plans for other ranks of the S.A.C.C. (Permanent Force)

A great deal of the recruit's day was taken up with lectures. They were taught the routine of clerical administration, Military Law and Camp Orders. The following is the full training and educational plans approved by the Military Authorities for the South African Coloured Corps (Permanent Force):[12)]

Subjects

Drill and regimental duties.
Administration.
Military Law.
Physical training.
Driving and maintenance.
Infantry.
Administrative service.
Medical service.
Cookery.
Orchestra.
Map reading.

Before other ranks of the SACC can be considered for promotion to the next higher rank, they must qualify themselves in certain prescribed courses as laid down in Army regulations.

(a) Required Percentages

Instructors required 60 per cent in each subject and Non-Instructors 50 per cent in each subject. Candidates participating in a course that consists of two or more subjects pass all subjects if they achieve the grand total. Candidates who fail the course will be re-examined in all subjects in which they failed to obtain the required percentage.[13)]

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12) File 514/2/9/1 "Annexture D" Unit History S.A.C.C. (Documentation Section, S.A.D.F., Pretoria.)
13) File 1 (514/2/9/1) Annexture "D", Unit History SACC (Documentation Service Section, S.A.D.F., Pretoria).

(b) Entrance qualifications

The responsibility of the SACC to give the young coloured men a second opportunity to improve their qualifications, increased considerably when the entrance qualification for enlistment was lowered from Standard eight to Standard six and the age limit increased to 35 years.[14)]

A well equipped library administered by the Cape Provincial Library Services is used extensively by members of the SACC.[15)]

11.2.4 Sports and Recreation

Sport, recreation and culture supplemented the educational process and this resulted not only in producing good soldiers, but good balanced, intelligent citizens as well. Regular talks or social evenings were arranged at which men were given the opportunity of hearing something about topics of general interest. Educational films and debates formed an integral part of these functions. Some of the topics included the following:

(a) Marriage guidance
(b) Family Planning
(c) Alcoholism
(d) Music appreciation
(e) Art through the years.

The sportmen were offered a wide choice of games and activities which they could participate in on Wednesday afternoons. Games such as rugby, soccer, tennis, hockey, boxing, wrestling, karate, badminton, table-tennis, volley-ball, baseball, athletics and tenniquoits were very popular with the men.

Religion, an indivisible part of the South African way of life, had its part in the training programme.[16)]

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14) File A/ADM/6/1 Annual Report – SACC 1964, Eersterivier, Cape.
15) *Alpha*, December 1963, Vol. 1 No. 10, p.6.
16) Files A/ADM/6/1 and A/ADM/6 Vol. II – Annual Reports SACC, 1964–1977, Eersterivier, Cape.

In 1972 the name of the Corps was changed to the *South African Cape Corps* and the training centre to the South African Cape Corps Service Battalion. With the expansion of the S.A.D.F. in general and the S.A.C.C. in particular the need was felt to train members of the Cape Corps for the commissioned ranks. For the first time coloured soldiers could be promoted to the rank of captain.

Eleven candidate-officers of the S.A.C.C. drawn from the Permanent Force and Trainees were selected early in 1973 to attend the formative training course. Two Instructors from the Military Academy were attached to the S.A.C.C. Service Battalion to conduct the course.

On the 29th October 1973 the first Officer Cadet Course started and an Advanced Course for Chefs was introduced when an Instructor from the Services School at Voortrekkerhoogte was detached to the unit. The results of the various courses during the year was very encouraging as can be seen from the following summary:[17)]

Distinctions	35
First Class	62
Second Class	101
Failed	59

During 1974, promotion regulations for the Cape Corps were placed on an equal footing with regulations pertaining to the South African Defence Force.[18)]

On Saturday, May 11, the Freedom of Entry into the City of Cape Town was confered upon the Cape Corps by the Mayor of Cape Town, Mr D. Bloomberg. The charter was signed before a distinguished audience in the City Hall.[19)]

The unit continued to make good progress and by the end of 1977 the total strength of the Battalion stood at 752 men.[20)]

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17) File A/ADM/6 Vol. II: Annual Reports SACC 1972/73, Eersterivier, Cape.

18) File A/ADM/6 Vol. II: Annual Report SACC 1974, Eersterivier, Cape.

19) *Alpha*, Vol. 2 No. 4 May 1974, pp. 4–7.

20) File A/ADM/6 Vol. II: Annual Report, SACC 1977, Cape.

11.3 Training Centre for Coloured Cadets

The Act on Training Centres for Coloured Cadets (Act No. 46 of 1967) came into operation on the 1st March 1968. All coloured males between 18 and 24 years of age had to apply for registration. A Selection Board was responsible for selecting recruits for a particular year. A recruit could apply for exemption if he was already in a permanent employment, or serving under contract of apprenticeship, or if he could satisfy the Board that through his call-up his dependents would be exposed to undue hardship.[21)]

A cadet was required to undergo training for a period of 12 months. After completion of his basic training of three months, the cadet was transferred to the second phase of Training which could either be with his previous or a new employer of his own choice. The provisions of the Act and the Regulations remained applicable to cadets after they had been placed in employment for the remainder of their training period of 12 months. They could also be recalled to the Centre for further training, if unfavourable reports from their employers necessitated such action. The Department of Defence through the S.A.C.C. had a large share in the training programme of the cadets.[22)]

11.4 Educational facilities for members of the Cape Corps

11.4.1 Correspondence courses for Secondary Education

The South African Defence Force encourage National Servicemen to improve their educational qualifications while doing their two year National Service. For most coloured volunteers with low educational qualifications, this meant a second opportunity of gaining at least a standard eight or ten certificate.[23)]

Study facilities exist at Cape Corps Headquarters, Eersterivier and endeavours are constantly made to improve these facilities. Career guidance, including the taking of tests, are given free of charge by career advisers of the Department of manpower Utilization. The Association of Correspondence Colleges of South Africa offers all national servicemen a 10 per cent discount on courses taken during their period of military training. Candidates

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21) Government Gazette: Act No. 46 of 1947.

22) *Alpha*, October 1969, pp. 16–21.

23) Interview with Major J. Cupido, Eersterivier, Cape, March 1979.

are then prepared for the Junior or Senior Certificate examination, the Joint Matriculation Board and the Department of Coloured Affairs.[24)]

Although the South African Defence Force provides for examination and study time for national servicemen, the military authorities make it clear to all soldiers (including members of the Cape Corps)" "that the Defence tasks always enjoy priority over the further studies of national servicemen."[25)]

The whole object of the correspondence scheme is to stimulate the appetite of National Servicemen to further their studies and to keep up an interest in their chosen subjects during military training.

11.4.2 Technical Education

The Witwatersrand and the Pretoria Technicons and most other technicons in the country offer correspondence courses for white National Servicemen in possession of a standard ten certificate. A large number of diplomas are offered and these may be followed by further advanced diplomas. The same rules and regulations of the S.A.D.F. are applicable to soldiers enrolling at a technicon, as for a correspondence course for either the Junior or Senior Certificate.[26)]

Part-time courses for apprentices are also offered by the Peninsula College for Advanced Technical Education in Bellville. These part-time classes for coloureds to the N.T.C. III, IV and V levels are provided for apprentices in the building, engineering and other industries. Part-time or correspondence courses in public administration are also offered. The syllabuses and examinations are those of the Department of Higher Education but diplomas are issued by the Administration of Coloured Affairs.[27)]

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24) *Stilus*, January 1980, p. 4. The Director Orientation Services, South African Defence Force.

25) *Ibid.*,

26) *Stilus*, January 1980, p. 14.

27) Horrell, M., *The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa 1652–1970*, p. 145.

11.4.3 University Education

Correspondence courses through the University of South Africa and part-time classes through the University of the Western Cape are available to members of the Cape Corps.

The University of Stellenbosch offers a three year B. Mil. degree in conjunction with the Department of Defence at Saldanha. This degree is equivalent to any B-degree offered at any other South African University. This degree also forms the basis for the attainment of the M. Mil. and D. Mil. degrees and any other post-graduate study at any other university in the Republic. The degree may be obtained in one of three directions:

(a) Humanities
(b) Physical Science
(c) Commercial Sciences.

To be admitted as a student, a member must be an officer of the South African Defence Force who has completed a minimum of two years officer training. He must also be in possession of a matriculation certificate of the South African Matriculation Board. If not in possession of the required matriculation certificate, he may apply for matriculation exemption if he has already obtained the age of 23 years.[28)]

For the period 1963–1977, no Cape Corps member has qualified for a degree at the Military Academy, but at present two members (Lt. J.J. Coetzee and Lt. D.D.R. Jansen) are enrolled in B. Mill. Humanities in their second year of training.[29)]

A number of bursaries are available for under and post graduate studies at the Military Academy. The Armament Board, the South African Defence Force and the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research are some of the organisations offering bursaries specifically to students doing a military degree.[30)]

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28) University of Stellenbosch Year Book 1980: Faculty of Military Science, Part 14.

29) Personal correspondence from Brig. F.S. Muller, Officer Commanding Military Academy, dated 12 May 1980.

30) University of Stellenbosch Year Book 1980: Bursaries and Loans.

11.5 Summary

After World War II, coloured leaders appealed to the Government to grant them full citizen rights and afford them equal opportunity in education, training and employment.

However on the 26 May 1948, the Nationalist Government came to power with a minority of popular votes and a slim majority of five seats. The National Party fought the election on the Apartheid platform which envisaged the total separation of the populations of South Africa. The result was the promulgation of a number of laws between 1949–1952[32] which the National Party used to enforce their policy of Apartheid.

The coloured people's pleas for equality was completely ignored by the National Party and instead the Cape Corps Auxilliary Service Battalion was established in 1950 and the present Cape Corps in 1963.

Since 1963 the Cape Corps has shown a steady growth in numbers in view of the educational and training programmes which the Army provided especially for the early school leaving coloured youngsters. Provision is made for secondary education through the Association of Correspondence Colleges of South Africa. Correspondence courses in technical education are also available at the Peninsula College for Advanced Technical Education in Bellville and university education is offered through the University of South Africa and the Military Academy at Saldanha.

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31) Apartheid is the concept popularly used to denote the Government policy of separate ethnic development; more specifically this concept is used colloquially to designate the country's national policy for the organisation of the relations between the various race groups. This concept has also been known as Separate Development, Separate Freedoms or Parallel Development.

32) (a) Act No. 55 of 1949 – Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act.
(b) Act No. 21 of 1950 – The Immorality Act.
(c) Act No. 41 of 1950 – The Group Areas Act.
(d) Act No. 44 of 1950 – The Suppression of Communism Act.
(e) Act No. 30 of 1950 – The Population Registration Act.
(f) Act No. 52 of 1951 – Act on unlawful Squatters.
(g) Act No. 46 of 1951 – Separate Representation of Voters Act.

CHAPTER 12

CONCLUSION

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF ARMY EDUCATION

12.1 The South African Army as an institution of learning

The privileged white minority group in South Africa can be regarded as a learning group. It is therefore not surprising that such a group would generate the "learning force", a concept first developed by Bertram Gross, who defined it as the "total number of people developing their capacities through systematic education; that is, where learning is aided by teaching and there are formal organized efforts to impart knowledge through instruction."[1)]

This learning force is compelled by the South African white minority government to participate in educational activities, both in the core – the sequential education ladder progressing from primary school through high school with liberal financial assistance even through university – and in the periphery, that is the educational activities outside the traditional system.

The periphery embraces a wide variety: They include educational activities carried on in all places where adults are employed – agriculture, private business and industry, the South African Defence Force and civilian government at all levels; the entire potpourri of programmes carried on by the vast number of private associations, national welfare organisations, professional training societies, and specialised programmes for adults carried on in regular educational institutions.

The major criteria for inclusion is that these activities involve participation in learning activities through an organized structured learning situation as is the case in the S.A.D.F.

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1) Cohen, W., Education and Learning, *The Annuals* 373, September 1967, p. 83.

Excluded are those "educational" activities which include visits to museums, libraries, and botanical gardens; participation in political campaigns and religious services; attendances at various forms of cultural entertainment and learning through the instruction of a private tutor.

The importance of the South African Army can best be described as an educational institution in the words of several officers who maintain – „so far as we are concerned three years as an army officer can equal three years at university." Among the qualities which they felt service life gave a man, while university life did not, were discipline, sense of service to country, understanding of the importance of a chain of authority, smartness, and efficiency.[2)]

12.1.1 The Functions of the South African Defence Force in relation to the coloured community

The South African Defence Force is an instrument created by the Government of the Republic of South Africa for the maintenance of authority and law and is thus involved by the State in whatever concerns the supposed welfare or protection of the individual, of any group or institution in the community or of the community as a whole.

Another duty of the State is to protect the national community against spiritual and physical aggression from outside its frontiers, a function carried out by inter alia members of the armed forces. As Ottaway says[3)] "The government is the highest agency of the State, charged with directing its whole organisation and part of its function is the making of laws. The State, through its officials and paid servants, which include the police and the armed forces, has the monopoly of the lawful use of physical power within the society. It has the final coercion."

In a democracy the State should derive its power to govern from all its subjects in a defined territory. Without power there can be no justice enforced, and without justice power becomes tyranny.

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2) Personal interview with officers attached to the S.A.C.C., Eersterivier, Cape.

3) Ottaway, A.K.C., *Education and Society*, p. 53.

In South Africa, with a total population of 25 474 040 the State derives its powers to govern from a white minority numbering 3 749 313.[4)]

The South African Defence Force which was established in 1912 consists of a Permanent Force supplemented by a Citizen Force. All medically fit, white male school leavers are liable for an initial two year period of national service followed by an eight-year period in the Citizen Force. Coloured and Indian males may volunteer for national service while Permanent Force careers are open to coloured peoples, Indians and Blacks. Conditions of service, salary structure and promotion opportunities are different from those of whites.

It must be pointed out however, that compulsory military service is restricted to the white group only. The general feeling among the non-Whites therefore is that the South African Government is afraid to instruct male members of the other racial groups in the use of firearms because it fears future insurrection.

12.1.2 Recruitment of high school coloured drop-outs

A number of researchers have found that factors which contribute to early school leaving among the coloured population, may be found in the home, school and community situation. The Theron Commission have found that the lack of compulsory education, poor motivation, poverty, shortage of classroom accommodation and qualified teachers are some of the main reasons for this big drop-out rate.[5)]

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4) Department of Statistics, *Population Census Report* No. 02-041-01, 6 May 1970, pp. 2–3.

5) i. Republic of South Africa: Commission of Inquiry to matters pertaining to the coloured population group. *Theron Report,* (Government Printer, Pretoria 1976).

ii. Rip, C.M., Coloured early school leavers in the Western Cape; A Sociological Study, Pretoria (Human Sciences Research Council, 1971).

iii. Van Rensburg, F.A.J., Trends in education for Coloureds in the Republic of South Africa, (H.S.R.C., 1979, Report No. S-59).

The high school drop-out rate has had a significant effect on the unemployment situation amongst the coloured community.

The Theron Commission declared that a reasonable high percentage of coloured males could not be classified in the labour market. In 1973 the number of coloured males who could not be classified in definite job descriptions stood at 100 400 or 19,3 per cent of the total coloured labour force. An unknown number of this force was unemployed, semi-unemployed and underemployed. The Commission continued that it is disturbing that a fifth of the entire coloured male population is unemployed and that this situation can have a detrimental effect on the economic position of the coloured population.[6)]

The Cape Corps Service Battalion by lowering the entrance qualifications for Traineees from Standard VIII to VI, attracted a large number of these drop-outs during 1963–1977. On completing their basic mlitary training the young men received training as clerks, storemen, drivers, chefs and instructors. In this way a number of coloured men were given a second opportunity of broadening their knowledge and skills and were even assisted in obtaining employment in the private sector by a special employment bureau.

For those wishing to join the Permanent Force various opportunities are available to improve their qualifications up to university level.

12.1.3 Characteristics and causes of illiteracy in the coloured community

It is estimated that there are six million illiterates in South Africa.[7)] Available statistics from the Theron Report indicate that a large number of coloured people are illiterate. Various reasons can be advanced for this disturbing illiteracy rate among the coloured people. However, the following may be regarded as the main reasons for this phenomenon: the delay in introducing a system of compulsory education for coloured children up to 1974; the inability of the authorities to implement a compulsory system of education since then; the acute shortage of classroom accommodation and the fact that children not registered and classified as coloured could not be admitted to a school for coloured children.

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6) Theron Commission, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

7) *Landbou Weekblad*, No. 4, 13 October 1978, pp. 138–9.

Most coloured educationists feel that the announcement of compulsory education for coloureds was premature and was intended for international consumption. They maintain that it is an irrefutable fact that there are not the schools nor qualified teachers to provide the facilities. They argue that if the authorities were really intended to carry the idea of compulsory free education for all, more money should have been spent in providing buildings and training teachers and gradually getting more pupils into schools until finally when the task had been almost completed to pass the necessary legislation.

However the problem of coloured illiteracy can be traced back to the First World War as well as World War II, when large numbers of illiterate coloured men enlisted which caused considerable problems to the military authorities. The result was the implementation of the Army Education System where specific programmes were designed in order to teach the men to read and write.

Calculations from the 1960 census figures indicate that the levels of education then attained by the economically active coloured people, expressed as percentages of the total number of such persons (i.e. 553,864) were very poor indeed as can be seen from the following table:

TABLE XIX

LEVEL OF EDUCATION: ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE COLOURED PERSONS ACCORDING TO THE 1960 CENSUS FIGURES[8)]

Level of education	Percentage
No education	33,14
Sub. Std A to Std II inclusive	12,86
Stds III–IV inclusive	44,32
Stds VII–VIII inclusive	6,75
Stds IX–X inclusive	0,94
Part of diploma, degree, or professional course	0,08
Diploma course, non-graduate	1,77
Bachelors degree or full professional training	0,12
Post-graduate degree or comparable professional training	0,02
TOTAL	100,00

8) Union of South Africa: Census Report, 1960: Vol. IV, Table B2 Education, (Government Printers, Pretoria).

The above statistics reveal that 33,14 per cent of the economically active coloured people at that time could have been regarded as illiterate, while 57,18 per cent had not progressed further than Standard VI.

By 1970 there was a slight improvement. The percentage illiterate coloureds had dropped to 23,5 per cent (384 800) as compared with 2,3 per cent (76 300) for the whites.[9)]

When the Department of Coloured Affairs assumed responsibility for the education of the Coloured people in 1964, it immediately planned for the introduction of a system of Adult Education with the following aims:[10)]

(a) To provide opportunities for promoting general literacy;
(b) to provide facilities for training in certain occupations;
(c) to provide training opportunities for improving skills that had already been acquired;
(d) to assist in creating opportunities for the promotion of general cultural development; and
(e) to assist in providing facilities and opportunities for recreation.

Part-time classes at primary and secondary school levels were instituted in April 1966 with a view to meeting the needs of adults, the emphasis at primary school level was laid mainly on the promotion of literacy and therefore on the two official languages and Arithmetic. At secondary school level these part-time classes were adapted to the needs of the candidates, such as instruction in commercial subjects and other subjects of a more vocational nature.[11)]

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9) Theron Commission, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
10) Theron Commission, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
11) Horrell, M., *The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa 1652–1970*, pp. 165–167.

12.2 Functions and purpose of Army Education

12.2.1 General Aims

During World War II when the Army Educational Service was first introduced, it had a dual purpose. Its first or basic aim was to maintain morale and fighting efficiency and thereby contribute substantially to the realisation of the common Allied aim: the defeat of Nazism at the earliest possible moment. The second aim can be described as a function of the first, that is the men should be made aware of not only whom they were fighting against but more important for what they are fighting.

History teems with examples of the exploits of armies that knew they were fighting for religious or for political freedom. Such troops are politically inspired. The Greeks at Thermopylae, Washington's ragged armies, the French Revolutionary armies – all ill-equipped, but with a conviction of freedom in their hearts; Cromwell's Roundheads, the 8th Route Army in China, the British Forces at Dunkirk; all these are but a few examples of what men and women will do when they are inspired by a belief in the freedom for which they are fighting.

It may be true that wars arise chiefly through economic reasons; it is equally true that men fight for ideal reasons.

These ideals and beliefs stir in the minds of most men and women in the forces; but they are inarticulate and vague. To produce maximum fighting efficiency these vague and inarticulate beliefs were given shape and expression by the Army Education Services.

Today the educational and training programmes offered to the young coloured men are seen by the authorities "as a vital link in the extensive programme of socio-economic development for the coloured people of the Republic of South Africa."[13)]

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12) Union of South Africa, *Army Education Handbook*, Government Printers, Pretoria, p. 5.

13) *Alpha*, December 1963, pp. 3–9.

This may be true to a certain extent when it is realised that a number of recruits in the South African Cape Corps Service Battalion receive training and education in a limited number of careers and that part of their basic military training also offers scope for the improvement of general skills and knowledge. On the other hand it was pointed out to the authorities that the various socio-economic problems facing the coloured people today, can only be remedied amongst other things by – "evolutionary adjustment in the economic and political institutions of both the Coloureds and the whites as this will be necessary to give the Coloureds greater bargaining power and effective participation in the decision-making process."[14)]

12.2.2 Method of lecturing and discussion

Information and facts are presented in various ways. These include News Sheets, illustrative diagrams, maps, lectures and discussion groups. Use is also made of the latest audio-visual apparatus i.e. overhead projectors, 16 mm. film and slide projectors and tape recorders. Candidate officers are also required to work out assignments on relevant topics. This affords them the opportunity of working on their own and lays the basis for future research work at the Military Academy.

Isolated interest lectures which serve a useful purpose form part of the curriculum. The majority of lectures are, however, prepared in a series of subjects which gives continuity, enables the men to discuss the subject at their leisure and to think up new arguments and questions. Discussion groups form an integral part of Army Education.

Objectivity – that is complete impartiality – by the white lecturers in dealing with economic, social and political material on South Africa, and in which human emotions, environment and education play a large part, is very difficult, if indeed not impossible. Even coloured officers may find it extremely difficult to strive for some degree of objectivity for the following reasons:

(a) The Lectures are prepared by a white dominated army personnel;
(b) The coloured officers are the victims of a larger system in South Africa which discriminates against them on grounds of colour;
(c) Their training and discipline which goes with it, ensures loyalty to the State in the first place and secondly to the Department of Defence.

14) Theron Commission, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

In giving appreciation of current events the S.A.D.F. must undoubtedly be as impartial as possible, they must avoid wishful thinking and must adopt a far more realistic attitude than is common in the newspapers presently. Unless they do that they will forfeit the confidence of the young potential recruits in their integrity and judgement. In maintaining the principles of democracy, the S.A.D.F. is not required to praise particular institutions, as is so often the case in news reports on the radio and television, but rather to encourage and give play to the spirit which those institutions attempt to realise. One article of the democratic creed, which is completely ignored in the present political dispensation in South Africa, is that government should be by the people and that the people should have every right to form reasonable and balanced judgements, based on free and open discussion and on full information.

Thus the business of the S.A.D.F. is not to advocate ready-made policies on the so called Homelands, agriculture, education etc., but rather to give the troops and the general public the factual material on which any policy must be based and to encourage the soldiers especially, to draw conclusions for themselves in discussion. Party policies are often framed to give expression to group interests. It is the duty of the army lecturer to stand as far as possible above group interests, to enable men to see questions from the points of view of groups other than those they belong to, and to think in terms of the interests of the whole South African nation.

12.2.3 Official and Government Policy

A distinction must be drawn between official and government policy. Official policy is here defined as the policy of the Ministry of Defence on all service matters. Channels exist by which criticism of such matters may be brought to the attention of the proper authorities. Any other form of public criticism of official policy, in lectures or in any other way, is for obvious reasons, not allowed.

Public policy, on the other hand is not sacrosanct. It has been universally accepted that citizens do not lose their fundamental democratic rights by volunteering to fight for them.

However, the many restrictive laws[15] presently on the South African statute books, make it virtually impossible for coloured and black South Africans to be critical of Government Policy.

12.3 The means of education in the coloured community

12.3.1 The influence of the home

Long-standing demands for equal opportunity in education have become more strident since the boycotts of coloured and Indian pupils and the Prime Minister's recent announcement that Professor De Lange will head an inquiry which must inter alia, produce a programme "where equality in education for all population groups can be attained."[16]

It must, however, be realised that this is a long term goal and many steps must be implemented to narrow the quality gap in our various educational systems. The final goal of equal opportunity in education is unlikely to be reached without profound changes in our social, economic and political structure.

There is much research evidence that stimulation and encouragement towards school achievement has a significant effect on school results. Coloured parents may have a few pictures and magazines and books in their homes and because of their long working hours, they are unlikely to listen to their children and answer their many questions.

Yet such interchange plays a vital rôle in language development. Without it children often enter school with a restricted vocabulary, perhaps even with their natural curiosity blunted because it has so often gone unsatisfied.

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15) A large number of legislative and administrative measures have been passed over the years which make it very difficult for coloured and Black South Africans to criticise Government Policy publicly. The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 as amended (under which the term "communism" was very widely defined) empowered the Minister of Justice to issue banning orders on members of any organisation that he declared unlawful, on persons deemed by him to be promoting the aims of communism, and on those found guilty by the Courts of contravening the terms of the Act. Under *the Riotous Assembly Act*, the minister is given similar wide powers.

16) *Up to Date*, supplement to the "Star", August 1980.

The acute housing shortage in most coloured areas which leads to overcrowding, has also been found to have a detrimental affect on the scholastic progress of children from families affected by the housing crisis.[17)]

12.3.2 Social and accessibility of education in South Africa

In 1950, in terms of the Population Registration Act, a rigid system of race classification was introduced in South Africa. Prior to this Act being promulgated, people could pass from one group into a more privileged one if their physical features made this possible. The Group Areas Act, No. 41 of 1950 as amended on various occasions, resulted in the various population groups being settled in their own areas with their own separate schools, churches, sporting facilities etc. Up to 1963, most aspects of the education of coloured people were controlled by the various colonies or republics, and later, the provincial administrations. Coloured Education is today administered separately from that of the other groups.

The law is explicit. No coloured child can be admitted to a white school. However, as a matter of "conscience", a few private Church schools belonging to the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches, defied the government by admitting a limited number of African, coloured and Asian children at the beginning of 1978.

12.3.3 Social change through military training for coloureds

The coloured people have for more than three centuries actively responded voluntary to the call to defend South Africa in times of war. The question most coloured people pose today is: Has this voluntary conscription helped in any way to bring about a better deal for the coloured people?

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17) i) C.S.I.R., *Survey of Housing Requirements for Coloureds*, p. 10.
ii) Bester, F.A., *Die etiologiese agtergrond van gedragsafwykende kleurlingkind*, pp. 313–315.
iii) Verslag van die Nasionale Buro vir Opvoeding en Maatskaplike Navorsing: *Die Kleurling* 1964, p. 24.
iv) Robertse, P.M., Die verhouding tussen skoolprestasie en huislike milieu van laerskool leerlinge, p. 29.

After the Second World War, various coloured leaders called on the government to grant the coloureds full citizen rights, but the fight for equality of opportunity is still being fought at this very time. This despite the fact that hundreds of young coloured men are assigned to our northern borders to defend our country against Black guerilla insurgents.

The South African Military Authorities claim that they are working towards a fully integrated army where every soldier despite his colour will be treated on merit. They point out that all facilities in the South African Defence Force and at the various military schools and base camps in the operational area, have been normalised, allowing coloured soldiers access to all facilities used by their white counterparts.

This may be true, but salary scales are still different and certain promotion posts are still closed to coloured soldiers.

Nevertheless, everything being equal in the S.A.D.F., coloured soldiers are still faced with the realities of the South African situation once they are back in civilian life.

12.3.4 Attitudes of the coloured community towards compulsory military training

A few coloured leaders have over the years called for compulsory military training for coloured youths on the same basis as is presently the case with white youths.[18)]

The majority of coloured leaders are, however, violently opposed to compulsory conscription. They claim that since 1948, when the present government came into power, their rights as citizens of South Africa have been drastically curtailed. Not only have they been deprived of the franchise, an injustice that has caused bitterness and frustration, but worse still, they are treated as second class citizens in the country of their birth. Regular and compulsory military training will only be acceptable to the vast majority of the coloured people when all the discriminatory laws of South Africa are repealed and replaced by new just laws and a Bill of Rights protecting every individual in the country regardless of race, creed, religion and sex.

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18) *The Pretoria News*, 18 November 1979.

12.4 The Political influence of the various Union and Republican groups on the Cape Corps

12.4.1 The Political influence in the Cape Colony

The Dutch and British governments both made use of coloured men during their respective occupation of the Cape Colony. Although the Dutch initiated military training for coloured men, it was under English rule that the Cape Corps was organised into a proper military unit.

The local Burghers in the Cape Colony resented the fact that coloured men had the powers of arrest and the fact that coloured troops were at times used against them as was the case during the Slagters Nek Rebellion. The Burghers made no secret of the fact that they deeply resented the British arming coloured people, in spite of the fact that they often rode on commando with them.

12.4.2 The Political influence of the northern territories Natal, Orange Free State and Transvaal

The colour conscious Afrikaners throughout history have always objected strongly to coloureds in uniform. They and their successors, however, saw no hesitation in arming coloureds – and often Africans – when it served their purposes. So for instance in the Orange Free State, the Boers stormed Vechtkop in 1865 with the help of coloured burghers.[19)]

In the Transvaal the founder of modern Afrikaner nationalism, Paul Kruger, while president of the Transvaal Republic adopted Act No. 2 of 1883[20)] in the Volksraad. This made provision for the call up of coloured men who were able to be of service in the war. The term coloured was clearly defined as "any person whose father and mother belonged to one of the native races of Africa or Asia until and in the fourth generation."

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19) Venter, Al J., *Coloured: A Profile of two million South Africans*, pp. 271–2.

20) Wet No. 2, 1883: Voor de Krijgsdienst de Z.A.R. Bekrachtigd bij besluit van den H.Ed. Acht Volksraad Art. 419, dd. 25 June 1883.

Not withstanding this forced conscription, coloured people were subjected to many discriminatory laws enacted by President Kruger during this period. They were confined to the so called "reserves" and "bazaars", the first signs of group areas for the coloured and Asian people, while Africans were settled in locations near the fast developing gold fields where good use was made of their labour in this fast expanding industry. Barberton (1886), was the first apartheid designed town in the present Republic as an Indian quarter was planned. The general rule in both Republics (i.e. the Orange Free State and Transvaal) was that there could be no equality of whites and non-Whites either in Church or State.

The attitude of the majority of white leaders towards coloured people is adequately illustrated in a letter written by Mr John X. Merrimen in 1906 to General J.C. Smuts shortly before Merrimen was elected Prime Minister and Treasurer of the old Cape Parliament. In his letter, Merrimen made disparaging comments against the coloured people and strongly called for them to be disenfranchised.[21)]

In Natal a similar feeling of animosity towards the use of coloured soldiers was prevalent as early as 1840. During this time members of the Cape Corps were extensively used in this British Colony to establish the authority of the Crown. Sir Harry Smith also used them against the Boers north of the Orange River.[22)]

12.4.2 The Political influence during the Union of South Africa

General J.C. Smuts was very concerned about the position of the coloured people during his two terms as Prime Minister of South Africa. As a military man he was responsible for operations in East Africa against the Germans and during that time made extensive use of members of the Cape Corps. In 1943 the Smuts Government appointed the Coloured Advisory Council to liaise with the Government on all matters affecting the coloured people. This body was vehemently rejected by the majority of the coloured people.

Smuts, like General Hertzog was a segregationist, believing that whites and Blacks should be kept apart politically, territorially and socially – a view expounded in one of the Rhodes Lectures delivered in England in 1929.[23)]

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21) Hancock, W.K., et. al., *Selections from Smuts Papers*, Vol. II, (Cambridge University Press, 1966).
22) Government Notice, 9 September 1848 (Cape Colony).
23) SESA, Vol. 10, p. 19.

At the outbreak of World War II in 1939, Smuts as Prime Minister and also Minister of Defence was left no option but to use coloured men in large numbers to fight in the war as the majority of Afrikaners were opposed to fighting "Britain's War". In his efforts to raise a strong South African force he introduced the so called "Dilution Policy", whereby white units were brought up to full establishment strength by using non-whites. The experiment proved very successful.

12.4.3 The Political influence under the Nationalist Party since 1948 and the formation of the Republic of South Africa

The Apartheid Policy of the National Party of Dr D.F. Malan which came to power in 1948 was completely opposed to coloureds being used as soldiers and immediately disbanded the Cape Corps in 1949. The Nationalist Government maintained that training non-White men in the use of weapons threatened or could threaten the security of white South Africa.[24)]

The "Wind of change" blowing through Africa at the beginning of the sixties, gained momentum when several African States attained their independance. Most white politicians were beginning to doubt whether South Africa would be strong enough to withstand a military onslaught from the north and at the same time be able to subdue Black dissidents internally. The events of Sharpeville[25)] and unrest in other parts of South Africa during 1960, reinforced this fear amongst most whites.

Realising that they had to strengthen their numbers drastically to match those of the Africans in South Africa, certain Afrikaner politicians called for a better deal for the coloured people. The re-establishment of the Cape Corps in 1963 was part of the Nationalist Government's plan to strengthen their military power against internal dissidents and a possible foreign invasion.

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24) Venter, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

25) On March 21, 1960, the Pan African Congress, a black political party (since banned) protested against the Reference Book system and marched on the police station in the African township of Sharpville, near Vereeniging. The police fired on the crowd without warning, killing 69 and wounding 178 blacks. Between 21 March and 19 April, 83 civilians and three policemen were killed in different parts of the country.

The coloured people generally rejected this move completely. From the Annual Reports of the Cape Corps at Eersterivier for the period 1963–1976, it is evident that the military authorities were not successful in recruiting large numbers of coloured men. The following table shows those recruits doing their basic training for that particular year.[26)]

TABLE XX

CAPE CORPS RECRUITS DOING BASIC TRAINING FOR THE PERIOD 1964–1976

Year	No. of recruits
1964	64
1965	196
1966	147
1967	185
1968	166
1969	37
1972	38
1973	177
1974	34
1975	131
1976	192
TOTAL	1 367

No numbers are available for 1970–1971, but judging from figures for previous years it is doubtful if there was a significant increase. The total number of recruits doing their basic training for this period represents a very small number of coloured men if compared with the natural growth rate of the coloured population from 1,553,950 in 1960 to 2,432,130 in 1975.[27)]

26) Annual Reports 1964–1976, Cape Corps Headquarters, Eersterivier, Cape.

27) Republic of South Africa: Report of the Commission of Inquiry into matters relating to the Coloured Population Group, p. 4.

Further more it is obvious that the coloured young men joined the Cape Corps for economic reasons as statistics for this period clearly indicate that a large number of coloured men could not find employment. The Theron Commission reported that in 1970, 45 per cent of the total coloured male population were economically active, as compared with 57 per cent for the whites.

Once enlisted, their training and discipline stood them in good stead either in finding suitable employment in the private sector on being discharged, or to continue a military career and thus improving their educational qualifications as a few have started to do.

12.5 Conclusions and recommendations

12.5.1 Conclusions

The importance of military training was recognized even in ancient times. The Greek states and later Rome prescribed courses of instruction for boys entering the Army. They were given physical exercises, taught the use of weapons and were inculcated with the discipline that for centuries enabled small, well-trained forces to defeat large hordes of barbarians.

In feudal times the nobility and knighthood were trained from youth for military life, and even the peasantry and townspeople had regular periods of military training and service.

The history of the Cape Corps has revealed that given the opportunity, young coloured men are capable of achieving a very high standard as soldiers. Military training since the earliest history of the coloured people, although on a voluntary basis, has played a significant rôle in improving the educational standards of the coloured community of South Africa. The early Hottentot and coloured soldiers were disciplined and were taught the elementary rules of hygiene and were also taught basic skills which later helped to improve the quality of their lives.

This initial programme of "education" was later, especially during World War II, enforced by formal instruction through the Army Education System. Through this system hundreds of illiterate coloured volunteers were given special tuition in order to make them able, as a minimum requirement, to read and write. Today opportunities exist in the S.A.D.F. where coloured volunteers can improve their educational qualifications while doing

military training, through correspondence courses. Further opportunities exist for career soldiers to obtain a military degree through the Military Academy at Saldanha. Vocational training in various occupations is offered to coloured trainees to enable them to qualify in a limited number of occupations. After completion of their training they are assisted by the military authorities in finding suitable employment in the private sector.

To conclude then, military training in general and the S.A.D.F. in particular has played a rôle in the education of the coloured community through their continuous efforts since the early history of the Cape Corps up to the present.

12.5.2 Recommendations

Any viable educational programme in South Africa can only succeed if all restrictive legislation based on race group affiliation is removed from the statute books and replaced by legislation which will guarantee equal opportunity to all South Africans regardless of race, ethnic affiliation, creed and sex. The following recommendations are thus made on the presumption that we are moving towards the attainment of such a society.

Such recommendations if adopted could, therefore, lead to stability and peace in South Africa, especially after the recent unrest at schools for coloured, Indian and black pupils, and the eventual acceptance of a common loyalty by all young South Africans:

(a) The establishment in all major urban centres of South Africa of a multi-racial military high school maintained by the government to train and educate young men for careers in the army. The control should be the joint responsibility of the Department of National Education and the Department of Defence to ensure a balanced curriculum. Students should receive a comprehensive education of high school grade in addition to regular military training. These high schools should prepare the students for admittance to the Military Academy at Saldanha.

(b) The establishment of at least two military Technikons, one to be established in Cape Town and one in Pretoria. These Technikons to be multi-racial and besides specializing in technical subjects should also cater for vocational education especially the type of jobs which will benefit the student once he is conscripted for national service. The control of these institutions should also be the joint responsibility of the Departments of National Education and Defence.

(c) The expansion of the present library service at the various service schools and base camps. Bibliographics of easy-reading materials as well as advanced material of a technical and scientific nature should be made available at all Defence Force libraries. A consultant position should be established at Defence Headquarters to help Defence Force libraries in developing their services, to collect data on programmes of military interest, including audio-visual and programme instruction, and to develop training aids for librarians on the basis of the information and experience gained.

(d) Bursaries should be made available by the government for students of the recommended military high schools and Technikons to ensure that these institutions get their fair share of the student population. Additional bursaries should also be made available to students presently studying at the Military Academy at Saldanha.

(e) Finally it is strongly recommended that officers commissioned in the Cape Corps of the Permanent Force should be transferred in equivalent rank and position to units of mixed ethnic composition, an organisation which the future S.A.D.F. must adopt. Only when this is possible will the military society be normal. Ideally the Cape Corps should be envisaged as a cadre for training and educating coloured men for higher positions in the South African Army generally because despite its great traditions its very designation implies discrimination. Eventually when all sections of the South African community receive equal opportunities in education the Corps must be phased out unless coloured recruits want it to be retained as an elite unit comparable with the Scots and Irish Guards.

The future of South Africa lies in the hands of our young men. Much can be done by the authorities to ensure that these males are prepared, socially, spiritually and educationally to take their rightful places in our society as the citizens of tomorrow.

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