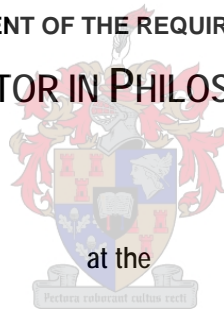


**PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND PHYSICAL CULTURE IN THE
COLOURED COMMUNITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE, 1837-1966**

**BY
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March 2015

DECLARATION

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FRANCOIS CLEOPHAS

12 FEBRUARY 2009

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F CLEOPHAS

SUMMARY

Physical Education is a human movement activity driven by syllabi and educational programmes. Physical culture refers to human movement programmes with an entertainment component, but that also uses physical education activity. This study serves as an account of Physical Education and physical culture in the Coloured community of the Western Cape in the period 1837 to 1966. It offers a historical exploration of these activities in the social and political context and cuts across narrow definitions of race and class. The research also pays attention to the untold and unpleasant side of Physical Education. This necessitated tracing the origins of Physical Education and physical culture back to their European roots, because of the strong political and cultural links between South Africa and Europe.

The Cape Coloured petty bourgeoisie urbanite minority of the 19th and early 20th century were eager but unable to infiltrate the ranks of middle class White society. They were acutely aware of the need to show respect towards White middle classes and also to distance them from the “unruly behaviour” of the working class. For this reason Physical Education and physical culture programmes became suitable means for the Coloured petty bourgeoisie to educate the “less fortunate” Coloured working class masses.

The research is divided into six chapters. The first deals with contextual issues relating to the idea of Colouredness in South Africa and the implications for Physical Education and physical culture. This is amplified by an overview of the historical development of these subjects in Great Britain. Chapter two offers an extensive literature review that deals with Physical Education and physical culture in South Africa and centres around three themes: the omission of Coloured people in Physical Education history, Coloured marginalisation as a natural phenomenon and an analytical criticism of South African Physical Education.

The third chapter identifies the historical-scientific method as the vehicle for research. It exposes the shortcomings of this method and presents possible ways to overcome these shortcomings.

Chapter four discusses the practice and influence of missionary school teaching, the main source of education and therefore also the source of Physical Education for Coloured children.

Chapter five focuses on the practices of Physical Education and physical culture in the broader Coloured community. It is demonstrated how Physical Education and physical culture practised outside the school context in the Coloured community operated within a code of conduct labelled “civilised behaviour”, with the hope of being accepted by White society.

The concluding chapter captures the essence of Physical Education and physical culture practice in the Coloured community. It provides insight into racial and class intersection during two time periods when White racism dictated the practice. This gives reason to exercise caution against calls for the reintroduction of Physical Education into post- apartheid schools, when racism is still part of daily experiences in South Africa.

OPSOMMING

Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde is 'n menslike bewegingsaktiwiteit wat deur sillabusse en opvoedkundige programme aangedryf word. Daarteenoor is liggaamlike kultuur 'n menslike bewegingsprogram wat vermaak insluit, maar ook van liggaamlike opvoedingsaktiwiteite gebruik maak. Hierdie studie bied 'n oorsig oor Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde en liggaamlike kultuur in die bruin gemeenskap van Wes-Kaapland vir die periode 1837 tot 1966. Dit dien as 'n historiese ondersoek van hierdie gebiede, met inagneming van die sosiaal-maatskaplike en politiese konteks en oorbrug nougesette definisies van ras en klas. Die navorsing poog ook om die onvertelde en minder aangename kant van die storie te vertel. Weens die politieke en kulturele band tussen Suid-Afrika en Europa, is die Europese oorsprong van Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde en liggaamlike kultuur ondersoek.

Die opkomende middelklas, verstedelike bruin minderheidsgroep van die 19^{de} en vroeë 20^{ste} eeu was ywerig maar onsuksesvol om die wit gemeenskap binne te dring. Hulle was intens bewus daarvan dat hulle respek teenoor die wit middelklas moes toon en hulle moes distansieer van die “onweloweglike gedrag” van die werkersklas. Om hierdie rede het Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde- en liggaamskultuurprogramme 'n gepaste manier vir die bruin middelklas geword om die “minder gegoede” bruin werkersklas op te voed.

Die navorsing is in ses hoofstukke verdeel. Die eerste hoofstuk bespreek kontekstuele kwessies wat verband hou met die ideë van bruinwees en die implikasies vir Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde en liggaamlike kultuur. Die bespreking word uitgebrei deur 'n oorsig oor die historiese ontwikkeling van die vakgebiede in Groot-Brittanje.

Hoofstuk twee bied 'n omvattende literatuuroorsig oor Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde en liggaamlike kultuur en sentreer rondom drie temas: die weglating van bruinmense uit die geskiedenis van Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde; die marginalisering van bruinmense as 'n natuurlike verskynsel en 'n analitiese kritiek van Suid-Afrikaanse Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde.

Die derde hoofstuk identifiseer die histories-wetenskaplike metode as die navorsingsmetodiek. Dit belig ook die tekortkominge van hierdie metode en bespreek moontlike aanpassings om die tekortkomings te oorkom.

Hoofstuk vier ondersoek die praktyk en invloed van sendingonderwys, die hoofbron van onderwys en daarom ook die bron van Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde vir bruin kinders.

Hoofstuk vyf fokus op Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde en liggaamlike kultuur in die breër bruin gemeenskap. Dit word gedemonstreer hoe diegene in die breër bruin gemeenskap wat Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde en liggaamlike kultuur beoefen het, dit volgens gedragskodes van 'beskaafde gedrag' gedoen het, met die hoop om deur die wit gemeenskap aanvaar te word.

Die slothoofstuk is 'n samevatting van die essensie van Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde en liggaamlike kultuur in die bruin gemeenskap en bied insig in die interaksie tussen ras en klas gedurende twee tydperke waartydens wit rassisme die norm was. Die navorsing vestig die aandag op die gevare van die herinstelling van Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde in post-apartheid skole, terwyl rassisme steeds deel vorm van daaglikse ervarings in Suid-Afrika.

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CHAPTER 1: COLOURED PEOPLE, PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND PHYSICAL CULTURE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

To motivate using the term Coloured in this study, such usage needs to be clarified. Contrary to international usage, in South African historiography the term Coloured does not refer to Black people in general.¹ According to the historian Mohammed Adhikari, it points to a socially diverse group with a varied origin in Cape slavery, indigenous South Africans and European settlers.² Members of this group, defined as Coloured, invented specific situations which, according to the historian Denis-Constant Martin, gave form, content and substance to otherwise scattered pockets of people.³

The idea of people with a unique Coloured identity in the Western Cape crystallised in the fabric of colonial society in the late 19th century.⁴ They displayed an acute awareness of physical traits and sensitivity to gradations of colour that blocked the growth of unity within the group. Some of them tended to down play their indigenous origin and highlight their European genealogy. Other Coloured people often referred to such people as “play whites”. The Coloured community was therefore divided along lines of race and class. This is because 19th century Cape society appears as a social patchwork consisting of juxtaposed classes serving the needs of the more affluent members of society.

Early in the 19th century some people carried the racial label, “bastard”⁵ in official documents.⁶ During the 1830’s the newspaper *De Zuid-Afrikaan*, used the term

1 G.F. van Wyk, A preliminary account of the physical anthropology of the “Cape Coloured people” (Males), 1939, p.1; According to the Oxford dictionary, the term “Coloured” refers to people “belonging to the Negro race” (J. Coulson et al., The shorter Oxford English dictionary on historical principles, 1933, p.344). A later version defines the term as “not white, partly of Negro descent” (C.T. Carr et al., The Oxford illustrated dictionary, 1962, p.167).

2 M. Adhikari, Not White enough, not Black enough, 2005, p.3; R.E. van der Ross, Up from slavery, 2005, p.99.

3 D. Martin, What’s in the name “Coloured”? In A. Zegeye (Ed.), Social identities in the new South Africa, 2001, p.250.

4 M. Adhikari, Not White enough, not Black enough, 2005, p.3; R.E. van der Ross, Up from slavery, 2005, p.99.

5 One English dictionary defines this term as “something which is inferior” (K. Harber & G. P ayton (Eds.), Heinemann, English dictionary, 1979, p.84).

6 Western Cape Archives, J. 279. Muster roll for Stellenbosch, 25 May 1825. In the 20th century the term “half-caste” proved popular, indicating a belief among White and even Coloured people that the latter group.

“Kleurling” (Coloured) for slaves, free Blacks and their descendants. Over time, in the Afrikaans language, these people became known as “bruin mense” (brown people) alongside terms such as “hotnot”, “mulat”, “mestico” and “castico”.⁷ These references distinguished Coloured from African or Black people, the latter also described by terms such as “kaffir”, “bantu” and “native”.⁸

In contrast to the negative stereotypical attitude colonial and post-colonial society displayed towards African people, Coloured people received ambivalent treatment.⁹ The latter had an intermediate status, reflective of their “bastard” status in the South African racial hierarchy. The historically, socially and economically dominant White minority viewed Coloured people as distinct from the African population, which numerically formed the majority.

Such an attitude still prevailed in the 20th century. An example is that of Dr. Ernst Jokl, a physical educator with medical training, who said the role physical fitness (read: physical education) should play in South African society is to address the shortage of the “mass of unskilled Bantu workers in the mines, skilled Coloured labourers and sugar cane field workers in Natal” and to uplift the “descendants of the early European settlers, known as Poor Whites”.¹⁰

According to Adhikari, Coloured people expressed their identity by taking pride in and internalising their proximity to Western culture. They distanced themselves from

7 H. Gillomee, *Nog altyd hier gewees*, 2007, pp.12, 59.

8 C.M. Booysen et al., *HAT*, 1985, pp.66, 120, 414, 503, 716. Colonists and African people used the term “kaffir” and its variants “kafir” and “caffre” freely in the 19th century. As is seen in the existence of sport and political bodies with names such as the Border Native Cricket Union, the forerunner of the present day African National Congress, South African Native National Congress and the South African Native Convention, the term “native” came to be used in the same manner (A. Odendaal, *The story of an African game*, 2003, pp.31-32, 83). An accurate rendering of the term “bantu” refers to indigenous African people, whose history can be traced back to approximately 1 700 BC to the present-day Cameroon region in West Africa (T. Maggs, *Die vroeë geskiedenis van die Swart mense*. T. Cameron, (Red.), *Die nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, 1986, p.37). During the 20th century, these terms became offensive to many South Africans of all population groups.

9 G.J. Gerwel, *Literatuur en apartheid*, 1983, p.4. This statement is extracted from an adapted version of a doctoral dissertation by Jakes Gerwel, a Coloured academic, who later became rector of the University of the Western Cape. Gerwel here refers to the attitude of Afrikaner people towards Coloured people. The researcher applies this idea to the White community as a whole because of the shared condition of constitutional privilege they enjoyed in South Africa until 1994.

10 E. Jokl, *The environmental basis of physical fitness*. *Physical Education*, 4(4):9, November 1942; Shortly after World War I, many White commercial farmers left their farms due to drought and lived on larger farms as “bywoners” (tenant farmers). These “bywoners”, along with some woodcutters in George and Knysna and other urban workers, became known as “P oor Whites” in South African society (M. Matthew et al., *Dynamic history*, Grade 12, 1998, p.163; Anon., *Joint findings and recommendations of the commission*. In Carnegie Commission, *The Poor White problem in South Africa*, 1932, p.vi). In October 1929 a worldwide economic depression, triggered by the Wall Street crash, resulted in a further increase in poverty that spread among all racial sectors of South African society, including the Coloured community in the Western Cape.

“Africanness”.¹¹ By doing this, they hoped to gain “respectability” and what they termed “civilisation” in colonial society. To be respectable and civilised meant to be morally upright, financially independent, industrious, honest and exhibit self-control.¹² It also meant “to act rationally and with foresight ... being able to follow one’s own mind, allowing individuals caprices at properly chosen moments”.¹³ For the Coloured petty bourgeoisie, Coloured ethnicity also meant the internalisation of the values of respectability and civilisation. Early 20th century politicians in this class actively campaigned for these values, along with what they called “sensible recreation”.¹⁴ This is recreation that is acquired through education that leads to advancement in society.¹⁵

1.2 COLOURED PEOPLE AND EDUCATION

The absence of a national consciousness among Coloured people may also be attributed to the prevailing 19th century school system where they mixed with other groups of children in mission and public schools, something that did not happen in the 20th century.¹⁶ In 1895, school inspector J.H. Brady¹⁷ reported that in some of the mission schools under his charge “half White and half Coloured children in attendance”¹⁸ are found. By then, the educational authorities already made a legal distinction in racial terms between children in public schools and made an amendment in 1893 to a regulation promulgated under the Education Act of 1865, stating: “If it be proved... that people of European extraction... are too poor to maintain a public school... extra aid will be given.”¹⁹

11 M. Adhikari, *Hope, fear, shame, frustration*, 2002, p. 32.

12 A. Badham, *St. Mary’s Anglican Church*, 1985, p.79.

13 D. Hendricks, *Physical education and power in South Africa*. In J.D. Jansen (Ed.), *Knowledge and power in South Africa*, 1991, p.214.

14 V. Bickford-Smith et al., *Cape Town in the twentieth century*, 1999, p.43.

15 H. Giliomee, *Nog altyd hier gewees*, 2007, p.70.

16 N.J. Marais, *Die voorsiening en administrasie van Kleurlingonderwys in Kaapland*, 1955, p.32.

17 He served as inspector of schools in Cape Town at the time when some pupils received “a little bit of drill” (M. Borman, *The Cape Education Department*, 1989, p.127; Department of Public Education. *Report of the superintendent-general of education for the year 1894, 1895*, p.9).

18 Department of Public Education, *Report of the superintendent-general of education for the year 1894, 1895*, pp.9, 16; H. Giliomee, *Nog altyd hier gewees*, 2007, p.63.

19 F.G. Backman, *The development of Coloured education*, 1991, p.20.

Until 1905, all children could officially attend the same schools.²⁰ The 1905 School Board Act however made school attendance²¹ and education provision compulsory only for White children.²² The first meeting of the Cape School Board²³ took place on Friday 2 February 1906.²⁴ In 1907, the Board schools increased by 371 in the entire Cape Province. All but 19 of these schools catered for White children.²⁵

Six years later, at the Cape Town Teachers' Training College, the teaching of Physical Education took place in the college hall, but separately for White and Black students. The college authorities as well as the students drew no distinction between Coloured and African people.²⁶ In the political arena, however, the organisations that looked after Coloured people's interests distinguished themselves from the 'Native races'.²⁷ In 1918, the Cape Education Department for the first time made a distinction between Coloured and African people in education.²⁸ Since 1920 the Teachers' League of South Africa (TLSA), the organisation looking after the interests of Coloured teachers at the time, supported this distinction.²⁹

Because of the effete political correctness of the anti-apartheid³⁰ movement, some academics detested and refrained from using the term "Coloured" in their work.³¹

20 H. Giliomee, *Nog altyd hier gewees*, 2007, p.116.

21 Compulsory school attendance is not synonymous with compulsory education, because the former is a component of the latter. Compulsory education is where the state assumes sole responsibility for education (*TEPA Educational News*, 13(1):1, 6, 1958). Compulsory school attendance applies where children have to be present at a school, regardless of the condition of the school. Compulsory school attendance for Coloured children was introduced in 1945 (Union of South Africa, Province of the Cape of Good Hope, *Ordinances*, 1945, p.88).

22 Cape of Good Hope, *The Education Gazette*, 4(20):411-417, 1905.

23 For a descriptive historical account of the school board system, see E.G. Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, volume 1, 1925, pp.9, 127ff, 171.

24 Western Cape Archives, Committee minutes of Cape School Board, 1/1/1/1, 6 February 1907, p.2.

25 S.A. *Clarion*, 1(2):16, 12 April 1919.

26 One of the Coloured students, David van der Ross, who resided in the poorer part of Constantia, identified the other Coloured students as C.H. Rodez from Strand, Charles Theunnissen and J.G. Williams from Wynberg, Mabel Lynch and Cornelia Powell. Abijah Bolani and Price Ntsiko happened to be African students. These students came from a diverse geographical and educational background. Mabel Magdalene Elizabeth Lynch attended the Albertus Public School, a school for Coloured (and African) children where attendance became a symbol of elitism in the Coloured community. Price Plamberton Piloni Ntsiko attended the Native Training School in Bensonvale and the Albertus School (Centre for Education Conservation, Cape Town Teachers' Training College boxes. File on Cape Town Teachers' Training College, Past students & interview with David van der Ross; Pass lists).

27 M. Adhikari, Coloured identity and the politics of language In M. Adhikari (Ed.), *Straatpraatjies*, 1996, p.9.

28 Cape of Good Hope, *Report of the superintendent-general of education*, 1918, p.15.

29 F.G. Backman, *The development of coloured education*, 1991, p.65.

30 The term "apartheid" literally means "being separate" when translated into English. It was a South African policy, promoted by the then National Party, which discriminated against people of colour (D.F. Malan, *Beleidtoespraak*. In P. Goosen *et al.*, *Die triomf van nasionalisme in Suid-Afrika*, 1953, p.89; H. Giliomee, *Nog altyd hier gewees*, 2007, pp.182, 192). The most recent Oxford English dictionary refers to the term "Coloured" as offensive (S. Hawker & C. Soanes, *Compact Oxford English dictionary*, 2005, p.190). The most recent standard Afrikaans dictionary states that usage of the term is racist (R.H. Gouws & F.F. Odendal, (Eds.), *HAT*, 2005, p.574).

31 M. Adhikari, *Not White enough, not Black enough*, 2005, p.54.

The liberal-minded Afrikaner intellectual N.P. van Wyk Louw declared that the Afrikaans word for the term, “Kleurling”, is nauseating.³² Such seemingly correct terminology is sometimes riddled with contradictions. One such contradiction is a short historical review of Physical Education in the Coloured community by Doreen Solomon’s, a subject inspector, who happens to be Coloured. She introduces the article with a short historical review of Physical Education under the supervision of her employer at the time, the Coloured Affairs Department, without questioning either the political acceptance or rejection of this department by Coloured people. However, she uses inverted commas with capital letters when she refers to Coloured men and women further in the paragraph.³³

This study capitalises the “C” in “Coloured” for various reasons. These include a response to the gradual normalisation of South African society in the post-apartheid period, partly in recognition of academics who did not share the same sentiments³⁴ and partly in recognition of ordinary people, at grassroots level, who identified themselves as Coloured.³⁵ This necessitates the capitalisation of references to other racial groups. For the sake of simplification, the term “Black” is used in an inclusive sense to refer to Coloured, Indian and African people as a whole. The term “African” is used to refer to the indigenous speaking people of South Africa. Given the issues outlined above, the term, “Coloured” is used to refer to people who regard themselves as such. Such an approach allows for a grassroots analysis and documentation of Physical Education. However, the study deliberately avoids using the term “Coloured Physical Education” in the commonly used manner of “Coloured education”, “Coloured emotions”, “Coloured habits” and “Coloured religion”.³⁶

32 D.P. Botha, *Die opkoms van ons derde stand*, 1960, p.vi. Louw is an acclaimed Afrikaans writer and could have been referring to the work *Piet Retief* of the Afrikaner novelist Gustav Preller, who used the derogative term “Kleurlingskepsel” (Coloured creature), as a description of Coloured people (G.S. Preller, *Piet Retief*, 1930, p.271). Herman Giliomee, a liberal-minded Afrikaner historian, shares Louw’s sentiments (H. Giliomee, *Nog altyd hier gewees*, 2007, p.xviii).

33 D. Solomon’s Physical Education in schools a right and a necessity. In [Anon.] *Sport and Physica Education: The future as partners in developing the youth of South Africa*, 1995, pp.3, 17.

34 M. Adhikari, *Not White enough, not Black enough*, 2005, p.xv.

35 In 1901, an anonymous writer wrote a letter to *The South African Spectator*, boldly stating, “Ik ben, Kleurling” (I am Coloured) (*South African Spectator*, 1(23):2, 21 September 1901).

36 F.J. Snijman et al., *Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal (sesde deel)*, 1976, p.222.

1.3 DEFINING PHYSICAL EDUCATION

The activities known as Physical Education and physical culture are often used in an undifferentiated manner in both academic and popular writing.³⁷ For the purpose of a fuller appreciation for this study; these two terms will be discussed briefly.

Shortly after World War I, the term “Physical Education” gradually found its way into academic circles. Academics defined the subject as education where the body is the focal point, but development of the whole human being is the aim.³⁸ Until the end of World War II, Physical Education in the Western world and its colonies was marked by a competition among several approaches to what some then called systems of gymnastics.³⁹ Therefore, the history of gymnastics is closely related to the history of Physical Education.

According to the historian, Rosalie de Klerk, the term “Physical Education” includes the term “gymnastics”. This is because ancient Greek societies attached a broad notion of sport to gymnastics. The Greeks also acquired an appreciation for aesthetic bodily feats in their festivals where the term “gymnastics”, derived from the Greek word “gymnos” (to exercise naked), arose.⁴⁰ The advent of the Industrial Revolution in England resulted in gymnastics being conceived as “exercise developing the muscles”.⁴¹ As people increasingly confronted issues linked to urbanisation such as unhygienic sanitation, bad housing and poor nutritional habits, compensation for inactivity was one of the ideas which lay behind the introduction of corrective gymnastics.⁴²

37 For an example see K.A. Schrecker, The school and physical education. *Physical Education*, 2(3):8-12, 32, September 1940.

38 R. de Klerk, Geskiedenis, stelsels en strominge in die liggaamlike opvoedkunde, 1978, p.3; J.W. Postma, Trends in physical education. *Physical Education*, 2(2):2, June 1941.

39 D. Siedentop, *Introduction to Physical Education, fitness and sport*, 1990, p.27.

40 R.I. de Klerk, *Geskiedenis, stelsels en strominge in die liggaamlike opvoedkunde*, 1978, p.2; I.R. van der Merwe, *Beginnels waarop 'n prinsipiële sisteem van liggaamlike opvoeding moet berus*, 1960, p.21.

41 Ministry of Education, *Moving and growing, Part 1*, 1952, p.109.

42 The physical educationist Kenneth Arnold Schrecker defined corrective gymnastics as “exercises given for the purpose of eliminating slight postural deviations” (K.A. Schrecker, *Corrective gymnastics for schools*, 1965, p.1). See also K.A. Schrecker, Corrective gymnastics for schools. *Physical Education*, 5(2):16-21, June 1943; K.A. Schrecker, Corrective gymnastics for schools. *Physical Education*, 5(3):25-33, September 1943; K.A. Schrecker, Corrective gymnastics for schools. *Physical Education*, 5(4):9-22, November 1943.

During and after World War II, the term “physical education” became increasingly popularised as an innocent activity, devoid of political motives.⁴³ At the same time Physical Educationists interested themselves in studies of race and economy. Many attempted to bring Adam Smith’s, *The wealth of nations*,⁴⁴ in line with labour output, economic status and Physical Education. A survey of physical efficiency in South Africa conducted by two medical doctors, Drs. Ernst Jokl and E.H. Cluver, drew attention to the “problem of educability of individuals of low physical efficiency”. These scholars concluded that physical education had to remedy the state of physical unfitness that rendered a vast number of Europeans and non-Europeans in South Africa unable to perform unskilled labour.⁴⁵

Before the advent of the subject term “Physical Education”, the term, “drill exercises”, proved popular and this later metamorphosed into “Physical Training”.⁴⁶ Such instruction excluded games, dancing and swimming.⁴⁷ It included free-standing exercises that originated from the Swedish system;⁴⁸ while apparatus activities (poles, ropes, horizontal and parallel bars) originated from the German “turnen” system.⁴⁹ The gradual development of these terms reflects the development of certain historical ideas, to be expanded on.⁵⁰

During the last decade of the 19th and first two decades of the 20th century British education authorities throughout the empire employed the instructional method known as physical training or physical training drill, inherited from military manoeuvre,⁵¹ while the subject Physical Education emerged from the scientific observation and study of growing children. At the time, physical training also formed

43 During this time some South African physical educationists presented the subject without any political overtures (see J.R. van der Merwe, The conception of physical education. *Physical Education*, 2(2):35-37, June 1941).

44 A. Smith, *An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations*, 1776.

45 E.H. Cluver & E. Jokl, A survey of physical efficiency in South Africa. *Physical Education*, 2(4):6-11, November 1941.

46 Academics, not in favour of Physical Education as a school subject, used the term “physical jerks” (J.R. van der Merwe, The conception of physical education. *Physical Education*, 2(2):35, June 1941).

47 Ministry of Education, *Physical education in the primary school. Planning the programme, Part 1*, 1952, p.11.

48 The Swedish system may trace back to the patriotic enthusiasm of Per Henrik Ling, a poet who took up the sword against England (A. Obholzer, Pehr Henrik Ling. *Physical Education*, 1(3):4-7, September 1939).

49 P.C. McIntosh, *Physical education in England since 1800*, 1968, p.12.

50 Ministry of Education, *Moving and growing, Part 1*, 1952, p.83.

51 Cape of Good Hope, *The Education Gazette*, 2(9):86, 31 October 1902 & 5(3):692, 1 August 1905; Ministry of Education. *Moving and growing, Part 1*, 1952, p.85.

part of a system called manual training or manual work. One German missionary principal/teacher at a Cape school, Theodor Schreve, claimed this system had as sole use the development of the mental, moral and physical power of children. This included kindergarten, handwork drawing for boys, needlework for girls, domestic economy (or science) and physical training.⁵²

In South Africa, 19th century European gymnastic systems strongly influenced the history of Physical Education.⁵³ The 20th century physical educationist, Niels Bukh, defined a system as follows:⁵⁴

“A gymnastic system must be capable of accepting changes or modifications and it should always possess or acknowledge ways and means, exercises and methods of application, which will remove all difficulties that may hinder the perfecting of Physical Education. Every systematised structure has definite laws or bases to build its work upon. Further, it has a number of means for use and, finally a declared goal to aim at.”⁵⁵

These systems had their foundations in the teachings of Per Henrik Ling (Swedish), Niels Bukh (Danish), Bess Mensendick, Karl Gaulhofer, Margarete Streicher, Rudolph von Laban and Rudolph Bode (Austrian).⁵⁶ The Swedish system, the major system during the 19th and early part of the 20th century, was termed “rational”. This implied that the practice of exercises provided a “well-founded, systematic and purposeful influence on the human body” and its main aim should be to provide “good posture and conduct of the youth”.⁵⁷ Early in the 19th century Ling emphasised running, jumping, fencing and swimming in his programme. In 1820 he devised free-standing exercises that had to be performed according to anatomical principles, i.e.

52 *Teachers' Review*, 5(1):3-4, August 1911.

53 M. Taylor, *The encyclopaedia of sports*, 1975, p.143.

54 For an overview of the life and work of Niels Bukh, see K.A. Knudsen, Niels Bukh. *Physical Education* 1(3):25-34, September 1939; For an analytical account of his life, see N. Nielsen, “The cult of the Nordic superman—between the pre-modern and the modern.” Hyperlink [<http://www2.unmist.ac.uk/sport/neilsen99.htm>], 2002.

55 N. Bukh, *Primary gymnastics*, 1948, p.2.

56 For an analytical overview of these influences, see J.W. Postma, *Onderzoek na die wetenskaplike basis van die Europese strominge in die liggaamsopvoeding*, 1945.

57 N. Bukh, *Primary gymnastics*, 1948, p.1.

exercises for every body part but executed separately.⁵⁸ The English system, which formed the basis for the Physical Education system in South African schools,⁵⁹ formed part of an eclectic stream that incorporated the works of Per Henrik Ling, Johannes Lindhard (a medical doctor at the University of Copenhagen) as well as British games, sport and dances (e.g. the Morris dances).⁶⁰

From 1915 onwards, the Danish system of Niels Bukh became more popular.⁶¹ Bukh emphasised strong leadership and paid attention to the nature and development of the separate characteristics of men and women.⁶² He also stressed the importance of suppleness, posture training and participation in a variety of sport activities.⁶³ He stated that the fundamentals of his system focussed on body-building and youth development.⁶⁴ The South African education authorities endorsed his system and Bukh's teachings partly influenced the first syllabus.⁶⁵ The above discussion can be used as a basis of describing Physical Education: An activity with educational goals that include a great terrain of sport and dance activities. These activities have as objective the acquisition of physical goals of health, co-ordination, strength, speed and endurance.⁶⁶

The need for a healthy and disciplined labour force by capitalist industrialists during the 19th century added to the growing interest in physical training drill. The British ruling elite realised they could no longer rely on force as a means of disciplining and controlling the working classes and turned to other options, such as physical training drill. According to the Austrian physical educationist Bess Mensendieck, the method

58 J.W. Postma, *Ondersoek na die wetenskaplike basis van die Europese strominge in die liggaamsopvoeding*, 1945, p.83.

59 F.J.G. van der Merwe, *Sportgeskiedenis*, 1999, p.291.

60 J.W. Postma, *Ondersoek na die wetenskaplike basis van die Europese strominge in die liggaamsopvoeding*, 1945, pp.80, 105, 120, 136, 165, 211-212, 219; J.F. Williams, *The principals of physical education*, 1956, pp.112-113, 230-233; The Margaret Morris Movement was named after a dancer, Margaret Morris, who combined elements from artistic dance that emphasised colour and free-flowing movement, yoga and physiotherapy in the early years of the 20th century (C. Connolly & H. Einzig, *The fitness jungle*, 1986, p.189).

61 K. Nielsen, *The cult of the Nordic superman – between the pre-modern and the modern*, 2000, p.3.

62 N. Bukh, *Primary gymnastics*, 1948, pp.6-7.

63 J.W. Postma, *Ondersoek na die wetenskaplike basis van die Europese strominge in die liggaamsopvoeding*, 1945, p.108, p.108.

64 N. Bukh, Danish gymnastics for country folk. *Physical Education*, 1(1):16, 1939.

65 National Advisory Council for Physical Education, *Physical Education syllabus. Junior book*, 1950, p.v.

66 B.D. Lombard, Liggaamskultuur? *Vigor*, 5(1):23, December 1951.

of physical training drill provided no benefits for daily living⁶⁷ in an industrial society. Others, however, saw the value of physical training drill as a positive means of promoting discipline, control, order and obedience among pupils. They expected that such discipline would awake the social conscience of the child, meaning sacrificing individual self-interests on behalf of the community.⁶⁸

This idea of social consciousness is rooted in Charles Darwin's hypothesis of natural selection, which in turn is based on the science of eugenics. This can be defined as "the study of agencies under social control that may improve or impair the racial qualities of future generations, either physically or mentally".⁶⁹ The first great eugenic exponent turned out to be Darwin's cousin, Francis Galton, who believed in a theory of "race betterment" where "heredity plays an important part in achievement and that better men could be bred by conscious selection".⁷⁰ Prominent social scientists in South Africa took this belief seriously, combined it with eugenics (learning to live well) and promoted it along the lines of education rather than legislation.⁷¹ The instilling of loyalty to the British Empire became the prime aim in society and physical training drill in schools happened to be a suitable means to accomplish this.

In some Cape schools, at least until the 1940's, the day started with 10 minutes 'drill exercises. Either all the teachers supervised their own classes or class groups combined so that one teacher sometimes dealt with as many as 70 children.⁷² A similar trend took place in England, where teachers sent out large numbers of children into the school yard for exercise. There students found themselves arranged in straight lines, while various parts of the body had to be bent and stretched to the

67 J.W. Postma, *Inleiding tot die Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde*, 1965, p. 23. In most cases no progression of exercises took place. One interviewee told the researcher: "We did the same exercises at the Rhenish Mission Primary School and the Battswood Training School" (A. Cupido, telephonic interview, 2007).

68 J.W. Postma, A few thoughts about discipline and physical education. *Physical Education*, 4(3):2-4, September 1942.

69 H.B. Fantham, Heredity in man: Its importance both biologically and educationally. *Report of the 22nd annual meeting of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science*, volume 21, 1924, p.498.

70 H.B. Fantham, Some factors in eugenics, together with notes on some South African cases. *Report of the 23rd annual meeting of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science*, volume 22, 1925, pp.410-411.

71 H.B. Fantham, Heredity in man: Its importance both biologically and educationally. *Report of the twenty- second annual meeting of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science*, volume 21, 1924, pp.498-499.

72 M.I. Scott, Drill in primary schools. *Vigor*, 1(1):12, 1947. In 1922 the Cape Education Department recommended five minutes' daily physical training drill for learners in single-teacher schools. This type of school was the most common for Coloured rural children (Cape of Good Hope, *The Education Gazette*, 21(23):696, 30 March 1922).

teacher's commands, who sometimes worked harder than the pupils.⁷³ This is an indication that the physical training drill lesson had no physiological or health benefit for learners. According to the historian, Siggie Howes, physical training drill did not promote health development but instilling loyalty to the British crown.⁷⁴ Not surprisingly, one perceived value of physical training drill is: "It inculcates habits of discipline, and prompt response to external stimuli; moreover, it is invaluable as a means of obtaining 'esprit de corps'".⁷⁵

With the emergence of international controlling bodies for sport in the latter half of the 19th century, the study of physical training received increased emphasis in higher education centres. With this new development came the growth of new systems after World War I, with an emphasis on therapeutic and health aspects rather than physical prowess solely for military purposes (found in physical training drill). These systems trace their origins back to the early theatre, music and dance pioneers or to the nationalistic developers of gymnastics in the 18th and 19th century.⁷⁶

Dance and music pioneers such as Rudolph von Laban contributed to human movement studies with special reference to dance, drama, mime and industry⁷⁷ by introducing new concepts and themes of scientific enquiry into these fields. Consequently, Von Laban became the first physical educationist to define movement as a result of weight, space, time and flow.⁷⁸ This gave rise to a new human movement dance pattern. Whereas the traditional 19th century European dances focussed almost exclusively on step dances, Von Laban used a flow of movement (incorporating weight, space, time and flow) that pervaded all articulations of the body.⁷⁹

73 Ministry of Education, *Physical Education in the primary school, Part 2*, 1954, p.11.

74 Centre for Education Conservation, S. Howes, Interschool's challenge shields, unpublished paper, 1996, p.15.

75 *Teachers' Review*, 5(1):5, August 1911.

76 Postma refers to them as the "apostles of the rhythmic gymnastics" (J.W. Postma, *Ondersoek na die wetenskaplike basis van die Europese strominge in die liggaamsopvoeding*, 1945, p.139).

77 Referring to an increase in labour output.

78 W.F. Houghton, *Educational gymnastics*, 1965, p.2.

79 R. Laban, *Modern educational dance*, 1975, p.10.

Another dance and music pioneer was Emile Jacques Dalcroze, a music teacher at the Geneva conservatory. He developed a system called eurhythmic education that significantly changed the concept of physical training, particularly that of girls and young children, by combining aesthetics with science and moved the subject from regimentation to more romantic notions of fitness, well-being, the body beautiful and physical supremacy.⁸⁰ A simple definition for eurhythmics is “the use of the body as a musical instrument”.⁸¹ Eurhythmics also aimed at creating a collective feeling among young people.⁸² Rudolf Bode developed the idea of eurhythmics further who in turn influenced Heinrich and Senta Medau. They opened a dance school in Berlin in 1929. The Medau method emphasised natural body movement by using balls, hoops and clubs.⁸³ All these teachings found their way into the South African Coloured community through school syllabi and activities organised by physical culture clubs.⁸⁴

1.4 DEFINING PHYSICAL CULTURE

During the 20th century practitioners attached discordant interpretations and weightiness to the term “physical culture”. In the Western world some physical educationists described physical culture as a fad, devoid of educational value. They claimed its main concern rested in programmes of physical training sold to the broader public on the pretext that it had certain health benefits.⁸⁵ A South African physical educationist, Claude Smit, believed that physical culturists regarded strong muscles as the sole outcome of physical activity and therefore only concerned themselves with the physical aspects of physiology and anatomy without taking into account any educational principles.⁸⁶ The South African secretary for national health in 1939, E.H. Cluver, however asserted that “true physical culture is not aimed at pure strength development but at true citizenship...that will result in happiness and

80 C. Connolly & H. Einzig, *The fitness jungle*, 1986, pp.188, 263; P.C. McIntosh, *Physical education in England since 1800*, 1968, p.195.

81 *Cape Town Training College Magazine*, 1920, p.54.

82 R. Schnepfel, Rhythmic gymnastics. *Physical Education*, 1(1):43, April 1939.

83 C. Connolly & H. Einzig, *The fitness jungle*, 1986, p.203.

84 E. du Toit, Personal interview, 2003.

85 W.H. Freeman, *Physical education in a changing society*, 1977, p.11; C. Smit, The development of the term “physical education”. *Physical Education*, 5(3):2, September 1943.

86 C. Smit, The development of the term “physical education”. *Physical Education*, 5(3):4, September 1943.

satisfaction of the nation”.⁸⁷ Social connotations therefore had strong attachments to physical culture.

The concept of physical culture became popular during the mid to late 19th century⁸⁸ and developed in three overlapping streams. The first is the “born strong man” stream that blossomed in Europe and America towards the end of the 19th century. These included the naturally strong men from working class backgrounds in search of fame and fortune, of whom most weighed 250 pounds and more. They often had bouts of overeating and over drinking that matched their overweight physical appearance.⁸⁹ Although this group of men did not contribute to the scientific development of physical culture,⁹⁰ they served the purpose of identifying the second stream, namely the “self-made strong man”.

A few of these men offered their experience of obtaining big muscles through selling training services to the public and made fortunes. The second stream of physical culture emerged out of their midst.⁹¹ A well-known member of this group was “the physically very beautiful Eugene Sandow who popularised the use of dumbbells in 1887 at Queen Victoria’s golden jubilee”. Suddenly the muscle-and-moustache strong man faded out of fashion. In America, Bernarr Macfadden started the magazine *Physical Culture* in 1898. This came to be a major impetus for the first physical culture competition in Madison Square Garden in New York City in 1903.⁹² MacFadden’s works⁹³ covered aspects of muscle training as well as health and sport.⁹⁴

87 E.H. Cluver, Liggaamskultuur en volksgesondheid. *Liggaamsopvoeding*, 1(1):8, April 1939.

88 B. Macfadden, *Macfadden's encyclopaedia of physical culture, volume 1*, 1928, p.3.

89 B.D. Lombard, Liggaamskultuur? *Vigor*, 5(1):20, December 1951.

90 They started lifting weights because they were strong, not because they followed a systematic programme.

91 B.D. Lombard, Liggaamskultuur? *Vigor*, 5(1):20, December 1951.

92 C. Connolly & H. Einzig, *The fitness jungle*, 1986, p.207.

93 See B. Macfadden, *Macfadden's encyclopaedia of physical culture, Volume 1-5*, 1928.

94 The idea that sport is part of physical culture endured until the 20th century and confirmed by former German president Hindenburg when he included in his address to the International Olympic Committee (primarily a sport organisation) in Berlin in May 1930 that “physical culture must be a life habit” (G. Walters, *Berlin*, 2006, p.6).

The third stream was where strength and muscles were placed in the background and the healing of illnesses, usually by means of natural medicines,⁹⁵ became paramount. These three streams consolidated in a post-World War I physical culture “system” whose adherents “were particular about what they ate, were non-smokers, non-drinkers and abstained from tea and coffee”. These physical culturists later specialised in weight training and became known as body-builders.⁹⁶

To understand the social connotations attached to physical culture, it is useful to refer to Matthew Arnold’s⁹⁷ “attempt at a scientific nomenclature” for the structure of British society. Arnold classified society into three parts: Barbarians, Philistines and Populace. The Barbarians were the aristocrats and the Philistines the middle class (petty bourgeoisie), while the Populace represented the working class. Arnold attributed character traits to each group. He presented the Barbarians as staunch individualists, well-organised and controlled sport at the beginning of the 19th century along the lines of personal liberty. They made no attempt to hand down sport to the Populace, who Arnold saw as “raw and half-developed, who marched where they liked, met where they liked, bawled what they liked and broke what they disliked”.⁹⁸ In the meantime, the Philistines developed their own games, such as athletics, hockey, soccer and tennis. They also infiltrated the Barbarian strongholds of cycling, rowing and rugby. By the middle of the 19th century, after some initial reluctance, the Philistines welcomed the Populace into their sports, provided they would conform to their etiquette of good manners and fair conduct in play. Many Philistines went further and introduced games and sport with a religious motive to the Populace.⁹⁹

Culture, as Arnold defined it, is the attempt “to draw ever nearer to a sense of what is indeed beautiful, graceful and becoming, and to get the raw person to like it”.¹⁰⁰ According to an English headmaster, Edward Thring, society expected rich boys to

⁹⁵ For example see *Cape Standard*, 3 March 1942, p.9.

⁹⁶ B.D. Lombard, Liggaamskultuur? *Vigor*, 5(1):21, December 1951.

⁹⁷ He was a self-confessed middle class member of British society and the son of the famous Thomas Arnold, the school principal of Rugby from 1828 until 1842.

⁹⁸ P.C. McIntosh, *Sport in society*, 1963, p.62.

⁹⁹ P.C. McIntosh, *Sport in society*, 1963, p.62.

¹⁰⁰ B. Haley, *The healthy body and Victorian culture*, 1978, p.175.

help the poor boys in this regard, less for the sake of the poor boy than for the good of the soul of the rich.¹⁰¹ In this way physical culture always had the connotation of working class people trying to uplift themselves with the help of the petty bourgeoisie and religious agencies.

This happened to be true for the Coloured community in the Western Cape. In 1937 a research-based study found that Cape Coloured people were noisy, quarrelsome, fond of gambling, dishonest, treacherous, dirty and superstitious. On the contrary, English speaking South Africans were fond of sport, intelligent, straightforward, law-abiding, good-natured, fair-minded, charitable, industrious, energetic, politically minded and have a sense of humour, feelings of superiority and a strong sense of family.¹⁰² Leading members of the Coloured petty bourgeoisie believed this would change in time if its working class members improved their education and were exposed to the right social and cultural environment.¹⁰³

Eager to make a point that it was culture and civilisation and not colour that mattered, the mouthpiece of the Coloured teachers' organisation at the time, *The Educational Journal*, endorsed Sir John Carruthers Beattie's opinion that "it was not merely having a White skin that we should maintain a White aristocracy but by being White in mind and spirit".¹⁰⁴ Beattie, who became principal of the University of Cape Town, pursued a policy at this institution of "...keeping the peace and a low profile and thus preserving for yourself a measure of freedom from outside forces; keeping the institution out of politics, shunning controversy and accepting the price of a measure of isolation from surrounding society."¹⁰⁵

Beattie's reference to "achievement" had bearing on how the Coloured petty bourgeoisie internalised the concepts of art and culture. Coloured leaders who aspired to be assimilated into mainstream society therefore felt that an effective way of proving themselves should be to demonstrate their proficiency in the activities of

101 C. Norwood, *The English tradition of education*, 1929, p.115.

102 I.D. MacCrone, A quantitative study of race stereotypes. *South African Journal of Science*, 33:1108, March 1937.

103 M. Adhikari, Hope, fear, shame, frustration, 2002, p.167.

104 *Educational Journal*, December 1917, p.5.

105 A. Lennox-Short & D. Walsh, (Eds.), *UCT at 150. Reflections*, 1979, p.25.

art, education, medicine and the military. The practice of physical education and physical culture in the Coloured community had to satisfy the requirements of a rabid racism and address the security imperatives of the system of White minority rule on the one hand and encourage the advancement of Coloured people within these constraints on the other. To achieve this, Physical Education and physical culture leaders in the Coloured community identified with the European themes in these areas, in particular that of the British.

1.5 INFLUENCES ON BRITISH PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND PHYSICAL CULTURE IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY

When British imperialism reached its zenith at the end of the 19th century, the empire comprised almost a quarter of the world, with the British crown represented on every continent. As a result British religion, language, culture, habits and customs, including Physical Education and physical culture, came to be established in Southern Africa.¹⁰⁶ The games and sports practised in South Africa are generally seen to be the foremost British contribution to the development of Physical Education and physical culture.¹⁰⁷

Britain combined English ball games with the school gymnastics practised on the European continent to form their own system of Physical Education.¹⁰⁸ In 1800 the English translated the German philanthropist Johann Friedrich GutsMuths's book, *Gymnastics for the youth*.¹⁰⁹ This work emphasised a knowledge of physiology and medicine as a prerequisite for the study of Physical Education.¹¹⁰ Later, in 1838, the Swede J.G. de Betou introduced the Swedish system of gymnastics in England. Soon afterwards, Lt. C. Ehrenhoff established himself in London and distributed the brochure, *Medicina Gymnastica* (medical gymnastics). By 1850, Carl August Georgii,

¹⁰⁶ F.J.G. van der Merwe, *Sport history*, 2005, p.107.

¹⁰⁷ M. Tozer, Public school pioneers. *The British Journal of Physical Education*, 17(2):57, 1986.

¹⁰⁸ B. Haley, *The healthy body and Victorian culture*, 1978, pp.171-172.

¹⁰⁹ J.W. Willemse, Die invloed van die Sweedse stelsel v an formele oefeninge op die ontwikkeling van liggaamlike opvoeding in Suid-Afrika, 1969, p.43. The British public school system developed in the 19th century and coincided with the rise of the middle class to prosperity, privilege and power. Some of these schools originated as church schools and others as schools for poor and needy children (P.C. McIntosh, *Physical Education in England since 1800*, 1968, pp.11, 17-18).

¹¹⁰ R.I. de Klerk, *Geskiedenis, stelsels en strominge in liggaamlike opvoedkunde*, 1978, p.43.

a former teacher under Per Henrik Ling at the Royal Central Institute of Gymnastics in Stockholm, opened a private institute in London and stayed there until 1877.¹¹¹

During the late 19th century, distinct traditions of Physical Education at different school types developed in England. In the public schools¹¹² organised team games such as soccer, rugby and cricket began to appear early in that century.¹¹³ These happened to be spontaneous recreations of the boys usually disapproved of by the masters. As the century wore on, these organised games however came to be recognised by school authorities and regarded them as a powerful force concerning the education of the sons of the middle and upper classes.¹¹⁴ The middle and upper classes during the 19th century held a general view that the function of a public school is to turn out gentlemen. They believed that a gentleman is a man of character, with traits of readiness, pluck and self-dependence. These virtues are best learned on the playing field.¹¹⁵

Apart from outdoor sports, a great contribution towards the development of Physical Education in England came from the teaching and writings of Archibald Maclaren, for many years proprietor of a gymnasium at Oxford. Under his influence, a type of Physical Education developed from several roots: military drill, calisthenics and gymnastics. This led to the British physical training system which, at the end of the 19th century, also spread to public schools in British colonies.¹¹⁶

1.5.1 THE MILITARY

The relationship between Physical Education and the British military can be traced to 1822, when Phokion Heinrich Clias, originally from Boston in the United States but

111 F.E. Leonard & R.T. McKenzie, *A guide to the history of physical education*, 1927, p.200; J.W. Willemse, *Die invloed van die Sweedse stelsel van formele oefeninge op die ontwikkeling van liggaamlike opvoeding in Suid-Afrika*, 1969, p.45.

112 These schools fell either wholly or partially under government control, with virtually no church influence.

113 M. Tyler, *The encyclopaedia of sports*, 1975, p.143.

114 The British public school system developed in the 19th century and coincided with the rise of the middle class to prosperity, privilege and power. Some of these schools originated as church schools and others as schools for poor and needy children (P.C. McIntosh, *Physical Education in England since 1800*, 1968, pp.11, 17-18).

115 B. Haley, *The healthy body and Victorian culture*, 1978, p.161.

116 P.C. McIntosh, *Physical education in England since 1800*, 1968, pp.11, 17-18.

who later worked with the Swiss army and later accepted an invitation from the British army to organise gymnastics.¹¹⁷ He introduced the German exercises of GutsMuths: jumping, running, throwing, wrestling, climbing, balancing, lifting, carrying, pulling, dancing, walking, military exercises and swimming. Other activities included behaviour in case of fire, night watch, fasting and public speaking;¹¹⁸ as well as the exercises of Friedrich Ludwig Jahn,¹¹⁹ combined with his own ideas. As result of an injury he resigned in 1825 and gymnastics in the army was neglected.¹²⁰

It was MacLaren who placed Physical Education at the centre of military training in the British army. As a boy of 16, he learnt fencing and gymnastics in Paris, and studied medicine. He was however more interested in physical training and was determined to make a serious science of it by integrating the subject with the education system. MacLaren represented British upper class respectability and was described by one aristocrat, Lady Burne-Jones, as “a man of the highest character and with warmth and tenderness underlying reserve of manner”. He chose to live in the elite area of Oxford, where he opened a fencing school and converted it to a gymnasium in 1858.¹²¹ Non-commissioned officers, trained by MacLaren, who in turn trained other soldiers in a military gymnasium at Aldershot. MacLaren advocated physical training in schools, preferring the German “turnen” method of Jahn, as well as the use of army personnel. During the 1860’s and 1870’s, many schools hired former army employees as physical instructors. MacLaren enjoyed official state support; experienced very little opposition against his methods¹²² and military drill was introduced at Rugby, Harrow, Eton, Westminster and other schools.¹²³ By the 1880’s militarism had infiltrated the British school system to the extent that picking up

117 Clais claimed to have been the superintendent of gymnastics at the “Public School of the Charter House”. Unfortunately there is no record at the school of his appointment. If his claim is to be believed, it is the earliest adoption of educational gymnastics by any public school (P.C. McIntosh, *Physical education in England since 1800*, 1968, p.80).

118 P.C. McIntosh, *Physical education in England since 1800*, 1968, p.79; Most of these exercises corresponded with the military spirit of the time (A. Obholzer, GutsMuths. *Physical Education*, 1(2):7, June 1939).

119 For a n overview of Jahn’s ideas, see F.E. Leonard & R.T. McKenzie, *A guide to the history of physical education*, 1927, pp.83-108 & F.J.G. van der Merwe, *Sportgeskiedenis*, 1999, p.280.

120 J.W. Willemse, Die invloed van die Sweedse stelsel v an formele oefeninge op die ontwikkeling van liggaamlike opvoeding in Suid-Afrika, 1969, p.43.

121 F.E. Leonard & R.T. McKenzie, *A guide to the history of physical education*, 1927, pp.205-206; J.W.Willemse, Die invloed van die Sweedse stelsel van formele oefeninge op die ontwikkeling van liggaamlike opvoeding in Suid-Afrika, 1969, p.44

122 Pyotr Lesgatt, founder of the Russian gymnastic movement, worked with the British Imperial army in 1874 and criticised Jahn’s gymnastics, preferring movement above the dependency on equipment (Anon., *Gymnastics 5. 19th century European gymnastics*. n.d., pp.1-2). Nothing came of his objections.

123 P.C. McIntosh, *Physical education in England since 1800*, 1968, pp.71-72.

pencils and opening books had sometimes to be carried out in response to numbered commands. Teachers went through drill courses that sometimes resulted in spectacles where school mistresses aged 50 or even 60 underwent drill by a sergeant instructor.¹²⁴

In England, the military utility remained uppermost in the thoughts of the Physical Education organiser.¹²⁵ The aristocratic class formed a Lads' Drill Association in 1899. Its purpose included the advocating of compulsory military and patriotic training through a programme of the systematic physical and military training of British lads and instruction in the use of the rifle.¹²⁶ The following year the British Education Department "recognised" physical exercises as well as drill as part of the school curriculum and school programmes continued to be based largely on military textbooks, together with MacLaren's *System of physical education*, which was republished in 1895.

The physical deterioration of the English soldier in the Second South African War led to serious concerns in military circles.¹²⁷ This resulted in the first Physical Education course for naval officers, based on the Swedish system, to be held in Portsmouth in 1903.¹²⁸ In 1905 the War Office officially introduced the Swedish system into the army and a Dane, Colonel H.P. Langkilda, began working at Aldershot.¹²⁹ The following year he accepted the responsibility of Physical Education instructor with 16 trainees under his charge. From September 1904 a regular four-month course for non-commissioned officers was held.¹³⁰ The course emphasised marching, digging, throwing bombs, jumping trenches, using the rifle and bayonet and gun handling. After World War I, the emphasis shifted to the teaching of games and the more formal Swedish gymnastics in the training of soldiers.¹³¹ Many of the formal systems of Physical Education in Britain and its colonies came about as a direct result of

124 C. Griggs, The attitude of the labour movement towards drill in elementary schools. *Bulletin of Physical Education*, 17(1):21, 1981.

125 R.T. McKenzie, *Exercise and education and medicine*, 1924, p.184. Physical Education organiser is another term for Physical Education inspector.

126 C. Griggs, The attitude of the labour movement towards drill in elementary schools, 1870-1925. *Bulletin of Physical Education*, 17(1):21, 23-24, 1981.

127 This is also true of the civilian population at the time. In 1900, the poet Rudyard Kipling released a pamphlet in which he called on Britain to "secure its national defences by militarising every Briton from an early age" (R.Durbach, *Kipling's South Africa*, 1988, pp.60, 69-70, 87).

128 J.W. Willemse, *Die invloed van die Sweedse stelsel van formele oefeninge op die ontwikkeling van liggaamlike opvoeding in Suid-Afrika*, 1969, p.46.

129 B. Churcher, The contribution of H.G. Junker. *The British Journal of Physical Education*, 17(2):55, March/April, 1986.

130 J.W. Willemse, *Die invloed van die Sweedse stelsel van formele oefeninge op die ontwikkeling van liggaamlike opvoeding in Suid-Afrika*, 1969, p.47.

131 F.E. Leonard & R.T. McKenzie, *A guide to the history of physical education*, 1927, p.71.

these military developments,¹³² along with influences of race and class in industrial and urban society.

1.5.2 INDUSTRIALISATION AND URBANISATION

During the 19th century, Britain experienced the emergence of two urbanised classes of people that developed the industrial revolution and helped to set up a colonial power: the labouring poor and the socially conscious middle class or petty bourgeoisie. Due to this process of industrialisation, the topic of health occupied the Victorian mind to a large extent.¹³³ The emerging urbanised petty bourgeoisie, of whom some had become property owners, started showing concern about public order, sanitation and the provision of other amenities in the cities where they lived.¹³⁴ This concern was rooted in a fear of the “ruffianism” of working class youths that had “become a danger to all classes of people”.¹³⁵

Municipal authorities started providing swimming pools, playing fields and parks, while churches and industrial companies provided many opportunities for post-school sport and physical recreation between the two World Wars. A five-day working week and a decline in church attendance contributed to their being more recreation time on hand.¹³⁶ The petty bourgeoisie gradually accepted the permanency of their urban settlement, where they found themselves in close proximity of the poorer classes, who lived in unsanitary conditions.

1.5.2.1 Class, gender and race

Every aspect of life in the British Empire during the Victorian era emphasised issues of race. One of the most influential British imperialists of the late 19th century, Cecil John Rhodes, contended that the English are the finest race in the world and that the

132 I. Nel, Whither physical education? *Vigor*, 2(1):30, 1948.

133 B. Haley, *The healthy body and Victorian culture*, 1978, p.3.

134 H. Robinson, *Beyond city limits*, 1998, p.xi.

135 L.M. Rigby & C.E.B. Russel, *Working lads' clubs*, 1908, p.9.

136 J. Coghlan, Sport and people. *The British Journal of Physical Education*, 17(2):59, March/April 1986.

more of the world they inhabit, the better it is for the human race.¹³⁷ Founder members of prominent English organisations at the time such as Lord Meath (Lads' Drill Association) and Robert Baden-Powell (Scouting Movement), expressed the view that the Darwinian theory of the survival of the fittest applies to nations as well as individuals.¹³⁸

This race consciousness was reflected long after Rhodes' death in the introductory words of the 1933 *Physical training syllabus*:

"The Board wish to record their conviction that the development of good physique is a matter of national importance vital to the welfare and even the survival of the race ... before physical training can have its full effect upon the human body the following conditions must be presupposed:

- (i) the child must be of good stock;
- (ii) he must have been carefully nurtured;
- (iii) the laws of hygiene must be observed;
- (iv) nutrition must be adequate; and
- (v) environment should be satisfactory."¹³⁹

The first two conditions were particularly important. They spoke directly towards the preservation of an aristocratic class and was a spill over from a 19th century view that "the care of ... the body for all manly exercises; the vigour, good looks and fine complexion... may all be observed in our aristocratic classes".¹⁴⁰ This raises questions about the achievements of the working class, in particular Black children in the British Physical Education system.

The historian, Horrace Lashley presented thought-provoking ideas on this subject in the *British Journal of Physical Education*, and introduced his article with references

137 A. Thomas, *Rhodes*, 1996, p.8.

138 J. Springhall, *Youth, empire and society*, 1977, p.9.

139 Board of Education, *Syllabus of physical training for schools*, 1933, pp.6, 8.

140 B. Haley, *The healthy body and Victorian culture*, 1978, p.179.

made by teachers to stereo typing Black schoolchildren as failures and underachievers, but as being successful in Physical Education. From a Black perspective, he voiced the resentment at this success because of the low priority and status the subject enjoyed.¹⁴¹ He further stated that Black children in the British education system were always viewed from a problem perspective and that this created and reinforced harmful ethno-centrism and racial stereotyping: Asio-Blacks (Coloured) children were not expected to succeed in Physical Education and were thought of as highly motivated and academically successful, while Afro-Blacks (African) were considered to be more disruptive and consequently more likely to fail academically, but expected to succeed in Physical Education.¹⁴²

Race considerations in Physical Education also stretched across the gender divide. In 1930, a woman driven by British ideas on race, Mary Bagot Stack, founded the Women's League of Health and Beauty. She articulated her self-confessed aim as "cultivating 'racial health'. This she based on her belief that health and beauty helped to furnish peace after the devastation of World War I. Her ideas regenerated British national pride and the cultivation of health, youth and vigour during the inter-war years.¹⁴³

All of this resonates strongly with the South African racial hierarchal structure and has historical links with a philosophy dubbed Muscular Christianity. This philosophy is not necessarily associated with any one person, group, movement or time frame, but is an idea that physical education is an avenue through which mental, moral and religious benefits are developed and sustained.

1.5.2.1.1 Muscular Christianity and Physical Education

In districts consisting of large towns, British public school teachers implemented programmes with Physical Education content driven by the dictates of the capitalist

141 See W. Kloppers, To move with a different view, 1996, pp.44-45 for discussion on the status of Physical Education in the South African school curriculum.

142 H. Lashley, The new black magic. *The British Journal of Physical Education*, 11(1):5, January 1980.

143 C. Connolly & H. Einzig, *The fitness jungle*, 1986, p.189.

rich and dwindling religious orders under a philosophy called Muscular Christianity. The constant threat of illness in the Victorian home made people conscious of their bodies and they became anxious to know how their bodies worked.¹⁴⁴ Clerics also made a shift away from the sport versus religion model and propagated the view that sport (therefore also Physical Education and physical culture) is a socialising agent for the benefit for the nation.¹⁴⁵

The birth of new social relations during the Industrial Revolution in Britain motivated this philosophy. People responded less to religious motivation and assessed the world in rational and empirical terms.¹⁴⁶ An important source for this philosophy came from the educational ideals of the aristocratic British. The semi-autobiographical work, *Tom Brown's schooldays*, did much to propagate this philosophy. This is an account of life at the elite British boys' secondary school, Rugby, during the 1830's and 1840's. The then headmaster, Thomas Arnold, believed in an education that produced manliness, courage, patriotism, moral character and team spirit. The acceptance of these notions contributed to Physical Training developing rapidly in the last half of the 19th century.¹⁴⁷ The public school came to be regarded not only as a conservatory for learning manliness, but also the home of games. Over time games and British manliness became synonymous.¹⁴⁸ Liberal and conservative politicians alike favoured this type of education system.¹⁴⁹

This resulted in the British aristocracy replacing the fading Victorian Puritanism in industrialised and urbanised British education, with an emphasis on the virtues of "moral and physical force" that Arnold advocated.¹⁵⁰ As religious prohibitions on playing games began to loosen; the idea that exercise and fitness are educationally important became more acceptable to Victorian intellectuals.¹⁵¹ They started insisting on a spiritual life higher than that of a body, but in one way or another they all

144 B. Haley, *The healthy body and Victorian culture*, 1978, p.5.

145 A. de Villiers Visser, *Godsdiens en sport, Liggaamsopvoeding*. 1(1):39, April 1939.

146 M. Haralambos & R.M. Heald, *Sociology themes and perspectives*, 1980, p.484.

147 D. Siedentop, *Introduction to physical education, fitness and sport*, 1990, p.69.

148 B. Haley, *The healthy body and Victorian culture*, 1978, p.168.

149 Thomas Arnold may be considered conservative by nature, but the author of *Tom Brown's schooldays*, Thomas Hughes, is known to have been an outspoken Liberal Party spokesperson (T. Hughes, *Tom Brown's schooldays*, 1994, pp.1-3).

150 B. Haley, *The healthy body and Victorian culture*, 1978, p.170; D. Siedentop, *Introduction to physical education, fitness and sport*, 1990, p.69.

151 D. Siedentop, *Introduction to physical education, fitness and sport*, 1990, p.23.

thought physiologically. As a result they adopted the “well-knit” body as their model for the well-formed mind, and the mind-body harmony as their model for spiritual health with external principles of growth and order.¹⁵²

The loyal, brave and active aristocratic young men had to portray a public image of sport participation as a good alternative to gambling and alcohol abuse. Muscular Christianity became to Arnold’s followers the answer against such “riotous living”.¹⁵³

The emergence of 19th century games also reflected the values of British justice, where rules were laid down for an equal number of players in teams; placing limitations on the number of team players and rules to combat brutality.¹⁵⁴ Individual excellence at these games became undesirable and the subjection of individuality for the benefit of the group became a hallmark of Muscular Christianity. The elite infused this into their exclusive games of cricket and rugby-football, which became the favoured sports of the elite.¹⁵⁵ Other popular games of the elite included hockey, lawn tennis, fives, rackets and golf mainly, as Norwood put it, for their hygienic value.¹⁵⁶ Muscular Christians, however, considered excessive participation in these sports and other avenues of life (such as nutrition, work and relaxation) a vice.¹⁵⁷

This socialisation process through games entrenched class distinctions. Throughout the British Empire, the urban petty bourgeoisie found the philosophy of Muscular Christianity a suitable means to keep themselves separate from the “sport mad” working class. This suited aristocratic societies who came to see sport as a means to create the gentleman, who was quite different from the mechanic, artisan or labourer. School principals believed that they had to produce manly, Christian and capable men “fit to successfully fight life’s battle in the world”.¹⁵⁸ One only has to

152 B. Haley, *The healthy body and Victorian culture*, 1978, p.4.

153 H. Spencer, *Education. Intellectual, moral and physical*, 1911, p.179.

154 F.J.G. van der Merwe, *Sportgeskiedenis*, 1999, p.158.

155 See F.J.G. van der Merwe, *Sport history*, 2007, pp.107-119 for a descriptive account of the development of rugby.

156 C. Norwood, *The English tradition of education*, 1929, pp.102-103, 105. See F.J.G. van der Merwe, *Sportgeskiedenis*, 1999, pp.162-172 for a descriptive account of the development of tennis, cricket and hockey.

157 H. Spencer, *Education. Intellectual, moral and physical*, 1911, p.180.

158 R. Hauman, *Century of the marathon*, 1996, pp.13-14.

think of cricket, the favoured sport of the Victorian elite, while the working class played association football (soccer).

Manliness could only be obtained by Sparto-Christian ways, a concept advocated by the argumentative and eccentric Scottish headmaster of Loretto School, Dr. H.H. Almond.¹⁵⁹ Loretto School turned out “manly and muscular boys”.¹⁶⁰ Almond’s “Spartan way” emphasised securing a healthy body of citizens by carefully regulating the life of women through prescribing a course in gymnastics for girls. He did this for the purpose of ensuring “vigorous mothers for a sturdy race”.¹⁶¹ Some post-Victorian scientists believed that such a “race” could only be achieved if it conformed to the principles of eugenics.¹⁶²

The Christian way, according to Almond, entails viewing the laws of health in terms of divine obligation. Breaches of these laws should be considered sin. The laws related to his strong views on the importance of health, Physical Education and physical culture, school sport and exercise had to be applied on scientific terms, but bound up with Christian rational moral ideals. He encouraged moderation in all things and rejected outright the over-emphasis on sport by professionals. Such laws could be expressed in terms of every child, boy and girl,¹⁶³ who received at least two hours of vigorous bodily exercise in the open air every day, despite the weather.

The *Education Gazette* states that between 1862 and 1874 Loretto School’s boarding students slept with open windows, wear knicker bockers instead of formal clothing when they played sport, had daily morning swims and wet-weather runs, not allowed to eat between meals, walked with bare heads (except on Sundays and hot days), played golf without coats and wore anatomical boots. Almond regarded these practices as beneficial not only for Loretto but for the whole British Empire. School

159 D. Brown, Social Darwinism, private schooling and sport. In J.A. Mangan, (Ed.), *Pleasure, profit, proselytism* 1988, pp.218-219, 222.

160 Cape of Good Hope, *Education Gazette*, 5(29):676, 1906.

161 F.E. Leonard & R.T. McKenzie, *A guide to the history of physical education*, 1927, p.18.

162 H.B. Fantham, Some factors in eugenics, together with notes on some South African cases. *Report of the twenty-third annual meeting of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science*, volume 22, 1925, p.412.

163 Almond subjected his own daughters to his physical exercise regime (Cape of Good Hope, *Education Gazette*, 5(29):676, 1906.

life became “a lever for affecting a revolution in the physical habits of the nation”.¹⁶⁴ In this way Muscular Christianity became an endorsement of a growing belief in Victorian society that moral courage is related to physical courage and fitness.¹⁶⁵ This Muscular Christian influence also influenced the thinking found in the many clubs that sprang up in 19th century England.

1.5.2.2 The Boys’ Club Movement

Towards the end of the 18th century, men like Robert Raikes of Gloucester and John Pounds of Portsmouth introduced the concept of clubs in England. Their work included “providing harmless amusement...to keep boys out of mischief”.¹⁶⁶ Between 1865 and 1871 petty bourgeoisie men such as Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon and Quintin Hogg developed clubs in England around these ideas. During the 19th and early 20th century clubs became a conspicuous feature in the life of the working class child. Those in power considered this movement important to the extent that “the future of England rest(ed) upon it”.¹⁶⁷

The middle class urbanites believed that the streets were not fertile in resources and therefore boys lived out their craving for violent exercise. The idea that clubs could give the youths of poorer classes an opportunity to become happier, healthier and better citizens than what they would likely become if they spent their time loafing about the streets, grew from this belief. This is the notion of the “making of the thoroughly decent man”.¹⁶⁸ Working class clubs however remained aware of the fact that they would not be allowed to “go too far... for a club by becoming too respectable may altogether cease to exist”.¹⁶⁹

In the 19th and early 20th century clubs in the British Empire formed part of the culture of colonisation that enshrined and preserved all the solid virtues of class and

¹⁶⁴ Cape of Good Hope, *Education Gazette*, 5(29):676-677, 1906.

¹⁶⁵ D. Siedentop, *Introduction to physical education, fitness and sport*, 1990, p.84.

¹⁶⁶ L.M. Rigby & C.E.B. Russel, *Working lads' clubs*, 1908, p.13.

¹⁶⁷ L.M. Rigby & C.E.B. Russel, *Working lads' clubs*, 1908, pp.6, 15

¹⁶⁸ L.M. Rigby & C.E.B. Russel, *Working lads' clubs*, 1908, pp.3-4, 11.

¹⁶⁹ L.M. Rigby & C.E.B. Russel, *Working lads' clubs*, 1908, p.23.

proper male behaviour patterns of the times. For this reason clubs offered “civilised indoor games” – chess, draughts, bagatelle and ring-game– but avoided the “uncivilised games” of cards and dominoes. These clubs also promoted “civilised relations between the genders”. This meant that girls had to be modest, gentle, sympathetic, sensible, and innocently funny and display comradeship. Boys, on the other hand, had to assert their manhood and to accept ‘coy’ girls. Girls were thought of as dependent on males and two authors suggested that it “would be an excellent thing for girls’ clubs to affiliate to existing boys’ clubs ... to witness each other’s prowess in gymnastic displays and the like”.¹⁷⁰

At the same time the aristocratic private rooms in the coffee shops and taverns of London developed their own ideas about clubs. Prosperity led to palatial premises of the Pall Mall and the Piccadilly with their stone walls and plush interiors, great leather arm chairs and magnificent chandeliers. These clubs became socially exclusive, admitting only men of title, wealth or prominence.¹⁷¹ Many working class people who aspired, in vain, to become members of these clubs started their own ventures and formed their own clubs. Some clubs devoted themselves almost exclusively to amusement and physical development by means of gymnastic exercises and outdoor games; some mainly concerned themselves with educational programmes; others made religious activity the focal point of their efforts. The majority of working class clubs pursued a combination of all three.

By 1891 115 clubs – classified as political (32), social (18), philanthropic and religious (33) and proprietary (32) – operated in the working and middle class eastern part of London.¹⁷²

These clubs, based on the European “social club model”¹⁷³ reflected some religious motive and social charity dispensed by middle class people.¹⁷⁴ Enthusiasm for these

170 L.M. Rigby & C.E.B. Russel, *Working lads’ clubs*, 1908, pp.265, 271, 274, 269, 326.

171 R. de Villiers & S. Brooke Norris, *The story of the Rand club*, 1976, p.1.

172 C. Booth. Institutions and classes. In C. Booth (Ed.), *Labour and life of the people*, 1891, p.103.

173 Social clubs appeared in London roundabout 1880 with the characteristic traits of ample beer, music, games and public debate (C. Booth, Institutions and classes. In C. Booth (Ed.), *Labour and life of the people*, 1891, pp.96, 98.

174 B.L. Henriques, *Club leadership to-day*, 1951, pp.1-2.

clubs often depended on the efforts of single individuals, who sometimes happened to be ministers of religion, the Muscular Christians.¹⁷⁵ Clubs became a symbol of an urgent moral dilemma of the Victorian era; the reconciliation of collective action designed to remedy social abuses and promote the well-being of the individual with the maintenance and encouragement of personal responsibility and initiative.¹⁷⁶ The original idea the club movement pioneers had in mind for working class boys (“keeping them off the streets... by civilising the very roughest or very lowest lads of a district”) was extended to the “making of men” along lines of Muscular Christianity.¹⁷⁷ This sentiment also found expression in the brigade movement. One such programme was the Boys’ Brigade Christian Youth Movement.

1.5.2.3 The Boys’ Brigade Movement and the Church Lads’ Brigade

The Boys’ Brigade Movement started on Thursday 4 October 1883 with a small company of 55 boys under the leadership of Sir William Alexander Smith.¹⁷⁸ He came from a military family and was an ardent Sunday school teacher who started the first company of the Boys’ Brigade in the Mission Hall of the Free College Church in Glasgow, based on his military experience.¹⁷⁹ According to the historian, Timothy Parsons, Smith responded to concerns of the upper classes about social unrest in the city’s overcrowded working class slums by introducing military uniforms and drill into his Sunday school classes.¹⁸⁰ Other churches and religions started imitating Smith and similar initiatives appeared in London in the late 19th century. The most prominent came to be the Church Lads’¹⁸¹ Brigade (Anglican) in 1891, the Jewish Lads’ Brigade in 1895, the Catholics Boys’ Brigade in 1896 and the Boys’ Life Brigade in Nottingham outside London in 1899.¹⁸² The Church Lads’ Brigade laboured in the Coloured community in the Western Cape.

175 D.V. Coghlan, The early years. In G. le Roux (Ed.), *90 Golden years*, 1984, p.50.

176 T.S. Simey & M.B. Simey, *Charles Booth*, 1960, p.5.

177 L.M. Rigby & C.E.B. Russel, *Working lads’ clubs*, 1908, pp.4, 22.

178 D.F. Adonis, *Today’s boys, tomorrow’s men*, 1995, p.1; *Sun*, 11 November 1949, p.2; L.M. Rigby & C.E.B. Russel, *Working lads’ clubs*, 1908, p.320.

179 *Sun*, 27 August 1954, p.6.

180 T.H. Parsons, *Race, resistance and the boy scout movement in British colonial Africa*, 2004, p.50.

181 During the 19th and early 20th century the term “lad” meant “a boy of obscure origin, a follower who needs to be led”. The opposite of a lad is an esquire, someone who is “a shield bearer or gentleman” (W.W. Skeat, *An etymological dictionary of the English language*, 1910, pp.200, 326). A squire is one who provided recreation for himself (R. Longrigg, *The English squire and his sport*, 1977, p.7).

182 D.F. Adonis, *Today’s boys, tomorrow’s men*, 1995, p.60.

The origin of the Church Lads' Brigade can be traced back to 21 July 1891 to the St. Andrew's Company in Fulham, London, under the direction of Colonel Walter Gee.¹⁸³ This military man believed in "the importance of manhood in the great Christian empire"¹⁸⁴ and soon the British military gave its official blessing.¹⁸⁵ On 11 November that year it became a fully inaugurated movement and was associated with British aristocracy and the military. The first president was the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn and the first chairman was General Lord Chelmsford, who fought in the African frontier wars in the Cape Colony.¹⁸⁶

Rapid growth occurred and by 1897 every Anglican diocese in England and Wales had representation on the controlling body, the Governing Brigade Council, with one company in Scotland. By 1893 the organisation had 8 000 Church Lads' Brigade Boys.¹⁸⁷ In 1954, most of the Protestant churches in 26 countries and colonies of the British Empire had a division of this brigade. It boasted over 120 000 officers and boys and another 75 000 keen youngsters in the Life Boys, also known as the Junior Reserve.¹⁸⁸

Church Lads' Companies organised themselves under parishes in two age group sections: a senior section of 13 years and older and a junior section of eight to 13 years. The Church Lads' Brigade insisted on regular church attendance of all its members and the officers became youth leaders in drill, recreation and Christian discipleship.¹⁸⁹ This meant boys had to be "trained" by "military drill and discipline to the habits of cleanliness, neatness, punctuality, obedience, self-respect and reverence which tend towards true Christian manliness".¹⁹⁰

183 The Church Lads' Brigade, *Diamond Jubilee*, 1954, p.15.

184 *Caledon Venster*, 2(75):3, 5 February 1927.

185 D.F. Adonis, *Today's boys, tomorrow's men*, 1995, p.60.

186 The Church Lads' Brigade, *Diamond Jubilee*, 1954, p.15.

187 D.F. Adonis, *Today's boys, tomorrow's men*, 1995, p.60.

188 *Sun*, 27 August 1954, p.6.

189 *Cape Standard*, 15 June 1936, p.4.

190 L.M. Rigby & C.E.B. Russel, *Working lads' clubs*, 1908, p.321.

The Church Lads' Brigade intended to help boys accomplish something for their country and community.¹⁹¹ A four-squared motif, as explained by a Church Lads' Brigade official in Cape Town, Colonel E. Smedley-Williams, symbolised this intention. The left square symbolised the body, given by God to be trained and developed, to be made as beautiful as possible. The right square stood for mental development (reading, writing, studying, citizenship, hobbies and gardening). The top square represented the development of social life by means of first-aid teaching, fire escape, lifesaving and temperance clubs. The fourth square stood for missionary work.¹⁹² The Church Lads' Brigade employed uniform and drill to appeal to adolescents' romantic sense and to deepen discipline, promote co-operation, inspire loyalty and unselfishness. A further intention included the helping of boys in the country villages,¹⁹³ in the crowded streets of the city and at the mission schools by combating "the devil's trinity of drugs, dice and drink".¹⁹⁴ The Church Lads' Brigade believed that this could be overcome by teaching boys discipline by learning what it meant to be quiet.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹¹ *Caledon Venster*, 2(75):3, 5 February 1927; *Clarion*, 30 October 1948, p.2.

¹⁹² *Sun*, 9 November 1934, p.6.

¹⁹³ On 14 January 1927 the Church Lads' Brigade started activities in the rural area of Caledon at the Anglican mission school. The Reverend C.R. Heywood stated that the aims of this branch intended to deepen the faith of the church members and to develop a sound body by discipline, physical exercises and an idea of duty (*Caledon Venster*, 2(73):2, 22 January 1927).

¹⁹⁴ *Caledon Venster*, 2(75):3, 5 February 1927; *Sun*, 26 August 1932, p.6; Another expression referred to was "sloth, lust and drink" (Church Lads' Brigade, *75th Anniversary brochure*, 1969, p.18).

¹⁹⁵ L.M. Rigby & C.E.B. Russel, *Working lads' clubs*, 1908, p.14.

1.5.2.4 The Scout Movement

The international Scout Movement owes its growth to Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Baden-Powell, whose experience in the Second South African War made him “realise the helplessness of the average city dweller when called upon to care for himself, in a military sense, in the woods or on the plain”.¹⁹⁶ Even though Baden-Powell had a military background, the Scout Movement steered clear of military involvement in the countries in which it operated.¹⁹⁷ In fact, he resigned from the military soon after the establishment of the Scout Movement. In reality, the Scout Movement owes its origin to the Boys’ Brigade Movement. Baden-Powell wrote his book, *Scouting for boys*, for the Boys’ Brigade and when young people in Britain started reading the weekly articles on “scouting”, they almost spontaneously started practising his ideas. After this he experimented with the first camp on Brown Sea Island, in Britain, with 20 boys in 1908.¹⁹⁸

Soon after the Scout Movement’s establishment, it made inroads in all parts of the world, including South Africa, with the moral support of the League of Nations.¹⁹⁹ Although Physical Education never formed a major part of the scout programme,²⁰⁰ the Scout Movement’s origin is described by an American author as “as patriotic as the gymnastics of Sweden and Germany”.²⁰¹

1.5.2.5 The Outward Bound Movement

The Outward Bound course was established in 1941 as the Outward Bound Sea School at Aberdovey on the west coast of Wales. The school received favourable attention from the British authorities and they appointed the first warden, Jim Hogan, a deputy education officer in the education department. Hogan had the assistance of

196 R.T. McKenzie, *Exercise in education and medicine*, 1924, p.182. Rudyard Kipling largely influenced Baden-Powell, in view of his belief in the need to train Britons for war from an early age, when the two met in South Africa (R. Durbach, *Kipling’s South Africa*, 1988, p.64).

197 Anon., *The South African boy*, 1928, p.4.

198 W. Adams, private e-mail correspondence, 2008; T.H. Parsons, *Race, resistance and the boy scout movement*, 2004, p.72; *Southern Mail*, 25 July 2007, p.6.

199 R.T. McKenzie, *Exercise and education and medicine*, 1924, pp.181-182; Anon., *The South African boy*, 1928, p.34.

200 W. Adams, private e-mail correspondence, 2008.

201 R.T. McKenzie, *Exercise in education and medicine*, 1924, p.183.

a Nazi refugee and former director of Physical Education at Göttingen University, Dr. Zimmerman. At this school students received instruction in a Muscular Christian way with the emphasis on self-governance. The first course for girls took place at Eskdale in the Keswick and Western Lake District, England, in 1951.

The Outward Bound Movement came to the African continent in Nigeria in 1951 and Kenya in 1956. Both emphasised the breaking down of tribal and religious differences in the interest of national unity. At the latter course both European settlers and African boys could enrol with the hope that racial, tribal and religious misunderstandings would be fewer and the danger of civil war would become remote.²⁰² This conformed to Kurt Hahn's²⁰³ philosophy of "taming juvenile delinquents, raising shamefully low standards of physical fitness and healing international misunderstandings". The aim of the Outward Bound course was to shape the character of young people along these lines of Hahn's philosophy.²⁰⁴

This chapter provided an overview of British Physical Education and physical culture programmes from the 19th until the middle of the 20th century and elucidated the influence of the historical factors of race and class. The account identified the role of exclusive middle and upper class schools shaping Physical Education. Initially they developed games along the lines of bourgeoisie values that later added European continental gymnastic systems. This refers to the bourgeoisie who excluded the working class, whom they viewed as "rough and unscrupulous elements", from their games.²⁰⁵ As England grew into a world power, the military utility became more prominent and schools employed retired army officers to teach physical training drill. It was also shown how the most important empire builder, Cecil John Rhodes, shared peculiar notions about British racial superiority with other leading British public figures and how this racial bias found expression in a British Physical Education syllabus.

202 B. Fletcher, *The challenge of outward bound*, 1971, pp.10-11, 26-27.

203 An exiled German Jew who spoke out against Nazism.

204 *Readers' Digest*, January 1972, p.153; J. Volmink, *Education towards leadership*, 2001, p.9.

205 P.C. McIntosh, *Sport in society*, 1963, p.62.

Furthermore, the use of Physical Education and physical culture as a civilising agent in a growing urban environment was highlighted. It was emphasised that this was done through the establishment of exclusive clubs, catering separately for the upper classes and the labouring poor within the confines of a culture of colonisation and empire. Through all of this, the philosophy of Muscular Christianity remained a dominant view in a gender- biased Physical Education system in England. The importance of this overview is the fact that these British ideas found their way into South African schools,²⁰⁶ and received favourable attention from the state and many Coloured teachers and organisations.

206 In 1939 government appointed officials resolved that British teachers serving as exchange teachers in the Cape Province, who is unwilling to return to Great Britain, could compete for temporary appointments with teachers born or trained in South Africa (Western Cape Archives, PAE 1899, EM/468, Overseas interchange of teachers. Executive committee meeting held 23 October 1939, Minute 17, 221).

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

There is a sizeable list of academic and popular literature on the history of Physical Education that deals exclusively with White South Africa and it is often designated as the official South African version. The corresponding list dealing with Physical Education and physical culture in the Coloured community is scarce and scattered between the pages of this “official version”. This deficiency is compounded by being very descriptive, without any social analysis.¹ Such descriptive writing usually consists of a summary of facts, with little attention given to the relationship between educational or philosophical influences and even less to economic and political events.²

In order to determine attitudes, assumptions and conceptions about Physical Education and physical culture in the Coloured community, this chapter surveys published and unpublished works through an extensive literature survey of systematic and popular writing. This includes presenting available background information concerning the researcher, supervisor and placing the text in its social context. The aim is to place the work in a historical context that is as complete as possible and to present a coherent image of the role Coloured people occupied in physical education and physical culture history.

The literature survey is divided in three themes: The first theme is based on an idea that Physical Education and physical culture, as practised in White South African society, is the official version and that the practices in Coloured society are not worthy to be mentioned. The deliberate omission of Coloured people in South African Physical Education and physical culture history is seen as natural and the existence of these fields and in that community poses no need for analysis. This

¹ This statement is derived from comments made by the sport sociologist John Nauright about South African sport (J. Nauright, *Sport, culture and identities in South Africa* 1997, p.18). The sentiment is also applicable to Physical Education and physical culture.

² J.W. Postma, *Ondersoek na die wetenskaplike basis van die Europese strominge in die liggaamsopvoeding*, 1945, p.4.

reduces the scientific value of these studies because of faulty assumptions of reality. The second theme in the historical recording of the subject is that marginalisation is accepted as natural. The third theme emerged in the 1980's and, compared to the first two approaches, literature is hardly available. There is only one work in this category that reflects on the history of Physical Education (not physical culture) in terms of political tension in South African society and its contents are polemic.

2.2 OMISSION OF COLOURED PEOPLE IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION HISTORY

The earliest known attempt from within the South African Physical Education fraternity to provide a historical account of the subject is found in a textbook entitled: *Beginsels en leidraad vir die Liggaamsopvoeding in die skool* (Principles and clue for Physical Education in the school) in 1939. The author is Anton Obholzer, head of the Department of Physical Education at Stellenbosch University from 1937 until 1939. Obholzer believed in and propagated national socialism. As an Austrian he brought with him the influences of the German Wandervogel Movement, a supposedly non-political youth movement that aimed to revive an interest in ancient German habits with a desire for a return to nature.³ However, the historian Peter Staudenmaier claims that historical records contradict the claim that those who want to reform society with ecologically friendly programmes are neither left nor right but ecologically minded. He asserts that such programmes do indeed carry political messages to its participants.⁴ This is evident in the Wandervogel Movement, where some members publicly claimed their sympathy towards the Third Reich.⁵ In addition Obholzer attended Niels Bukh's school as a student in Ollerup, Denmark and invited him to stage an exhibition in South Africa in 1939. During Obholzer's stay at Stellenbosch he made use of the services of an employed assistant, Oskar Gonetz,⁶ from the Berlin Institute of Physical Education.⁷ The South African government

3 A.L. Boshoff, *Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch*, 1981, pp.66, 68; J.W. Postma, *Onderzoek na die wetenskaplike basis van die Europese strominge in die liggaamsopvoeding*, 1945, p.136.

4 P. Staudenmaier, *Fascist ecology*, n.d.

5 Anon. (n.d.), From Wikipedia, the free encyclopaedia. Wandervogel, n.d., p.1.

6 He infused his physical education practices with his German background (see O. Gonetz, *Agility exercises*, *Physical Education*, 1(1):28-38, 59, April 1939).

7 Stellenbosch University Library, *Stellenbosse Oudstudent*, 8(1):27, April 1938.

interned both Gonetz and Obholzer on suspicion of subversive activity and their class notes had to be confiscated as evidence.⁸ Despite Obholzer's Nazi-related activities, the government regarded him as an authority on Physical Education and considered him for a sub-committee of the newly founded National Advisory Council for Physical Education, the South African policymaking body on the subject, in 1938.⁹

Obholzer introduces his textbook with an outlay of the then situation in South African Physical Education, where European trained specialist teachers with different training and standards were appointed at South African schools. These teachers introduced their unique European systems in the schools where they were employed. Obholzer lists a range of concerns regarding this "clash of the systems", but of real significance for this study is his attitude towards race. He raises the serious concern of the threat "to the tradition of the dominant race". This is expounded by references common to the White isolationist discourse of the time period, in which words and phrases such as "vaderlandsliefde" (country loyalty), "verhoging van die volk se weerkrag" (raising the nation's prowess),¹⁰ "verhoging van die volk se wil tot verdediging" (raising the nation's desire for self-defence), and "oorgelewerde eie volksdansen" (inherited own folk dances)¹¹ are used. No reference is made to Physical Education in the Coloured community. Furthermore, out of the 53 books in his list of references, 15 originate from Nazi Germany.¹²

The next research -based work to be reviewed in this category appeared six years later: *Ondersoek na die wetenskaplike basis van die Europese strominge in die*

8 R.I. de Klerk, Die bydrae van enkele liggaamlike opvoedkundiges tot die ontwikkeling van die vak in Suid-Afrika vanaf die begin van die twintigste eeu, 1986, p.112.

9 This was the terminology sub-committee where he served alongside Prof. J.J. Smith, H.J. Taylor and Ms. Logeman (Western Cape Archives, Physical education file, PAE 1899 EM/ 462, Physical Culture, National Scheme, Correspondence 28 January 1938 to 1 December 1939. Minutes of the second meeting of the NACPE which was held on the 5th July 1938 in Pretoria).

10 In this context the idea of nation refers to White South Africans and especially Afrikaners (D. Hendricks, Physical education and power in South Africa. In J.D. Jansen (Ed.), *Knowledge and power in South Africa*, 1991, p.218).

11 Three South African researchers concluded in 1941 that South Africa possesses only a few folk dances, such as Jan Pierewiet and Siembamba, which can be regarded "as truly representative of the spirit of the country" (T. de Mo or *et al.*, Folk dances, *Physical Education*, 2(1):30-31, April 1941). Both these dances are unique to the Afrikaner group. During the 1930s, due to the commemoration of the Great Trek, Afrikaner nationalism intensified with an accompanied interest in Afrikaner folk dances (B.K. Murray & A.W. Stadler, Van die pakt tot die begin van apartheid. In T. Cameron (Red.), *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika* 1991, pp.258-260; H. Morrison, Folk dances. *Physical Education*, 2(3):15, September 1941

12 A. Obholzer, *Beginsels en leidraad vir die liggaamsopvoeding in die skool*, 1939, pp.viii, 17, 22, 39-40, 122-125.

*liggaamsopvoeding van 1900 tot 1940*¹³ (Investigation into the scientific basis of European trends in physical education from 1900 to 1940). This is the first Physical Education dissertation in South Africa to have been awarded a doctoral degree.¹⁴ The researcher, Johan Willem Postma, originally from the Netherlands a prolific writer, who contributed 49 articles in journals, has eight published books accredited to him, delivered seven symposium presentations and supervised 38 postgraduate studies. According to the historian Rosalie de Klerk, he had a profound impact on the development of Physical Education in South Africa.¹⁵ These contributions are well-documented in De Klerk's doctoral dissertation: *Die bydrae van enkele liggaamlike opvoedkundiges tot die ontwikkeling van die vak in Suid-Afrika vanaf die begin van die twintigste eeu* (The contribution of individual physical educationists towards the development of the subject in South Africa from the beginning of the twentieth century).¹⁶

A Stellenbosch University academic, Professor G.G. Cillié, a member of the semi-clandestine Afrikaner nationalist organisation "Die Afrikaner Broederbond", supervised Postma's doctoral dissertation. Coupled with the fact that the university management had strong links with this organisation at the time,¹⁷ Postma would not escape its influence. Unlike Obholzer, Postma makes no reference to the ideologically loaded terms "volk" and "vaderland" (nation and fatherland). He does refer to the effect of the European Physical Education systems on the teaching of the subject at the Cape Town and Paarl Teacher Training Colleges as well as Stellenbosch University, but makes no reference to the Teacher Training Schools for Coloured students.

The omission of Coloured people from South African Physical Education history is also implicit in *A brief history of physical education*, authored by three American

13 J.W. Postma, *Ondersoek na die wetenskaplike basis van die Europese strominge in die liggaamsopvoeding*, 1945.

14 R.I. de Klerk, *Die bydrae van enkele liggaamlike opvoedkundiges tot die ontwikkeling van die vak in Suid-Afrika vanaf die begin van die twintigste eeu*, 1986, p.114.

15 R.I. de Klerk, *Die bydrae van enkele liggaamlike opvoedkundiges tot die ontwikkeling van die vak in Suid-Afrika vanaf die begin van die twintigste eeu*, 1986, pp.133-147.

16 R.I. de Klerk, *Die bydrae van enkele liggaamlike opvoedkundiges tot die ontwikkeling van die vak in Suid-Afrika vanaf die begin van die twintigste eeu*, 1986, pp.76-164.

17 H. Strydom & I. Wilkens, *The super Afrikaners*, 1978, pp.14-15; A.16.

academics, Emmet A. Rice, John L. Hutchinson and Mabel Lee. Of the 453 pages, only two are devoted to South African Physical Education. It is a poorly researched work with flagrant inaccuracies¹⁸ and does not do justice to its claimed purpose: “[to] discuss those political, social and religious situations which determine the character of a given society and which reflect the physical activities of its people”.¹⁹ The narrative instead focuses on Physical Education teacher training preparation at the four (White) universities and the teacher training colleges, ignoring the other racial groups.

Few of the reviewed works on Physical Education history in this category are as racist in outlook as I.R. van der Merwe’s *Beginsels waarop ’n prinsipiële sisteem van liggaamlike opvoeding moet berus*²⁰ (Principles on which a principled Physical Education system should rest), published 15 years after Postma’s doctoral dissertation. Van der Merwe, a respected academic in South African Physical Education circles, is referred to in the doctoral dissertation of Rosalie de Klerk who includes him in her list of 35 leading South African Physical Education researchers.²¹ His credentials include being appointed as the first head of department of the Physical Education degree course at the University College of the Orange Free State²² in 1947, studying at the Academie voor Lichamelijke Opvoeding in Amsterdam between 1938 and 1940 and attending the Lingiade Congress in Stockholm in 1939.²³ Van der Merwe devoted his academic energy to the cultural and socio-economic plight of the poor Afrikaner youth.²⁴ The title of his book implies that the views expressed are applicable to all South Africans. The fallacy of this assumption can however be gauged from his justification for Physical Education in the school programme. He supported the apartheid policy in order to “ensure the future of White South Africa” and warned of the dangers of poor nourishment, the

18 Incorrect pivotal historical dates are given, e.g. “The British took over the Cape in 1841” instead of 1806; Sweeping statements such as “Compulsory Physical Education exists on all education levels” are made without mentioning compulsory schooling being extended to White children only and the incorrect spelling of place names, e.g. “Wetwatersrand” instead of Witwatersrand (E.A. Rice *et al.*, *A brief history of physical education*, 1958, pp.156-157).

19 E.A. Rice *et al.*, *A brief history of physical education*, 1958, pp.iii, 157.

20 I.R. van der Merwe, *Beginsels waarop ’n prinsipiële sisteem van liggaamlike opvoeding moet berus*, 1960.

21 R.I. de Klerk, *Die bydrae van enkele liggaamlike opvoedkundiges tot die ontwikkeling van die vak in Suid- Afrika vanaf die begin van die twintigste eeu*, 1986, p.20.

22 This university had Broederbond members in its senior management (H. Strydom & I. Wilkens, *The super Afrikaners*, 1978, p.15).

23 R.I. de Klerk, *Geskiedenis, stelsels en strominge in liggaamlike opvoedkunde*, 1978, p.249.

24 I.R. van der Merwe, *Beginsels waarop ’n prinsipiële sisteem van liggaamlike opvoeding moet berus*, 1960, p.43.

negative ergonomic effects of the school environment and the general health deterioration of the Afrikaner nation.²⁵ His solution included “a Physical Education system that is part of a certain race or nation where not only physical traits are unique but has a “volksiel” [soul of the nation] that has to be studied in terms of traditions, values and habits of the nation....All the beautiful Voortrekker games must be restored in honour and deserve a place in the school curriculum.”²⁶ The extent of the circulation of this book could not be ascertained, but it reflected a ruling class view of Physical Education.

In 1969 Johannes Wilhelmus Willemse submitted a master’s thesis to the Faculty of Education at the then Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education, entitled: *Die invloed van die Sweedse stelsel van formele oefeninge op die ontwikkeling van liggaamlike opvoeding in Suid-Afrika* (The influence of the Swedish system of formal exercises on the development of Physical Education in South Africa). From the point of view of this study, Willemse’s thesis is problematic because the influence of the Swedish gymnastic system in the mission schools was ignored by him. Secondly, Willemse’s account of Physical Education in 19th century England²⁷ is not elucidated with political and socio-economic influences in industrial and urbanised society that impacted on systems in British schools. These influences however had a direct bearing on the promotion of the subject in the Coloured community of the Western Cape.

In 1977 Juta Publishers released Ernst Gideon Malherbe’s monumental research-based work, *Education in South Africa*. Malherbe, a distinguished South African academic, is widely acknowledged for meticulous research into South African education history. His scant reference to Physical Education is therefore disappointing. The thrust of the section in his work dealing with Physical Education focuses on the Physical Training Battalion and Physical Education under the

25 I.R. van der Merwe, *Beginsels waarop ’n prinsipiële sisteem van liggaamlike opvoeding moet berus*, 1960, pp.40-43.

26 I.R. van der Merwe, *Beginsels waarop ’n prinsipiële sisteem van liggaamlike opvoeding moet berus*, 1960, pp.45-46.

27 J.W. Willemse, *Die invloed van die Sweedse stelsel van formele oefeninge op die ontwikkeling van liggaamlike opvoeding in Suid-Afrika* 1969, pp.43-47, 82-90.

Department of Sport and Recreation and ignored the history of Physical Education in the Coloured community.²⁸

In that same year, Maskew Miller published Harry McEwan's third edition of *Teaching Physical Education*.²⁹ At the time of McEwan's appointment as school inspector of Physical Education in the Cape Education Department in 1965,³⁰ White inspectors focused on inspection at schools demarcated for White children only and his publication is aimed at this group.³¹ The publication is an illustrated bilingual (English and Afrikaans) book consisting of Physical Education lesson plans and activities aimed at "Physical Education purists who are entrusted to teach the subject from Standards 1 to 10".³² The pattern of ignoring Coloured people's involvement in Physical Education is continued in the four pages devoted to Physical Education history.³³

The following year Rosalie de Klerk's *Geskiedenis, stelsels en strominge in liggaamlike opvoedkunde* (History, system s and trends in Physical Education) appeared as a dedication to J.W. Postma. The last of the 17 chapters is an account of South African Physical Education history. It starts with a discussion of the European influences on the colleges in Paarl and Mowbray as well as Stellenbosch University, but the Mission Teacher Training Schools were ignored. The history of the subject in the then four provinces of South Africa was traced from 1652 until 1968. This was a comprehensive account of South African Physical Education that incorporated neglected areas of the subject until then. The research included the history of the (White) South African Physical Education inspectorate, the function of the National Advisory Council for Physical Education, the review of syllabi and the role of physical education in the military and police.³⁴

28 E.G. Malherbe, *Education in South Africa, volume 2*, 1975, pp.165-166, 413.

29 H. McEwan, *Teaching Physical Education in schools*, 1977.

30 R.I. de Klerk, *Geskiedenis, stelsels en strominge in liggaamlike opvoedkunde*, 1978, p.234.

31 The cover page has a picture of an all-White boys' class running on a playing field in anticipation of a Physical Education lesson.

32 H. McEwan, *Teaching Physical Education in schools*, 1977, introduction to third edition.

33 H. McEwan, *Teaching Physical Education in schools*, 1977, pp.1-4.

34 R.I. de Klerk, *Geskiedenis, stelsels en strominge in liggaamlike opvoedkunde*, 1978, pp.228, 231-236, 249-264.

This was the first time the names of two physical educationists, J.J. Schoombie and C.A. Victor, appeared in a systemised publication,³⁵ but their involvement in Physical Education outside the White community is not referred to.³⁶ Salient hegemonic features, exhibited by the National Advisory Council for Physical Education, were also avoided. One such issue that De Klerk might have touched but not expanded on is the statement by the council that “it was determined to attain high technical standards of performance in all fields of Physical Education and discipline so necessary to maintain a sound social structure”.³⁷ The reader is therefore left with the impression that reference to “maintain a sound social structure” implies support for the system of Apartheid.

De Klerk’s most important work, *Die bydrae van enkele liggaamlike opvoedkundiges tot die ontwikkeling van die vak in Suid-Afrika vanaf die begin van die twintigste eeu* (The contribution of some physical educationists towards the development of the subject in South Africa from the beginning of the 20th century), is her doctoral dissertation, employing the scientific-historical research method³⁸ on the contribution of the previously mentioned, J.W. Postma alongside other White physical educationists, Claude Smit and D.P.J. Smith towards the development of the subject in South Africa.

The criteria selection De Klerk used for systemisation for her study included published articles in scientific and popular scientific literature; the training of Physical Education teachers/instructors; the scope and quality of research and the nature, scope and quality of service delivery on committees, councils and organisations relating to the above.³⁹ This effectively ruled out the possibility of including any Coloured physical educationist. No Coloured person qualified from any South African

35 R.I. de Klerk, *Geskiedenis, stelsels en strominge in liggaamlike opvoedkunde*, 1978, pp.233, 235.

36 Both Schoombie and Victor were Physical Education lecturers at the Wesley Training School. Victor became the first Physical Education inspector in the Coloured Affairs Department.

37 Anon., *Tour of Swiss gymnasts*, Official programme, 1947, p.4.

38 R.I. de Klerk, *Die bydrae van enkele liggaamlike opvoedkundiges tot die ontwikkeling van die vak in Suid- Afrika vanaf die begin van die twintigste eeu*, 1986, p.7.

39 R.I. de Klerk, *Die bydrae van enkele liggaamlike opvoedkundiges tot die ontwikkeling van die vak in Suid- Afrika vanaf die begin van die twintigste eeu*, 1986, p.19.

physical education research institution until the 1970's.⁴⁰ The second criterion disqualified them because under Apartheid legislation no Coloured lecturer could have been appointed as a permanent specialist Physical Education lecturer at any teacher training institution in South Africa prior to 1971.⁴¹ Furthermore, the official education authorities excluded Coloured people from official Physical Education curriculum committee councils.⁴² Admittedly, Coloured inclusivity is not a stated aim of De Klerk's study and therefore this cannot be used as a scientific criterion against which to measure it. Nevertheless, in terms of this research, De Klerk's study leaves a vacuum for research into the area of Physical Education in the Coloured community.

Omission of physical education history in Coloured schools appeared as late as 1989 in standard works on South African educational history. In that year the Cape Education Department published an illustrated book to celebrate 150 years of existence. This publication does little justice to mission schools that fell under inspection of the Cape Education Department and is in complete denial of Physical Education at these schools. No reference is made to Physical Education practices at schools for Coloured children.⁴³

Not all Physical Education academics were however deliberately oblivious of the presence of Physical Education in the Coloured community. They reported on it, as the following overview will show, in a manner that accepted marginalisation.

40 The first Coloured persons to graduate from such an institution are Ivan September and Geoffrey van der Merwe in 1980. The latter, a Physical Education inspector received special permission by Stellenbosch University to pursue the degree B.A. (Physical Education) (G. van der Merwe, telephonic interview, 2007).

41 The first Coloured Physical Education lecturer appointed at a teacher training college, on a permanent basis, was Norman Stoffberg at the Hewat Training College in 1971.

42 F.J. Cleophas, Die 1992 Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde sillabus. Unpublished Honours assignment, 1991, p.36. Only in the 1980s did representatives, who happened to be White in any case, of the Coloured Affairs Department, get observer status on these councils.

43 See M. Borman, *The Cape Education Department*, 1989, p.167, 221, 245, 250, 270.

2.3 COLOURED MARGINALISATION AS A NATURAL PHENOMENON

The first work reviewed in this category is the proceedings of the South African Physical Education congress of 1945. In the June 1944 edition of the journal *Physical Education*,⁴⁴ lecturers at Stellenbosch University's Physical Education Department called for a congress in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. With the assistance of Dr. Ernst Jokl and Jannie Krige (a fourth year student in Physical Education), Dr. J.W. Postma planned and organised the first South African congress⁴⁵ for Physical Education from 9-12 January 1945.⁴⁶ A considerable number of discourses referred to issues of race and some happened to be delivered by educators connected to Physical Education development in the Coloured community.⁴⁷

On the first day Dr. H.J. van Eck, chairman of the Social and Economic Planning Council in Johannesburg, delivered a discourse on the place of Physical Education in social and economic planning. Van Eck focussed on the desirability of extending existing Physical Education camps to children of all races. He made vague reference to the study "Poverty amongst urban Coloureds, 1941" that concluded with the statement: "5 000 Coloured families in Cape Town survive on an income that makes it impossible to purchase half of the minimum necessities for health and decency". Van Eck's suggested solution centred around the inclusion of Coloured boys and girls in the Special Services Battalion camps, established in 1933, and the Physical Training Brigade, which replaced the Special Services Battalion in 1939.⁴⁸

44 This is the first South African physical education journal. It appeared as a bilingual publication issued by Stellenbosch University for the first time in April 1939 and had the objective of "developing a healthy, strong and disciplined South Africa" (A. Obholzer, What our magazine aims at, *Physical Education*, 1(1):2, April 1939).

45 This indicates how far behind South African Physical Education found itself in terms of research. The first congress in America dates back to 1889 in Boston (D. Siedentop, *Introduction to physical education, fitness and sport*, 1990, p.31).

46 R.I. de Klerk, Die bydrae van enkele liggaamlike opvoedkundiges tot die ontwikkeling van die vak in Suid-Afrika vanaf die begin van die twintigste eeu, 1986, pp.154-155.

47 The educators referred to are Sylvia Hoffa, W.H. Law, Arnold Shrecker and H.J. Taylor.

48 H.J. van Eck, The place of Physical Education in social and economic planning. In J.W. Postma (Red.), *Verslag van die eerste Suid Afrikaanse kongres vir liggaamlike opvoeding*, 1945, pp.38-40. For details of the Special Services Battalion and the Physical Training Brigade, see D. Craven, Physical Training Brigade, Voortrekkerhoogte. *Physical Education*, 5(2):33, June 1943; A.P. Rutgers, Physical Education as a subject for Standards 7 and 8 at the Junior High School for Boys at the Physical Training Battalion. *Physical Education*, 5(3):34-38, September 1943.

These camps owe their existence to the increase in Poor Whiteism, which led to research by Jokl into the reasons for unemployment in the White community. His conclusions infer that the cause of Poor Whiteism could be related to the low levels of physical fitness of youths. This problem was partly addressed by conducting a Physical Education programme of discipline and physical exercises with youths at Roberts Heights between 1933 and 1939.⁴⁹ According to Justus Potgieter, a Physical Education academic, this and a growing Afrikaner nationalism⁵⁰ contributed to increased interest in the subject.⁵¹

A belief among White physical educationists took hold that the tradition, habits and customs of the (White) nation had to be combined with gymnastic exercises.⁵² Given the racial exclusivity of this nationalism, Coloured people received treatment as marginal figures. Accusations from Coloured people of Physical Education in their schools being of an inferior standard are therefore justified.

In the *Cape Standard*, Hygiea (pseud.) stated that the physical condition of the Coloured pupil was far inferior to that of the White child. The writer argues that physical exercise remained confined to the classroom, which in most cases is only a partition where the children breathed in the impure air exhaled by other pupils.⁵³ Although this reasoning is an emotional over simplification,⁵⁴ the point is made that some people realised that the ruling class accepted the poverty of the Coloured people, with the accompanied poor school facilities, as normal. Unlike with the Poor White community, state sanctioned Physical Education programmes did not intend to transmute the lives of poor Coloured people.

The provision of these camps, based on race, may be understood in terms of what Mohammed Adhikari called “an assumed reality that sees South African society as

49 F.J.G. van der Merwe, *Sportgeskiedenis*, 1999, p.291.

50 The Poor White problem affected mainly the Afrikaner section of the White population.

51 J.R. Potgieter, *The evolvement of physical education in South Africa*, 1972, pp.61, 68.

52 I.R. van der Merwe, *Beginsels waarop 'n prinsipiële sisteem van liggaamlike opvoeding moet berus*, 1960, p.41; A. Obholzer, *A national system for South Africa. Physical Education*, 1(1):9, April 1939.

53 *Cape Standard*, 8 June 1936, p.10.

54 The conditions in schools attended by Poor White learners corresponded to those described by Hygiea.

consisting of distinct races, of which the Coloured people is one".⁵⁵ Van Eck's discourse is an example of this assumed reality by laying bare a middle order status of Colouredness in South African Physical Education when he suggested the provision of these camps on a 10:5:2 ratio for European, Coloured and Indian boys and girls, while camps for "native" youths were "still under consideration".⁵⁶ In a nutshell, these camps taught Afrikaner boys how to manipulate weapons, taught subjects of a general military character and aimed at providing the boys with a sense of discipline.⁵⁷

Jannie Krige's discourse, *Anthropometriese ondersoekinge in Suid-Afrika* (Anthropometric investigations in South Africa) is an extension of expressions of the race mania that gripped the practice of Physical Education in South Africa for the greater part of the 20th century, that portrayed Coloured people as a separate, usually subordinate, group. Krige's investigation turns out to be a historical overview of South African anthropometric research until 1944, rather than an anthropometric study. It uses, among others, 11 references of race-based anthropometric research in South Africa. These references reflect the preoccupation of 19th and early 20th century European and South African scientists with classifying Southern Africa's indigenous people.⁵⁸ One of the references deals with the physical characteristics of the progenitors of the 20th century Cape Coloured community and concludes with the statement "... the Coloured is closer to the European than any other race".⁵⁹ A possible explanation for this concluding statement in Krige's discourse may be found outside the domain of scientific research: the importance of the Coloured vote during election campaigns where even some White politicians voiced opposition at the idea of removing Coloured people from the voters roll.⁶⁰

55 M. Adhikari, *Not White enough, not Black enough*, 2005, p.34.

56 H.J. van Eck, The place of physical education in social and economic planning. In J.W. Postma (Red.), *Verlag van die eerste Suid Afrikaanse kongres vir liggaamlike opvoeding*, 1945, p.41.

57 A.H. Broeksma, The education of citizens and the Department of Defence. *Physical Education*, 1(2):10-11, June 1939.

58 A. Mountain, *The first people of the Cape*, 2003, p.75.

59 J. K rige, Anthropometriese ondersoekinge in Suid-Afrika. In J.W. Postma (Red.), *Verlag van die eerste Suid-Afrikaanse kongres vir liggaamlike opvoeding*, 1945, p.65.

60 When the National Party won the general election in 1948, it sought an alliance with the Afrikaner Party. This party was established in January 1941 under the leadership of N.C. Havenga as a breakaway party of the National Party. For two years Havenga did not want to limit the existing political rights of the Coloured people (P.W. Coetzer, Die era van apartheid. In T. Cameron (Red.), *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, 1991, p.271; A.W. Stadler, Die tydperk van 1939 tot 1948. In T. Cameron (Red.), *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, 1991, p.262.

Krige's overview suggests that the physical traits of the Coloured community are supplemented by their social characteristics.⁶¹ The sociologist Jay Coakley describes this type of reasoning as part of the race logic of Physical Education.⁶² This logic relates to dominant ideas about racial categories in society and Physical Education skills. When using this race logic, people often associate light or "white" skin with certain athletic abilities and dark skin with other abilities.⁶³ At best, Krige's discourse served as an indication of the view held by many social scientists during the first half of the 20th century: that Physical Education helps with pattern maintenance of society. Denver Hendricks, a sport sociologist, maintained these scientists believed that human beings have a need for maintaining levels of stability and security and are generally not appreciative of unexpected, drastic changes to established life patterns.⁶⁴ Such a view implies that the position saved in society for Coloured people by the ruling class, as explained earlier, should not be challenged. Physical Education and physical culture practices therefore should help with the maintenance of a racial and social order, whether inequalities exist or not.

Jan Kelder, a South African physical educationist, delivered a paper that dealt solely with South African Physical Education history: *Die historiese ontwikkeling van liggaamsoefeninge in die onderwysdepartemente* (The historical development of Physical Education in the education departments).⁶⁵ This discourse traces the historical development of the subject from the period of Dutch colonial rule until 1920. Kelder, who had a special interest in the history of Physical Education,⁶⁶ makes no mention of Physical Education in the Coloured community. A quarter of a century later, he repeated this line of thought, but this time included African and Coloured students in an account in the *Standard encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*. In his one-line reference to Physical Education in the Black community, he left out

61 J. K rige, Anthropometriese ondersoekinge in Suid-Afrika. In J.W. Postma (Red.), *Verslag van die eerste Suid Afrikaanse kongres vir liggaamlike opvoeding*, 1945, p.74.

62 Coakley discusses the relationship between the race logic and sport. This study applies Coakley's ideas to physical education.

63 J. Coakley, *Sport in society*, 2001, p.13.

64 D. Hendricks, Influencing children's perceptions and values. In E.H. Katzenellenbogen (Ed.), *The importance of children's participation in physical and sporting activities*, 1995, p.115.

65 J.C. Kelder, Die historiese ontwikkeling van I iggaamsoefeninge in die onderwysdepartemente. In J.W. Postma (Red.), *Verslag van die eerste Suid-Afrikaanse kongres vir liggaamlike opvoeding* 1945, pp.114-120.

66 A.L. Boshoff, Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch, 1981, p.283.

important detail, such as the difference in entry levels between the two groups⁶⁷ and the names of the learning institutions catering for them. It is unlikely that Kelder consulted with any Coloured Physical Educationist, despite the encyclopaedia's steering committee's policy having been "to select authors who were not antagonistic towards the group being described... therefore Coloured people were selected to write about Coloured people".⁶⁸

The next paper at the Congress that touched on aspects of South African Physical Education history is that of Margaret Christine Black,⁶⁹ the head of the Physical Education Department at the Cape Town Teacher Training College in Mowbray. She traced the history of Physical Education specialist training for women in South Africa at the college from 1921 and referred to curriculum content and change and student selection until 1945.⁷⁰ This article did not acknowledge the absence of such provision for Coloured women at the time and does not refer to constraints that women in general in the teaching profession experienced.⁷¹

Instead, she focussed on the history of the South African Association of Trained Physical Educationists that was established in 1937 and which provided space for non-specialist teachers as associate members.⁷²

The paper of H.J. Taylor, the Cape Education Department inspector of Physical Education, "The administration and organisation of Physical Education in the Cape Province", gave a broad overview of the subject's development in the Cape Province, but only made superficial references to the Coloured community.⁷³

67 African students had a grade eight entry level, Coloured students had a grade ten while White students had grade twelve.

68 Anon., Introduction. In D.J. Potgieter *et al.*, *Standard encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, 1971, p.242.

69 The Cape Education Department employed her since 1921 as a Physical Education instructor at the Cape Town Teachers' Training College (Centre for Education Conservation, Cape Town Teachers' Training College Boxes. Department of Public Education. Cape of Good Hope. School inspection form, 15 April 1935).

70 M.C. Black, The training of physical education teachers. In J.W. Postma (Ed.), *Report of the first South African congress for physical education*, 1945, pp.123-126.

71 This discourse and that of Kelder belongs in the first category of Physical Education historical writing, but because it forms part of a set of other works that falls within the second category it is included here.

72 J.M. Rademeyer, The South African Association of Trained Physical Educationists. *Physical Education*, 1(3):54, September 1939. This organisation excluded Coloured men and women.

73 H.J. Taylor, The administration and organization of Physical Education in the Cape Province. In J.W. Postma (Ed.), *Report of the first South African congress for physical education*, 1945, pp.179, 181.

The final paper of this congress to be considered was that of W.H. Law: "The aims and the work of the Playing Fields Association",⁷⁴ a descriptive account of the recreational utilisation of open spaces in urban Cape Town. This description gave a fair account of role players and open spaces used for physical education in the Coloured community.⁷⁵

In 1925 this association, with its headquarters in London, started a crusade to provide adequate recreational facilities for all sections of the urban population living in emerging towns during the Industrial Revolution. This was a time when no open spaces for amenities, parks or playing fields were provided for the many terraced houses enclosing both sides of the streets in urban England.⁷⁶ One of the aims of the Playing Fields Association included the encouragement of training and appointing play leaders and organising voluntary helpers of all races and classes throughout the British Empire.

In Cape Town, its biggest achievement until then was the securing two and a half acres, known as Somerset Site, between the Main Road to Green Point and the Old Dock Road, from industrial development.⁷⁷ A major criticism against Law's paper is the lack of analytical dialogue in terms of discrimination or other social factors about the poor condition of playgrounds in the Coloured community. Racial separation in recreation is even presented as normal.⁷⁸ Overall, the published papers presented at this congress served as an indication of how the ruling class accepted Coloured marginalisation in Physical Education as a natural phenomenon.

Another South African study that falls within this category is Postma's textbook, *Inleiding tot die liggaamlike opvoedkunde* (Introduction to Physical Education). This book, published in 1965, was aimed at Physical Education students. Postma himself

74 The Playing Fields Association became a prestigious organisation with headquarters in Great Britain and branches in South Africa. The Duke of York, later King George V, assumed presidency of the National Playing Fields Association of Great Britain in the 1920s. (W.H. Law, How to get more playing fields. *Vigor*, 2(1):13, December 1948).

75 W.H. Law, The aims and the work of the Playing Fields Association. In J.W. Postma (Red.), *Verslag van die eerste Suid-Afrikaanse kongres vir liggaamlike opvoeding*, 1945, pp.204-210.

76 W.H. Law, Play streets. *Vigor*, 5(2):19, March 1952.

77 W.H. Law, Playing Fields Associations in South Africa, *Vigor*, 6(2):14-15, March 1953.

78 W.H. Law, The aims and the work of the Playing Fields Association. In J.W. Postma (Red.), *Verslag van die eerste Suid Afrikaanse kongres vir liggaamlike opvoeding*, 1945, pp.207, 209.

regarded this book as his most important work and a number of South African training institutions prescribed it.⁷⁹

The first of the 14 chapters is devoted to Physical Education history and only three of the 41 pages cover South Africa; an indication of the low status South African Physical Education history enjoyed at the time. This is the first time the existence of Physical Education in the Coloured community is acknowledged in a standard South African work. But the acknowledgement is minimal: The one year teacher training course for Coloured males at the Wesley Training School and for African males and females at Healdtown Training School in the Eastern Cape is mentioned in one line.⁸⁰

A doctoral dissertation submitted by Johannes Lodewicus Botha to Pretoria University in 1968 devotes some attention to Physical Education in the Coloured community: 'n Ondersoek na die funksie van 'n staatsdepartement van sport en rekreasie in Suid-Afrika (An investigation into the function of a state department of sport and recreation in South Africa). Although the focal point of Botha's study is sport, it also emphasised the integrative role of sport in Physical Education. He referred to the problem of inactivity in South Africa, with resulting factors such as unproductivity, decreased work capacity, ill-health and "volks"-resistance.⁸¹ The context of the term "volk" placed his study firmly in the realm of Afrikaner nationalism in Apartheid South Africa.⁸² Only 15 of the 513 pages were devoted to a subsection entitled: Sport vir die nie-Blankes (Sport for the non-Whites). This racial reference occurred 19 times in the subsection and it was taken for granted to be acceptable for all people. Botha ignored the growing tide of resentment by many Coloured people against the racial labelling they experienced from the state. In some cases they increasingly identified themselves as Black.⁸³ He also did not explore the opposition

79 R.I. de Klerk, *Die bydrae van enkele liggaamlike opvoedkundiges tot die ontwikkeling van die vak in Suid-Afrika vanaf die begin van die twintigste eeu*, 1986, pp.148-150.

80 J.W. Postma, *Inleiding tot die liggaamlike opvoedkunde*, 1965, p.48.

81 J.L. Botha, 'n Ondersoek na die funksie van 'n staatsdepartement van sport en rekreasie in Suid-Afrika, 1968, pp.2, 54.

82 The *Verklarende handwoordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal* (H.A.T.) offers three possible definitions of the term "volk". The first relates to a group with a similar historical consciousness; the second to non-White labourers and the third to a lower class of people (C.M. Booysen *et al.*, *HAT*, 1985, pp.1301-1302). Botha's reference to the term relates to the first.

83 M.G. Motlhabi, *The theory and practice of Black resistance to Apartheid*, 1984, p.112.

that some Coloured people and individuals voiced at Physical Education and physical culture programmes in schools and the community.

Another systematic study used for analysis was Justus Potgieter's Master's thesis: *Evolution of Physical Education in South Africa*. He stated that the primary purpose of his study was determining how and to what extent the socio-cultural, political, economic, religious and physical environment affected the evolution of Physical Education in the South African education system. Potgieter however used terms that were South African and national in a narrow sense, implying that they referred to White society only. This is evident in the sections covering the influence of Physical Education on Afrikaner nationalism and (White) nation building. Both concepts were discussed within the framework of a White society. The only reference to Coloured people was a justification for the training of White people as leaders "for a society in which most of the menial and unskilled work was being done by the non-White inhabitants".⁸⁴

In 1981 André Lüdwig Boshoff submitted a Master's thesis to Stellenbosch University, entitled: *Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch* (The history of the Department of Physical Education at Stellenbosch University). It covered the period of Physical Education at Stellenbosch University from 1936 until 1975. By stating that the department made a positive contribution to promoting the health of all South Africans,⁸⁵ Boshoff displayed a "take for granted attitude" and an assumption that a White world is the only reality. The study ignored the official exclusion of Coloured students from specialist training and the resulting negative perception certain Coloured physical educationists had of the university.⁸⁶

84 J.R. Potgieter, *The evolution of physical education in South Africa*, 1972, pp.64-66, 99-102, 108.

85 A.L. Boshoff, *Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch*, 1981, p.29.

86 H. Strydom & I. Wilkens, *The super Afrikaners*, 1978, pp.8-9, 15, 48, 195, 279, 430. One example of this negative perception is brought home when a Physical Education specialist who graduated in 1939 wryly informed the researcher that he detested Stellenbosch University's Department of Physical Education because "they were racist and Afrikaans" (M. Cloete, personal interview, 2006). The Coloured petty bourgeoisie used English as their academic language. Not surprisingly, Stellenbosch University does not have a favourable non-racial record (*Mail & Guardian*, 9-15 March 2007, p.12).

The scientific value of Boshoff's study is affected by the many descriptive and irrelevant anecdotes without any analysis. An example was the paltry account of Dr. Danie Craven's marital and family affairs, whereas no critical contextual analysis of Stellenbosch University's Department of Physical Education was given.⁸⁷ Contentious statements were made without analytical development. One instance was the fitness classes held at Stellenbosch University for Jewish women, but separately from mass exercises for the broader public. An elaboration of this case could have opened captivating debates of anti-Semitism at the Department of Physical Education.

A major shortcoming of the study was the silence on the absence of any Coloured student at the department from 1936 to 1975. The only reference to Coloured people is a comment on the appointment of a caretaker, Marthinus Serfontein, in 1938, with emphasis on the fact that he worked at the department for 39 years.⁸⁸ This marginalised image of Serfontein, which was not uncommon in the annals of Stellenbosch University's sport history,⁸⁹ was commented on in a study by Prof. Jakes Gerwel as the eternal patient and subservient "agterryer".⁹⁰

The theme of portraying the Coloured community as a marginal contributor towards the development of Physical Education is continued in the Master's thesis of W.A. Skein: 'n Empiriese ondersoek na die stand van Liggaamlike Opvoeding vir seuns in die omgangsarea van die Senior Assistent-superintendent van Onderwys (Onderrigleiding): Liggaamlike Opvoeding (seuns) met Parow as hoofkwartier" (An empirical investigation into the condition of Physical Education for boys in the circuit of the Senior Assistant Superintendent of Education (Education Guidance): Physical Education (boys) with (Parow as headquarters). Skein, a White Physical Education school inspector in the Cape Education Department, submitted his thesis in 1986 to Stellenbosch University at a time when South Africa found itself in an official state of

87 A.L. Boshoff, *Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch*, 1981, p.196.

88 A.L. Boshoff, *Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch*, 1981, pp.39, 86.

89 See D. Craven & P. Jordaan, *Met die Maties op die rugbyveld*, 1955, p.43. In this publication the only reference to Coloured people is a photo of Simon Williams, the last "town crier" of the rugby team. Williams also has the pejorative nickname "Aasvoël" (Vulture).

90 G.J. Gerwel, *Literatuur en apartheid*, 1983, p.98. This is an Afrikaans term that refers to a servant that rides behind the master on a hunting or military expedition. The term further conveys the idea of blind obedience and inferiority to the master (C.M. Booysen, *et al.*, *HAT*, 1985, p.37).

emergency. At the time, the White population did “not seriously challenge the government’s violent propaganda and this same government pursued a programme of strict racial segregation”.⁹¹ Also, the Cape Education Department became part of the state military apparatus when it conceded to conduct fitness tests for the South African Army.⁹² Skein traces the origin of South African Physical Education back to the ruling class military drill programme during the Dutch colonial rule (1652–1806) at the Cape and carries it through to 1971 in 12 pages. Through all of this he devotes three lines, based on a secondary sourced reference, to “knegtjies” (Coloured servants) who received drill exercises on a Saturday afternoon.⁹³ Skein’s study indicated how researchers took for granted that Coloured people played an insignificant role in shaping the history of South African physical education.

The Master’s thesis of Johannes Joseph Jubelius Potgieter, *Die geskiedenis van die Suid-Afrikaanse Sportfederasie* (The history of the South African Sport Federation) submitted in 1988, continued with this theme of trivialising Coloured people’s involvement in Physical Education and was presented erroneously presented as a historical study with a critical analysis.⁹⁴ Out of 122 pages, Potgieter devotes only two pages to a sub-section entitled: *Die Sportfederasie en anderskleuriges* (The Sport Federation and non-Whites). The sub-section is suffused with referenced statements about the Federation’s segregation policy and was presented as a position that needs no challenging. Only one sentence was devoted to Physical Education in the Coloured community: a reference to a vacation course in 1956.⁹⁵ Potgieter made no further reference to this course, yet this programme at Klaasjagersberg near Simon’s Town evoked much opposition from radical organisations.⁹⁶ On the other hand it enjoyed the support of some Physical Educationists in this community. Although Potgieter claimed to analyse the history of

91 T.R.H. Davenport, *Die debakel van apartheid*. In T. Cameron (Red.), *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, 1991, p.319.

92 Kaaplandse Onderwysdepartement, *Fiksheidsnavorsingsprojek*, 1989, p.i.

93 W.A. Skein, *’n Empiriese ondersoek na die stand van Liggaamlike Opvoeding vir seuns*, 1986, p.9.

94 Potgieter uses the term “critical analysis” only in a semantic sense and not as an analytical tool.

95 J.J.J. Potgieter, *Die geskiedenis van die Suid-Afrikaanse Sportfederasie*, 1988, pp.5, 41. Vacation courses for Coloured teachers interested in physical education already existed in 1937, when 300 teachers applied, only 192 received acceptance letters by the instructor, H.J. Taylor, and the school inspector, Mr. Storey (Western Cape Archives, Staff appointments, PAE 488, EX 27/1, 19 May 1937).

96 A political activist Allie Fataar played a prominent role in leading protest marches against the Klaasjagersberg initiate (R. Parker, telephonic interview, 2006).

Physical Education in South Africa critically, he did not explore the possibility of Coloured people contributing to the development of the subject.

A brief reference to Ernst Jokl's autobiography, *South African reminiscences*, which appeared in 1988, revealed a racist paternalistic element in the marginalisation theme running through South African Physical Education history. The book covered Jokl's stay in South Africa and made some reference to race and physical education. The fact that Jokl fled Nazi Germany because of his Jewish background,⁹⁷ creates an expectation that he would express sympathy with the South Africans who did not enjoy opportunities in Physical Education because of racial discrimination. The absence of critique on racist matters relating to Physical Education in South Africa was therefore notable. Three pages were devoted to the Poor White problem, one page to the Transkeian Manpower Survey (relating to Physical Education in the African communities of the Eastern Cape) and five pages to his friendship with the Gandhi family. The only reference to Physical Education in the Coloured community is a survey Jokl undertook during the late 1930's at schools and colleges throughout the country. This apparently brought him "into close contact with White, Black, Coloured, Indian and Chinese children, and also with their teachers and their parents".⁹⁸

André Boshoff's doctoral dissertation, *Die geskiedenis van gimnastiek in Suid-Afrika tot 1989* (The history of gymnastics in South Africa until 1989) continues the marginalisation theme. This dissertation, submitted to Stellenbosch University in 1991, investigated the history of South African gymnastics until 1989. A prime shortcoming was the lack of scientific analysis for the statement "non-White South African inhabitants displayed little interest in gymnastics".⁹⁹ Only four pages are devoted to the history of gymnastics in the Coloured community.

97 F.J.G. van der Merwe, Ernst Franz Jokl – A tribute to a pioneer in South African Physical Education. In T. Jurka (Ed.), *Studia Z Dziejów Kultury Fizycznej*, 2002, p.669.

98 E.F. Jokl, *South African reminiscences*, 1988, pp.22-26, 80-84.

99 A.L. Boshoff, *Die geskiedenis van gimnastiek in Suid-Afrika tot 1989*, 1991, p.115.

While this study thus far focused on dissertations, theses and books, referral is now made to an unpublished article by Doreen Solomons who presented a concise historical review of Physical Education under the Coloured Affairs Department and subsequent government bodies. Solomons, a Coloured woman, served on the Physical Education inspectorate of the Coloured Affairs Department and its subsequent metamorphosed bodies for many years. Despite the fact that she had access to first-hand information on Physical Education history in South Africa, her commentary falls short of usefulness for systematic research because of it being riddled with inaccuracies. For example: Using the references of “Wesley and Zonnebloem Training Colleges” instead of Training Schools and the “first female specialist course started in the mid-1950s” instead of 1948. She also states that the “Danish and Scandinavians had a great impact on the presentation of this subject at our schools”. This is only partly true, since the Laban system was also a major influence, as was the anti-syllabus movement of the post-World War II period.¹⁰⁰ Another factor that contributes to the lack of historical credibility is the use of only one reference source for the historical aspect of her presentation, a secondary source, by the academic Denise Jones, entitled “The historical development of Physical Education in South African non-establishment educational institutions: constructing a people’s perspective”.¹⁰¹ The work of Solomons is therefore not a true reflection Physical Education in the community and the lack of scientific rigour results in the augmentation of marginalisation themes.

The textbook *Sportgeskiedenis: ’n Handleiding vir Suid-Afrikaanse studente*, (Sport history: a textbook for South African students) by Floris van der Merwe was the most recent published work that included the history of South African Physical Education. The author, an associate professor in Sport History at Stellenbosch University who has supervised numerous theses and doctoral studies, contributed many articles to scientific journals and addressed a number of international congress proceedings, was well-qualified in the field of sport history. The textbook was written in descriptive

100 D. Solomons, Physical education in schools a right and a necessity. In [Anon.]. *Sport and physical education: The future as partners in developing the youth of South Africa*, 1995, pp.3.17; see F.J.G. van der Merwe, *Sportgeskiedenis*, 1999, p.292 for influences on physical education for women in South Africa.

101 D. Jones, The emergence of a non-alternative physical education for females in South Africa, “Your daddy was a male; he was allowed to do those things”. In F. van der Merwe (Ed.), *Sport as symbol, symbols in sport*, (pp.9-21). Proceedings of the 3rd ISHPES congress, Cape Town, 1996.

style and covered the area from ancient civilisation to South Africa after 1994. Eight pages were devoted to the history of South African Physical Education, and it was the first systematic work that acknowledged a definite White bias in the recording of South African Physical Education historiography.¹⁰² Together with other works in this sub-section, it was however devoid of analytical critique on the state's involvement in Physical Education and ignored or downplayed the involvement of Coloured people in the subject. The majority of these studies were steeped in issues of race, usually without analytically questioning the origins and constructs of these issues. The idea of racial superiority was never seriously challenged in these works. The result is that many historians suffer from a broken sense of the subjects' past.

2.4 ANALYTICAL CRITIQUE OF SOUTH AFRICAN PHYSICAL EDUCATION

The only available systematic work in this category is the Master's thesis of Winston Kloppers¹⁰³ "To move with a different view. A critical review of Physical Education in South Africa". This study analysed South African Physical Education history in the context of "an oppressive system of Apartheid education".¹⁰⁴ This was done by examining the relationship between Youth Preparedness, veldt school programmes,¹⁰⁵ the girl's core Physical Education syllabus,¹⁰⁶ the cadet system¹⁰⁷ and their relationship with Physical Education. Kloppers' thesis was however stifled by a lack of primary research. The narrow focus on Physical Education in the school

102 F.J.G. van der Merwe, *Sportgeskiedenis*, 1999, p.287.

103 A sociological analytical critique of South African Physical Education during the Apartheid era by the South African sport sociologist, Denver Hendricks, falls in this category. From the perspective of this study, the major shortcoming of Hendricks' article is that it fails to put Coloured people at the nucleus of his research and concentrates on "the situation in White institutions" (D. Hendricks, Physical education and power. In J.D. Jansen (Ed.), *Knowledge and power in South Africa*, 1991, p.219.

104 W. Kloppers, *To move with a different view*, 1996, p.v.

105 The Youth Preparedness and veldt school programmes remained limited to White schoolchildren. The Cape Education Department introduced Youth Preparedness into schools in 1973. It included military type activities in its curriculum and encouraged different treatment for boys and girls (M. Borman, *The Cape Education Department*, 1989, p.272). Veldt schools formed part of the Transvaal Education Department's programme and aimed to impress on children "the South African way of life". This meant teaching children to accept the Apartheid education system (P. Christie, *The right to learn*, 1985, pp.166-174). The location and time period of these activities fall outside the scope of this study and are therefore ignored.

106 This is not analysed historically, but thematically. These are problems with curriculum objectives, developmental phases and female submissiveness to authority and obedience (W. Kloppers, *To move with a different view*, 1996, pp.71-76). The historical development and content of girls' syllabi in South Africa are also researched in this study.

107 Although Kloppers' analysis of the cadet movement is from the 1950's onwards, this movement already operated in Cape schools in 1906 (Cape of Good Hope, *The Education Gazette*, 5(29):675, 1906; W. Kloppers, *To move with a different view*, 1996, p.66).

setting only and lack of content on community-based programmes resulted in no expansion of his thought-provoking statement "... the alternative curricula that are not accounted for in institutional histories".¹⁰⁸ His study ignored the historical influences of urbanisation and industrialisation on the subject in a post slave-owning society. This could have led to questions about the historical development of the scouting and adventure, physical culture club and state-run and community-based programmes in the Coloured community that, as this study will show formed part of the historical development of physical education and physical culture in this community.

This literature survey covered a wide spectrum of approaches of South African Physical Education historiography, from the denialist work of Anton Obholzer to the *Apartheid* challenging theories of Winston Kloppers. A common thread through all the cited writings was that Coloured people's role in the shaping of Physical Education was either ignored or purposely marginalised. There was no indication, in these writings, that Coloured people tried to create social spaces for themselves by using Physical Education and physical culture. This indicated to the researcher a need to explore South African Physical Education from a historical perspective that placed Coloured people, and those associated with them, in central settings.

This chapter also explored three themes in South African Physical Education writing, covering the period from the 19th to late 20th century. While there was no indication that Coloured people accepted the notion held by many academics that they had no significance role in mapping out South African Physical Education history, one thing is clear: There is no available scholarly record of Physical Education and physical culture practices in the Coloured community. Because the history of physical education and physical culture in the White community is usually presented as the only historical version, this study attempts to place the Coloured community at the core of the research.

108 W. Kloppers, *To move with a different view*, 1996, p.13.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The main criticism of nearly all of the extant literature, reviewed in chapter two, is the negligence of placing historical moments in Physical Education and physical culture practices in the Coloured community in a historical, political and social context. This study is grounded in the belief that, during the period under review, Coloured people had no significant political power in official quarters. Therefore, this research affirms that they deserve justice, humanity and dignity in the writing of South African history.¹

This study captures essential historical elements,² on a macro and micro level, that characterised Physical Education and physical culture practices in the Coloured community of the Western Cape. Missionary education remained restricted to African, Coloured and a few lower class White people during the period under review and the state never regarded it as an important government function – it remained a matter of philanthropic charity.³ The emphasis in this research does therefore not rest exclusively on official versions, but also relies on the testimonies of Coloured people. Explanation for these testimonies is sought in the social and political environment and not in Physical Education and physical culture activities.

3.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The research in this study provides a scientific-historical account of the strategies employed by Coloured people and organisations in developing Physical Education

1 S.T. Plaatjie, *Native life in South Africa*, 1982, p.xi.

2 This is a historical study and does not attempt to analyse data sociologically or philosophically. For sociological and philosophical perspectives dealing with South African physical education, see D. Hendricks, Physical education and power in South Africa. In J.D. Jansen (Ed.), *Knowledge and power in South Africa*, 1991, (pp.213-223) and J.A.P. Nel, Die rol van Liggaamlike Opvoeding as skoolvak, 1986 respectively.

3 E.L Maurice, The history and administration of the education of the Coloured peoples, 1946, pp.223, 225, 230.

and physical culture in the Western Cape. This problem statement has four sub-problems:

Did the practice of Physical Education and physical culture in this community intersect with other communities?

What was the physical education and physical culture political and social landscape within which these people operated?

How did they manipulate political and social opportunities in Physical Education to create spaces for themselves?

How influential were they with regards to the development of Physical Education and physical culture in South Africa?

3.3 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The scope of this study extends from 1837 until 1966⁴ in order to span the period of missionary school influence on the teaching of Physical Education. Between 1837 and 1891 teachers in the Western Cape taught the subject outside the school curriculum. The following year the Cape Education Department,⁵ under the superintendence of Thomas Muir, introduced Physical Education into the curriculum. The subject developed at mission schools, where Coloured people could later receive specialised training. By 1966, the government had transferred all specialised training at teacher training schools to state controlled teacher training colleges.

The history of Physical Education in the White community cannot be ignored in this study. Although South African communities' traditionally had their "own" schools, they followed separate curricula but based it on those followed in White schools.⁶ The government ensured that the organisation of Physical Education and physical culture in South Africa harmonised with ruling class ideologies.⁷ Neither could the African community be ignored in this research, because of the interaction its

⁴ Hereafter referred to as the period under review.

⁵ The Cape Education Department was established by proclamation in the *Government Gazette* on 23 May 1839 (M. Borman, *The Cape Education Department*, 1989, pp.23-24). This department became the official education provider in the Western Cape.

⁶ K.J. van Deventer, *Physical Education and sport in selected Western Cape high schools*, 1999, p103.

⁷ E. Locke, The type of physical education practised by a people reflects its philosophy. *Physical Education*, 5(4):4-6, 39, November 1943.

members had with other communities in the area of Physical Education and physical culture.

The period under review is one where mission schools played a pre-eminent part in facilitating the training of teachers in the field of Physical Education. This study singled out the mission schools that had teacher training facilities.⁸ These included Athlone (inter-denominational), Battswood (Dutch Reformed), Genadendal (Moravian), Wesley (Methodist) and Zonnebloem (Anglican). Due to the scarcity of available sources on the work of the Berlin Missionary Society in Riversdale, St. Augustine's (Catholic) in Parow and Söhnge (Rhenish) in Worcester these institutions had to be omitted.⁹

3.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The two basic categories of historical research methodologies can be classified as descriptive and analytical. The first category of research describes, objectively and in as much detail as possible, what happened in the past without transposing ideas, values and judgements from the present onto past events.¹⁰ The most common research methodology used in this category when writing about South African Physical Education history is the scientific-historical method. This entails gathering, systematising, comparing and testing the validity of historical facts and is useful for "first round research" when unknown facts are exposed for the first time. A shortcoming of this method is that it offers little in the way of social analysis.¹¹ Although this study uses the historical scientific method, it is not without critique and an attempt is made to overcome such criticism in the research.¹²

8 Until early in the 20th century, some schools also served as teacher training centres (Department of Public Education, *Cape of Good Hope. Report of Superintendent-general of Education for the year ending 30th September, 1911*, p.16). The emphasis of this study is on the teacher training schools.

9 For a historical account of the Catholic and Rhenish contribution towards education in the Western Cape, see E. Strassberger, *The Rhenish Mission Society in South Africa*, 1969; M. Mengele, *The origin, development, achievement and future of the Marist Brothers Schools in South Africa*, 1955; W.B. Baartzes, *Die geskiedenis en bydrae van die opleidingskool Söhnge tot die onderwys*, 1982.

10 S.G. Estes & R.A. Mechikoff, *A history and philosophy of sport and physical education*, 2006, p.8.

11 J. Nauright, *Sport, cultures and identities in South Africa*, 1997, p.18.

12 Criticism about physical education being a purely scientific area of endeavour, rather than a combination of science and creative activity, was voiced by K.A. Schrecker in 1942 (K.A. Schrecker, *The relation of Physical Education to science. Physical Education*, 4(4):2-7, November 1942).

When an attempt is made to apply the scientific-historical method to escape the shortcoming of social analysis, it solicits another descriptive tool: the structural empirical method.¹³ The empirical method ignores principles and focuses solely on facts.¹⁴ This lack of social analysis of historical sources becomes a drawback if the Physical Education historian realises the necessity of viewing the subject in terms of underlying social developments that helped to produce them or which they in turn helped to produce.¹⁵ The over-reliance on primary sources in the historical scientific method results in what the historian Dr. J.M. Roberts terms “a flight from discrimination”. If enough facts are piled up, a changeless, timeless historical “truth” will emerge and the historian becomes enslaved to the fetish of facts.¹⁶ These facts, if they emanate from oppressive ruling class source(s), will be reflected as innocent acts, devoid of political and ideological dilemmas.¹⁷

Such a presentation of endless facts is supported by the sociological perspective, termed functionalism. Those using functionalist theory examine parts of society in terms of its contribution to the maintenance of a social system.¹⁸ According to this perspective; the driving force underlying these social systems is the tendency for such systems to maintain themselves in a state of balance.¹⁹ This viewpoint sees South African Physical Education as an orderly system that helps to bring peace and order in human life so that social values such as promptness, respect, neatness and order are inculcated.²⁰ Therefore, the scientific historical method, without any form of analysis, erases ambivalences, contradictions and multiplicities and tends to be insensitive to social injustices, makes general analyses and lacks critical discourse.²¹

13 For an example of this method, see J .A.P. Nel, *Die rol van Liggaam like Opvoeding as skoolvak in die vestiging van'n Christelike lewens- en wêreldbeskouing*, 1986, p.4.

14 J.C. Coetzee, *Inleiding tot die algemene empiriese opvoedkunde*, 1969, p.11. For an example of this method, see F.G. Backman, *The development of Coloured education*, 1991, pp.24-25.

15 D.C. Allen, *A far greater game*, 2002, p.5.

16 J.M. Roberts, *A general history of Europe*, 1967, p.9.

17 It was related to the researcher by a former senior Physical Education inspector in the Cape Education Department how his counterpart for Physical Education in the Coloured Affairs Department copied the annual report of the Cape Education Department and submitted it as his official report.

18 M. Haralambos & R.M. Heald, *Sociology themes and perspectives*, 1980, p.9.

19 J. Coakley, *Sport in society*, 2001, p.34.

20 I.R. van der Merwe, *Beginsels waarop 'n prinsipiële sisteem van Liggaamlike Opvoeding moet berus*, 1960, p.27.

21 A.E. Clarke, *Situational analysis*, 2005, p.xxviii.

On the other hand, analytical history evaluates evidence and attempts to explain the how and why of events that happened in the past. This category allows space for the researcher's perspective. In so doing, it allows much of the richness of history to come forth and opens the historical explanation to further discussion. In this way, spaces of contestation about history and knowledge of society are created.²² With this in mind, Coloured people are placed at the epicentre of this research, but the selection of specific individuals, families and organisations used to illustrate the nature of Physical Education and physical culture in that community is an arbitrary one. The appendix is intended to go some way to build abroad overview of Coloured people who became specialist teachers during the period under review in order to move them to core areas of research.

3.5 DATA COLLECTION

This study attempts to reconstruct, as accurately as possible, the historical development of Physical Education and physical culture in the Coloured community of the Western Cape for the period under review. In order to achieve this, primary sources had to be placed in their social context so that they became explanatory documents of social issues operative in Physical Education and physical culture in the Western Cape. In order to obtain information about the topic, collections that cut across primary and secondary sources were used.

This dissertation was anchored in historical references that gave some insight into the history of physical education in the Coloured community. Important information regarding this history was found in books, articles, newspapers, interviews, theses and websites. The consignment of Coloured people to the periphery of society during the period under review was the main reason for official education documents being of limited value to this enquiry. These sources reflected only ruling class views that did not always reflect positive views towards Coloured people. Archival sources that included material in the form of diverse reports located in the Centre for Education

22 C. Rassool, Introduction: Recalling community in Cape Town. In S. Prosalendis & C. Rassool (Eds.), *Recalling community in Cape Town* (pp.vii-x), 2001.

Conservation: Western Cape Education Department did however become useful for purposes of clarification.

The main emphasis focussed on serial publications, in particular: Teacher Training School yearbooks, teacher journals (*Educational Journal*, *Tepa News*, etc) and newspapers (*A.P.O. Drum*, *The Cape Standard*, *The Sun*, *The Torch*, *Golden City Post*, *The South African Clarion*, etc.). Other archival sources were consulted in the Western Cape Archives, District Six Museum, the Genadendal Mission Museum, the Master of the High Court, the National Library of South Africa (Cape Town Division), the University of Cape Town's Manuscripts and Archives and African Divisions, as well as the Africana section of the J.S. Gericke Library at Stellenbosch University.

The advantage of this source material was that it related directly to the targeted constituency of this research. Because of the marginal role Coloured people occupied in Physical Education and physical culture literature, personal and telephonic interviews had to be used. When reporting on these interviews, flattering comments made by interviewees, the interviewer ignored the comments because after reading the historian Frederick Metrowich's biographical account of Scotty Smith, the South African version of Robin Hood, the researcher became aware of "the very human failing of old people always presenting their life adventures in a most favourable and flattering light".²³

Having been trained as a Physical Education specialist at a Coloured institution of higher learning, having attended a Coloured primary and high school and being taught Physical Education by Coloured specialist teachers, having taught at different Coloured high schools for 14 years and having made numerous friends and acquaintances with people involved in Physical Education and physical culture in the Coloured community, the researcher can claim to have first-hand experience of these areas in that community. Furthermore, the researcher had an academic interest in the history of this activity since the late 1980's and used his day-to-day interaction with colleagues to probe issues broadly relevant to the subject. He is

²³ F.C. Metrowich, *Scotty Smith*, 1962, p.xi.

therefore a participant-observer in the unfolding of this peculiar history.²⁴ It is for these reasons that the liberty of drawing on personal experiences and observations as source material for this dissertation was taken. Such usage was limited and no controversial issue or major point of interpretation hinged on such testimony.²⁵

This chapter identified the methodology used for scientific enquiry into the area of Physical Education and physical culture history in the Coloured community. A research tool, framed the scientific-historical method with analysis, was identified as the most suitable vehicle for this enquiry. The following chapters will be devoted to the unfolding of this methodology by investigating school and community-based Physical Education and physical culture in the community of the Western Cape.

24 A col league of the researcher, George van der Ross, a Physical Education teacher, introduced him to the then unknown radical politics of Black Consciousness, the New Unity Movement and other movements in the Coloured community and their particular role in school sport. The researcher also involved himself in Physical Education programmes for both the House of Representatives (Coloured) and Cape Education Departments.

25 See M. Adhikari, *Hope, fear, shame, frustration*, 2002, p.12 for justification of this method.

CHAPTER 4: PHYSICAL EDUCATION OPPORTUNITIES FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN

4.1 THE INTRODUCTION OF PHYSICAL TRAINING DRILL

Formal education for the indigenous people in the Cape Colony originated with 19th century missionaries working in isolation from one another. They established schools maintained by grants from the public treasury, yet neither a pure missionary system nor a pure state system of education.¹ This is so because the British authorities at the Cape at the time believed that church membership and therefore missionary schooling helped indigenous people and slaves accept their low status in society.² Physical Education opportunities for Coloured children were in some way always associated with this missionary education system.³

The defeat of the British during the First South African War (1880-1881), the discovery of gold in the then Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek and Cecil John Rhodes's dream of a British Africa from Cape Town to Cairo, led to the desideratum at the Cape by British colonial authorities for a strong military force loyal to the Crown. With these motivating factors in the last decade of the 19th century, physical training drill was introduced as a school subject.⁴

There was no mention about physical training drill in the *Report of the Superintendent-general of Education for 1891*, the year Sir Thomas Muir became Superintendent-general.⁵

1 Department of Public Education, *Report of Select Committee on Native Education*, 1908, p.v.

2 H. Giliomee, *Nog altyd hier gewees*, 2007, p.31.

3 H.M. Dalehoudt, Sir Thomas Muir, 1942, p.185.

4 At the Cape in 1892, there was a suggestion in a periodical that gymnastics could be the means of laying the foundation of permanent health and strength (*South African Sportsman*, 1(1):11, 16 September 1892). The lack of gymnastic facilities and equipment due to the Cape Education Department's absence of solicitous support for mission schools contributed to the preference for drill rather than gymnastics.

5 Colonial Secretary's Ministerial Division, *Report of the Superintendent-general of Education for the year 1891-1892*, 1893.

The Cape Education Department only introduced the subject in the curriculum of the Cape Colony schools (mission, private and public) the following year. The number of pupils and schools who received instruction in it increased during and after his tenure. The first account of physical training drill in schools in the Western Cape was found in the *Report of the Superintendent-general of Education for 1892*, where inspector Fraser reported that various forms of drill, physical exercises, callisthenics and “unsatisfactory” marching exercises were found in his circuit. Inspector Edward Noaks reported that physical exercises were taught effectively in two schools and starting in another. Inspector Bartmann commented that callisthenics received attention in some first class girl’s schools. He suggested the introduction of gymnastic exercises, especially where there were no adequate open playgrounds, and a modified form of military drill in boy’s schools. Muir’s own impression was that drill and physical exercises were not nearly as common as he expected.⁶ The reason for this was that public schools followed curricula based on Scottish lines in order “to provide a broad base of classical subjects upon which the student could later erect his own special study”.⁷ This meant that the few Coloured students at public schools received little or no instruction in Physical Education. One such example was found with a Coloured student, Frederick Hendricks,⁸ who later became the first principal of the Battswood Mission School in Wynberg, Cape Town.

Although the number of pupils receiving instruction in physical training drill at mission schools increased by 1899, only a third of all schools in the Cape Colony paid some attention to the subject.⁹ Edward Noaks, whose inspectorial circuit included an area with several mission schools, reported that attempts to introduce half an hour of daily drill lessons in the mission schools met with partial success.¹⁰ The severe teaching conditions in these schools contributed to this state of affairs. Most mission schools had overcrowded classrooms and teaching happened under conditions detrimental to the health and progress of the pupils and teachers.¹¹ However, a range of factors

6 Department of Public Education, *Report of the Superintendent-general of Education for the year 1892 with tables and appendices*, 1893, p.14.

7 D.H. Thomson, *The story of a school*, 1961, p.25.

8 Hendricks was a student at the Wynberg Public School from 1895 to 1897 (Centre for Education Conservation, Pass lists).

9 Department of Public Education, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education for the year 1899*, 1900, p.13.

10 Department of Public Education, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education for the year 1900* (Inspector Noaks’s report) 1901, p.80a.

11 Western Cape Archives, Correspondence file, 4/2/1/3/1866, B779/49.

facilitated the practice of Physical Education in these mission schools, and later public schools, for Coloured children. Not only health issues concerned the education authorities, but the importance of physical training drill as a means of maintaining discipline in schools.¹²

Muir favoured physical training drill in helping to instil discipline.¹³ During his tenure the British exploited the school system as a means to break down Afrikaner nationalism¹⁴ and extend control over Black people. Physical training drill, being part of this school system, could be used to teach Coloured children obedience and acceptance of their intermediate status in society. Many people in the Western Cape also bought into the idea of the value of hard work in the industrial society. More so after World War I, when death, destruction and moral decay prevailed and few people concerned themselves about the lot of Coloured children.¹⁵ The fact that Coloured children were exposed to military aspects (physical training drill) posed no threat of an uprising against the colonial authorities because they were small in number and powerless and therefore posed no military threat to the social order.¹⁶ The Cape Education Department therefore found no problem with making provision for physical training drill competitions for Coloured mission schools¹⁷ alongside public schools.

4.2 CORONATION PHYSICAL TRAINING COMPETITION

During the late 19th and 20th century the urban society of Cape Town attached much importance to competition. Such importance stemmed from a desire to emphasise social advantages, class position and consciousness in Westernised society.¹⁸

12 See report of inspector John Mitchell, 1897, p.51a. At the time he was the inspector for the George, Mossel Bay, Ladismith and Riversdale area; Department of Public Education, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education for the year 1900*, 1902, p. 11.

13 Department of Public Education, *Report of the Superintendent-general of Education for the year 1901*, 1903, p.18; Department of Public Education, *Report of the Superintendent-general of Education for the year ending 30th September 1911*, 1913, p.14.

14 P. Christie, *The right to learn*, 1985, p.159.

15 *Cape Herald*, 18 June 1966, p.3.

16 M. Adhikari, *Hope, fear, shame, frustration*, 2002, p.155.

17 Mission schools for African children were included in these competitions.

18 P. Alegi, *Laduma!* 2004, p.17.

In 1902, the Cape Education Department organised the first Coronation Physical Training Competition for Coloured (1 000) and White (2 000) school children as part of the coronation celebrations of Edward VII.¹⁹ This was in effect a physical culture competition with military aspects. The Cape Education Department staged the first competition at the Corporation Athletic Ground at Green Point on 26 June 1902.²⁰ The choice of venue must be questioned. The Second South African War had just come to an end and there was a strong military presence at the Green Point Common, with thousands of Boer prisoners and their guards. According to an education conservationist, Sigi Howes, it is possible that the intention of organising the drill competition at Green Point Common was to gloat and intimidate the prisoners with the “youth of the empire”.²¹ According to the historian, Frederick Gedye Backman, the Cape Education Department always practiced class and race distinction in education.²² During the early years of the 20th century, this was closely linked to the idea of Anglo-Saxon superiority over other races.

Mission schools and public schools therefore competed separately, and the former did not participate in all the prescribed exercises. Milne, the departmental instructor, visited the schools to assist with the interpretation of the movements. The official organ of the Cape Education Department, *The Education Gazette*, rigidly prescribed the exercises for the competition. The Department prescribed figure marching, dumbbell exercises, barbell exercises and free exercises; the rate of movement for the exercises being quick, double march and waltzes for public schools but restricted mission schools to figure marching and free exercises, and exempted them from the double march. The Department also excluded them from the “floral march display”²³ after the competition, which was restricted to and compulsory for participating public schools. The result for the 1902 event is given in Table 4.1.

19 S. Howes, Interschool's challenge shields, unpublished paper, 1996, pp.2, 11.

20 S. Howes, Interschool's challenge shields, unpublished paper, 1996, p.15; Cape of Good Hope, *The Education Gazette*, 1(28):217, 219, 1902; Cape of Good Hope, *The Education Gazette*, 2(1):2, 1902.

21 S. Howes, Interschool's challenge shields, unpublished paper, 1996, p.15.

22 F.G. Backman, The development of Coloured education, 1991, p.42.

23 *Cape Argus*, 26 June 1902, p.5.

At least one teacher at a participating mission school, Henry John Gordon, was a respected public figure. He was principal of the prestigious mission primary school in Cape Town, Albertus Street Primary, and reached the executive committee of the Cape division of the South African Teachers Association (SATA), an organisation catering for the needs of English speaking White teachers.²⁴ Mission schools participated in this competition at a time when Coloured petty bourgeoisie teachers sought to gain respectability from colonial English society, hoping to create a social space for themselves. They hoped to achieve this by participating in an event filled with British military and empire propaganda, in the presence of the mayor and the Cape colonial governor, Sir Walter Francis Hely-Hutchinson. Striking features of the Coronation Physical Training Drill Competition included military men as judges, singing the British national anthem “with the fervour of a solemn prayer”, each of the 3 000 children receiving and waving a small Union Jack and the six-poled Maypole dance²⁵ depicting Britain and its colonies.²⁶

Table 4.1: Result of 1902 Mission Coronation Shield²⁷

	School	Instructor
1.	Roeland Street English Mission School (also known as St George's)	Miss E. Cole
2.	Albertus Street Primary (Boys)	Mr. H.J. Gordon
3.	St Phillip's (Girls)	Miss Susan Chaney
4.	St Phillip's (Boys)	Miss A.E. Gray
5.	St Paul's (Boys)	Miss E.L. Venn
6.	St Paul's (Girls)	Miss A. Hartvig
7.	Albertus Street Primary (Girls)	Mr. H.J. Gordon

It is not certain how Physical Education found its way into schools in Ndabeni, but in 1903 Ndabeni Location School (St. Cyprians), “a school for African children”, won

24 M. Adhikari, *Let us live for our children*, 1993, p.80.

25 The *Cape Argus* described this dance as “a smack of the olden times” (*Cape Argus*, 26 June 1902, p.5).

26 *Cape Argus*, 26 June 1902, p.5; *Cape Times*, 27 June 1902, p.5.

27 Cape of Good Hope, *The Education Gazette*, 2(9):86, 1902.

the mission school division.²⁸ The following year three schools entered for the Mission School Shield Competition: a boys and a girls team from the St. George's Mission School in Roeland Street and a team from St. Cyprian's Location Mission School in Ndabeni. Because of the Cape Education Department's continued insistence on racial separation between public and mission schools, the only White school that entered, St. Agnes in Woodstock, went through the prescribed exercises alone at the close of the competition.²⁹ This competition lingered on until 1906, when only one team entered. No results could be found for the competitions after 1903.

The Coronation Physical Training Competition never reached the level of popularity as the Coronation Choir Competition. This is perhaps due to the military and masculine nature of the event, when most teachers at the time were female. It is worthwhile broaching the physical training drill opportunities at the Ndabeni Location School because it provides some comprehension of the influence of the first forced removal of people in Cape Town on teaching the subject during the first decade of the 20th century.

The township of Ndabeni started on prejudicial grounds. When a White employee at the Cape Town docks took ill on 1 February 1901, doctors diagnosed it as a case of bubonic plague. The African population of District Six³⁰ were falsely blamed for the scourge³¹ and relocated to a government farm and wattle plantation in a remote part of Cape Town, called Uitvlugt (later renamed Ndabeni).³² Because the township was not under municipal control, living conditions (the least of which was a lack of recreation space) were appalling. By the standards of acceptability as set out by middle class Cape Town society, life in Ndabeni was "a place without a soul ...a confession to the failure of civilisation".³³

28 Cape of Good Hope, *The Education Gazette*, 3(14):222, 1903. In 1914 the subject was still taught in schools when a periodical reported that "a purchase was made of new drilling costumes for a concert in Ndabeni under the charge of Mrs. Rousby" (*The Cowley Evangelist*, August 1914, p.190).

29 Cape of Good Hope, *The Education Gazette*, 4(14):281, 1904.

30 For a historical account of the migration of African people to the Western Cape, see C. Saunders, Africans in Cape Town. In C. Saunders & H. Phillips (Eds.), *Studies in the history of Cape Town*, 1980, pp.15-40.

31 The burbonic plague had come to Cape Town from Argentina by the army (V. Bickford-Smith *et al.*, *Cape Town in the twentieth century*, 1999, p.19).

32 M. Adhikari, *Straatpraatjies*, 1996, p.88.

33 *Cape Times*, 6 February 1922, p.9.

Under these conditions, the Anglican Church opened a day school, St. Cyprian's, in 1901.³⁴

The one-roomed school, "where the flies made a terrible mess in summer", was separated from the adjoining catechism class by a curtain. The teacher's day included religious instruction in church matters and lasted from 07:15 until 21:30. In these circumstances the St. Cyprian's school introduced a physical training drill programme in its curriculum. The subject was part of the afternoon programme where children swung bar-bells and dumbbells to the accompaniment of a piano. Onlookers from outside the school often slipped in to observe the drill lesson.³⁵

The school sent teams for the Coronation Physical Training Competition (Mission Schools) twice.³⁶ This could have been for the purpose of general health and fitness.³⁷ On four accounts, however, the inclusion of the Ndabeni Location Mission School in the Coronation competition reflected the social fabric of early 20th century Cape Town society. Firstly, there were not enough schools catering for the African populace to warrant a separate competition.³⁸ Secondly, an Anglican priest in Ndabeni, Father Bull, relied on Zonnebloem Training School, an institution on the outskirts of Cape Town that catered for all population groups but mainly for the Coloured classes, for financial and logistical support.³⁹ This indicates a dependency of poorer schools on wealthier ones. Thirdly, the authorities described many Ndabeni residents as "Hottentot, Malay and mixed race" rather than African,⁴⁰ and therefore highlights the ignorance of those people who believed that Ndabeni Location School was an African school competing in a "Coloured Physical Education competition". From a grassroots perspective, it was a physical training competition for schools that were not allowed to participate in the White section. Fourthly, the state created a joint Physical Education opportunity for pupils who gradually constructed themselves

34 N. Barnett, Ndabeni, 1985, pp.1, 114-115; V. Bickford-Smith *et al.*, *Cape Town in the twentieth century*, 1999, p.44.

35 L. Rousby, *Under Table Mountain*, 1906, pp.25-29, 33-34.

36 N. Barnett, Ndabeni, 1985, p.115.

37 The location of Ndabeni was established by the colonial health department (V. Bickford-Smith *et al.*, *Cape Town in the twentieth century*, 1999, p.44).

38 In 1901 St. Cyprian's was the only school in Ndabeni (V. Bickford-Smith *et al.*, *Cape Town in the twentieth century*, 1999, p.44).

39 *Quarterly Magazine and Journal of the Association of St. John Baptist*, 5(22):56, 1907.

40 V. Bickford-Smith *et al.*, *Cape Town in the twentieth century*, 1999, p.44.

socially into urban racial categories.⁴¹ The display was filled with British patriotism in a city alive with the tension of the Second South African War.⁴² Despite being marginalised,⁴³ Coloured people accommodated British advances and, through Physical Education, expressed loyalty to the British Crown as a single Black entity.⁴⁴

4.3 PHYSICAL EDUCATION AFTER THE 1905 SCHOOL BOARD ACT

The 1905 School Board Act made school attendance⁴⁵ and education provision compulsory for White children.⁴⁶ The Act also proved to be the forerunner of racially based education legislation that affected the provision of Physical Education for Coloured children. After World War I, the Cape Education Department adopted a policy of Coloured teacher training, with the co-operation of churches, distinct from White and African training.⁴⁷ Because the Cape Town Teachers Training College fell under the control of the Cape School Board, the female specialist Physical Education teacher training course, introduced in 1921 as a two-year diploma in Swedish gymnastics and the Laban system, remained limited to White people throughout the period under review.⁴⁸ Coloured women were confined to the five mission training schools, not affected by the School Board Act, in the Cape Province set aside for them.⁴⁹ They had to be satisfied with non-specialist work and in the opinion of a Physical Education school inspector, “of no educational value”.⁵⁰ This was elaborated on by the account of a former District Six resident, Linda Fortune, of her

41 By 1895, schools had to indicate their racial composition in its quarterly return of attendance (Department of Public Education, *The Education Manual*, 1895, p.122).

42 V. Bickford-Smith *et al.*, *Cape Town in the twentieth century*, 1999, p.23.

43 The mission school competition was the curtain raiser for the Coronation Competition (*Cape Argus*, 26 June 1902, p.5).

44 It is questionable if it was loyalty to the British Crown that was the overriding factor in the participation of these schools in the Coronation Competition. The *Cape Times* reported that “the most elaborate arrangements were made for providing children with food” (*Cape Times*, 27 June 1902, p.5).

45 Compulsory school attendance is not synonymous with compulsory education because the former is a component of the latter. Experience has shown that compulsory education can only be successful if the state assumes sole responsibility for education in all aspects (*TEPA Educational News*, 13(1):1, 6, 1958).

46 Cape of Good Hope, *The Education Gazette*, 4(20):411-417, 1905.

47 E.L. Maurice, The development of policy in regard to the education of Coloured pupils at the Cape, 1880-1940, 1966, p.367.

48 M. Black, The training of physical education teachers. In J.W. Postma, *Report of the first South African Congress for Physical Education*, 1945, p.47; J.W. Postma, *Inleiding tot die liggaamlike opvoedkunde*, 1965, pp.47-48. In 1935 a Coloured parent, J.C. Nero from Eshowe in the then Transvaal, requested permission from the Cape Town College to register for the “specialist course in sport and gymnastics (Western Cape Archives, PAE 538 TPC. Letter dated 7 June 1935). She would have been refused registration.

49 A.P.O., 8(194):9, 21 August 1920.

50 Western Cape Archives, PAE 538 TPC, Letter dated 7 September 1939.

Physical Education experience while at school. She recalls the girls using the school playgrounds, a tarred quad, for the subject. Sometimes the boys and girls shared the same grounds, but always on opposite sides. The girls endured the remarks made by the boys and they had a teacher who did not withhold corporal punishment if they forgot their bloomers. Fortune concludes her account by reminiscing on the physical activities with no educational value, such as playing netball without any skills being taught.⁵¹

School inspectors held a conference in Cape Town in March 1934 to discuss the state of physical training and health education in South Africa. The conference had the sole purpose of addressing the Poor White problem emerging from the worldwide economic depression.⁵² Shortly afterwards, in July 1934, the Cape Education Department introduced compulsory Physical Education at secondary schools, under the jurisdiction of the School Board Act.⁵³ This measure did not benefit the Coloured community greatly. Firstly, only 11% of all Coloured pupils attended secondary schools in 1931.⁵⁴ Even when more secondary schools for Coloured pupils were built, the situation did not improve much until after World War II. Secondly, the perceived health benefits of compulsory Physical Education targeted White people. In 1941 the Cape Education Department issued an instruction to school committees to appoint a male and female physical education instructor with specialist training in the subject. Given the lack of facilities and overcrowding in schools, combined with the fact that Coloured women were debarred from specialist training at the time; it meant little for the children at these schools.⁵⁵

One government attempt did address poverty alleviation in the Coloured community and had a bearing on the provision of Physical Education in mission schools. This is the government appointed commission of inquiry into matters affecting the Cape Coloured population of the Union that was established on 6 July 1934. Some of the

51 L. Fortune, *The house in Tyne Street*, 1996, pp.39-40.

52 Department of Public Education, *Report of the Superintendent-general of Education for the two years 1934 and 1935*, 1936, p.25.

53 C.G. de Vries, *Die Opleidingskollege Paarl*, 1963a, p.85.

54 Department of Public Education, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education for the year 1948-1949*, 1949, p.13.

55 Western Cape Archives, PAE 1899 EMI/462, *Annual report of the Superintendent-general of Education for the year ending 31 March 1941 on physical education in the Cape Province*.

recommendations referred directly to Physical Education in mission schools. One recommendation pointed out that education for Coloured people should be directed towards physical development. This was based on a conclusion drawn from the testimonies of employers of Coloured labour and medical evidence at the disposal of the commission. Another recommendation stated that specialised courses for the training of Coloured teachers in Physical Education be instituted as soon as possible, because the commission believed that a course established at the Cape Town Teachers' Training College for White females in 1921 proved to be successful.⁵⁶ The socio-political environment surrounding the commission and the political background of members serving on it provides insight into the practice of Physical Education at the time.

The terms of reference of this commission included that of enquiring into, collecting information and reporting on the position in the country's economic and social structure of the Cape Coloured population. The government however instructed the commission not to attempt unsettling the middle order status of Coloured people sandwiched between the urban White community and the "native" masses.⁵⁷ Therefore, although the commission ventured into making definite recommendations, it was never intended to be more than a fact finding operation.⁵⁸ The ruling United Party therefore did not express serious concern about the findings. For example, one of the concerns included the poor state of housing provision for Coloured people.⁵⁹ At the same time, the United Party put forward proposals for residential segregation.⁶⁰ The commission members knew this and therefore their sincerity must be questioned.

The commission consisted of people associated with conservative organisations and individuals sometimes criticised by political activists. For example Raymond Wilcocks, served on the Carnegie Commission of Investigation on the Poor White

56 Union of South Africa, *Report of the commission of inquiry regarding the Cape Coloured population of the Union*, 1937, p.194.

57 Union of South Africa, *Report of the commission of inquiry regarding the Cape Coloured population of the Union*, 1937, p.1.

58 A.J. Venter, *A profile of two million Coloured South Africans*, 1974, p.490.

59 Union of South Africa, *Report of the commission of inquiry regarding the Cape Coloured population of the Union*, 1937, p.1.

60 R.E. van der Ross, *The rise and decline of apartheid*, 1986, p.110.

Question in South Africa.⁶¹ Wilcocks was the rector of Stellenbosch University⁶² at a time in its history when it had an unfavourable track record towards non-racialism. Another member, Wouter de Vos Malan, the Superintendent-general of Education of the Cape Education Department⁶³ was later singled out by a teacher activist, Richard Owen Dudley, for his stance against promoting teachers who opposed racist policies of the state.⁶⁴ Left wing politicians decried the only Coloured member, Dr. Abdullah Abdurahman, as a petty reformer who took over ruling class ideas and landed his people in a wretched plight.⁶⁵ This implied his inability to conscientise the Coloured community about theories of exploitation so as to revolt against their situation. It is true that Abdurahman's party, the African People's Organisation (APO) initially embraced socialist ideals, but gradually became more conservative and later supported the South African Party in exchange for a guarantee for Abdurahman's seat on the Cape Provincial Council.⁶⁶ Their political hopes focussed on assimilation into the modern European society in accordance with Cecil John Rhodes's slogan of equal rights for all civilised men.

The commission's recommendations, relating to Physical Education, found some support in the Coloured community. The first defence from within the Coloured community was voiced at the National Convention of Organisations Concerned with the Welfare of the Coloured people, where paragraph 856 stated that "the commission recommends that the ultimate aim to which Coloured education should be directed, be conceived in terms of physical, mental and moral discipline".⁶⁷ However, the convention's voice remained inconsequential without state approval. What was of significance, was the notable growing awareness among the Coloured petty bourgeoisie, at the time, of the idea often expressed in international literature, that the concern for physical vitality was "a social responsibility that need(s)ed to be

61 R.W. Wilcocks, *The Poor White problem in South Africa, Report of the Carnegie Commission, part 2*, 1932.

62 A.L. Boshoff, *Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch*, 1981, p.48.

63 He was the Superintendent-general of Education from 1929 until 1953 (M. Borman, *The Cape Education Department*, 1989, p.237).

64 A. Wieder, *Voices from Cape Town classrooms*, 2003, p.41.

65 R.E. van der Ross, *The rise and decline of apartheid*, 1986, pp.175, 182; *Torch*, 12(43):1, 7 January 1958; University of Cape Town Manuscripts, UMSA/TABATA Collection. National anti-CAD movement conference, 29 May, BC925.E., 1943.

66 D. Switzer & L. Switzer, *The Black press in South Africa and Lesotho*, 1979, p. 30.

67 Report of the Commission of inquiry regarding the Cape Coloured population of the Union, 1938, p.22; Union of South Africa, *Report of the commission of inquiry regarding the Cape Coloured population of the Union*, 1937, p.166.

expressed through leaders".⁶⁸ More important, it became part of their attempt at upward social mobility. A great number of them experienced the subject at teacher training schools.

4.4 PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND PHYSICAL CULTURE PROGRAMMES IN TEACHER TRAINING SCHOOLS

4.4.1 WESLEY TEACHERS TRAINING SCHOOL

The first institution to offer specialist training for Coloured physical educationists, starting in 1938, was the Wesley Teachers Training School. By then the institution was well-established in Cape Town and acquired a history of Physical Education and physical culture displays in the Coloured community.

The Wesley Teachers Training School grew out of the combined efforts of the Methodist Church and the segregationist policies of the Cape Education Department. From early on in its history, the school was associated with Physical Education activities particularly when the Cape Education Department introduced specialist training for Coloured men in 1938, which lasted until 1961. The following year, an existing specialist course for women at Zonnebloem was transferred to Wesley. The Cape Education Department transferred this course to Hewat Training College in 1967.

A Methodist school opened on 3 October 1904 in Durham Avenue, Woodstock.⁶⁹ Due to the efforts of the Methodist cleric, Reverend George Robson, the first manager of the training school,⁷⁰ and the intensifying segregationist attitude of the Cape Education Department towards Coloured people wishing to receive teacher training, the Wesley Teachers Training School was established in 1915 at this Methodist school in Durham Avenue. In that year the Cape Education Department gave official recognition to Wesley and Zonnebloem as teacher training centres for

68 J.F. Williams, *Personal hygiene applied*, 1937, p.23.

69 *Sun*, 5 April 1935, p.5.

70 *Wesley Training School Magazine*, 1950, p.6.

Coloured students. From then on, no Coloured or African student would be allowed to register at the Cape Town Training College.⁷¹

In 1916 the Wesley school had 19 students. The following year, the number of pupil - teachers grew to 54, of whom 36 passed their year-end examination.⁷² For a period of time; African students entered the Lower Native Primary Certificate at Wesley.⁷³ However, by 1941, the Cape Education Department no longer allowed the training school to admit African students.⁷⁴ The official school view, stated by the (White) principal, William Napier Cragg, was that Coloured students had a part to play in serving their race and country.⁷⁵ This separatist view remained in management circles at the training school until Tom Hamner, joined the staff in 1945, became principal in 1961 and stayed in the position until 1984.⁷⁶ Hamner disallowed student participation in government sanctioned activities with a racist undertone and used school assemblies to conscientise students about social and political concerns.⁷⁷

The historical record of Physical Education at Wesley proves the journalist Louis Wessels wrong when he stated that non-White citizens of South Africa did not show any or little interest in gymnastics, a major component of Physical Education, until the 1970's.⁷⁸ As early as 1910, a gymnastic club, St. Andrew's, was formed for Coloured boys in Newlands, Cape Town, by a group of concerned White residents. W. Danielz, founder and instructor of the Salt River Mission Gymnasium, rendered his services to this club in 1918.⁷⁹ The Salt River Mission Gymnasium was in close proximity to the Wesley Teachers Training School and there is a possibility that the Training School utilised his services.

71 E.L. Maurice, The development of policy in regard to the education of Coloured pupils at the Cape, 1880-1940, 1966, p.368.

72 *Educational Journal*, 2(15):1, 1917.

73 *Sun*, 25 January 1935, p.2.

74 There is no evidence that African students registered for the specialist physical education course at Wesley. In 1943, a Physical Education specialist course was started for African males at the Healdtown Methodist Training School in the Eastern Cape (J.W. Postma, *Inleiding tot die liggaamlike opvoedkunde*, 1965, p.48).

75 *Wesley Training College Magazine*, 1941, p.4.

76 For an account of Tom Hamner's teaching career, see A. Wieder, *Voices from Cape Town classrooms*, 2003, pp.27-33.

77 T. Hamner, personal interview, 2007.

78 In A.L. Boshoff, Die geskiedenis van gimnastiek in Suid-Afrika tot 1989, 1991, p.115; In 1948, the journal *Vigor* mentioned that gymnastics was popular in the African and Coloured sections of boys' and girls' clubs (Anon., Outline of Physical Education in South Africa, *Vigor*, 2(1):16, December 1948).

79 *A.P.O.*, 7(190):12, 26 June 1920.

The first verifiable recorded evidence of Physical Education at Wesley, which was found for this study, was in the year 1932. On 27 October that year, Wesley staged a concert for the college committee, the principal guest being Dr. De Vos Malan. The items included a gymnastic display staged by the gym instructor, Kathleen W. Malherbe,⁸⁰ organised games, a Swedish drill, a group of senior students giving a musical drill with figure marching and items that included apparatus work and horse vaulting.⁸¹ This indicates the influence of the Cape Town Teachers Training College Physical Education programme with its Swedish system.⁸²

In 1934 the Wesley Teachers Training School staged a gymnastic display with free-standing gymnastics, apparatus work and dancing for three evenings, all extending over some two and a half hours. The display took the form of a class cup competition for that year's work in theory, practice and teaching of physical training. The Accro Physical Culture Club, with several past and present Wesley students, arranged a weight-lifting display.⁸³ The following year the practising, secondary and training departments staged an "ambitious" gymnastic and dancing display with "wonderful lighting effects". The items included a hoop drill by past students who attended the weekly evening classes, two junior teams (English and Afrikaans classes) giving a physical culture display, a physical culture competition in a training school section and a secondary/primary physical culture schools competition. The presence of White people, providing expertise, always featured at the Physical Education displays.

These displays reflected the sense of social responsibility of organisers that accompanied physical culture displays in the Coloured community. The funds raised were intended for clinics on the Cape Flats and the Eaton Convalescent Home in Plumstead, which from 1933 had a partnership concerning health matters with Wesley. By then these Physical Education and physical culture displays became a status symbol and usually members of the Coloured petty bourgeoisie along with

80 *Sun*, 28 October, 1932, p.2. Malherbe was a White woman and a former student of the Girls' Public School in Beaufort-West in 1914 and the Grahamstown College in 1915 (Centre for Education Conservation, Pass lists).

81 *Sun*, 30 September, 1932, p.1.

82 Malherbe was a Cape Town Teachers Training College graduate.

83 *Sun*, 5 October 1934, p.6.

senior (White) officials of the Cape Education Department were invited to such events.⁸⁴ Their presence testified of a tacit belief that had grown among members of the Coloured petty bourgeoisie that the White middle class served as role models worthy of emulation and should be befriended.⁸⁵ The nature of the event (dividing participants into junior and senior sections, issuing medals and certificates to pupils and using gymnastic displays as a source of income for a social cause) directly imitated what happened at the Cape Town Teachers Training College.⁸⁶

This approach meant prominent White people, sympathetic to Physical Education endeavours in the Coloured community, could be approached for assistance in a variety of Physical Education activities. By 1936, Wesley awarded diplomas for dancing and the teaching of gymnastics annually to students, the examiners being three prominent women in Physical Education circles: Margaret Black, Sylvia Hoffa and Mrs. Salmon. All students underwent a course of training in first-aid and that year 70 of them obtained the senior certificate of the St. John's Ambulance Association.⁸⁷

Because Wesley Teachers Training School became an important Physical Education centre in the Western Cape, the Cape Education Department organised school vacation courses for Coloured Physical Education teachers there from 1937 until 1954. The first recorded one was held from 28 June to 8 July 1937. Kathleen Malherbe presented items dealing with physical culture, rhythmic work, concert work and practical work without apparatus.⁸⁸ The following year about 50 Coloured male teachers attended another course.⁸⁹ H.J. Taylor and Ms. M. Logeman⁹⁰ selected teachers to attend and presented the lectures.⁹¹ During the September holidays

84 *Sun*, 29 November 1935, p.2.

85 M. Adhikari, *Hope, shame, fear, frustration*, 2002, p.176.

86 For example of a Physical Education display at the Cape Town Teachers Training College see *Cape Town Training College Magazine*, 1923-1924, pp.26, 122. Later the Wesley Teachers Training School also had a tradition of organising informal sport matches between the Physical Education specialist students and the general school populace. This was a feature at the college as early as 1930 (*Cape Town Training College Magazine*, 1930, p.22).

87 *Sun*, 23 October 1936, p.2.

88 Department of Public Education, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education*, 1937, p.426; *Sun*, 7 May 1937, p.9.

89 Department of Public Education, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education*, 1938, p.48.

90 M. Logeman of the Good Hope Seminary was made organiser for Physical Education (girls) in 1937 (Department of Public Education, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education*, 1937, p.19).

91 *Cape Standard*, 28 June 1938, p.4.

in 1952, the Cape Education Department conducted a vacation course in educational gymnastics and athletic coaching for 42 male Physical Education teachers, under the direction of J. J. Schoombie,⁹² Two years later, another Physical Education vacation course with 74 teachers in possession of the Higher Primary Certificate (Physical Education) (Coloured) was held.⁹³ These courses, always under the instruction of White leaders,⁹⁴ often ignored the realities of poverty and deprivation in the Coloured community.⁹⁵

The importance of the Wesley Teachers Training School in Physical Education history was that it became the home of specialist training for Coloured Physical Education teacher trainers. The Cape Education Department announced in 1937 that it planned to introduce a third year training course in Physical Education at Wesley in order to produce a qualified specialist teacher for the primary school.⁹⁶ This realised in 1938.⁹⁷ Male Coloured students at the University of Cape Town enrolled for the Higher Primary Diploma and specialised in Physical Education combined with the Higher Primary Teachers Certificate students at Wesley for their practical work.⁹⁸

The presence of a Physical Education specialist course resulted in the sport code, gymnastics, being associated with Wesley. The first “non-European” gymnastic championship was held in the Wesley gymnasium in 1955, but because of the increase in participants and spectators was later moved to the Old Drill Hall in Cape Town.⁹⁹ Wesley won the inaugural competition.¹⁰⁰ The extent of Wesley’s specialist and non-specialist work was demonstrated by their deep involvement in the annual Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs championship competition on 13 October 1956. This involvement was evidenced by Wesley

92 Department of Public Education. *Report of Superintendent-general of Education*, 1952, pp.48-49; *Wesley Training School Magazine*, 1952, p.5.

93 Department of Public Education, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education*, 1954, p.18; *Sun*, 30 September 1955.

94 Western Cape Archives, PAE 1898 EM/457, Physical culture vacation courses.

95 F.O’ Neill, Personal interview, 2008.

96 E.L. Maurice, The development of policy in regard to the education of Coloured pupils at the Cape, 1880-1940, 1966, p.406; Cape Town Teachers Training College boxes: W. Campbell scrapbook.

97 *Cape Standard*, 20 September 1938, p.7.

98 R.E. van der Ross, personal interview, 2003.

99 A.L. Boshoff, Die geskiedenis van gimnastiek in Suid-Afrika tot 1989, 1991, p.115; *Sun*, 9 September 1955, p.7.

100 *Wesley Training School Magazine*, 1955, p.34.

entering two junior girl's teams, two senior girls' teams and one senior men's (specialist class) team.¹⁰¹

For the duration of the male specialist course at Wesley Teachers Training School, all the lecturers (with the exception of one, Karl Schrecker) were Paarl Teachers Training College graduates. The standard of teaching at the two institutions was the same. H.J. Taylor¹⁰² introduced a HPTC course at the Paarl Teachers Training College in 1936, along the lines of the Swedish system of Per Henrik Ling, and the Cape Education Department initially favoured this system. The Paarl students, with a certificate course, had preference for permanent posts above Stellenbosch University students, who followed a diploma course.¹⁰³ However, the economic disadvantaged position and lack of schooling opportunities for the Coloured community in the Western Cape negated the possible benefits of a high standard of teaching. According to the work of Edgar Maurice¹⁰⁴ this course occupied a lesser status in society because of the poor economic position of the Coloured people and the shortage of secondary schools providing post-grade 10 candidates.¹⁰⁵ Consequently, only 11 students completed the course at Wesley in 1938,¹⁰⁶ compared to the 44 men at the Paarl Teachers Training College.¹⁰⁷ The benefits of expertise associated with the training of Coloured specialist teachers did not reach a large number of children who did not attend school.¹⁰⁸ The curriculum at Wesley did not prepare teachers for teaching in adverse conditions, especially in mission schools.¹⁰⁹

101 *Wesley Training School Magazine*, 1957, p.10.

102 Taylor started teaching at the prestigious Rondebosch Boys' High School in 1934 and "an all-round improvement in gymnastics was immediately noticeable". After the Cape Education Department held a vacation course in Physical Education for teachers at Rondebosch, the following year, Taylor was offered the appointment of physical education lecturer at the first specialist course at the Paarl Teachers Training College (D.E. Cornell, *The history of the Rondebosch Boys' High School*, 1947, p.36).

103 This was because the Cape Education Department believed in the English system, while Stellenbosch University followed the German system, a situation that was worsened by World War II (A.L. Boshoff, *Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch*, 1981, pp.126-127).

104 Maurice was a Coloured person, a lecturer at the Battswood Teacher Training School and later principal of Harold Cressy High School (Coloured). He was therefore in a good position to comment on the status of teacher training courses for Coloured students.

105 E.L. Maurice, *The development of policy in regard to the education of Coloured pupils at the Cape, 1880-1940*, 1966, p.399.

106 Department of Public Education, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education*, 1938, p.48.

107 OKP, 1998, p.38.

108 In 1938 there were approximately 30 000 Coloured children of official school going age, i.e. between seven and 14 years, who did not attend school (Department of Public Education. *Report of the Superintendent-general of Education*, 1938, pp.21-23).

109 White public schools were required by the Cape Education Department to provide a minimum of 80 minutes of physical exercises or gymnastics per week for each class (Department of Public Education, *Report of the Superintendent-general of Education*, 1938, p.48). This did not apply to mission schools.

Physical Education displays, in the presence of government officials and prominent people, remained a feature of specialist training at the Cape Town Teachers Training College, as it was at mission schools. When the Cape Education Department introduced the specialist course females in 1921, the students staged a display in Swedish gymnastics under the guidance of the temporary instructor, Mrs. Polson and in the presence of the Superintendent-general of Education, Willem Viljoen, and a future Physical Education school inspector, H.J. Taylor.¹¹⁰ Similarly, in 1938, the first year of specialist training at Wesley, the class displayed their work for government officials on two occasions. The first was in connection with a visit of inspector Mr. Charles and Reverend W. Mason, the school manager.¹¹¹ The second was in connection with a visit of the Governor-general and his wife, Sir and Lady Patrick Duncan.¹¹² This feature, coupled with using Physical Education as a fundraising activity,¹¹³ became hallmarks of specialist training.

In 1939 Karl Schrecker arrived at Wesley as the departmental head of Physical Education at Wesley after leaving his home country, Germany. When Claude Smit, a South African physical educationist, visited Germany in 1938, he befriended Schrecker and influenced him to come to South Africa. Schrecker came to South Africa in January 1939 as a political exile. After being interned for a few weeks, he received an appointment as a lecturer at Wesley. His Physical Education career included being a teacher at a prestigious White school, S.A.C.S. High and Wesley Teachers Training and Practicing School from 1939 until 1942,¹¹⁴ as well as lectureships at Stellenbosch and Pretoria University.¹¹⁵ Schrecker was a prolific writer whose contributions included articles in the *Vigor* journal, writing the book *Corrective gymnastics for schools*¹¹⁶ and editor of the quarterly magazine *Physical*

110 *Cape Town Training College Magazine*, 1921, p.54.

111 *Cape Standard*, 28 June 1938, p.9.

112 *Cape Standard*, 20 September 1938, p.7.

113 As early as 1922, a gymnastic display by specialist students at the Cape Town Teachers Training College in the presence of Cape Education Department officials was reported as a fundraising drive for the purpose of acquiring gymnastic equipment (*Cape Town Training College Magazine*, 1922, pp.50-51).

114 Anon., A tribute to Mr. K.A. Schrecker. *Vigor*, 29(5):8, December 1966.

115 A.L. Boshoff, Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch, 1981, p.171.

116 A.K. Schrecker, *Corrective gymnastics*, 1965.

Education.¹¹⁷ He also served on the 1941 syllabus committee.¹¹⁸ Schrecker brought an influence of eclecticism from Germany¹¹⁹ when he introduced swimming and other sport codes alongside gymnastics in the curriculum at Wesley.¹²⁰

This gradually filtered through to the community. This was evident in a 1942 article, *Physical Education and its value to our youth*, in the *Cape Standard* by William Pieterse. The article covered aspects of free-standing exercises, running, walking, agility, games, athletics, swimming and gymnastics leadership as part of Physical Education, as opposed to exclusively physical training drill or gymnastics.¹²¹ Schrecker, noted for his disciplinarian style and orderliness, wrote in *Physical Education* in 1940:

“... our exercises ...cannot do without discipline... it is hoped that Physical Education will do away with the slouching gait of many South African pupils, their loitering about with hands in pockets, their negligent way of greeting grown- up persons...It is only by accustoming boys to a minimum of forms in marching and falling in, by making them treat the apparatus carefully, by submitting them to the strict rules of a game that the instructor can make them benefit as much as possible from the exercises... it stands to reason that, to guarantee a steady progress in fitness and attainment, the teacher has to be systematic...”¹²²

The Physical Education specialist students had access to a modern gymnasium with all the necessary gymnastic apparatus. The same year as Schrecker’s appointment, the *Cape Standard* reported on the building progress of a new gymnasium. Accordingly, it would be one of the finest gymnasiums in the Union of South Africa.¹²³ It had the latest equipment and with lecture, changing, apparatus and

117 Anon., A tribute to Mr K.A. Schrecker. *Vigor*, 29(5):8, December 1966.

118 National Advisory Council for Physical Education, *Physical Education syllabus, Senior Book I*, 1943, p.vii.

119 He was a student at the Greisseisswaldt and Tübingen Universities (A. Schrecker, telephonic interview, 2007).

120 It was told that Henry (Harry) Hendricks, who studied under Schrecker and was also a State President’s merit award posthumous recipient in 2004, was known to have taken his regular swim every morning, regardless of the temperature (P. Meyer, personal interview, 2 March 2006).

121 *Cape Standard*, 29 December 1942, p.11.

122 K.A. Schrecker, The school and Physical Education. *Physical Education*, 2(3):9, September 1940.

123 *Cape Standard*, 21 March 1939, p.6.

remedial rooms attached to it.¹²⁴ Dr. De Vos Malan officially opened the gymnasium that year with the intention for it to be used for courses in Recreational Gymnastics for club leaders and catering for youths who left school before Grade 10 who wished to keep physically fit.¹²⁵ In due time, Springbok gymnasts also trained there¹²⁶ and Wesley remained one of the three reputable gymnasiums in Cape Town.¹²⁷

From early on in the existence of the Higher Primary Teachers Certificate course, the students provided physical culture displays for the purpose of generating income for charitable causes. In its first year the City and Suburban Rugby Union¹²⁸ invited the specialist students to give a gymnastic display at a gala celebration in Mowbray.¹²⁹ From then on, the specialist class regularly provided gymnastic displays at community fundraising functions. From 1939 to 1961, the Wesley Teachers Training School, with its well-equipped gymnasium, remained the centre of Physical Education specialisation for men. The School provided leadership in sport through the instruction taken by the students and this filtered through to various areas in the Union of South Africa. A major drawback of this facility and the Physical Education programme of such a high standard was however the lack of facilities at the schools where these students went to teach.

In 1941, the first report of the course by a student, Henry Hendricks, appeared in the *College Magazine* and indicated the admiration these students had from the broader community, as well as the admiration they had for Schrecker. Hendricks mentioned the popularity of the course, the student enthusiasm, how outside people took an interest in the work and how well-patronised their gymnastic displays were. That year the males under Schrecker and females of the secondary class under Ms. Vickerstaff arranged a gymnastic display in aid of the school bursary fund. Three additional displays were given that year. The influence of the Wesley specialist class spread

124 *Cape Standard*, 21 March 1939, p.6.

125 *Sun*, 5 May 1940, pp.1, 4.

126 They were Martin Trimmer (Springbok) and his brother, Sydney (Western Province) (*Cape Argus*, 2 September 1961, p.2; F. O'Neill, personal interview, 2007).

127 The other two were the Gordon's Institute and Silvertree in District Six (M. Trimmer, personal interview, 2007).

128 For a historical overview of the City and Suburban Rugby Football Union, see A. Booley, *Forgotten heroes*, pp.152-172; *Cape Standard*, 14 September 1936, p.12.

129 *Cape Standard*, 19 September 1939, p.4.

across the Cape Flats and is shown in their involvement in three cultural activities that year. The first, in connection with the Physical Education section of the Afrikaans Eisteddfod; the second, at Zonnebloem Teachers Training School at a concert given by the TLSA and the third at the Eoan Group Bazaar in the Drill Hall. By then White people still took the lead in organising and administrating the subject in South African communities. The specialisation course however, made it possible for Coloured people to occupy more central roles in the subject, but only in the confines of their local community. School teams, coached by past Wesley students, dominated an interschool Physical Education (gymnastics) competition at the Rosebank Showground on 18 October 1941.¹³⁰

The prominence of Wesley graduates in physical culture and Physical Education work resulted in Ms. M. Logeman, the Physical Education organiser for women in the Cape Province, recommending to the Superintendent-general of Education that the Training School be granted permission to offer a specialist course for Coloured females. She based her recommendation on the claim that the Wesley authorities felt confident in offering the course successfully and guaranteed about 12 students for registration. Other favourable factors included the eagerness of the Wesley authorities and the presence of a full-time Physical Education lecturer on the staff. The equipment for the men's course could be made available to the women with little additional expense.¹³¹ However, the Superintendent-general replied that no specialist course would be instituted at any institution, except at those which had no such course.¹³²

The specialist course at Wesley continued through World War II, and 128 males completed it between 1938 and 1946.¹³³ These students were generally respected in sport circles in the community for their acquired knowledge. A columnist in the *Cape Standard* made appreciative comments by praising the few track and field coaches who, through genuine love for the sport, succeeded in establishing an athletic basis

¹³⁰ *Wesley College Magazine*, 1941, pp.5, 7, 26-27.

¹³¹ Western Cape Archives, PAE. 538 TPC, Letter dated 7 September 1939.

¹³² Western Cape Archives, PAE. 538 TPC, Letter dated 26 September 1939.

¹³³ Department of Public Education, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education*, 1946, p.69.

for the coming generation. These coaches were graduates with a Higher Primary Teachers Certificate (Physical Education).¹³⁴

In conditions of deprivation, the rampant crime in the Coloured community spilled over to White society. They then increasingly remarked on the lack of educational opportunities and employment that drove Coloured youths to crime.¹³⁵ From the state's point of view, the specialist course became particularly helpful in maintaining the social order. The Cape Education Department stated:

[I]n the sphere of non-European Physical Education, the social desirability of diverting the energies of the school population from anti-social activities¹³⁶ into the constructive channels of gymnastics, sports and games is too obvious to need emphasis. The Wesley Physical Education course has been largely responsible for training club leaders to this end.¹³⁷

The early Higher Primary students sometimes expressed themselves, unknowingly, in support of Muscular Christianity. In 1946, Peter McBoneswa showed how Physical Education students and certain elements in the broader community bought into this idea.¹³⁸ He wrote:

[P]hysical Education implies subordination, the capacity to lead and fairness in dealing with an opponent. Team games promote all of these qualities and there is no room for individualism. Physical Education can therefore contribute much towards the making of a better social instinct in the individual and the community.¹³⁹

134 *Cape Standard*, 26 September 1946, p.8.

135 V. Bickford-Smith *et al.*, *Cape Town in the twentieth century*, 1999, pp.103-104.

136 The Cape Education Department could have been referring to the formation of gangs who reportedly were armed with guns, knives and who used dogs in battles with the police. Also, the occurrence of intemperance was a continuing preoccupation of all classes of people in Cape Town, where wine became available at unlicensed premises, known as shebeens, from District Six to the Cape Flats. At the same time, according to the police, marijuana became an increasingly important factor in criminality.

137 Department of Public Education, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education*, 1946, p.71.

138 The same article appeared in a *TEPA* journal in 1945 under the name of Adolf B. Olieslager (*TEPA*, 1(4):7, September 1945). Olieslager passed the Lower Primary Teachers Certificate at Zonnebloem in 1936 and the Higher Primary T teachers Certificate (Physical Education) in 1942 at Wesley (*Sun*, 5 February 1937, p.8).

139 *Wesley Training College Magazine*, 1946, p.27.

A few of the Higher Primary students played prominent roles in community, international, school and sport organisations. It is imperative to mention those graduates who became prominent sport officials. They include Cecil Blows (provincial athlete, hockey player and school sport administrator), Michael Coetzee (provincial badminton, cricket and soccer player), Ron Eland (international weightlifting and body-building competitor), Henry (Harry) Hendricks (organiser in national athletics, swimming administration and provincial school sport administration), Matthew Segers (organiser in national cricket and soccer administration), Norman Stoffberg (provincial organiser and player in athletics and soccer, provincial organiser in boxing and national school sport administration), Leslie van Dieman (provincial soccer player) and William (Ossie) Woodman (provincial soccer and tennis player).

Norman Stoffberg was the most visible figure among these personalities, as far as Physical Education was concerned and he created much social space for himself. Stoffberg resided in close proximity of Wesley in Woodstock, Cape Town, when he completed his Physical Education specialisation training in 1944. From then, until the end of the period under review, he contributed to the development of Physical Education and sport in the Coloured community. He attempted a scientific approach to sport development in the community when he and a certain J. Marcus started a discussion group in May 1951 on Monday afternoons and Saturday mornings at the Wesley gymnasium. The topics of discussion included free-standing exercises, vaulting and agility.¹⁴⁰ The primary aim of this group was to “keep abreast with modern trends in Physical Education, to assist as far as possible in all branches of sport [in the broader community] and to enable its members to keep physically fit”.¹⁴¹

Wesley Teachers Training School stands out as the most important institution that provided Physical Education training for men, and for a short while for women, who took the lead in community-based activities. The Wesley gymnasium remained a training centre for a number of community sport activities where Physical Education specialists took the lead. Some of these specialist students also took the lead in

140 *Sun*, 6 July 1951, p.7.

141 *Sun*, 25 May 1951, p.1.

sport and school sport organisations. Yet, the Cape Education Department refrained from employing these graduates as permanent lecturers at Training Schools. Rather, from 1943 onwards, four full-time itinerant White lecturers (one in Kimberley, one in Port Elizabeth and two in Cape Town) were appointed at these schools.¹⁴² The other training school that provided specialist training for Coloured students, in this case, for females was the Anglican centre, Zonnebloem.

4.4.2 ZONNEBLOEM TEACHERS TRAINING SCHOOL

Around the middle of the 19th century, the Anglican Bishop of Southern Africa, Bishop Robert Gray, and the Cape governor, Sir George Grey, expressed a hope of solving the constant conflict on the Eastern Cape frontier between Black and White, but on British terms.¹⁴³ For this purpose, they established Zonnebloem School in 1858 at Gray's home in Claremont, Cape Town.¹⁴⁴ This man of the cloth had some interest in sport and Physical Education. At the first Old Zonnebloem Boys reunion in November 1869 Gray asked that the gathering should be partly social, therefore sport activities were organised for each of the three days. This included British activities of cricket and athletic games (100 and 200 yard foot races, throwing a 25 pound weight, long jump and throwing the cricket ball).¹⁴⁵

Between 1858 and 1913 Zonnebloem's student population reflected a non-racial character. The description of names on the student roll indicate the presence of Baleya, Barotse, Bechuana, Coloured,¹⁴⁶ Fingo, Gcaleka, Marolong, Matabeli, Mosutho, Pandomiso and White students.¹⁴⁷ The main purpose, from a British point of view, was to provide education for the sons of the Xhosa chiefs in the Eastern Cape, with the hope of subduing the tribes and inculcating a sense of loyalty to the

142 Western Cape Archives, PAE 1899 EM/462, Liggaamlike opvoeding. Verslag vir die boekjaar geëindig 31 Maart 1943. Letter dated 6 September 1943.

143 An acquaintance of Grey, John Currey, described him as "cold and distant in manner and inspiring confidence; someone who brought the African tribes into obedience" (National Library, Cape Town Division, John Currey Collection, Half a century in South Africa. Obituary, MSB 140, 5(3):159).

144 University of Cape Town Manuscripts, Zonnebloem papers, BC 636; *Bylae tot Die Burger*, 8 Maart 2008, p.16. According to the *A.P.O.*, Zonnebloem was established in 1857 (*A.P.O. Journal*, 3(62):2, 21 October 1911).

145 J.K.H. Hodgson, *A history of Zonnebloem College*, volume 2, 1975, p.538.

146 The first Coloured student to enter Zonnebloem was the son of the Griqua chief Adam Kok II, in 1867 (J.K.H. Hodgson, *A history of Zonnebloem College*, volume 2, 1975, p.469).

147 University of Cape Town Manuscripts, Zonnebloem papers, BC 636 D1.3; F. Cullis, *The story of Zonnebloem*, 1958. The first White students entered Zonnebloem in 1864 (J.K.H. Hodgson, *A history of Zonnebloem College*, volume 2, 1975, p.452).

British Empire. Gray therefore stated that Zonnebloem's political role was as important as its missionary outreach.¹⁴⁸ Although the school reflected a non-racial population; it was never the intention to disturb the 19th century colonial racial order.¹⁴⁹

In 1859 the school transferred to the former wine farm Zonnebloem on the edge of District Six because it "was within reach of the highest civilisation in South Africa and yet separated from the contamination of the Town".¹⁵⁰ The pupils led a sheltered life and had little association with the outside world.¹⁵¹ This isolationist approach of elite English schools mirrored 19th century England. For example in 1858 the principal of Winchester, Dr. George Moberley, refused the cricket team permission to play a match in the town because of "the dangers to their morals".¹⁵² Regular sport games at Zonnebloem, with outside bodies, therefore never became a common feature. Rather, the boys' physical needs were catered for by regular walks in the mountains of Cape Town, as well as a small swimming pool built early in Zonnebloem's history.¹⁵³ The possibility exists that Gray imported this idea from the Genadendal Training School when he visited there in 1848 and considered training Anglican students there.¹⁵⁴

The instruction at Zonnebloem aimed at giving students a basic grounding in subjects that reflected part of the normal curriculum in England. Through this, Black people became exposed to the cultural, educational and sport world of the bourgeoisie in the British Empire. When some of the boys reached a satisfactory standard of proficiency, provided it was politically expedient for Sir George Grey, he sent them overseas. In this way George Mandydi Maqomo and Boy Henry Duke of Wellington became the first two Black pupils chosen for overseas study and also the first Black students to enter St. Augustine's College in England in June 1861. This

148 J.K.H. Hodgson, *Princess Emma*, 1987, p.1.

149 When St. Mary's Church was inaugurated in 1865 in Paapendorp, later called Woodstock, the African students at Zonnebloem no longer attended St. George's Cathedral, having been reserved for White congregants (J.K.H. Hodgson, *A history of Zonnebloem College*, volume 1, 1975, p.271).

150 A. Odendaal, *The story of an African game*, 2003, p.22.

151 J.K.H. Hodgson, *Princess Emma*, 1987, p.53.

152 P.C. McIntosh, *Physical Education in England since 1800*, 1968, p.46.

153 J.K.H. Hodgson, *A history of Zonnebloem College*, volume 1, 1975, p.260.

154 B. Krüger, *The pear tree blossoms*, 1966, p.267; G. Renkewitz, *The training-school of the Moravian missionary*, 1900, p.7.

College, founded in 1848 as the Anglican Missionary Institution provided an education with the purpose of qualifying young men for the services of the church in the distant dependencies of the British Empire. The Institution had a tennis court and croquet lawn. It is not certain if the boys took part in these games, but they started playing football there.¹⁵⁵

From early in its history, the Zonnebloem authorities tried to create a disciplined class of Black gentlemen and ladies loyal to the British Empire. Therefore displaying good conduct, being obedient, attentiveness and willingness to learn became important objectives of school life.¹⁵⁶ According to the historian Janet Hodgson, introducing games¹⁵⁷ was used as a means to achieve these objectives, for the boys at least.¹⁵⁸ She refers to a report, written in 1859, a part of which read:

So intent are they, the boys, on the pursuit of knowledge that they can scarcely be persuaded to employ their play hours otherwise than in learning lessons and in teaching one another; and probably it will be found as necessary for a time to provide them with systematic instructions in boys games as in any other department of learning.¹⁵⁹

According to the British sport historian Peter McIntosh, this type of reasoning on the importance of physical exercise in the school curriculum was not uncommon among 19th century representatives of Muscular Christianity. He says the authors of many novels at the time “implied a certain slur on intellectual ability and [it] was conveyed to ordinary readers in such terms.”¹⁶⁰

In 1859, Thomas Browning, a temporary replacement for the regular teacher, Reverend Hirsch, introduced games to Zonnebloem. The boys took to these games with some aversion and the teacher felt this was due to “the boys not understanding

155 J.K.H. Hodgson, *A history of Zonnebloem College*, volume 1, 1975, pp.307-309.

156 J.K.H. Hodgson, *A history of Zonnebloem College*, volume 1, 1975, p.223.

157 Hodgson states that Hirsch introduced physical training drill. This is highly unlikely, since drill was not common in English schools at the time.

158 Hodgson's account of the three girls at Zonnebloem indicates there was no such instruction for them (J.K.H. Hodgson, *A history of Zonnebloem College*, volume 1, 1975, pp.296-299).

159 J.K.H. Hodgson, *A history of Zonnebloem College*, volume 1, 1975, p.223.

160 P.C. McIntosh, *Physical Education in England since 1800*, 1968, p.44.

the objective of this exercise and that being ostractable they would soon become reconciled to it".¹⁶¹ Their response of being "ostractable" is to be understood in terms of Browning's approach, who expected them to be "half wild".¹⁶² Also, the purpose of the training, from the authorities' point of view, aimed at making the boys becoming evangelists among their own people,¹⁶³ a type of training that stressed more emphasis on book knowledge and fewer physical activities.

Various archival photographs, dating from the early 20th century, indicate the boys doing physical training drill in school uniform.¹⁶⁴ In 1904 Oscar Hine joined the Zonnebloem staff as the manual work teacher and also assumed responsibility for teaching Physical Education. He brought with him his experience of British public schooling received at Manchester Grammar School.¹⁶⁵ That year an anonymous writer in the *Quarterly Magazine* wrote that young boys need plenty of exercise in the open air, which is one of the reasons why manual work each day is important. The writer elaborated on the habit of "stewing or loafing amongst the bigger fellows, i.e. pouring over a book or lolling in a classroom or at the foot of a tree in recreation hours, always with a schoolbook".¹⁶⁶

This, he claimed, resulted in the tendency at Zonnebloem to give way to headaches, catarrh and physical laziness. He expressed further concern about the growing tendency among the students to sacrifice health for the pursuit of knowledge, to enrich the mind at the expense of the body.¹⁶⁷ No further information of the subject can be traced until the 1930's, except for two insignificant accounts relating to the

161 Cape of Good Hope, *Report on the Kafir Industrial Institution at Bishop's Court, Protea*, 1859, p.8.

162 J.K.H. Hodgson, *A history of Zonnebloem College*, volume 1, 1975, p.223.

163 Anon., *The Church Chronicle*, 8(2):46, February 1887. One of the first students was the son of Chief Mhala, who adopted the Anglicised name of Nathaniel Cyril Umhalla. Later he refused the tempting offer of accepting chieftom according to African tradition in favour of being sent to St. Augustine's Anglican Missionary College in Canterbury, England, in 1866 for ecclesiastical training (A. Odendaal, *The story of an African game*, 2003, p.27).

164 University of Cape Town Manuscripts, Zonnebloem papers, BC 636 F7, 160.

165 *Zonnebloem College Magazine*, 9:4, 1944; The word "grammar" dates back to the early 19th century, when it referred to the nature and ethos of a school rather than the age of its pupils. By the early 20th century it came to mean a secondary or high school, but one with traditions such as providing a top class education for those who might otherwise not get it and turning out young people who could think for themselves and use their abilities in service of other people (P. Coyne, *Cross of gold*, 1977, p.11).

166 *Quarterly Magazine and Journal of the Association of St. John Baptist*, 2(8):14, 1904.

167 *Quarterly Magazine and Journal of the Association of St. John Baptist*, 2(8):14, 1904.

purchase of gymnastic apparatus in 1907 and a physical training drill display during the visit of the Governor-general in 1920.¹⁶⁸

The involvement of Coloured women in Physical Education was always determined by a functionalist perspective, not only from the state but also from that community. The *Sun* described the post-Victorian woman¹⁶⁹ as more than domesticated, good housewives. The advantage of education was a means to put a man on his place— if she held three university degrees, several diplomas and four silver cups for sport, while he merely had a big golf handicap and a phenomenal appetite, she had the whip hand every time.¹⁷⁰ This account by no means suggests that women should seriously challenge the lack of Physical Education opportunities for them. Rather, it reaffirms a “male versus female mode of thinking” where the two genders are expected to fulfil separate roles. Schrecker put it plainly that the Physical Education of a man is masculine and that of a woman feminine.¹⁷¹ Roundabout the same time, the educationist, Eugene Locke, also expressed a similar functionalist view to this by asserting that women are “more adept at training toddlers while males are more suited for older boys as play leaders”.¹⁷²

Prominent female physical educationists accepted this type of thinking. Margarete Streicher, a leading exponent of women’s physical education in the early 20th century in Europe,¹⁷³ stated that the same principle applying to male Physical Education applied to women, namely: “...physical exercises which arose within a nation over a long period of historical development are sufficiently broad and radical to comprehend the depths of the nature of every new generation”.¹⁷⁴ Streicher also expressed support for Adolf Hitler’s idea that education for women, and therefore Physical Education, meant the making of a mother. She also promoted a Spartan

168 S.A. *Clarion*, 2(54):2, 1 May 1920; *Quarterly Magazine and Journal of the Association of St. John Baptist*, 5(21):26, 1907.

169 The Victorian period of English literature presents women “as unwell and ministered to as a weak sister” (J.F. Williams, *Personal hygiene applied*, 1937, p.180). Occasionally Victorian women raised objections, but with no positive impact on society (C. Brontë, *Jane Eyre*, 1982, p.106).

170 *Sun*, 12 March 1937, p.7.

171 K.A. Schrecker, Principles of Physical Education for women and girls. *Physical Education*, 5(1):27, April 1943.

172 Play leadership is a movement that originated in Boston, USA, in 1885 and was introduced in England in 1936/37 (E. Locke, Play leadership. *Physical Education*, 2(1):17-18), April 1941.

173 For a historical account of the contribution of Margerete Streicher towards physical education, see J.W. Postma, Ondersoek na die wetenskaplike basis van die Europese strominge in die liggaamsopvoeding, 1945, pp.165-210.

174 M. Streicher, The principles of women’s physical education. *Physical Education*, 2(1):7, April 1941.

view that the aim of Physical Education should be “to build up a vigorous, internally healthy woman, who knows her duties towards her nation and joyfully affirms them, in whatever situation she is ever called upon to be of service”.¹⁷⁵ Such traditional social conventions and paradigms, some of them supported by Coloured women, inhibited revolutionary responses to subordinate prescribed roles for them in society. The historical development of female Physical Education in the 20th century shows that there is no history of equal access for girls and women, with the added burden of race for Coloured women.¹⁷⁶

In 1904, Reverend E.F. Marshall joined the Zonnebloem staff and took an active interest in promoting the Church Lads’ and Girls’ Brigade.¹⁷⁷ By 1933 the teaching of Physical Education for girls had developed into a well-established system and they wore a compulsory navy blue gymnasium dress.¹⁷⁸ At that time many women internalised the view that girls should not seek to do the events in which the boys excelled, because they are boys’ events. They rather tried excelling in performances belonging peculiarly to women.¹⁷⁹ Females therefore drove Physical Education programmes along “feminine” lines.

The first account of a Physical Education display bears witness to this when the girls demonstrated a display of national dances at the institution’s handicraft exhibition on 24 November 1934. They were coached by Ms. Helen Webb, the earliest known female Physical Education teacher at Zonnebloem, and performed in the presence of Mrs. De Vos Malan, wife of the Superintendent-general of Education.¹⁸⁰ Webb had been active in the field of Physical Education since at least 1915, when she offered dancing and fencing lessons to the public at the South African College of Music Hall in Cape Town.¹⁸¹ In 1934 also, the Cape Education Department officially sanctioned refresher courses consisting of six lectures on education at Zonnebloem, where Webb also presented a talk entitled “The importance of physical culture in

175 M. Streicher, The principles of women’s physical education. *Physical Education*, 2(2):14, June 1941.

176 See D. Siedentop, *Introduction to physical education, fitness and sport*, 1990, p.260 for issues of gender equity in America.

177 *Sun*, 23 July 1937, p.2.

178 University of Cape Town Manuscripts, Zonnebloem papers, BC 636. D2.75.

179 J.F. Williams, *Personal hygiene applied*, 1937, p181.

180 *Sun*, 30 November 1934, p.6.

181 *Cape Times*, 21 August 1915, p10.

education".¹⁸² These programmes, based on developments in women Physical Education circles in Europe, found its way to Cape Town via White teachers, some of them immigrants.¹⁸³ In the urban environment of Cape Town, many Coloured girls and women participated in these programmes, with all the trappings of gender issues.

In 1935 Zonnebloem arranged two Physical Education demonstrations under the guidance of the instructor, Ms. Isolden Gerdener,¹⁸⁴ who also demonstrated a new physical culture method from Germany.¹⁸⁵ Gerdener's presence at the demonstrations is one of many examples where Physical Education instructors from the Cape Town Teachers Training College were used in the Coloured community.¹⁸⁶ An example of this connection with the Cape Town Teachers' Training College and Zonnebloem staff, was the presence of Emelia du Toit on the staff.¹⁸⁷ Also in 1935, Zonnebloem participated in the Liberman-Marion Get Fit campaign. Scant information exists about Zonnebloem's involvement in this campaign, other than the over-17 girls' team captained by J. Frost. According to the *Sun*, Zonnebloem staged excellent performances with few errors.¹⁸⁸

In 1937, a Get Fit campaign for school children and adults of both genders was launched in Cape Town.¹⁸⁹ The idea originated from the British Keep Fit movement, introduced by Ms. Norah Reed, a Physical Education teacher and later organiser. She visited Denmark and Sweden in 1929 and witnessed the organisation of mass gymnastics on a voluntary basis. On her return to England she embarked on a similar venture with women and girls.¹⁹⁰ The newly established Keep Fit Association,

182 *Sun*, 12 October 1934, p.1; *Sun*, 26 October 1934, p.3; *Sun*, 23 November 1934, p.1.

183 F.J.G. van der Merwe, *Sportgeskiedenis*, 1999, p.291.

184 It is not certain whether Isolden Gerdener was a permanent teacher at Zonnebloem, but she was at some time a teacher at the Cape Town Teachers Training College. She was trained in the Dalcroze and Medau methods. Although not an immigrant, she was of the daughter of German immigrants (I. Nel, personal interview, 2007).

185 *Sun*, 6 September 1935, p.6.

186 Gerdener was the Eurythmic teacher at the Cape Town Teachers Training College until at least 1966 (*Cape Town Teachers Training College Magazine*, 5:25, November 1959; 1:27, November 1966).

187 Du Toit also had a short stay on the Cape Town Teachers Training College staff in 1960 (*Cape Town Teachers Training College Magazine*, 6:13, November 1960).

188 *Sun*, 15 December 1938, p.6.

189 *Bethel Magazine*, 25 June 1937.

190 P.C. McIntosh, *Physical Education in England since 1800*, 1968, p.231.

rooted in the Laban method,¹⁹¹ encouraged a better understanding of the general principles of movement. It remained popular because it consistently updated its public image to suit the popular view on “body and society”.¹⁹²

Soon South Africa imported this movement and found its way to Cape Town, where in 1940 weekly Get Fit exercise classes on Friday evenings in the Zonnebloem College Hall took place.¹⁹³

During the 1930's the Eoan Group established an informal partnership with Zonnebloem. This Eoan Group assisted Zonnebloem with fundraising in return for the use of the institution's facilities.¹⁹⁴ Fundraising events by this group often centred on physical education activities, for example showcasing dancing displays in the Cape Town City Hall with the assistance of the Cape Town Dancing Teachers Association and the Eoan Group on 9 October 1936. The purpose was to raise funds for Zonnebloem bursaries.¹⁹⁵

During the years between the two World Wars, Cape Society increasingly viewed the health of the “Coloured race” as being determined by the physical condition of the woman. Hilde Robra, a German lecturer at Stellenbosch University,¹⁹⁶ expressed the dominant view in the White community as follows:

A healthy nation can only remain so through healthy mothers who can give birth to healthy children. As such, the mother is the most important bearer of the health of a nation. When a woman is aware of this important position which she holds, she knows that she has to keep her body healthy and supple for the well-being of her children, her family and the whole nation. She knows that she has to bring up her sons and daughters in such a way they will do their duty towards country and

191 Anon., Reports, *British Journal of Physical Education*, 13(6):185, November/December 1982.

192 After World War I, the idea of military training became repugnant to many people. The Keep Fit association steered clear from military style programmes and physical training became more recreational (C. Connolly & H. Einzig, *The fitness jungle*, 1986, pp.189-190). The criticism in a South African Physical Education journal that the Keep Fit Association's activities is nothing more than “a variety show for girls” is therefore unfair and did not take the association's views into account (see Anon., General. *Physical Education*, 1(2):55, June 1939 for criticism of the Keep Fit Association).

193 University of Cape Town Manuscripts, Zonnebloem papers, BC 636 D2. 99.

194 University of Cape Town Manuscripts, Zonnebloem papers, BC 636 D2. 99.

195 *Cape Standard*, 7 September 1936, p.9.

196 A.L. Boshoff, Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch, 1981, p.287.

community. This means that she must bring up her sons to be gallant youths who would be willing to use all their powers to the good of the country of their birth. The daughters are to be kept healthy for the welfare of the nation.¹⁹⁷

Many of the Coloured petty bourgeoisies supported this idea. In 1937 an education columnist, B.J.U., claimed that the following year would be characterised by an emphasis on Physical Education. He attributed this, in a negative light, to the craze in Germany that spread to Great Britain and its dominions for “breeding” A1 men and women.¹⁹⁸ Members of the petty bourgeoisie expressed themselves in similar terms to that of Robra. Ms. R. Oaker, the Physical Education teacher at the Bethel Institute in Cape Town, offered classes in natural movement¹⁹⁹ in 1937. To her the importance of these classes was that it “developed graceful movement and also kept young girls’ minds clean”.²⁰⁰

After World War II, a worldwide shift took place in these attitudes, including South Africa, toward the practice of Physical Education for females. A writer, P.E. Grobbelaar, stated in a Stellenbosch University newsletter that, particularly after this war, more attention was being directed at women’s Physical Education due to a change in clothing patterns and a greater competitive spirit.²⁰¹ When the Cape Education Department however introduced specialist training for females at Zonnebloem from 1948²⁰² until 1963, it was characterised by a low student roll for the duration of the course. Never more than 10 graduates per year graduated.²⁰³ The

197 H. Robra, Physical exercises for women. *Physical Education*, 1(2):38, June 1939.

198 *Sun*, 22 January 1937, p.3.

199 The term “natural movement” circulated widely in Physical Education circles in the 1930s and 1940s. According to Postma, economy is the chief characteristic of natural movement. Unnecessary muscular activity should be avoided and the minimum energy must be used to gain one’s end (J.W. Postma, On natural movement. *Physical Education*, 2(3):2, September 1941). It was largely based on the teaching of Karl Gaulhofer, who steered away from military precision (E. de Zeeuw, Gaulhofer’s influence on Physical Education in Holland. *Physical Education*, 4(4):18-21 November 1942. See also J.W. Postma, *Inleiding tot die liggaamlike opvoeding*, 1965, pp.36-39.

200 *Bethel Magazine*, 25 June 1937.

201 Stellenbosch University Library, *Stellenbosche Oudstudent*, 15(2):17, December 1946.

202 Department of Public Education. Cape of Good Hope, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education*, 1948, p.51.

203 Department of Public Education. *Report of Superintendent-general of Education*, 1949, p.51; Cape Education Department, Pass lists: 1959-1963; Department of Public Education, *Education report and educational statistics*, 1951, p.115; University of Cape Town Manuscripts, Zonnebloem papers, BC 636 D2.118, BC 636 D2.120 & BC 636 D2.123.

training of women at the Cape Town Teachers Training College followed a similar trend.²⁰⁴

In 1950, the administrator of the Cape expressed concern at the acute shortage of female teachers, especially Coloured Physical Education specialists. For general teaching, only about half the number of required teachers enrolled for training and even less for Physical Education specialist courses. He added that the establishment of four new secondary schools would hopefully relieve the shortage of women teachers and encourage more of them to take specialist courses.²⁰⁵ This did not materialise and the specialist course at Zonnebloem continued with a low student enrolment until 1964.

According to Mathilda Habelgaarn, an experienced South African physical educationist, the specialist training at Zonnebloem was in a “very poor state”, worsened by the poor lecturing abilities of the staff. She could have been alluding to what a Physical Education student, Bobby Evans, referred to when he attended a Zonnebloem mass display consisting of “gymnastic tables, vaulting, rhythmic work and folk dancing”. Evans remarked in a newsletter that the difficulties of Physical Education specialist training at Zonnebloem included the low number of students, limited apparatus and small audiences at mass displays.²⁰⁶ Habelgaarn said it was the Eoan Group that gave extra input that enriched the experiences of the students through extramural classes in a range of Physical Education related activities.²⁰⁷ Furthermore, the Cape Town Teachers Training College received “heavy subsidies” from the state,²⁰⁸ unlike the mission teacher training schools.

The historical development of the subject at the other mission teacher training centres (Athlone, Battswood, Genadendal, St. Augustine’s and Söhngel) occurred

204 In 1934 four second year students enrolled for specialist work (Western Cape Archives, PAE. 538 TPC. Physical Culture examination report. Dancing first and second year students).

205 *Sun*, 5 May 1950, p.4.

206 *Cape Town Training College Magazine*, volume 2, November 1956.

207 M. Habelgaarn, personal interview, 2005.

208 *Cape Argus*, 30 July 1960, p.8.

along the lines of non-specialisation and took place under similar conditions of apathy to that at Zonnebloem.

4.4.3 ATHLONE TEACHERS TRAINING SCHOOL

In the 20th century the Athlone Teachers Training School in Paarl contributed to the promotion of Physical Education in the Boland.²⁰⁹ Two articles in the *Sun* stated that the informal training of Coloured teachers in Paarl could be traced back to the work of Attie Hendricks, associated with the Bethel Congregational School, in 1892.²¹⁰ Stephen John Jephthah²¹¹ took the lead in establishing the Paarl Intermediate Training School, also known as the Paarl Higher Mission School, in 1918, for the training of teachers. This eventually became the Athlone Training School.²¹² Amidst opposition from the local White community,²¹³ Sir Frederick de Waal opened the school on 2 August 1926²¹⁴. It provided teacher training for young men and women through a joint effort of the Coloured divisions of the Dutch Reformed, Anglican, Catholic and Congregational churches in the Paarl area.²¹⁵ The school, initially known as the Paarl Coloured Training School,²¹⁶ was situated on the corner of Sanddrift and Berlyn Streets in Paarl until 1952.²¹⁷ The following year it moved to a new building and catered only for girls.²¹⁸

209 In the 1960's the Athlone Teachers Training School organised and administered a Physical Education competition for Coloured school children in Wellington, Paarl, Hermon and Pniel (C. Small, personal interview, 2007).

210 *Sun*, 3 May 1935, p.7; *Sun*, 3 March 1939, p.2. This was probably Arthur Hendricks, who obtained the First Year Pupil Teacher in 1907 at a vacation course in Cape Town (Centre for Education Conservation. Pass lists). He was closely associated with rugby in the Coloured community in Paarl. Booley asserts that the game was played there from the 19th century, and teachers were closely involved in its development. In 1891, the Young Standards Rugby Club was established on the historic Old Church Square in Paarl. The foundation ceremony took place under the old oak tree that has since been removed. It was Attie Hendricks who proposed the name "Young Standards" (A. Booley, *Forgotten heroes*, 1998, p.132).

211 He was also the vice-president of the Western Province Tennis Board (Coloured) in 1936 and played a prominent role in the establishment of the Western Province and South African Tennis Boards (Coloured) (*Sun*, 10 January 1936, p.2; *Sun*, 12 November 1948, p.8).

212 *Sun*, 14 December 1951, p.1; *TEPA Educational News*, 10(5):76, January-February 1956.

213 W.H. Lloyd, *The Lloyds of the Berg River Valley*, 1962, p.155.

214 *Sun*, 1 September 1933, p.2. For a list of mission schools in Paarl during the 19th century see J.M.L. Franck, *Onderwys in die Paarl*, 1964, p.467; W.H. Lloyd, *The Lloyds of the Berg River Valley*, 1962, p.154.

215 A. Ontong, personal interview, 2003; M. Horrel, *African education*, 1963, p.88; *Sun*, 1 September 1933, p.2; A. Jacobs, personal interview, 2003. For a list of mission schools in Paarl during the 19th century see J.M.L. Franck, *Onderwys in die Paarl*, 1964, p.467; W.H. Lloyd, *The Lloyds of the Berg River Valley*, 1962, pp.153-154.

216 Western Cape Archives, PAE. TS\75\G. Part 1. Letter dated 28 May 1926.

217 W.H. Lloyd, *The Lloyds of the Berg River Valley*, 1962, p.154.

218 Noorder-Paarl High School, *Souvenir Magazine*, 1974, p.8.

The main driving force behind the Athlone Teachers Training School, Reverend William H. Lloyd,²¹⁹ a Welshman with firm views on the importance of church control over educational institutions,²²⁰ immigrated to South Africa in June 1907²²¹ and started missionary and educational work in Franschhoek. In 1912 he moved to Paarl to work in the Coloured community for 35 years, retiring from public life in 1947.²²² The other driving force was J.N. Kearns, who initiated the lower-Paarl branch of the APO and served on its general executive.²²³

The Teachers Training School had ample sport facilities at its disposal and was also used by the high and primary schools (which formed the Athlone Institute). It included outdoor space for the winter games of rugby, soccer, hockey, netball and basketball, and the facilities could also be used to coach cricket in summer. Students received instruction in tennis during Physical Education periods.²²⁴ Photographs in a periodical show that the Athlone Institute had a well-equipped gymnasium with a wooden floor at its disposal for teaching the subject indoors.

The teaching of Physical Training Drill received attention from the outset and according to an archival report, the subject progressed “very creditable” in its first year. The report suggested that a certain “proportion of exercises and marches to music might be introduced the following year”.²²⁵ The fact that the authorities labelled the subject as “creditable” was because of the entrenchment of militarism along British (and anti-Afrikaans) lines in this school. This was confirmed by the items of a concert held on Friday 11 May 1934 that included a physical drill programme with Union Jacks and a satirical Afrikaans sketch, “*Die mal onderwyser*” (The mad teacher).²²⁶ The school management also held strong beliefs regarding race. Lloyd believed that “Coloureds are half way between the Natives and Boers”.²²⁷ A further

219 The Primary School, William Lloyd Primary, in Paarl is named after him and the South African Coloured tennis champion and Wimbledon player, David Samaai, was the principal there for many years (D. Samaai, personal interview, 2007).

220 *Sun*, 31 May 1935, p.6.

221 *Sun*, 7 September 1934, p.2; W.H. Lloyd, *The Lloyds of the Berg River Valley*, 1962, p.155.

222 *TEPA*, 2(4):7, November-December 1947.

223 *Sun*, 28 October 1949, p.8.

224 *Sun*, 16 September 1932, p.2; W.H. Lloyd, *The Lloyds of the Berg River Valley*, 1962, p.154.

225 Western Cape Archives, PAE. TS\75\G. Part 1. School report dated 18-22 November 1926.

226 *Sun*, 18 May 1934, p.8.

227 W.H. Lloyd, *The Lloyds of the Berg River Valley*, 1962, p.48.

British influence included the playing of netball at the practicing school under the direction of Ms. Trelawny and Ms. Combrinck.²²⁸

Two teachers, Ms. Mathilda Habelgaarn and Jephta Katz Zerf, played a central role in the development of Physical Education at the Athlone Institute.²²⁹ Both served on the physical culture committee of the TEPA, an indication of their moderate political stance. Zerf taught at the Athlone Teachers Training School until 1954 and afterwards at the Noorder-Paarl High School.²³⁰ He attended the Wesley Teachers Training School, where he qualified cum laude as a Physical Education teacher. At the end of his final year of teacher training, Christo Viljoen, the school principal and Reverend Lloyd attended a very impressive gymnastic display he organised.²³¹ Subsequently the Cape Education Department appointed him as an “assistant Coloured male for Physical Education, handwork, writing and extra- mural activities at the Athlone Training School” in 1943, after an advert appeared in the *Cape Standard*.²³² During his stay at Athlone, Zerf organised numerous gymnastic mass displays. In 1950, he arranged the TEPA’s physical culture competition for the Paarl branch.²³³ He also organised mass gymnastic displays at the inter-school athletic competitions in the Paarl area until the 1960’s.²³⁴

From 1950 until 1956, Mathilda Kronenberg took responsibility for the instruction of Physical Education for the female teacher training classes.²³⁵ Under her guidance, the Physical Education programme at Athlone established partnerships with community-based organisations and dance performers. On Saturday 7 July 1951, the Eoan Group, with the assistance of the Ashley Street and St. Paul’s Primary Schools in Cape Town and the Athlone Institute, held a Physical Education and

228 Western Cape Archives, PAE. TS\75\G. Principals reports to the Athlone Board of Management Report No 2/ 1935. Report on the secondary and training departments of the Athlone Institute Paarl for the year ending 13th December, 1935, 12 December 1935, p.5. Netball was played at the Cape Town Teachers Training College by 1917 (*Cape Town Training College Magazine*, 11:28-29, November 1965). The senior Physical Education lecturer at this college, Margaret Black, is known to have been a basketball player (*Cape Town Training College Quarterly Magazine*, November 1939, p.14). In Britain the game of basketball developed into netball.

229 Prior to Zerf, a certain Drans Julies was responsible for Physical Education teaching at the Athlone Institute (C. Small, personal interview, 2007).

230 The Noorder-Paarl High School replaced the secondary department of the Athlone Teachers Training School in the 1950s.

231 Noorder-Paarl High School, *Souvenir Magazine*, 1974, p.14.

232 *Cape Standard*, 16 February 1943, p.9.

233 *TEPA*, 5(2):3, November-December 1950.

234 D. Samaai, personal interview, 2007.

235 M. Habelgaarn, personal interview, 2005.

Greek dancing display in the Cape Town City Hall. The organisers included Mathilda and Bertha Kronenberg, Olive Calvert and Gwen Michaels,²³⁶ all prominent figures in community-based physical culture activities.

4.4.4 BATTSWOOD TEACHERS TRAINING SCHOOL

The Dutch Reformed Church made provision for the training of Coloured teachers at the Battswood Teachers Training School. The Training School grew out of the Battswood Primary School in Wynberg²³⁷ (established in 1891) made possible by a donation by Martha Pieterse,²³⁸ the widowed Countess of Stamford. The Battswood Teachers Training School was started in the appropriately named *Martha se Saal* (Martha's hall).²³⁹ The Training School was established in 1925, with Reverend R.D. Kretzen as the driving force. He held strong views about the value of industrial training for Coloured children.²⁴⁰ Kretzen received support from Frederick (Baas) Hendricks, who became the first Coloured principal of the primary school in 1903.²⁴¹ With the establishment of the training school in 1925,²⁴² he assumed principalship of both.²⁴³ He remained principal until 1942,²⁴⁴ when he accepted a position on the Cape School Board.²⁴⁵ Under his principalship students attended practical teacher training classes at the Cape Town Training College in Queen Victoria Street.²⁴⁶

In September 1926 the school manager, Reverend J.J. van der Merwe, applied to appoint a "physical culture" teacher. The Cape Education Department's refusal could be ascribed to the fact that there were only female specialists available at the time and most girls at Battswood left school in Grade 4.²⁴⁷ During the 1920's, the practice

236 Sun, 15 June 1951, p.8.

237 For a historical account of Wynberg, see H. Robinson *Beyond the city limits*, 1998; H. Robinson, *Wynberg*, 2001.

238 Pieterse's (born Martha Solomons) life story is recorded in the historical novel of W. Rust, *Martha: 'n Verhaal oor Martha Solomons, Countess of Stamford*, 2004. See also R.E. van der Ross, *The Black countess*, 2008.

239 S. Giles et al., *The East Wynberg Walk*, 2002; C. Pama, *Wagon road to Wynberg*, 1979.

240 *Educational Journal*, 1(2):5, 1915.

241 A. Dreyer, *Gedenkboek van die Nederduits-Gereformeerde Sendinggemeente Wynberg*, 1931, p.73.

242 N.J. Marais, Die voorsiening en administrasie van Kleurlingonderwys in Kaapland, 1955, p.88.

243 Coloured Affairs Department, *Alpha*, 5(8):32, August 1967.

244 *Battswood Training College*, 1966.

245 *Cape Standard*, 10 November 1942, p.6.

246 *Battswood Training College*, 1966.

247 A. Cupido, telephonic interview, 2007.

of Physical Education appeared to be satisfactory, according to inspector H.J. Anderson. This inspector came from overseas and received an appointment as special inspector for training institutions during the tenure of Thomas Muir. Anderson's task included visiting training institutions and schools where pupil-teachers were trained and according to the historian, Martie Borman, his work contributed to raising the standard of training.²⁴⁸ When Anderson visited Battswood for its annual inspection in September 1927, he reported a "definite advance in physical drill".²⁴⁹ It is unclear what he meant, but a former Battswood pupil, Harry Henry, organised gymnastic and drill exhibitions during the 1930's.²⁵⁰

The training school made use of itinerant Physical Education teachers,²⁵¹ while the secondary and primary schools acquired the permanent service of a specialist Physical Education teacher, Ron Eland, from the 1950's until the end of the period under review. Eland conducted his lessons in *Martha se Saal* and Mission Road Park, a small public space close to the Battswood Institution.²⁵² During Eland's stay at Battswood, he expanded his Physical Education programme into the field of physical culture. In 1951, he trained a group of Battswood girls to give an exhibition of ground pyramids at the Body beautiful competition. At the end of the period under review, he and Sally Hugo were the Physical Education teachers at the primary and secondary schools and were put in charge of organising a physical culture display as part of Battswood's 75th anniversary.²⁵³

The institution formed at least two informal physical culture partnerships with community organisations. In 1953, the Eoan Group established a Battswood

248 M. Borman (Ed.), *The Cape Education Department*, 1989, p.187.

249 Western Cape Archives, PAE 75TS15/1.

250 R. Parker, personal interview, 2006.

251 In 1955, Mr. Collwyn was the Physical Education itinerant teacher. Messrs Bester and Piet van Wyk replaced him in 1956 (L. van Dieman, personal interview, 2005).

252 L. Kleintjies, personal interview, 2005; R.E. van der Ross, personal interview, 2003. The researcher is well-acquainted with this facility, since he also utilised it while being a Physical Education teacher at Wynberg Secondary School for 12 years. During that time the park was unkept, unsafe and visited by vagrants who excremented in full view of the public. Older residents of Wynberg related that the situation was not much different during the time of Ron Eland.

253 *Cape Herald*, 5 February 1966, p.10.

branch²⁵⁴ and because of the strong TEPA presence on the staff, Battswood participated in their physical culture competitions.²⁵⁵

A number of Battswood teacher training students pursued the Physical Education specialist training course at Wesley. At some time in the history of the Battswood Practising School, Henry le Hane, a 1939 Physical Education specialist graduate, assumed principalship.²⁵⁶ Their decision of specialist training was in most cases driven by a need for certification, rather than an interest in physical education.²⁵⁷ An overview of the Genadendal Teachers Training School provides further insight into the practice of Physical Education at mission schools, particularly at the turn of the 20th century.

4.4.5 GENADENDAL TEACHERS TRAINING SCHOOL

The Moravian²⁵⁸ missionary George Schmidt started a school under a pear tree in 1737 in the area near Greyton. This church brought education to the indigenous people along the lines of religion, not political freedom as prevention against poverty.²⁵⁹ Like the other German missionary societies,²⁶⁰ the Moravians always acted as host of the colonial authorities, being careful not to offend them. An article in *De Bode van Genadendal*²⁶¹ criticised the 200 years of British slavery, but at the same time praised the British parliament for the freedom given to slaves in 1838.²⁶²

254 *Sun*, 12 March 1954, p.4.

255 *TEPA Educational News*, 5(4):13 April-June 1951.

256 M. Coetzee, personal interview, 2006; M. Cloete, personal interview, 2006; L. Kleintjies, personal interview, 2005; L. van Dieman, personal interview, 2005.

257 R. Parker, personal interview, 2006.

258 This church is named after its country of origin in 1457, Moravia, a province in the former Czechoslovakia. It was officially recognised in Germany in 1742. In Great Britain and its colonies, it was recognised in 1749 as an Ancient Protestant Episcopal Church. This church is also known as the Unitas Fratrum (B. Krüger & P. Schaberg, *The pear tree bears fruit*, 1984, p.1).

259 *De Bode van Genadendal*, 33(3):14, March 1892.

260 The three German mission societies working in South Africa (Moravian, Rhenish and Hermannsburg) agreed in Germany in 1904 to establish a working relationship, and discussed the possibility of a merger. (B. Krüger & P. Schaberg, *The pear tree bears fruit*, 1984, p.90). Due to the anti-German feelings in British occupied South Africa before the two World Wars, nothing came of this.

261 This was a monthly newspaper printed in Cape Dutch in Genadendal (B. Krüger & P. Schaberg, *The pear tree bears fruit*. 1984, p.52).

262 *De Bode van Genadendal*, 29(8):31, August 1888.

Bishop Hans Peter Hallbeck started private teacher training of Coloured²⁶³ youths in 1827. Ten years later teacher training was transferred to the first teacher training school (Genadendal) in South Africa, with Hallbeck as principal.²⁶⁴ There is no evidence that Hallbeck introduced Physical Education into the teaching programme, but the possibility exists that he became acquainted with Physical Education while studying at Lund University, where Per Henrik Ling gave fencing lessons in 1804.²⁶⁵

The history of Physical Education at the Genadendal Teachers Training School originates in the period 1883-1904, under the directorship²⁶⁶ of Theophilus Gotthelf Renkewitz. By then the Training School had an excellent academic reputation.²⁶⁷ Renkewitz, a qualified teacher and theologian, merged Moravian educational practices with the regulations of the Cape Education Department. During his tenure, Genadendal's student population reflected a non-racial character;²⁶⁸ therefore one cannot refer to "Coloured Physical Education" at Genadendal. Tembu, Gaika, Fingu and Coloured students,²⁶⁹ attended the Training School and Renkewitz puts this situation in the very crude Victorian English of the day: "The Kafirs, Hottentots and mixed races have profited by the great work inaugurated by Bishop Hallbeck."²⁷⁰ This policy towards student admission extended to the issues of staffing and two Coloured teachers, Eduard Weber and Ernest Dietrich, were appointed.²⁷¹ The school built a formidable reputation for its drive for self-improvement in the face of adversity from racial oppression.²⁷²

Renkewitz followed the same practice as the Moravian boarding schools in Europe. Teacher training students aged between 12 and 14 could register, provided they

263 It is not certain whether these students referred to themselves as Coloured, as did the referenced source of A.J. Venter, *Coloured*, 1974, p.315.

264 A.J. Venter, *Coloured*, 1974, p.315.

265 R.I. de Klerk, *Geskiedenis, stelsels en strominge in liggaamlike opvoedkunde*, 1978, p.74.

266 This is the term given to the official in charge of all the affairs at the mission station.

267 Inspector report of A. Bartmann. In Department of Public Education, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education for the year 1894*, 1894, p.6. Bartmann was the inspector for Bredasdorp, Caledon, Riversdale and Swellendam at the time.

268 See pictures of Genadendal school population in G. Renkewitz, *The training-school of the Moravian Missionary Society*, 1900, pp.89, 105, 109.

269 The first three groups of students originated from people east of the Kei River and may be referred to as African. Along with the Coloured student population, the non-racial image is completed with photos in a school report showing the presence of White children in the elementary school, probably the offspring of missionaries (see G. Renkewitz, *The training-school of the Moravian missionary*, 1900, p.109).

270 G. Renkewitz, *The training-school of the Moravian missionary*, 1900, p.9.

271 G. Renkewitz, *The training-school of the Moravian missionary*, 1900, pp.8-9.

272 M. Adhikari, *Not White enough, not Black enough*, 2005, p.194.

passed grade six. He subdivided the day until 21:00 and introduced English as medium of instruction. He added a theological curriculum to the existing one in 1887.²⁷³ The length of the teacher training then increased from three to six years. During the first two years, the students received instruction in the school of Genadendal, during the next two years they acted as pupil-teachers and during the last two years they prepared for the government examinations.²⁷⁴

A Physical Education curriculum emerged at Genadendal where Moravian philosophies, particularly those of Johann Amos Comenius (Jan Ámos Komenský) and Johann Hus, were merged with the official English system. Comenius believed in universal education for both genders, and for poor as well as rich. He advocated that it would be useless to employ a Physical Education curriculum for the purposes of chivalry, because ordinary people could not identify with it.²⁷⁵ Instead, in his *Orbis pictus*, he emphasised sense development,²⁷⁶ recreation and play as part of the curriculum. Comenius also insisted that a large portion of school organisation should be divided into periods of work and rest.²⁷⁷ He promoted the idea of long walks for relaxation and geographical study and realised the value of play and saw it as a means to enhance education.

Comenius also believed in discipline and a simple diet. He proposed a three-part day: eight hours for work, eight hours for eating, relaxation and physical development and eight hours for sleeping.²⁷⁸ In his *Great didactic* he states that the bodily force is weakened, not extinguished, by the fall of man in the Garden of Eden. This force could be restored to its natural vigour by walking; running and artificial forms of exercise.²⁷⁹ The early Moravians however saw exercise purely for its educational value, not for recreation or enjoyment. Therefore Hus, when imprisoned

273 By then the student population was non-racial. The African student Petrus Masiza, a Fingo by birth, shared classes with his twin brother, Paulus, and other Coloured students. Petrus became the first ordained African Canon of the Anglican Church of South Africa in 1899 (J.K.H. Hodgson, *A history of Zonnebloem College*, 1975, p.535).

274 B. Krüger & P. Schaberg, *The pear tree bears fruit*, 1984, pp.22, 46-47.

275 R.I. de Klerk, *Geskiedenis, stelsels en strominge in liggaamlike opvoedkunde*, 1978, p.38.

276 This refers to the teaching philosophy of realism that states exercise is a means to the acquisition and maintenance of health and that planned games and exercise will result in physical fitness (R.I. de Klerk, *Geskiedenis, stelsels en strominge in liggaamlike opvoedkunde*, 1978, p.38).

277 L. Cole, *A history of education*, 1950, pp.341, 343.

278 R.I. de Klerk, *Geskiedenis, stelsels en strominge in liggaamlike opvoedkunde*, 1978, p.37.

279 M.W. Keatinge, *The great didactic of Comenius*, 1907, p.85.

in 1415 for challenging the authority of the Roman Catholic Church,²⁸⁰ deplored having played chess, “whereby he had lost time and run the risk of being subject to violent passions”.²⁸¹

The Physical Education programme at Genadendal never over-emphasised British sport activities, but favoured the views of Comenius and Hus. During the 19th century, the Moravian Church frowned upon sport and even Sunday recreation.²⁸² *De Bode* portrayed this attitude in 1888 in an article under the title *Het keerpunt* (The turning point) about two fictitious characters, Eduard Johnson and Wittem Gordon, who fell into moral decay. After attending a church service, Johnson became aware of his unsatisfactory lifestyle and confessed to Gordon: “*Ik wil voor goed afstand doen van deze Zondaguitstappies en zal op den aanstande rustdag dien prediker wedersom gaan hooren. Ik zal u waarschijnlijk vergezellen, antwoord Gordon.*”²⁸³ (I want to leave these Sunday outings for good and will go and listen to the preacher on the next rest day. I will probably accompany you, replies Gordon).

Against this background Renkewitz introduced a physical drill programme in line with the methods prescribed in the British *Model course of Physical Training*. He described it as follows:

One of the principal aims of this programme is to give scholars the full command of their limbs, and not only to make their muscles strong and tough. The latter purpose is attained by making the boys practise all kinds of movements with pretty heavy iron dumbbells and iron rods. As to the former, it is preferred making the movements without music, as that aim can be secured better by the simple unexpected word of command which compels them to move suddenly and without preparation. At the same time we do not underrate the value of elegance.²⁸⁴

280 *De Bode van Genadendal*, 30(6):23, Juni 1889.

281 *Awake*, 49(3):13, 1973.

282 It is strange that the idea of the ancient Olympic Games, before the introduction of the modern Olympic movement, was discussed at the world headquarters of the Moravian Church in Niesky in the former Czechoslovakia (H. Schöbel, *The ancient Olympic Games*, 1966, p.114).

283 *De Bode van Genadendal*, 29(1):12, Januari 1888.

284 G. Renkewitz, *The training-school of the Moravian Missionary Society*, 1900, pp.11-12, 83.

This description indicates Renkewitz's awareness of the developments in Physical Education in England. Renkewitz's description fits the recommendations made by a committee appointed by the English Board of Education in June 1904 for the purpose of recommending modifications to the existing model course of physical training. The English Board recommendations included the discontinuation of military drill, the use of exercises requiring no gymnastic apparatus (free-standing) and the development of alertness.²⁸⁵ Renkewitz also included a programme of manual training, not prescribed by the Cape Education Department, which included printing, bookbinding, gardening, woodwork, music, singing and piano, harmonium, organ and violin.²⁸⁶ The Genadendal Teachers Training School timetable appeared as follows:

Table 4.2: A day at the training school

Time	Activity
05:00	Rise
05:20-06:15	Prepare for lessons
07:15-07:30	Prayers and hymn singing
07:30-08:00	Breakfast
08:00-09:30	Lessons resume
09:30-10:45	Garden work
10:45-12:00	The older boys proceed to the day school for practice teaching, while the younger boys continue with their lessons
12:00-13:30	Lunch and free time
13:30-15:15	Printing and binding work
15:15	Outdoor exercise. Games are played on the common outside the training school. Lessons resume until 17:30. In summer lessons go on until 16:45
17:30-18:00	Free time
18:00	Supper
19:30-21:00	Preparation for next day
21:00	Retire

²⁸⁵ Cape of Good Hope, *The Education Gazette*, 3(35):614, 28 June 1904.

²⁸⁶ G. Renkewitz, *The training-school of the Moravian Missionary Society*, 1900, p.12.

Renkewitz, shared the same strict adherence to discipline as Comenius, and implemented parts of the latter's curriculum.²⁸⁷ Regular walks were undertaken to the Zonderend River during the summer holidays, when the boys went swimming. Because the river was a 30-minute walk from the training school, this took place at irregular intervals. Visits to unspecified "favourite haunts" in Genadendal featured in the school curriculum. At some time in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the boys undertook excursions to Brandfontein near the sea where a few huts were hired. At other times they occupied cottages for a fortnight near the sea shore at Mossel River in Hermanus where they caught fish, bathed, played in the sand, viewed the landscape from the near mountains, enjoyed a quiet siesta between the rocks, basked in the sunshine, visited the light tower at Danger Point and returned at night when the path could only be seen by lighting matches.²⁸⁸

Renkewitz left the Genadendal Teachers Training School in 1904 and A. von Dewitz assumed directorship. No evidence could be found that indicated the subject being implemented to the same extent until 1935, when the Training School closed its doors. Von Dewitz, whose stay at Genadendal lasted from 1904 until 1909,²⁸⁹ paid less attention to the development of Physical Education. Although he wrote in the *Teachers Review* about the important influence of Comenius on education and under his direction students undertook long walks in their geography lesson where they had to describe what they saw,²⁹⁰ no record could be found that he interested himself in Physical Education to the extent that his predecessor did. He did not do justice to his "golden rule": "Every teacher must strive to develop a strong body, a healthy mind and a Christian character in the children under his charge."²⁹¹

Thus far the discussion focused primarily on the practice of Physical Education at Teacher Training Schools. The subject however originated from educational authorities through syllabi.

287 B. Krüger & P. Schaberg, *The pear tree bears fruit*, 1984, p.46.

288 G. Renkewitz, *The training-school of the Moravian Missionary Society*, 1900, pp.95-96, 103.

289 Due to his wife's illness, Von Dewitz was forced to return to Europe in 1909 (R. Schmidt, *Die Kweekskool van die Morawiese Sendinggenootskap*, 1935, p.15).

290 *Teachers Review*, 1(6):8, May 1908; 2(2):9, November 1908.

291 R. Schmidt, *Kweekskool van die Morawiese Sendinggenootskap*, 1935, p.17.

4.5 PHYSICAL EDUCATION SYLLABI

Michael F.D. Young stated in his book *Knowledge and control* (quoted by Pam Christie) that the syllabus was a result of choices that reflect the values and beliefs of dominant groups in society at a particular time.²⁹² Until South Africa developed its own Physical Education syllabus in 1941, and for some time afterwards, Physical Education syllabi remained strictly a British affair²⁹³ because of Great Britain's dominance in South Africa. For the period under review, British and later South African Physical Education syllabi failed to correct race and gender imbalances in society. This was the case because the entire system of school Physical Education (see Table 4.3), within which the syllabi operated, paid little attention to the plight of Coloured people.

Table 4.3: Physical Education statistics for 1944-1946

	White	Coloured	African
Successful Physical Education specialist teacher trainers in 1944 ²⁹⁴	59	12	8
Physical Education specialist enrolment in 1946	77	24	20
Finances spent on sport facilities at schools under control of the Cape Education Department in 1945	£49 900	£9 592	£1 368
Finances spent on improvements on sport fields and equipment in 1945 ²⁹⁵	£14 636	£1 678	£374
Salaries for Physical Education specialist teachers in 1945 ²⁹⁶	-	£7 295	£875

²⁹² P. Christie, *A right to learn*, 1985, p.145.

²⁹³ F.J.G. van der Merwe, *Sportgeskiedenis*, 1999, p.291.

²⁹⁴ Western Cape Archives, PAE 1899 EM/462, Liggaamlike opvoeding: Verslag vir die jaar wat op 31 Maart 1945 geëindig het, Letter dated 14 August 1945.

²⁹⁵ Western Cape Archives, PAE 1899 EM/462, Liggaamlike opvoeding: Verslag vir die jaar wat op 31 Maart 1948 geëindig het, Letter dated 19 August 1946.

²⁹⁶ Western Cape Archives, PAE 1899 EM/462, Liggaamlike opvoeding: Verslag vir die jaar wat op 31 Maart 1945 geëindig het, Letter dated 14 August 1945.

The racial bias of South African Physical Education was highlighted in the literature review and the gender bias is admitted by the authors of one syllabus: “As in many other matters, the interests of girls took second place in matters of South African Physical Education”.²⁹⁷

At most, syllabi constructors used Physical Education to secure the division of South Africans into racial groups. The chief agent in this regard, as will be shown later, proves to be the National Advisory Council for Physical Education.

The learning environment in mission schools and the daily living conditions of the children made it difficult to run a successful Physical Education programme. Besides that, the Cape Education Department generally neglected Physical Education in mission schools and gave more attention to skill in manual work during the 19th and early 20th century.²⁹⁸ Despite a joint committee formed out of two racially separate committees (White and Coloured) for the establishment of a primary school curriculum on the initiative of the Superintendent - general, Coloured teachers never had an effective voice in the formulation of syllabi.²⁹⁹

This committee did not attempt to change the racial inequalities in society. The columnist B.J.U. confirms this when he wrote in the *Sun* in 1936 that “all the changing of syllabi and all the sounding lectures on rural education will change nothing until something else is changed in South Africa”.³⁰⁰ The columnist referred to education in the rural areas of the Western Cape, where farmers used the tot system (“dopstelsel”) to partly “remunerate” farm workers with cheap liquor. Another problem was that farmers often removed children from school during harvest times.³⁰¹ These inequalities and discrimination formed the backdrop for Cape schools that utilised British Physical Education curricula and syllabi between 1892 and 1940.

297 National Advisory Council for Physical Education, *Physical Education syllabus, Senior Book III*, 1952, p.1.

298 Department of Public Education, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education*, 1915, p.17.

299 Anon., Coloureds under apartheid era, 2002, p.1; *Sun*, 26 June 1936, p.2.

300 *Sun*, 27 November 1936, p.9.

301 H. Giliomee, *Nog altyd hier gewees*, 2007, pp.81, 91.

4.5.1 THE YEARS 1892-1903

In 1892 Thomas Muir applied himself to the task of investigating the existing school curriculum and stated that it became necessary to introduce physical drill and training. The following year the Cape Education Department published an elementary curriculum that included physical training. This was however not introduced evenly among all schools. After the Cape Education Department awakened interest in the subject, it drew up a carefully graded course of work, suitably arranged for the different standards. The Cape Education Department also opened vacation and evening classes where unqualified teachers could qualify as suitable instructors of the subject.³⁰²

Muir made it clear it was his intention that every pupil received daily exercise in simple movements out of the *British syllabus of physical exercise for public elementary schools*. The education authorities also intended using daily physical exercises to instil in children the virtue of loyalty to the school that could only be achieved with discipline. Therefore, the orderly assembly and dismissal of pupils offered teachers an opportunity for testing the effectiveness of physical drill.³⁰³ This reflected the emphasis on discipline and obedience in colonial society. This was not unique to a single European society, but shared among them all. The European origin of Physical Education was therefore closely linked to a need for discipline and GutsMuths (1759-1839) even had a few disciplinary exercises.³⁰⁴

4.5.2 THE YEARS 1904-1940

The findings of a commission appointed by Edward VII led to an interdepartmental (Scottish and English) committee, which released the “Model course of physical exercises” on 10 March 1904. This led to the publication of the *Syllabus of physical exercises for use in public elementary schools*. The Cape Education Department

302 Department of Public Education, Cape of Good Hope, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education for the year ending 30th September 1912*, 1914, p.48.

303 Department of Public Education. Cape of Good Hope, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education for the year ending 30th September 1914*, 1915, p.24.

304 A. Obholzer, GutsMuths. *Physical Education*, 1(2):3, June 1939.

published this syllabus in the *Education Gazette* as a series called “Model course of physical exercises”.³⁰⁵ Physical exercise also played an important part in the first practical hygiene syllabus for teachers, introduced in 1904.³⁰⁶ Because of the objections by the Ling Association³⁰⁷ against the intention “of women teachers being drilled by non-commissioned officers on local barrack squares”,³⁰⁸ the “Model course of physical exercises” reappeared with slight alterations in 1905 and entirely reformed and expanded in 1909.

In that year, the British Board of Education issued a revised *Syllabus of physical training* for use in elementary schools based on the Swedish system. The syllabus provided instructions for free-standing exercises in the elementary school, which required no apparatus. Schoolteachers could now teach activities on the playground to pupils between the ages of 14 and 15.³⁰⁹ The syllabus reflected the Swedish system of education exercises widely adopted in various European countries and the British navy and army. The next edition appeared in 1919, with additions and modifications as a result of the experience gained by the British education authorities during the previous 10 years, “in peace and in war, in the gymnasium and in the battle zone”. The “Tables of exercises” were remodelled in order to place increased responsibility on the teacher and allow scope for personal judgement, freedom and enterprise. This 1919 syllabus targeted children under 14 in all types and grades of schools and non-specialist teachers.³¹⁰ In 1927 the British Board of Education released a *Reference book*, based on the Swedish system, covering the range of boys’ physical training, between ages five and 18 in all types of schools.³¹¹

The next edition, with photographs, appeared in 1933 under the influence of Niels Bukh’s postural gymnastics by emphasising good posture, both in rest and in action,

305 Cape of Good Hope, *The Education Gazette*, 4(14):282, 1906.

306 Cape of Good Hope, *The Education Gazette*, 4(15):306, 1904.

307 This association interested itself in physical education matters relating to the Ling system and was started in 1899 with 56 female members. The membership remained restricted to women until 1911 (J. Johnstone, The history of the Physical Education Association. *The British Journal of Physical Education*, 15(2):84, May/June 1984).

308 J. Johnstone, The history of the Physical Education Association, *The British Journal of Physical Education*, 15(1):50, March/April 1984.

309 Board of Education, *Reference book of gymnastic training for boys*, 1927, p.v.

310 Board of Education, *Syllabus of physical training for schools*, 1933, p.7.

311 Board of Education, *Reference book of gymnastic training for boys*, 1927, p.v.

agility and suppleness.³¹² Bukh's views on racial issues in South Africa favoured White people. When he visited the country in 1939 he went on record as follows: "I notice that almost all manual labour is left to the natives. This can have only one result, viz. physical deterioration of the White races, unless they participate in systematic physical training."³¹³

All these syllabi remained the official South African Physical Education curriculum until 1940. During the late 1930's a number of British, German and Dutch teachers however immigrated to South Africa. Some, such as Schrecker, were employed in mission schools and brought with them their homeland influence. This resulted in a lack of uniformity in content and method on the part of teachers and lecturers in all types of schools throughout South Africa.³¹⁴ The point had been reached for a South African national syllabus.³¹⁵

4.5.3 THE YEARS 1941-1966: PRE-SCHOOL, JUNIOR BOOK 1941, 1950 AND 1958 (BOYS AND GIRLS UP TO THE AGE OF 10)

During the 1930's, the South African government devoted a great deal of time to the idea of physical education as a means to relieve poverty. In 1937, the government launched a national scheme of Physical Education as an attempt to raise the "general standard of the (White) nation's physique and to impart knowledge of the rules of health including nutrition".³¹⁶ This happened after the government approached the South African Olympic and British Empire Games Association with a request to draw up a memorandum that would determine the administrative and policy direction of Physical Education in South Africa.³¹⁷ The scheme imitated Physical Education programmes operative in Great Britain, Germany, Italy, the USA and Scandinavia. It also attempted to unite Physical Education programmes in the

312 Board of Education, *Syllabus of physical training for schools*, 1933, p.7.

313 N. Bukh, Mr. Niels Bukh on Physical Education, *Physical Education*, 2(1):4, April 1940.

314 National Advisory Council for Physical Education, *Physical Education syllabus, senior book III*, 1952, p.1.

315 The Health Education syllabus for the primary school that came into operation in 1934 stated that every primary school pupil had to have a course in Swedish drill, consisting of three periods a week of 15 minutes each (Department of Public Education, *Health Education syllabus for the primary school*, 1933, pp.1, 7).

316 Western Cape Archives, 4/PEZ 4/1/61, Undated letter.

317 F.J.G. van der Merwe, *Sportgeskiedenis*, 1999, p.290.

South African Defence Force, South African Police Force, educational institutions, local bodies and voluntary organisations. The training of Physical Education teachers received particular consideration.³¹⁸

Early in 1938, the government undertook to introduce Physical Education on a national scale and to entrust such responsibility to a council that would report under the Union Education Department. Out of this, the National Advisory Council for Physical Education was established in May 1938.³¹⁹ No Coloured person ever sat on this council, which consisted of prominent people in education, military, Physical Education, politics and sport circles.³²⁰

This council aimed to provide “an extensive scientific programme of Physical Education, within the reach of all South Africans, adapted to the different age and sex groups”.³²¹ According to the historian and political analyst, Hermann Giliomee, the government appointed a commission of inquiry into matters affecting the Cape Coloured population of the Union and found poverty in that community was widespread and malnutrition, overpopulation of houses, alcoholism and unhygienic living conditions were reported.³²² Therefore, the national scheme also paid attention to the Coloured community.

When this council disbursed funds or organisations applied for financial assistance, issues of race surfaced and decisions were made on the basis of being “European” or “non-European”.³²³ The council provided assistance in the following directions: the training of teachers in Health and Physical Education and of club leaders; the preparation of teaching material to be used in Physical Education; the collection and dissemination of information on matters such as standardised equipment,

318 Western Cape Archives, PAE 1899 EM/462, Physical Culture National Scheme. Department of Public Education, Cape Town, Letter dated 13 July 1938, pp.1, 3.

319 Department of Public Education, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education*, 1937, p.19; Western Cape Archives, PAE 1899 EM/462. Physical Culture National Scheme. Correspondence 28 January 1938 to 1 December 1939. Copy/MB.53/19/17. Letter dated 7 November 1939; It cannot be dismissed that the establishment of the National Fitness Council for England and Wales may also have influenced developments in South Africa (C. Connolly & H. Einzig, *The fitness jungle*, 1986, p.189).

320 For names of the first council members, see Western Cape Archives, PAE 1899 EM/462, Physical Culture National Scheme, Minutes of the second meeting of the National Advisory Council for Physical Education held on 5 July 1938 in Pretoria.

321 Anon., Proceedings of the National Advisory Council for Physical Education, *Physical Education*, 2(2):6, June 1941.

322 H. Giliomee, *Nog altyd hier gewees*, 2007, p.100.

323 Western Cape Archives, 3KWT. 4/1/209 S16-24, p.1.

dimensions of gymnasiums, swimming pools and sport fields; medical examination of participants; the provision of facilities for Physical Education and recreation for local communities; and the maintenance and supervision of programmes of systematic Physical Education and recreation in “European” and “non-European” clubs throughout the Union and research on Physical Education and recreation, the results of which were published in the Council’s scientific journal, *Manpower*.³²⁴ This paved the way for the first South African Physical Education syllabus.

In 1940 the publication *Physical exercises: Syllabus for South African schools* by Dr. Ernst Jokl appeared and large parts of the book received official sanction from various educational departments in South Africa. Niels Bukh’s primary gymnastics formed the foundation for this publication, which zoomed in on both genders and shifted from the sentimental Victorian ideas of beauty and grace to strenuous exercises. Jokl took up Bukh’s idea that the availability of cheap Black labour was a threat to the physical well-being of White people, hence the emphasis on strength development.³²⁵

That same year the National Advisory Council for Physical Education started compiling a South African syllabus with the assistance of officials from the Pretoria Technical College and departments of defence and education. The following year South Africans received the *Physical Education syllabus, junior book*, catering for the age group six to 10.³²⁶ During the time of worldwide armed conflict, military personnel featured prominently on the research panel.³²⁷ D.S. Pretorius, writing in *Vigor* at the time, stressed the importance of close co-operation between medical practitioners, military personnel and Physical Educationists for certain military programmes.³²⁸ The aims of this first South African syllabus were as follows:

324 E.F. Jokl, Physical education, sport and recreation. In E. Hellman (Ed.), *Handbook on race relations in South Africa*, 1949, p.443.

325 E. Jokl, *Physical exercises: Syllabus for South African schools*, 1940, pp.5, 220, 236, 238-239.

326 National Advisory Council for Physical Education, *Physical Education syllabus. Junior book* 1950, p.ix.

327 These were Colonel Danie Craven, Major M. Dixon, Lieutenant E. Braham, Major E. Percival Hart and one co-opted member Lieutenant M. Barret. Captain George Barber and Colonel English were used for their expert services (National Advisory Council for Physical Education, *Physical Education syllabus. Senior book I*, 1943, p.vii).

328 D.S. Pretorius, Liggaamlike opvoeding aan die Suid-Afrikaanse Militêre Kollege. *Vigor*, 1(2):68, December 1947.

Table 4.4: General aims of revised 1941 syllabus³²⁹

Boys	Girls
Provide opportunities for stimulating the natural growth and development of serviceable body, and for education in its use.	Developing and maintaining bodily strength, thus to aid healthy growth and counteract bad postural habits.
To afford a means of satisfying the innate urge for physical activity through which the structure and function of the body influence each other.	Develop grace, poise, and a sense of rhythm and an appreciation of the different qualities of movement.
To cultivate an appreciation of the quality and form of movement and to cultivate a sense of direction.	Develop basic skills that will lay a foundation for major games and swimming and to encourage the pursuit of healthy recreation.
To foster a feeling for mechanical skilfulness.	Promote hygienic habits.
To create desirable attitudes regarding the care of the body.	Developing in the child a purposeful attitude to the work and at the same time to develop her creative powers and her powers of concentration.
To create, in a congenial class atmosphere, a feeling of personal well-being and achievement in the individual boy.	Helping the child to adapt herself to the conditions of modern life by making her self-reliant, by encouraging self-discipline an initiative and by training her to co-operate with others.
To assist in establishing a balanced personality by the practice of physical activities, including games, which form part of the sporting, recreational and social life of the community.	

³²⁹ Department of Education, Arts and Science, *Physical Education for girls*, 1960, p.1; Department of Education, Arts and Science, *Physical Education for boys*, 1960, p.1.

By 1945 it ran out of print and a revised edition had to be re-published in 1950.³³⁰ This syllabus pointed out that pupils in grades 5 to 12 should receive instruction of three periods of 40 minutes each, and the Physical Education programme should be extended to after school hours in the form of organised coaching or practise matches, swimming, athletics, boxing and wrestling. From an aesthetic and health point of view, correct posture in standing, sitting and walking was of the utmost importance. Besides gymnastic games and swimming exercises, this syllabus contained motor skill activities in agility, jumping, skipping and imitative exercises.³³¹

Two volumes replaced the junior syllabus, a book for boys (8½ to 12½ years) and girls (5½ to 12½ years) separately in English and Afrikaans in 1958.³³² The material for grades 1 to 3 focussed on boys as well as girls, while that for grades 4 to 7 addressed boys and girls separately. The influence of V on Laban's notion of 'indulging in time, force and space and that of self-discovery' constituted a major part of the girls' syllabus. It covered climbing apparatus, swimming, rounder's, stool-ball, softball, hockey, netball, tennisette and athletics, while the boys' syllabus covered structural exercises, games, athletics, cricket, gymnastics, rugby, soccer, hockey, rounder's, stool-ball, softball, swimming and tennisette.³³³ The activities appear to be similar to those in the 1953 *Primary school syllabus of Great Britain* that replaced the 1933 syllabus, where no formal gymnastics featured. The difference being that the British syllabus happened to be co-educational and boys and girls could engage in creative dancing.³³⁴

In 1942, all the education departments in the Union of South Africa accepted the policy as laid down in the syllabi of the National Advisory Council for Physical Education. The idea that Physical Education consists solely of gymnastic exercises replaced the broader point of view that saw the subject as a branch with the emphasis on developing physical fitness, on acquiring skills that provide healthy

330 Department of Education, Arts and Science, *Physical Education for girls*, 1960, p.v.

331 National Advisory Council for Physical Education, *Physical Education syllabus. Junior book 1950*, pp.v, 8.

332 E.M. Neethling, *Liggaamlike Opvoeding vir meisies in die O.V.S.-skole*, 1978, p.22.

333 Department of Education, Arts and Science, *Physical Education for girls*, 1960, pp.iv, vi, 20; *Physical Education for boys*, 1960, p.vi.

334 Ministry of Education, *Planning the programme. Physical Education in the primary school, part two*, 1954, p.19.

physical recreation and on character formation.³³⁵ However, the idea of mapping out a role for Physical Education in maintaining a class of Black people physically fit for menial work is submerged in the syllabus. This is evident in the pictorial presentation of imitation exercises for pre-school children, where Black people perform menial labour activities. These activities included mimicking felling a tree, rolling, sawing and carrying logs, chopping wood, pushing a wheelbarrow and scrubbing floors.³³⁶ Such a situation restricted Coloured people from creating social spaces for themselves in the broader society and did not do justice to the general aims of the syllabus.

4.5.3.1 Senior books 1943 and 1947 (boys older than 10 and men) and 1952 (girls older than 10 and women)

The Physical Education syllabus released in 1943³³⁷ addressed boys older than 10 and men. The visit of the Danish gymnasts to South Africa in 1939, under Niels Bukh, acted as an impetus and the syllabus contained the following gymnastic exercises: free-standing and wall-bar, medicine ball exercises, balancing, agility, skipping, sport codes, jumping and partner activities. The syllabus emphasised the need for an orderly, healthy and disciplined society.

Although the content targeted schools, the colleges (including training schools) and universities, club leaders were not ignored. The syllabus addressed aspects such as discipline, teacher preparation, progression, table construction, correct breathing exercises, teacher demonstration and commands, pupil correction, teacher standing-by, class formations (free spacing, circle formation, rank, files, open order, grid system), group practices, the team system (which provided opportunities for inculcating the social values of leadership, loyalty to the chosen leader, co-operation, fair play, good temper, courage and perseverance), gymnasium care, exercise

335 C. Smit, Memorandum on the present position in regard to physical education, *Vigor*, 6(3):5, 1953; F.J.G. van der Merwe, *Sportgeskiedenis*, 1999, p.292.

336 This syllabus contained sketches of these activities. Black people are portrayed as the actual workers and White children are portrayed as imitating them in exercise (Anon., Physical exercises for little children. *Physical Education*, 5(2):22-32, June 1943).

337 K.A. Schrecker, The Physical Education syllabus - an announcement. *Physical Education*, 5(1):2, April 1943.

ground, clothing, washing, medical examination, defect children,³³⁸ exemption of class participation, diseases of children, (mal)nutrition, accident prevention and teacher appearance.³³⁹ The National Advisory Council for Physical Education released a revised *Senior book II for boys over ten and men* in 1947. The syllabus went some way in indirectly addressing the poor social conditions in the Coloured community. As long as there was a ruling class in power, intent on maintaining racial supremacy, the good intentions of the syllabi however remained words on paper.

The senior syllabus 1952 (for girls older than ten and women) drew liberally from the existing and proven systems and programmes of other countries, as interpreted by modern educationists. This syllabus did not threaten the established male order. Its content typified dominant societal expectations from a South African girl. The syllabus encouraged physical testing for the purpose of performing more agile, controlled and graceful movements without developing a competitive spirit. The selected exercises intended to suit the female structure, therefore feminine, non-violent activities such as eurhythmics,³⁴⁰ folk dancing, games and swimming became the chief means of assisting young women to achieve health, vitality and mental fitness.³⁴¹

The syllabi discussed in this overview formed the basis for teacher training certificates. In construct and content these syllabi remained ignorant of the experience of poverty amongst Coloured children and fit the commentary of the education philosopher Paulo Freire perfectly: “A dichotomy reflecting the prescriptive methods of the dominant society.”³⁴² This is seen in the hidden messages of the syllabi that emphasised concepts such as discipline, alertness, the soundness of body parts, teaching pupils to adjust to the demands of society and over-emphasising gender differences. This contributed to an accommodation between dominant and

338 This was the term used in the syllabus. The acceptable term for modern day society is mentally and physically challenged.

339 National Advisory Council for Physical Education, *Physical Education syllabus. Senior book I*, 1943, pp.v, viii, 7-29.

340 One of the aims of eurhythmics is to “bring both body and soul into harmony” (R. Schnepfel, Rhythmic exercises in walking, running and skipping. *Physical Education*, 1(4):9, November 1939).

341 National Advisory Council for Physical Education, *Physical Education syllabus. Senior book III*, 1952, pp.1-2, 4.

342 P. Freire, *Pedagogy of the oppressed*, 1970, p.121; In the 1950s and 1960s an anti-syllabus attitude was taking hold in countries where the British influence was strong (F.J.G. van der Merwe, *Sportgeskiedenis*, 1999, p.292).

subordinate groups in which the hegemony of the former was assured. The ruling class achieved this through a hidden curriculum³⁴³ which fostered a positive predilection to dominant values.³⁴⁴ One way in which this hidden curriculum operated, was through teacher training certificates.

4.6 PHYSICAL EDUCATION TEACHER TRAINING CERTIFICATES

The teaching profession was the sole avenue of employment for many educated Coloured professionals;³⁴⁵ therefore teacher training qualifications came to be the key for creating social spaces for them. Three teacher certificates – the Pupil-Teacher Certificate, the Lower Primary Teachers Certificate and the Higher Primary Teachers Certificate – provided the opportunity for such advancement.

4.6.1 PUPIL-TEACHER CERTIFICATE

In 1858 the Cape Education Department officially endorsed the Pupil-Teacher system.³⁴⁶ This entailed one of the senior pupils, usually someone who passed Grade 6, being put in charge of one of the sub-standards. After several years of service this person gained recognition as a teacher, and was awarded a Pupil-Teacher Certificate. The candidate taught during school hours and afterwards received one hour of instruction from the principal in preparation for an annual examination.³⁴⁷

During the first year the student prepared him/herself, and could obtain a Pupil-Teacher (3) certificate. At the end of the second year, a Pupil-Teacher (2) certificate could be obtained, which allowed the candidate to fill the post of senior teacher at a

343 For a description of the operation of hidden curriculums in South African schools (see P. Christie, *The right to learn*, 1985, pp.123-124; M. Haralambos & R.M. Heald, *Sociology themes and perspectives*, 1980, pp.187-188).

344 D. Hendricks, Physical education and power in South Africa. In J.D. Jansen (Ed.), *Knowledge and power in South Africa: Critical perspectives across the disciplines*, 1991, pp.215-216.

345 *Sun*, 7 November 1952, p.1.

346 F.G. Backman, The development of Coloured education with special reference to compulsory education, teacher training and school accommodation, 1991, p.347; J.N. Marais, *Die voorsiening en administrasie van Kleurlingonderwys in Kaapland*, 1955, p.86.

347 M. Adhikari, *Let us live for our children*, 1993, p.30.

third class school³⁴⁸ or assistant at a school in Cape Town or surrounding areas. Completion of a third year meant the candidate, now a fully qualified pupil-teacher, could become principal of a town school.³⁴⁹ The final year had to be spent at an officially recognised teacher training school before being accepted as a fully qualified teacher by the Cape Education Department.

Most teachers obtained the Pupil-Teacher (3) certificate at training schools or day schools.³⁵⁰ Before 1894, anyone, who had reached the age of 17, could obtain this certificate but in that year the Cape Education Department, introduced a definite three-year course with a grade 6 entry level for White students. Muir raised the entrance level for the Pupil-Teacher Certificate for them from grade 6 to grade 7 in 1899, to grade 8 in 1901 and to grade 9 in 1909.³⁵¹

A few Coloured students however, obtained the Pupil-Teacher (3) Certificate at the Cape Town Teachers Training College, but in 1909 the College separated the classes on the basis of race.³⁵² Prior to 1915, most of them obtained this certificate at Zonnebloem and Genadendal Teacher Training Schools. The officials who managed the issuing of the Pupil-Teacher Certificates often expressed racist opinions. In 1908 Dr. Muir stated to the Select Committee on Native Education that:

With boys who become pupil-teachers, it is noticeable that when they reach a certain stage of development, their mental growth comes to a stop. If you compare a White boy and a Coloured boy from the ages of 12 onwards, you will find that a White boy goes on growing mentally, whereas a Coloured boy seems for a while to stop. I believe there are physiological reasons given for it.³⁵³

348 In terms of the Education Act, No. 13 of 1865, third class schools would provide only primary education; second class schools would offer both primary and secondary courses, while first class schools would offer an elaborated secondary course, including Greek (M. Borman, *The Cape Education Department*, 1989, p.140).

349 P.F. Greyling, *Die Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk en Armesorg*, 1939, p.64.

350 A day school is one where there are no boarding facilities.

351 E.G. Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, 1925, pp.149, 151.

352 R.E. van der Ross, *A political and social history of the Cape Coloured people*, 1973, p.684.

353 Cape of Good Hope, *Report of the Select Committee on Native Education*, 1908, pp.43-44.

A further problem included the low number of Coloured students who had not achieved grade 8. This was exacerbated by the mission schools operating to grade 6 only.³⁵⁴ The Cape Education Department found an alternative by providing an admission examination for Coloured students at the predominant White training schools to test their general proficiency in English and arithmetic. In 1904 the Cape Education Department abolished this admission exam and demanded a Grade 8 pass from all students who entered teacher training.³⁵⁵ This placed Coloured students at a disadvantage if they sought admission to these training schools, because in 1903 only one out of 10 pupils attended school above grade 4.³⁵⁶ The Cape Education Department then introduced the Pupil-Teacher (3) Senior Certificate for White students and the Pupil-Teacher (3) Junior Certificate for them.³⁵⁷ The Pupil-Teacher (3) junior Physical Education curriculum is condensed in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: PT3 (Junior PT certificate) syllabus for physical exercises³⁵⁸

First Year	Kindergarten	25 marks
Second Year	Physical Exercises (stationary)	25 marks
Third Year	Practical Exercises (marching)	25 marks

The teacher's guide was the English syllabus of *Physical exercises for public elementary schools* and the effectiveness of the curriculum was to be tested by "the orderly assembly and dismissal of pupils". The school inspector would examine this part of the syllabus during the annual school visit. The final examination of the PT3 included questions on physical training and hygiene.³⁵⁹

354 Department of Public Education, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education for the year 1911*, 1911, p.8.

355 P.M. Fihla, *The development of Bantu education at the St. Matthews mission station*, 1962, p.143.

356 Cape of Good Hope, *Annual report of the Superintendent-general of Education*, 1903, p.468.

357 Department of Public Education, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education*, 1918, p.15. After 1913 the terms "1st year senior", "2nd year senior" and "3rd year senior" distinguished the certificates attained by European student teachers from those attained by non-Europeans, known as "1st, 2nd, 3rd year junior". This is because the standard of admission to a non-European training school was one year behind that of the European schools. Consequently the pupil-teacher examinations operated at a lower standard (E.G. Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, 1925, p.151). In 1920, the five institutions catering predominantly for Coloured students in the Cape Province, prepared upwards of 300 students for the PT3 Junior Certificate (*A.P.O.*, 8(194):9, 21 August 1920).

358 Department of Public Education. *Report of Superintendent-general of Education with tables and appendix*, 1895, p.56; Department of Public Education, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education for the year 1914*, 1914, p.24; C.T. Loram, *The education of the South African native*, 1917, p.136.

359 M. de Vries, personal interview, 2004.

Both Coloured and White students answered the same questions.³⁶⁰ The curriculum content contained, without exception, military drill by means of the Ling Swedish system.³⁶¹ The Second South African War impacted directly on the curriculum of the Pupil-Teacher Certificate. In 1899 in Manchester 8 000 out of 11 000 volunteers for enlistment had to be rejected outright and only 1 200 could be accepted as physically fit.³⁶² The initial defeat incurred by the British army³⁶³ led the English Board of Education in 1902, in consultation with the War Office, to draw up and issue a *Model course of physical training for use in the upper departments of public elementary schools*. Army training methods, consisting mainly of military drill, together with dumbbell and barbell exercises formed the basis of this course.³⁶⁴ From then on, the Cape Education Department emphasised the importance of physical training drill as an effective aid to promote discipline and health.³⁶⁵ This certificate operated according to a “system” with no proper Physical Education lesson structure and a great deal of diversity in methods.³⁶⁶ The true benefit of this certificate for Coloured people must be gauged by its (in)effectiveness to create social spaces for them in society.

No evidence could be found that government officials gave serious attention to concerns about the socio-economic disadvantaged position Coloured teacher training students found themselves in, unless directed to it by the petty bourgeoisie. Initially the APO addressed this issue. In 1920, Dr. Abdullah Abdurahman met with the administrator of the Cape, Sir Frederic de Waal. Abdurahman brought it to De Waal’s attention that the APO felt it necessary that the entry level of Coloured and White students should be placed on the same plane. Subsequently, from 1923 the Cape Education Department introduced two new teacher training courses concurrently with the pupil-teacher training scheme, namely a three-year post grade

360 C.T. Loram, *The education of the South African native*, 1917, pp.144-145.

361 Department of Public Education. Cape of Good Hope, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education with tables and appendix*, 1908, p.10.

362 P.C. McIntosch, *Physical Education in England since 1800*, 1968, p.148.

363 The first battle in the then Natal between British and Boer forces took place two kilometres outside Dundee on 20 October 1899. The Boers lost 155 men (dead, injured or captured) compared to 500 on the British side (T. Pakenham, *Die Tweede Anglo-Boereoorlog*. In T. Cameron (Red.), *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, 1991, p.202).

364 P.C. McIntosch, *Physical Education in England since 1800*, 1968, p.148.

365 Department of Public Education, *The Education Gazette*, 3(30):505, 13 May 1904.

366 National Advisory Council for Physical Education, *Physical Education syllabus. Senior book 1*, 1941, p.v.; J.J. Griesel, *Lesbeplanning in Liggaamlike Opvoeding vir seuns met spesiale verwysing na die primêre skool*, 1978, p.106.

eight teacher training course and a two-year post grade 10 teacher training certificate course. The Coloured pupil-teacher training system started phasing out in 1929,³⁶⁷ some 20 years after this happened in White schools.³⁶⁸ The social status of teachers who obtained these certificates declined rapidly from then onwards. A slim stream of university trained Coloured graduates entered the teaching profession from the 1930's onwards whom some pupil-teacher trained teachers accused them of being arrogant, disrespectful and impatient.³⁶⁹

4.6.2 LOWER PRIMARY TEACHERS CERTIFICATE

In 1918, the Superintendent-general of Education proposed that “separate systems of education [were] necessary for the two main sections of the non-European population; a system better adapted to their requirements and having a closer relation to the future life of the Coloured classes as agriculturists and artisans”.³⁷⁰ Due to the economic depression and a ‘need’ for cheap Black labour by mining companies and farmers, this new system paid particular attention to physical training.³⁷¹ The Cape Education Department conceptualised a special school curriculum for African students in 1920 and called upon some prominent Coloured teachers to have input in framing a similar curriculum for their schools.³⁷²

That year the Cape Education Department introduced a new system of teacher certificate classification for White students by introducing a two-year training programme with grade 12 as entry level at the three training colleges, but not so at the training schools in the Western Cape.³⁷³ This certificate was introduced in African education in 1921 as the Native Lower Primary Teachers Certificate and the Coloured Lower Primary Teachers Certificate in 1924 with a grade 8 entry level. It

367 F.G. Backman, *The development of Coloured education*, 1991, p.347.

368 In 1909, only Rondebosch and Wynberg Girls' High Schools – both White schools – received pupil- teacher grants (Western Cape Archives, Committee minutes of Cape School Board, 1/1/1/1, 6 June 1906, p.395).

369 M. Adhikari, *Let us live for our children*, 1993, p.105.

370 Department of Public Education, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education*, 1918, p.15.

371 M. Borman, *The Cape Education Department*, 1989, p.221; Department of Public Education. *Report of Superintendent-general of Education*, 1919, p.7; J.M. Niven, *Teacher education in South Africa*, 1971, pp.49, 51.

372 A.P.O, 7(181):6, 14 February 1920.

373 Department of Public Education, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education*, 1919, p.7.

emphasised manual and industrial training and could be obtained after a two-year professional course.³⁷⁴ In 1921 the Cape Education Department instituted a specialist Lower Primary Teachers Certificate course in Physical Education for girls at the Cape Town Teachers Training College, with Margaret Black as Head of Department, where students received training in the Swedish system of Physical Education.³⁷⁵

From 1936 onwards, the Cape Education Department raised the entrance level for Coloured students to grade 10, they had to be 15 years of age and of “good character”. This did not apply to African students. Although not official policy, the two Black groups, Coloured and African, attended the same training schools. In July 1935 the Cape Education Department started with a process of complete racial separation of teacher-trainer students attending the same training school.³⁷⁶ In light of this, the 1942 course content of the Coloured Lower Primary Teachers Certificate was reviewed.³⁷⁷ In 1938, the Superintendent-general of Education announced that it would be compulsory for White male student teachers to receive Physical Education instruction for five periods per week during their first and second year of training from 1939.³⁷⁸ No such provision applied for other students.

The educational value of the Lower Primary Teachers Certificate in terms of health promotion for the Coloured community was minimal. After visiting the mission training schools, Ms. M. Logeman, the Physical Education inspector, came to the conclusion that “practically nothing of educational value is accomplished by the Lower Primary Teachers Certificate for women”. She ascribed this to two factors: the time allotted to the subject did not allow for much educational value and the students coming from schools to training schools had little knowledge about the subject.³⁷⁹

374 J.N. Marais, *Die voorsiening en administrasie van Kleurlingonderwys in Kaapland*, 1955, p.89. The Native Lower Primary Teachers Certificate almost completely focused on industrial and manual training, while the Coloured Lower Primary Teachers Certificate curriculum had some academic content.

375 Department of Public Education, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education*, 1919, p.7; J.W. Postma, *Inleiding tot die Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde*, 1965, p.47.

376 Department of Public Education, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education* 1949, p.13.

377 J.N. Marais, *Die voorsiening en administrasie van Kleurlingonderwys in Kaapland*, 1955, pp.90-91.

378 Western Cape Archives, PAE. 538 TPC. Letter dated 28 June 1938.

379 Western Cape Archives, PAE. 538 TPC. Letter dated 7 September 1939.

4.6.3 HIGHER PRIMARY TEACHERS CERTIFICATE

In 1933, Coloured students obtained the Higher Primary Teachers Certificate with the Lower Primary Teachers Certificate as entry level. This certificate qualified teachers to teach specialist subjects (art, music, needlework and woodwork) in the senior primary and junior secondary classes.³⁸⁰ The aim was to produce soundly trained general practitioners who specialised in a branch of primary school work.³⁸¹ In 1935, the Cape Education Department set the entrance requirement at grade 10 and this remained so throughout the period under review.³⁸² Successful candidates received their certificate after completion of a two-year professional course (the Lower Primary Teachers Certificate) after grade 10,³⁸³ followed by a third year for specialist training. The Cape Education Department awarded a Higher Primary Teachers Certificate course to a teacher-training institute if it had adequate facilities.³⁸⁴

When the Higher Primary Teachers Certificate courses started, they proved to be popular. By 1950, however, the training schools had difficulty in enrolling students. Official reasons for this state of affairs differed from those given by teacher organisations. The administrator of the Cape Province blamed the “many avenues of employment open to women in the town and the limitations of boarding facilities”.³⁸⁵ The reasons given by the TEPA was that students found it too expensive to take on an extra year of teacher training and that the Cape Education Department did not provide enough posts for specialist teachers.³⁸⁶

From 1937 to 1938, a few Coloured men attended the Higher Primary Teachers Certificate course at Paarl Teacher Training College with White males.³⁸⁷ In that year

380 F.G. Backman, *The development of Coloured education*, 1991, p.350; J. Coetzee, *Onderwys in Suid-Afrika*, 1975, p.473.

381 *Sun*, 5 June 1936, p.8.

382 *Sun*, 12 June 1936, p.6.

383 Grade eight in the case of African students.

384 T. Hamner, personal interview, 2003.

385 *Sun*, 5 May 1950, p.4.

386 *TEPA*, 4(5):2, June 1950.

387 Department of Public Education, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education*, 1938, p.48. It was not possible to determine who these students were, since the official results made no reference to the race of the students following the Higher Primary Teachers Certificate (Physical Education) at the Paarl Teachers Training College.

the Cape Education Department introduced the Higher Primary Teachers Certificate (Physical Education) for males at the Wesley Teachers Training School. During World War II a shortage of classroom accommodation sometimes made it impossible for the Cape Education Department to give additional teachers to the schools entitled to them. For large schools, the Cape Education Department provided a Higher Primary Teachers Certificate (Physical Education) teacher because they worked outdoors. A teacher with such a qualification found himself in a favourable position when applying for a post. Most of these teachers applied for posts in Cape Town, leading to rural neglect.³⁸⁸

In the early years of the course at Wesley, the curriculum differed from the one followed at the Paarl Teachers Training College. Whereas the Wesley curriculum reflected an emphasis on industrial and manual training, the one at Paarl consisted of one major subject (Physical Culture), English, Afrikaans and handwork.³⁸⁹ The curriculum at the Paarl Teachers Training College consisted of a theoretical component (anatomy, athletics, games, theory of gymnastics, swimming, physiology and hygiene), a practical component (gymnastics, swimming, diving, life-saving, athletics and tennis) and practical class teaching.³⁹⁰ By 1942, the Higher Primary Teachers Certificate at Wesley mirrored the content of the Paarl College (except for the physiology undertaken at the University of Cape Town). Table 4.6 is a layout of the curriculum of the Higher Primary Teachers Certificate (Coloured) at that stage. Such specialist teachers received training in constructing tables of exercises from relevant syllabi.³⁹¹

388 *Sun*, 5 May 1950, p.4.

389 Cape Education Department, Pass list, 1939.

390 Cape Education Department, Pass list, 1937.

391 A gymnastic table of exercises was a series of exercises selected from the syllabus and arranged systematically in accordance with educational principles (National Advisory Council for Physical Education, Table construction, *Physical Education*, 4(3):6, September 1942).

Table 4.6: Higher Primary Teachers' certificate Physical Education curriculum³⁹²

A. Theory of Physical Education	B. Primary Gymnastics	C. Classroom Teaching	Health Education
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Aim, scope and method of Physical Education 2. Technique, demonstration, commands and improvement 3. Table construction; 4. Gymnastics 5. Terminology of gymnastics 6. Theory of coaching games, swimming and athletics 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Games 2. Folk games 		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Healthy living <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nutrition • Clean air • Temperature • Body exercise • Rest • Cleanliness • Nicotine • Alcohol abuse 2. School environment 3. Sickness and disabilities of school children 4. Procedure with medical inspection at schools 5. Elementary first aid

The Cape Education Department introduced a Higher Primary Teachers Certificate (Physical Education) for Coloured women at Zonnebloem Teachers Training School in 1948. The theory component of the female course consisted of anatomy, physiology, theory of physical training and various games, while the practical component consisted of Swedish drill, apparatus work, tennis, netball, swimming, coaching different sports and various types of dancing.³⁹³ In that year, only five female students took the course and completed it successfully and the following year only three students registered for the course. Because of the declining and small

³⁹² Department of Public Education, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education*, 1942, pp.59-61.

³⁹³ *Sun*, 12 August 1949, p.4.

number of students, the Cape Education Department discontinued the course at the end of 1952 after 20 women received training since its inception in 1948.³⁹⁴

In 1961 the Cape Education Department transferred the male Higher Primary Teachers Certificate (Physical Education) to Hewat Teachers Training College. The corresponding female course moved to Wesley and in 1966 to Hewat. At the same time the South African education authorities investigated teacher training in England and Wales, where a three-year basic training course operated as a compulsory means of certification.³⁹⁵ Consequently, the Cape Education Department introduced a Primary Teachers Certificate over two years at Hewat and prepared students for teaching in the senior primary phase. By 1966, access to the Higher Primary Teachers Certificate was available only to students in possession of this Primary Teachers Certificate, but in certain specified circumstances applicants with a Lower Primary Teachers Certificate could be admitted, subject to the approval of the Coloured Affairs Department.³⁹⁶

All the Higher Primary Physical Education lecturers at Wesley happened to be White and derived some benefit from this, either career-wise or financially. An incident involving inspector Taylor, who insisted on remuneration for marking Wesley scripts, illuminates this statement. This started when senior inspector Charles accepted Taylor's suggestion that "it was undesirable for the setting, translating and marking of the theory papers at Wesley to be done internally". The reason was that the lecturer, Kenneth Schrecker, "was without teaching or training college experience". Charles then informed Taylor that the Cape Education Department could not accept responsibility for payment. Taylor demanded remuneration because "it was done at great personal inconvenience during his free time...and it was more lucrative financially to mark the Paarl Higher scripts".³⁹⁷ Another Higher Primary Teachers Certificate lecturer, J.J. Schoombie, became the senior inspector for Physical Education in the Cape Education Department. The theory part of the curriculum was

³⁹⁴ Department of Public Education, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education*, 1953, pp.19, 40; *Sun*, 12 August 1949, p.4.

³⁹⁵ J.M. Niven, *Teacher education in South Africa*, 1971, p.177.

³⁹⁶ Coloured Affairs Department, *Reports of the Department of Coloured Affairs*, 1966, p.16.

³⁹⁷ Western Cape Archives, PAE. 538 TPC, Letters dated 20 April, 24 April & 6 May 1939.

furthermore designed by people who were out of touch with the reality of large-scale poverty experienced by school children in the Western Cape. Also, compared to the relatively large number of Lower Primary Teachers Certificate students, very few students registered for specialist training in Physical Education at Wesley.³⁹⁸

The historical account of these state prescribed teacher training Physical Education qualifications indicates the lack of recognition Coloured people received for their contribution towards the development of Physical Education in schools. This can be explained by the fact that certain academics regarded Physical Education training in South Africa as “indispensable for the small White population”.³⁹⁹ Yet, teacher organisations expressed the importance of Physical Education programmes in their own communities. This aspect is best understood by investigating the role of the TLSA in the historical development of Physical Education.

4.7 TEACHERS’ LEAGUE OF SOUTH AFRICA

The establishment of the Teachers’ League of South Africa (TLSA) took place on 23 June 1913⁴⁰⁰ at the Training Institute in Queen Victoria Street, Cape Town,⁴⁰¹ under the presidency of Harold Cressy,⁴⁰² a Coloured BA graduate at the South African College and principal of Trafalgar High School. For the first 43 years of the 20th century it was the only organised body for Coloured teachers in South Africa. The TLSA and Cressy were guided and supported by Dr. Abdullah Abdurahaman. They shared the idea of fostering Coloured racial pride by improving the quality of education, enhancing the dignity of Coloured teachers and dispelling the myth that Coloured people played no part in the history of their country.⁴⁰³ In order to achieve this, the TL SA had to follow a policy of concession-seeking accommodationism. Its

398 Department of Public Education, *Report of Superintendent-general of Education for the years 1941 to 1945*, 1945, p.53.

399 C. Smit, Die liggaamlike opvoeder se probleem in Suid-Afrika, *Vigor*, 2(1):24, Desember 1948.

400 For an analytical study of the TLSA see M. Adhikari, *Let us live for our children*, 1993.

401 M. Adhikari, The origins and founding of the TLSA of South Africa, 1981, p.1.

402 Cressy, along with his brothers Norman and Herbert were teacher trainers at Zonnebloem (University of Cape Town Manuscripts, Zonnebloem papers. Roll of students, BC 636 D1.3). See *Harold Cressy*, 1990, pp.2-3 for a biographical account of Cressy’s life.

403 M. Adhikari, *Let us live for our children*, 1993, pp.24-32, 34-45; R. van den Heever, *Cape Teachers Professional Association*, 1977, pp.4, 6.

ideological goals remained compatible with the major political Coloured organisation at the time, the APO.⁴⁰⁴

The original aims of the TLSA were twofold: to study the theory and practice of education in general, but in particular more in relation to the Coloured population throughout South Africa, as well as to further discussion and raise the status and promote the best interests of all teachers.⁴⁰⁵ This overlapped with the educational aims of the APO, which were: promoting unity between the Coloured races of British South Africa, and attaining better and higher education for the children of these races.⁴⁰⁶

During the early years, David van der Ross, an executive member, assured the SATA that the TLSA was not antagonistic to it or in competition with it.⁴⁰⁷ This was because the TLSA was not strong enough to challenge the SATA or the White Afrikaans teacher organisation, the “Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwysers Unie” (SAOU), even more so after 1920 when the latter two formed a coalition. There were about 1200 Coloured teachers outside the TLSA.⁴⁰⁸ This moderate approach was reflected in the Physical Education practices of the TLSA and was preserved until 1943, when radical minded officials gained control of the organisation.

4.7.1 TEACHERS’ LEAGUE OF SOUTH AFRICA AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION

Justus Potgieter pointed out that the inclusion of Physical Education in the school curriculum (after World War I) appeared to have been based on medical needs rather than educational merit.⁴⁰⁹ This is also true of the TLSA. In the beginning years, it demanded the provision of medical inspection to mission schools and in its mouthpiece, *The Educational Journal*, it voiced opposition to the exclusion of such

404 M. Adhikari, Hope, fear, shame, frustration, 2002, p.146.

405 R.E. van der Ross, *The rise and decline of apartheid*, 1986, p.189.

406 M. Adhikari, Hope, fear, shame, frustration, 2002, p.123.

407 *Educational Journal*, 5(57):5, 1922.

408 A.P.O., 7(187):6, 15 May 1920.

409 J.R. Potgieter, The evolvement of physical education in South Africa, 1972, p.70.

schools from these inspections.⁴¹⁰ The squalid living conditions of Coloured people remained a serious concern in TLISA circles.

In 1919, Dr. Abdullah Abdurahman, the charismatic leader of the APO and a medical trained doctor who received his training at Glasgow University, urged teachers at the 7th annual TLISA conference to give all the assistance they could in order to combat disease, dirt and vice, which he regarded as elements threatening Coloured children in Cape Town.⁴¹¹ When the Coloured Fact Finding Commission, on which Abdurahman served, submitted its report in favour of Physical Education at schools, it pointed to “medical evidence ... to the effect that Coloured youth on the physical side lacked those necessary qualities which could be expected from a sound physical training”.⁴¹² Given the respect Abdurahman drew from the grassroots TLISA membership, ordinary members took his admonition seriously.

From early in its existence, the TLISA campaigned for Physical Education in schools by soliciting the support of influential and sympathetic White people. This is illustrated by the struggle for the introduction of medical inspection in mission schools. Ordinance No. 20 of 1917 of the Cape Provincial Council made provision for the medical inspection by qualified medical practitioners of pupils and teachers in Cape Board schools with the part purpose of promoting physical training.⁴¹³ That year in the Cape Provincial Council,⁴¹⁴ Abdurahman proposed an amendment to the ordinance to allow for the inclusion of medical inspection for children at mission and teacher training schools. The TLISA continued agitating for this privilege to be extended to Coloured children even after the motion was defeated.⁴¹⁵

The following year, the Superintendent-general of Education reported that the Cape Education Department intended taking steps towards providing adequate medical

410 *Educational Journal*, 4(43):1, March 1920.

411 *S.A. Clarion*, 1(13):8, 28 June 1919.

412 Union of South Africa, *Report of the commission of inquiry regarding the Cape Coloured population of the Union*, 1937, p.166.

413 Cape of Good Hope. Department of Public Education, *Report of the Superintendent-general of Education for the year ending 1918, 1919*, p.22; Province of the Cape of Good Hope. *Provincial Council Ordinances*, 1916, p.133.

414 Abdurahman became the first Coloured person to serve as a councillor on the Cape Provincial Council.

415 *Educational Journal*, 3(18):1, 3, August 1917

staff for European, Coloured and “Native” children in Board schools.⁴¹⁶ The bulk of Coloured children sat in mission schools; therefore this measure did not benefit them. Dr. Christiaan Louis Leipoldt⁴¹⁷ received appointment in a temporary capacity as medical inspector of schools in the Cape Province in 1919.⁴¹⁸ Leipoldt was on loan from the Transvaal Education Department, where the provision of medical inspection had been extended to Coloured children.⁴¹⁹ He addressed the 1919 conference on the issue of medical inspection and stated that teachers should enlist the assistance of parents in the matter of school hygiene.⁴²⁰ Due to the constant shortage of money, progress with medical inspection remained slow and by 1926 only two medical inspectors could be employed in the Cape Province.⁴²¹ This does not mean that White people downplayed the importance of school medical inspection. In 1925, the Kenyan colonial government requested copies of the Cape Education Department’s medical inspection reports.⁴²² Leipoldt’s presence at the conference formed part of the TLSA’s strategy for the introduction of medical inspection and Physical Education in mission schools.⁴²³ He viewed medical inspection as a means to ensure physical efficiency in every child and hoped that it would be linked to the defence force.⁴²⁴ This suited the TLSA’s British loyalist attitude at the time.⁴²⁵

Leipoldt’s book *Skoolgesondheid* (School hygiene), published in 1916, also touched on topics the TLSA could relate to, including the ill effects of marijuana.⁴²⁶ The abuse of this drug caused many social problems in Cape Town and the TLSA as well as the APO considered it so serious it was suggested that a deputation be sent to the

416 Department of Public Education, *Report of the Superintendent-general of Education for the year ending 1918*, 1919, p.8.

417 Leipoldt became a distinguished Afrikaans author (see J.C. Kannemeyer. *Geskiedenis van die Afrikaanse literatuur*, 1:127-146, 1978.

418 M. Borman, *The Cape Education Department*, 1989, pp.230-231.

419 *Educational Journal*, 2(5):3, June 1916.

420 S.A. *Clarion*, 1(14):8, 5 July 1919.

421 M. Borman, *The Cape Education Department*, 1989, p.231.

422 Western Cape Archives, PAE 1844 EM/352. Physical development of school children: Enquiry from Kenya colony.

423 The argument Karl Bremer, the first medical inspector for schools, held in favour of school medical inspection was that it promoted physical training (Cape of Good Hope, Department of Public Education, *Report of the Superintendent-general of Education for the year ending 1918*, 1919, p.22).

424 C.L. Leipoldt, *Medical inspection of schools in relation to social efficiency*, 1916, pp.2, 10.

425 For instance, the school principal of Elim, Richard David Rasmus, enrolled a number of men as transport riders for the British during the second South African War (1899-1902). He served on the TLSA of South Africa executive for 16 years and as treasurer from 1917 until 1920 (M. Adhikari, *Let us live for our children*, 1993, p.185).

426 C.L. Leipoldt, *Skoolgesondheid*, 1934, p.10.

government on this matter.⁴²⁷ The APO also raised its concern about what it called the “seven-day week vices of drink, dagga and dice of the working class in urban Cape Town”.⁴²⁸

Leipoldt had status and a high education, which impressed the executive of the early TLISA. He is accredited by the Afrikaans literature critic Johan Kannemeyer as a poet who introduced a sense of university in the Afrikaans literature.⁴²⁹ Being a medical doctor, an occupation with prestige during the early years of the 20th century, and having acquired status as a medical commentator added to his credentials of respectability from TLISA members. By the time of the conference, his published works included the books *Common sense dietetics* and *The school nurse: Her duties and responsibilities*. The latter, published in England in 1912, served as a basis for further publications about hygiene in South African schools.⁴³⁰

Leipoldt acknowledged the Coloured people’s history in a small way by later stating that he was fascinated by the life stories of slavery at the Cape.⁴³¹ He therefore shared common life themes with Abdurahman. Both were medical men, came from religious backgrounds and were viewed as men of their people. In 1934, the Cape Town City Council nominated Abdurahman to attend the World Hygiene Conference in Bristol, England. Due to his commitment to the Coloured Fact Finding Commission, he declined. The council did not appoint a substitute because of the confidence they had in him being able to avail himself of the opportunity the following year.⁴³²

The South African education historian Ernest Malherbe refers to Leipoldt as someone who wrote about the suffering of the Afrikaner people during the Second South African War in a “brutal and bitter humorous way”.⁴³³ The historian Mohammed Adhikari refers to Abdurahman, who evidently was the author of the

427 *Educational Journal*, 6(61):4, September 1922.

428 *A.P.O.*, 8(226):5, 7 October 1922.

429 J.C. Kannemeyer, *Geskiedenis van die Afrikaanse literatuur*, 1:93, 1987.

430 J.C. Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt*, 1999, p.297.

431 *Die Huisgenoot*, 5 November 1926, p.31.

432 *Sun*, 4 May 1934, p.7; *Sun*, 8 June 1934, p.1.

433 E.G. Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, volume 2, 1977, p.17.

satirical and humorous column *Straatpraatjies* in the newspaper the *APO*, in similar fashion.⁴³⁴ Leipoldt had a missionary father, while Abdurahman was the son of an *imam* (a Muslim cleric). When Leipoldt met Abdurahman, he might have remembered a letter he previously wrote to a friend about his father “who was so liberal that the imams told him he would be a good Muslim”.⁴³⁵ In his later life, Leipoldt expressed his appreciation for what he deemed the good organisation and strong discipline of the German speaking missionaries. According to him they acted as “men and women imbued with a spirit of self-sacrificing zeal that contributed something to the formation of national character”.⁴³⁶ The idea of a national character these missionaries had in mind for Coloured people encompassed not agitating the authorities, in the face of exploitation. Religion, not political freedom, was therefore viewed as prevention against poverty.⁴³⁷ This suited Abdurahman, who instructed the early TLISA to confine their activities to social welfare, educational leadership and responsible citizenship along practical lines, making it clear that they had to leave politics to him and the *APO*.⁴³⁸ All of this culminated in Abdurahman and Leipoldt supporting each other at a conference in a quest to extend the provisions of Ordinance No.17 to children at mission schools.⁴³⁹

The interest of the TLISA’s leadership in medical inspection cannot be ascribed purely to altruistic motives for helping those less fortunate, but out of a quintessential class prejudice they held towards the Coloured labouring poor. Its president, Dan Sampson, divided Coloured people into three categories in his 1916 annual conference address, namely the sunken, the sinking and the uprising classes.⁴⁴⁰ The TLISA saw the medical value of Physical Education as a means to assist the third category of people to social advancement in life.

434 M. Adhikari, Coloured identity and the politics of language. In M. Adhikari, *Straatpraatjies* (Ed.), 1996, p.13.

435 J.C. Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt*, 1999, pp.25, 32, 47.

436 Leipoldt regarded his poem *Sendelingkinders* (Mission children) as one of his more important Afrikaans works and translated it into English. According to Kannemeyer this work, which describes places such as Genadendal and other Moravian, Rhenish and Berlin mission stations, is a key element in understanding Leipoldt’s persona (J.C. Kannemeyer, *Leipoldt*, 1999, p.32).

437 *De Bode van Genadendal*, 33(3):14, March 1892; Leipoldt later broke ties with formal religion.

438 M. Adhikari, *Let us live for our children*, 1993, p.135.

439 *Educational Journal*, 3(18):3, August 1917.

440 M. Adhikari, Hope, fear, shame, frustration, 2002, p.151.

The importance of Physical Education as a compulsory subject in mission and Board schools became more prominent in TLISA circles from the 1930's. This can be ascribed to developments relating to the political and socio-economic environment in South Africa. Economically, most of the Western World was experiencing a financial depression in the late 1920's and 1930's. This resulted in a growing number of impoverished and unemployed White people in South Africa that came to be called the "Poor White problem".⁴⁴¹ Ernst Malherbe defines a "Poor White" as someone who is in a situation where preventable diseases and malnutrition afflict early childhood, leave a mark for life and in the end produces a citizen afflicted with a vague state of chronic under productivity.⁴⁴² Nationwide attempts, including Physical Education, aimed at uplifting the White community, particularly Afrikaners, out of this demoralisation.⁴⁴³ Expressions about the relationship between race and Physical Education also circulated in the Coloured education fraternity at the time. In January 1935, a teacher wrote an article in the *Sun* where he/she extolled the values of drill in schools and stated that it was of such importance that "it is a matter of survival of the race".⁴⁴⁴

Because the TLISA did not want to pique White society,⁴⁴⁵ it solicited the support of liberal White people. In February, Prof. J.D. Rheinallt-Jones addressed the South African Institute of Race Relations⁴⁴⁶ in Cape Town and referred to Physical Education as a means of instilling discipline and a true sense of South African patriotism among all races.⁴⁴⁷ Rheinallt-Jones had by then acquired a reputation for working with all racial communities in the field of Physical Education related activities. He played a leading role in the administration of the African Scout

441 F.J.G. van der Merwe, *Sportgeskiedenis*, 1999, p.291.

442 E.G. Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, volume 2, 1977, p.357.

443 J.R. Potgieter, The evolution of physical education in South Africa, 1972, p.66. For initiatives addressing the Poor White problem during the 1930s, see E.G. Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, volume 2, pp.20, 156, 162, 231, 387, 669, 1977.

444 *Sun*, 4 January 1935, p.8.

445 M. Adhikari, Hope fear, shame, frustration, 2002, p.159.

446 The South African Institute of Race Relations was established on 9 May 1929 at the Johannesburg home of Reverend E. Phillips as a non-political body engaged primarily with economic and social matters. The other founder members included Edgar Brookes, J. du Plessis (theology professor at Stellenbosch University), D.D.T. Jabavu (lecturer at University College of Fort Hare), Dr. C.T. Loram (chief inspector of Native education in the then Natal), Thomas W. Mackenzie (editor of *The Friend*), Joseph H. Nicholson (mayor of Durban) and Howard Pim (a public man who served on many government commissions) (*Sun*, 28 May 1954, p.4). Coloured people with diverse political opinions, Richard van der Ross and Cissie Gool, later served on the executive (B. Helm, *A Cape Town directory of social welfare*, 1959, p.63.)

447 *Sun*, 28 February 1936, p.6.

Movement and held the rank of Chief Pathfinder since its inception in 1918.⁴⁴⁸ He also worked with many TLSA members on the Joint Council Movement⁴⁴⁹ at the time when the TLSA advocated that Coloured teachers had to be better qualified and that existing teachers had to improve their qualifications.⁴⁵⁰

In June 1936, the TLSA requested a special course of “physical culture” for Coloured children from the Cape Education Department, and the latter notified its intention to provide such a course in 1938.⁴⁵¹ Mildred Kay,⁴⁵² a TLSA member, delivered an address at the 1936 national conference on the topic “The battle against disease”.⁴⁵³ The significance of this discourse is the absence of revolutionary rhetoric and the utilitarian value the TLSA attached to Physical Education. Revolutionary discourse became more frequent after 1943, when radical thinkers gained control of the leadership of the TLSA.

The TLSA’s Claremont branch arranged a social evening at the Livingstone High School for 20 August 1936 and invited two prominent White public figures: Ms. E. Sollinger, to speak on mental hygiene and E.A. Ball, to speak on educational development. Dr. Goolam Gool, a Coloured person and outspoken critic of racial policies, spoke on health and the social order. Not much is known about Sollinger’s presentation, other than her stressing the effects of poor economic conditions on the scholastic career of children. Ball stated that teaching had to be child-centred, not subject-centred. This would necessitate phasing out physiology as a subject in the curriculum and replacing it with hygiene. Ball also pointed out that overseas country

448 R. Archer & A. Bouillon, *The South African game*, 1982, p.123.

449 This movement, under White liberal custodianship, attached importance to the advancement of cultural and leisure activities among African and Coloured people. The Joint Council Movement started in 1921 in Johannesburg and by 1935 it had 40 councils distributed throughout the country. Each council consisted of an equal number of African, Coloured or Indian people on the one hand, and White people, on the other, with the aim of promoting co-operation between the races, to investigate and report on matters relating to the welfare of the “Black peoples, to make representation on behalf of them and to the relevant public bodies, to publish such investigation as thought desirable, and to enlighten the White public on them” (R. Archer & A. Bouillon, *The South African game*, 1982, p.118). The initiators were two Americans, Thomas Jesse Jones and J.E.K. Aggrey, together with J.D. Rheinallt-Jones (S.B. Spies, *Unie en onenigheid*. In T. Cameron (Red.), *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, 1991, p.245). Initially the TLSA co-operated with the Joint Council Movement.

450 R.O. Dudley, telephonic interview, 2003; E.L. Maurice, *The development of policy in regard to the education of Coloured pupils at the Cape, 1880-1940*, 1966, p.399.

451 *Cape Standard*, 29 June 1936, p.4; *Sun*, 26 June 1936, p.2.

452 Her obituary is in the *Cape Argus Supplement*, 5 March 2003, p.1. She joined the staff of the Athlone Teachers Training School in Paarl in 1932 (*Sun*, 25 November 1932, p.7) and became the first Coloured woman to obtain a BA degree at Fort Hare University (*Cape Argus Supplement*, 5 March 2003, p.1).

453 *Sun*, 10 July 1936, p.9.

focused more attention on the health of the teacher and the pupil. Healthy teachers can give their best to the children and therefore hygiene and physical training are important subjects. Finally she stressed the point that teachers should be worthy leaders in the fields of culture and spirituality, so that the children could follow them.

Gool's speech deflected from this moderation and indicated a developing schism in the 1930's between conservative "Old Guard" and radical "Young Turk" beliefs. The reason for his stance is speculative. At the time Gool, who was married to Abdurahman's daughter, Zainunissa (Cissie), formed part of a vanguard that was essentially a rebellion against the Abdurahman leadership of the APO. Abdurahman had, by Muslim rites, married a second wife, Maggie, and divorced Cissie's mother. The possibility that personal feelings influenced the Gool family's opposition to the APO and thus the TLISA's liberal stance cannot be excluded. Nevertheless, one of the chief features of this radical vanguard included the attention given to workers, their rights, the part they should be playing in a liberation struggle and their oppression.⁴⁵⁴ Gool's speech emphasised the need for social and economic reform and referred to the contrast between skilled and unskilled workers. He stated that poverty in the community led to an increase in death rates caused by preventable diseases, such as tuberculosis, meningitis and pneumonia, during the period 1926 to 1936. He criticised the bad housing conditions in Cape Town and argued that if five or six people did essential things in a single room, it militated against social and cultural improvement. He encouraged the TLISA to ally itself with other worker organisations and parent bodies. By doing so, the TLISA "would be doing the best service to themselves, their people and humanity".⁴⁵⁵ He made no direct mention of Physical Education, an indication of the low regard the Young Turks had for the subject as a tool of political, social and economic liberation.

At least one newspaper, the *Sun*, supported the TLISA's idea of specialist training at teacher training schools. In October 1936, the editor came out in support of the TLISA's attempts at gaining official recognition for specialist status of the subject at

454 R.E. van der Ross, *The rise and decline of apartheid*, 1986, p.104.

455 *Sun*, 28 August 1936, p.9.

training schools.⁴⁵⁶ This is because of the overlap of political sympathy between the *Sun* and the TLSA. The *Sun* happened to be a conservative newspaper established in 1932 by a journalist, A. Hayes, and printer, C. Stewart. A White businessman and printer, Samuel Griffiths, controlled the newspaper from 1936. It supported the APO and the United Party, accepting the segregationist policies of succeeding racist governments.⁴⁵⁷

An October 1936 a conservative toned article, highlighted the fact that secondary and training schools in the Coloured community are important sectors for athletic development. The article emphasised the negligible state of athletics in the community because of it not being an integral part of the Physical Education programme at school level. It suggested that a beginning to Physical Education specialist training at teacher training schools could be made by having a conference of sport masters from various educational institutions who could consider the possibilities of regular training and decide upon the type and degree of training that should be given. Through the TLSA, official recognition for Physical Education had to be sought from the Cape Education Department.⁴⁵⁸ At school level the TLSA also took an interest in the lack and state of poor playing fields.⁴⁵⁹ This is analogous to what some White Physical Educationists demanded.⁴⁶⁰ The most prominent contribution the TLSA made towards the development of the subject in schools, were “physical culture competitions”.

4.7.2 TEACHERS’ LEAGUE OF SOUTH AFRICA AND PHYSICAL CULTURE COMPETITIONS

The contribution of the TLSA towards Physical Education in the form of interschool physical culture competitions,⁴⁶¹ especially in the Cape Town area, added to the

456 *Sun*, 23 October 1936, p.2.

457 *Sun* [micro-filmstrip], MP.1218.

458 *Sun*, 23 October 1936, p.2.

459 *Sun*, 9 December 1938, p.3.

460 See J.T. Nel. Societies and institutes for Physical Education. *Physical Education*, 2(2):60, June 1940 for demands White Physical Educationists were making.

461 These competitions already existed in 1936 (*Cape Standard*, 23 November 1936, p.8).

growing interest of the subject among educators.⁴⁶² These competitions were held for the purpose of improving physical fitness of youth and raising funds for bursaries. The geographical delimitation of these competitions stretched beyond Cape Town. In 1943, the Paarl branch organised an interschool physical culture competition in which 12 schools with 39 teams took part. The trophies, probably named after donors, had the surnames of well-known families in Paarl and the APO (Table 4.7).

Table 4.7: Teachers' League of South Africa 1943 inter-school Paarl branch competition⁴⁶³

Winners of section	Trophy
Junior Girls: Athlone Institute	H. Carollisen Shield
Immanuel School	D. Fortuin Cup
Senior Girls: Immanuel School	Leah Goetham Shield
Athlone Institute	A. Richards Cup
Junior Boys: Zion School	Dr. Thomas Newman Shield
Athlone Institute	James Adams Shield D. Hiebner Shield
Senior Boys: Athlone Institute	A.P.O. Shield
St. Stephens School	

In Cape Town the TLSA initiated the Du Toit Shield Competition in 1938, which became an annual interschool physical culture contest. Teams, coached by Higher Primary Teachers Certificate (Physical Education) graduates, dominated the competition.⁴⁶⁴ Captain R.J. du Toit, Member of Parliament for the Cape Flats, and J.W. Mushet, Member of Parliament for Maitland, donated shields to the TLSA. These two White military men had a reputation of involvement with Coloured politics and social affairs. In 1919 Mushet indirectly obtained £25 000 for a vocational training institute for returning soldiers of all races from World War I.⁴⁶⁵ The following year, he contested a parliamentary seat in the general elections under the banner of

462 R.O. Dud ley, telephonic interview, 2003; E.L. Maurice, The development of policy in regard to the education of Coloured pupils in the Cape, 1880-1940, 1966, p.399.

463 *Cape Standard*, 6 April 1943, p.12.

464 *Cape Standard*, 21 October 1941, p.1. In 1941 Ashley Street Higher Primary and Paarl Immanuel won the junior and senior shields of the TLSA competition. Livingstone High won the Barron shield (*Cape Standard*, 28 October 1941, p.1).

465 S.A. *Clarion*, 1(22):2, 6 September 1919.

the Unionist Party⁴⁶⁶ and with the help of the Coloured community, won the seat.⁴⁶⁷ When Mushet made his donation for the TLSA's physical culture competition, it could have been a token of appreciation for that support.⁴⁶⁸

As the foregoing discussion demonstrates, the importance of Physical Education was bound up with the TLSA's and the APO's original aims, at least until 1943. They did this by soliciting the support of liberal White people and deliberately did not offend them. Things changed in 1943, when teachers with Trotskyist ideas replaced the TLSA's executive. This development affected the approach of the TLSA towards Physical Education.

4.7.3 DEVELOPMENTS AFTER 1943

The TLSA temporarily abandoned its physical culture competitions in the early 1940's when a feud between the "Young Turks" and the "Old Guard" paralysed the organisation.⁴⁶⁹

From the 1930's, a few university trained teachers entered the ranks of the TLSA and became known as the "Young Turks". They were intelligent, energetic, eager for leadership, keen to achieve and well-read, qualities found in the leadership ranks of revolutions the world over.⁴⁷⁰ Being skilled in the art of rhetoric, they maintained a tone of stinging sarcasm and scorn against what they saw as government collaborators. One person they severely criticised was Captain R.J. du Toit.⁴⁷¹ The "Young Turks" distanced themselves from him because he initiated the Coloured Permanent Commission (CPC).⁴⁷²

466 This party stressed the importance of a united White South Africa that had to be loyal to the British Empire (S.B. Spies, *Unie en onenigheid*. In T. Cameron (Red.), *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika* 1991, p.232). As the political home of Cape liberalism, the APO depended on it to defend Coloured civil rights in the Cape parliament (M. Adhikari, *Coloured identity and the politics of language*. In M. Adhikari (Ed.), *Straatpraatjies. Language, politics and popular culture in Cape Town*, 1996, p.14).

467 S.A. *Clarion*, 1(45):2, 14 February 1920; S.A. *Clarion*, 1(49):10, 13 March 1920.

468 M. Adhikari, *Let us live for our children*, 1993, p.91.

469 M. Adhikari, *Let us live for our children*, 1993, p.91; *Sun*, 23 June 1944, p.1.

470 *Cape Herald*, 9 April 1966, p.6.

471 Du Toit supported the proposed Native bills of 1935 (*Sun*, 28 February 1936, p.2). These bills caused much dissatisfaction among the "Young Turks" which led to the establishment of the All African Convention.

472 *Cape Standard*, 23 February 1943, p.10; South African Parliamentary Library, House of Assembly debates, 17 February 1943, p.1778.

Their resentment centred around the fact that the CPC operated on the same principle as the Native Affairs Commission, under the guidance of the Native Affairs Act of 1920 and had as its purpose researching and making recommendations to the government on matters relating to African administration.⁴⁷³ Successive South African governments after World War I also emphasised the importance and interdependency between economic and racial relations and started introducing industrial programmes and laws⁴⁷⁴ to protect White interests under a policy called “civilised labour”.⁴⁷⁵

The protests of the “Young Turks” did not stop government plans and established the CPC in 1943, developed it into the Coloured Advisory Council (CAC) and then into the Coloured Affairs Department (CAD). All these bodies had leaders of the TLSA serving on them.⁴⁷⁶ A group of organisations mobilised against these developments and became known as the anti-CAD movement. The most important organisation in this movement was the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM), that later became the New Unity Movement (NUM) with a hallmark of “Protest, condemn, ostracise, boycott”.⁴⁷⁷

Their political strategy was derived from the teachings of the Russian philosopher Leon Trotsky and was announced at a NEUM conference in 1946 as a complete break with the heritage of friendly collaboration with the ruling class.⁴⁷⁸ The NEUM directed strong criticism at the race-based curricula and syllabi of the Cape

473 S.B. Spies. Unie en onenigheid. In T. Cameron (Red.), *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, 1991, p.243; South African Parliamentary Library, House of Assembly debates. 17 February 1943, p.1778.

474 See B.K. Murray & A.W. Stadler, Van die Pakt tot die begin van apartheid. In T. Cameron (Red.), *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, 1991, p.251 for a list of laws the South African government introduced to advance the employment interests of White urban labour.

475 B.K. Murray & A.W. Stadler, Van die Pakt tot die begin van apartheid. In T. Cameron (Red.), *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, 1991, p.251.

476 University of Cape Town Manuscripts, UMSA/TABATA Collection: Minutes of the 5th conference of the National Anti-CAD Movement, BC 925. E, 1954, p.26.

477 R. Archer & A. Bouillon, *The South African game*, 1982, p.118; *Cape Standard*, 23 March 1943, p.10; R.E. van der Ross, *The rise and decline of apartheid*, 1986, pp.171, 175. The TLSA often used the term “quisling” when describing opponents to its method of struggle. In 1949, this term appeared before the Supreme Court. It referred to a person who deserts the cause and originates from the Nazi sponsored Norwegian Prime Minister, Vidkun Quisling, who headed a puppet government, set up in April 1940 after the German invasion of Norway (*Cape Argus*, 9 May 1945, p.1; *Cape Times*, 10 May 1945, p.5). After World War II the term “quisling” came to be associated with the term “traitor”. In time it became part of the anti-CAD and TLSA rhetoric (*Sun*, 23 September 1949, p.6).

478 *Torch*, 1(45):4, 6 January 1947.

Education Department, which the Movement claimed “prepared Coloured people for inferior examinations and ultimately for inferior employment”.⁴⁷⁹

Matters came to a head at the TLSA’s national conference in Kimberley in 1943, when the majority of the elected executive happened to be members of the CAC.⁴⁸⁰ The conference ended up being characterised anti-CAD supporters heckling and booing the TLSA leadership. The elected executive realised that they would not be re-elected.⁴⁸¹ The following year, a group of “Old Guard” TLSA members met at Battswood Training School in Wynberg, Cape Town. Following a suggestion of a former TLSA president, Mrs. H. Roman, to form a new teachers’ body, they established a drafting committee and broke away from the TLSA to form the Teachers Educational Professional Association (TEPA) in July 1944.⁴⁸² The real motive for the breakaway remains obscure.

The TEPA leadership maintained that it could not align itself with the “rudeness and ill-mannered ways of the Young Turks towards those who supported the CAD”.⁴⁸³ The “Young Turks” argued that the TEPA leadership were “driven by personal ambition and aspiration for school principalships and therefore curried favour of the CAC and CAD and thus accommodated persons with racist views”.⁴⁸⁴ The fact that the TEPA accommodated and tolerated members of the Coloured People’s National Union⁴⁸⁵ (CPNU) adds substance to this allegation. Whereas the TLSA focused on radical rhetoric, the TEPA created an environment where a large number of children had exposure to mass physical culture displays. The TEPA therefore organised non-competitive displays, the principle being that as many schools as possible should be allowed to demonstrate what was being done in the field of Physical Education.

479 Anon., A manifesto to the Coloured people. The Coloured Education Commission, June 1953.

480 For a descriptive discussion on the genesis of the CAC, the CAD and the Coloured people’s opposition by an involved individual, see R.E. van der Ross, *The rise and decline of apartheid*, 1986, pp.170-193.

481 R.E. van der Ross, *The rise and decline of apartheid*, 1986, p.189.

482 *TEPA Educational News*, 14(4):79, 1959; R. van den Heever, *The Cape Teachers Professional Association*, 1977, p.4; Sun, 23 June 1944, p.5.

483 R.E. van der Ross, personal interview, 2007.

484 R.O. Dudley, telephonic interview, 2007.

485 Early in its history the president, George Golding, said: “We’d be very puny and backboneless men indeed if we allowed the Native to come into our very midst and oust us from our jobs, drive us from our homes and threaten us in the streets where we have lived all our lives.” (*Coloured Opinion*, 2:1, 20 May 1944).

These developments had a direct bearing on the teaching of Physical Education in mission schools, because the CAD became the official channel through which the national government managed all matters concerning the Coloured community. From its inception in the 1940's, first the CAC and then later the CAD officially supervised the development of several sport fields, tennis courts with dressing rooms, recreation halls and the supply of gymnastic and other apparatus for Physical Education used in mission and public schools in the Coloured community.⁴⁸⁶ The CAD also spent money liberally on community Physical Education organisations that did not form part of the anti-CAD movement.⁴⁸⁷

Three years after the establishment of the TEPA, it introduced physical culture activities in its programme but this withered in the early 1960's when it was fighting for survival. George Golding led a breakaway group to form the Cape Teachers Association (CTA) and some of the members who followed Golding happened to be involved in TEPA physical culture activities.

The TEPA physical culture and Physical Education programme took the form of school mass displays⁴⁸⁸ and directed attention to Physical Education in its journal.⁴⁸⁹ It occasionally managed to make use of teacher training and Physical Education specialist students in its displays. A display was also organised on Saturday 10 May 1952 at the Green Point Track,⁴⁹⁰ where select groups from Wesley, Athlone and Hewat gave special demonstrations.⁴⁹¹ Some of these mass displays were organised by officials with membership of the CPNU.⁴⁹² These included Golding, Dan Heuvel⁴⁹³ and Otto Richards.⁴⁹⁴

486 Coloured Affairs Department, *Report*, 1962, p.32.

487 J.L. Botha, 'n Onderzoek na die funksie van 'n staatsdepartement van sport en rekreasië in Suid-Afrika, 1968, p.341.

488 *TEPA*, 1(6):8, March 1946; 2(1):14, August 1947; *TEPA*, 2(6):2, June 1948; 3(2):1, October 1948; *TEPA Educational News*, 13(1):14, August 1958; *Sun*, 30 April 1948, p.1; 16 July 1948, p.7.

489 See *TEPA Educational News*, 13(1):7, August 1958 & 17(5):78, June 1963.

490 *TEPA Educational News*, 6(4):12, April-June 1952.

491 *Sun*, 2 May 1952, p.8.

492 *TEPA*, 1(6):8, March 1946; 2(1):14, August 1947; *TEPA*, 2(6):2, June 1948; 3(2):1, October 1948; *TEPA Educational News*, 13(1):14, August 1958; *Sun*, 30 April 1948, p.1 & 16 July 1948, p.7.

493 Heuvel was a CPNU official (*Coloured Opinion*, 1:2, 20 April 1944).

494 Richards was the secretary of the Wynberg branch of the TEPA (*TEPA*, 4(1):8, August 1949; *TEPA*, 5(1):16, August 1950). He was also chairman of the Wynberg Amateur Swimming Club and an organiser of life-saving displays in the Coloured community (*Sun*, 27 December 1935, p.6; *Sun*, 17 January 1936, p.2; 1 May 1936, p.2; 30 April 1937, p.2). He was also an office bearer of the CPNU (*Coloured Opinion*, 1:2, 20 April 1944).

Other teachers, not CPNU members, who had a reputation of sport achievement and organising physical culture displays, included Ned Doman⁴⁹⁵ and Ron Eland.

The characteristic of these displays included the association's ability to attract substantial sponsorships and the participation of rural schools.⁴⁹⁶ When the newly established Hottentots Holland branch held its first physical culture interschool's competition in April 1949, schools from Vlotenburg, Stellenbosch, Helderberg, Strand, Sir Lowry's Pass and Somerset-West participated. Sympathetic White individuals and organisations provided sponsorships in the form of trophies to the TEPA. This included a trophy from the leader of the United Party (UP), De Villiers Graaff (later Sir De Villiers Graaff)⁴⁹⁷ and monetary donations from a military official, Colonel Wicht and Cape Explosives.⁴⁹⁸ Despite this support, the display turned out to be a financial loss.⁴⁹⁹ Although the TEPA managed to gain the support of prominent personalities for its physical culture displays, it failed to attract large spectator crowds, which contributed to the financial failure. Sometimes the physical culture activities turned out unsuccessful in terms of participation. When the TEPA organised physical culture displays in 1950, involving both the Paarl and Northern suburb regions, only two schools in the Northern suburbs participated.⁵⁰⁰

Despite these signs of poor community support, the TEPA physical culture displays enjoyed official sanction, and education authorities mixed freely with Coloured politicians. The administrator of the Cape, J.G. Carinus, and the chief Physical Education inspector, H. Taylor, opened a Physical Culture display at the Rosebank Showground on 29 April 1950. The other dignitaries included the mayor of Cape Town, C.O. Booth, a circuit inspector of Cape Peninsula schools, T. Malherbe, Dr. Francis Gow, a prominent Coloured cleric and politician, Christo Viljoen and Alfred

495 Doman was principal of the Athlone Primary School (*Sun*, 26 August 1932, p.7) and one of the driving forces behind the first organised school sport body for Coloured children, the Central School Sports Union (*Cape Standard*, 9 February 1943, p.10.; *Cape Herald*, 9 April 1966, p.9). He was also patron of the Western Province Cricket Board (*Cape Herald*, 23 September 1967, p.11).

496 *TEPA Educational News*, 6(2):6, October-December 1951.

497 Graaff had Hottentots Holland as his parliamentary constituency (P.W. Coetzer, *Die era van apartheid*. In T. Cameron (Red.), *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, 1991, p.276).

498 The other trophy donors included affluent White businessmen: W. Muller, the De Wet brothers and A.D. Leibrandt.

499 *TEPA*, 4(2):4, 10, October 1949.

500 *Sun*, 20 June 1952, p.4.

Jacobs, both senior educators in the Coloured community. Despite there being more than 2 000 children in the display, only 150 parents and 250 spectator children attended the display. Those participating ranged from children in primary schools to high school scholars and students from Teacher Training Schools. One school had a mixed gender team of 500 pupils and gave a display of arm and leg movements.⁵⁰¹ A large number of Coloured pupils in the mission and public school system did not form part of this display, because of a boycott by Higher Primary Teachers Certificate (Physical Education) specialist teachers who belonged to the TLSA.⁵⁰²

The first account of Physical Education promotion by the TEPA appeared when it launched a new branch in Salt River in 1952. This branch opened its programme for the year with a demonstration of Physical Education activities aimed at primary school children. The TEPA sent an invitation to all interested teachers and focussed on small apparatus in classes ranging from early childhood development to grade 7.⁵⁰³ Just over 100 teachers and student teachers accepted this invitation.⁵⁰⁴ Mr. Oosthuizen, the Wesley Physical Education lecturer, and his Higher Primary Teachers Certificate class presented the material at the Wesley Training School.⁵⁰⁵

In the same year, the Salt River branch established an eisteddfod committee, which from 1954 functioned as an independent body, The Peninsula Association. The list of officials of this body had individuals branded as “quislings” by the TLSA in other areas of community life. The first officials included the mayor of Cape Town (patron-in -chief), Isaac (Ike) J. Stober (chairman), Ms. J.S.M. Abrahamse (Windermere Preparatory School and organising secretary), Ms. A.J. Lakay, Mrs. Althea Jansen, Ms. F.M. Moleveld, Ms. F.E. Rickets, P. Sheldon, J.M. Mouton and H. Mesias (committee members). The organisers of the eisteddfod believed that this would provide the community with an opportunity to showcase their many talents. Physical culture formed part of the first programme in June 1954.⁵⁰⁶

501 *Sun*, 5 May 1950, p.1.

502 *TEPA Educational News*, 4(5):16-17, June 1950.

503 *Sun*, 13 June 1952, p.1.

504 *Sun*, 27 June 1952, p.2.

505 *Sun*, 6 June 1952, p.5.

506 *Sun*, 11 June 1954, p.7.

The last account of a physical culture mass display was when one of the TEPA regions arranged an activity for the evening of 26 October 1957 at Hartleyvale, a venue used mainly by White sport bodies, under the convenorship of Ike Stober. The proceeds supplemented the TEPA Education Fund.⁵⁰⁷ In that year, the physical culture committee consisted of A.L. Felton (convenor), Mathilda Kronenberg, Bertha Klink, P. Balie, George Cloete, Ron Eland, P.G. Gordon, Dan Heuvel, Jan H. Rust,⁵⁰⁸ Isaac (Ike) Stober, J. Zerf and J.A.B. Ziervogel.⁵⁰⁹ These were all persons who found themselves outside the circle of Young Turks and were regarded by them as 'quislings'.

Many working class children experienced physical movement through these physical culture competitions and Physical Education programmes. Some physical educationists also emerged from actions taken by the TEPA.⁵¹⁰ These benefits under shadowed the personal ambitions of the TEPA leadership.⁵¹¹ The core of this leadership occupied the highest position that many teachers aspired to: school principal. They therefore resisted doing anything that could unsettle their privileged position in society. Many of the organisers of the physical culture competitions happened to be ordinary teachers who later became school principals. This meant the physical culture competitions and Physical Education programmes were always organised in such a way that it had the sanction of the education authorities and big businesses owned by White people. When the TEPA reported on its physical culture competitions in its official journal, it usually emphasised the utilitarian value of the subject, deliberately ignoring the political constraints under which the majority of teachers laboured in schools. The presentation of these competitions as politically neutral events must be ascribed to the presence of CPNU members, with their baggage of Coloured nationalism. This stance turned out to be in stark contrast to the method of political action of the post 1943 TLISA.

⁵⁰⁷ *TEPA Educational News*, 12(2):33, October 1957.

⁵⁰⁸ Rust was the TEPA president and a school principal (*Cape Herald*, 4 March 1967, p.3; *TEPA Educational News*, 18(4):139, May-June 1964; J. Rust, personal interview, 2005).

⁵⁰⁹ *TEPA Educational News*, 11(3):46, January-March 1957.

⁵¹⁰ The TEPA called on Coloured women to apply for the newly established Higher Primary Teachers Certificate course at Zonnebloem in 1948 (*TEPA*, 3(2):7, October 1948). One woman who responded to this call was Mathilda Kronenberg (M. Habelgaarn, personal interview, 2007).

⁵¹¹ R.O. Dudley, telephonic interview, 2007.

After the 1943 Kimberley conference, the new TLSA applied its boycott principle to Physical Education programmes that had the presence of liberal White politicians or government officials. The TLSA executive passed a resolution in April 1945 that it would not participate in the “Health, Anti-waste and Welfare Week”. This programme (interwoven with the war victory celebrations) had been organised by the National Anti- Waste Organisation, the publicity committee for the State Social Services and the Cape Town Council with a colour bar⁵¹² in the physical culture section.⁵¹³

The programme lasted for the week of 7 to 11 May. Three nights had Physical Education displays: Monday (a display by “non-Europeans” at the City Hall), Wednesday (a display by “Europeans” in the City Hall) and a 12-bout boxing contest by “non-Europeans” at the Green Point Track on the Friday night.⁵¹⁴ The *Cape Times* carried an article only on the White display.⁵¹⁵ Part of the programme included taking White children to see how Coloured people live in “slums”.⁵¹⁶ Coloured school principals set up a committee to ensure the “continuance of health and welfare propaganda among school children”.⁵¹⁷ Because most principals belonged to the TEPA, the “Young Turks” boycotted the Welfare Week. A weekly newspaper, carrying the headline, “The Health Week folly” stated their main objection as follows: “What has displays of physical exercises, dancing, boxing, visits of school children to hospitals and clinics to do with the health of the Coloured people, or of the whole community? Let the government set up compulsory education in which the maintenance of health is taught.”⁵¹⁸ As a result, only one school participated in the physical culture display.⁵¹⁹

512 The term “colour bar” is considered by some academics as a social phenomenon that manifests itself on a worldwide scale. The historical and social forces involved here have their roots in world history. According to Edgar Maurice, no attempt at exhaustiveness or completeness on this topic can be claimed and in any facets of the colour bar, such as class, ethnicity, religion and culture, can be merely coalesced to present a unified whole (E.L. Maurice, *The colour bar in education. A.J. Abrahamse memorial lecture*, 1957, p.7). Therefore, any discussion on colour bar is limited by locality and time. The existence and reference of a colour bar had been recorded in distant parts of the earth, such as Bermuda, where English people held prejudicial views against Coloured people (*Cape Standard*, 13 January 1942, p.11).

513 *Cape Standard*, 1 May 1945, p.10.

514 *Cape Times*, 8 May 1945, p.1.

515 *Cape Times*, 10 May 1945, p.5.

516 *Cape Argus*, 11 May 1945, p.5.

517 *Cape Argus*, 11 May 1945, p.5.

518 *Cape Standard*, 15 May 1945, p.1.

519 *Cape Standard*, 22 May 1945, p.2.

During and after World War II the TLSEA organs and individuals, sympathetic to its new radical tactics of political struggle, mounted an increased amount of criticism against Physical Education programmes sponsored by the state. In 1944 a TLSEA member, Enid Williams, commented harshly in the *Cape Standard* on the Cape Education Department's aim of "developing healthy bodies, clean habits and a healthy outlook on life". Her communiqué is an indication of how the "Young Turks" used the skill of rhetoric in the field of Physical Education:

The teacher who saw before him in the bodies of his pupils the effects of poverty, malnutrition and disease is called upon to put them through half an hour of physical jerks or deliver a lecture on hygiene to those whose homes in many cases are empty of the most elementary conditions for physical and moral health. Or the problem is to be solved by off-loading temporary surpluses of food – including oranges, the size of buttons. No, to dole out doubtful alms to school children is to tinker with a vast problem stretching far beyond the school into the economic conditions of the parents. Give them a living wage and then the Physical Education of their children will begin to have some meaning.⁵²⁰

This rhetoric is in line with the development of the subject in other parts of the world at that time. Williams echoed the ideas of L.J. Edwards, the secretary for adult education at Liverpool University, who addressed a conference of the Workers Educational Association in Sheffield in 1936. Edwards stated that Physical Education might be desirable, but is no substitute for proper food. The government should rather focus on developing a public policy that makes good the deficiencies in children's food.⁵²¹ The Medical Officer of Health for Cape Town in 1934, Dr. Shadick Higgins, expressed a similar thought and stated that the Great Economic Depression of 1932 to 1933 resulted in the physical deterioration of especially the Coloured community by causing an increase in tuberculosis and birth and death rates.⁵²²

⁵²⁰ *Cape Standard*, 24 October 1944, p.10.

⁵²¹ *Sun*, 11 December 1936, p.11.

⁵²² *Sun*, 16 November 1934, p.5.

After World War II, the TLSA continued applying its non-collaboration policy to physical culture programmes with links to the government and to organisations seen to be state collaborators. In part, the reason for this was that most White physical educationists expressed the necessity of “physical education being in service of the state” during the apartheid years.⁵²³ The TLSA therefore boycotted the 1966 Republic Day Festival, organised by an all-White committee with Afrikaner Broederbond members,⁵²⁴ even though Coloured children from schools on the Cape Flats participated. The TLSA, justified the boycott, because of the banning of most Black political organisations, yet the Republic Day Festival organisers arrogantly included an item symbolising unity among South Africa’s people.⁵²⁵ The purified TLSA did not however completely reject the idea of mass Physical Education displays. In fact, the visit of the 1947 Swiss gymnastic team served as an inspiration for the “Young Turks”, who “were inspired by seeing the collective physical activity of young men”.⁵²⁶

The purified TLSA concentrated its efforts on resisting the CAC and later the CAD. Because of this, its members faced the chance of dismissal and those in Cape Town lived in fear of being transferred to an isolated town in the interior.⁵²⁷ This meant the organisation paid little attention to the organisation of mass physical culture displays and competitions, as did the TEPA. Newspaper reports indicate that the last TLSA physical culture competition took place at the Rosebank Show grounds on 19 April 1947, where about 1 000 competitors from 24 schools participated.⁵²⁸

The policy of non-collaboration meant that TLSA members did not manipulate opportunities in Physical Education to create social spaces for themselves, and as a result suppressed their personal ambitions. They shunned any association with individuals and organisations deemed to be part of the racist machinery of the state. The advantage of this policy was the awakening of people, through articles by

523 C. Smit, Die liggaamlike opvoeder se probleem in Suid-Afrika, *Vigor*, 2(1):24, December 1948.

524 H. Ahrens & B. Keet, The Republic Day Festival 1966, *Vigor*, 19(3):38, June 1966; The Afrikaner Broederbond members were A.J. Koen, M.C. Erasmus, J.H. Coetzee, E.M. Hamman, J.C. Cloete and J.H. Olivier (H. Strydom & I. Wilkins, *The super Afrikaners*, 1978, pp.A58, A38, A18, A47, A81).

525 B.J. Keet, Die Republiekfees, 1966, *Vigor*, 19(2):8, Maart 1966.

526 R.O. Dudley, telephonic interview, 2007.

527 R.O. Dudley, telephonic interview, 2007.

528 *Cape Standard*, 22 April 1947, p.1.

individuals such as Enid Williams, about the futility of meaningless physical exercises. The TLSA over-emphasised the political constraints under which most Physical Education teacher's laboured in schools. The drawback of this policy was the minimal interaction with other racial communities. Racial interaction occurred mainly in the club movement, in physical culture and Physical Education programmes outside the school context.

CHAPTER 5: PHYSICAL EDUCATION, PHYSICAL CULTURE AND THE BROADER COMMUNITY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a historical account of Physical Education and physical culture in the broader Coloured community of the Western Cape. In the interest of brevity, the following relevant researched categories are explored: government sponsored programmes, militarism, adventure activities and physical culture clubs. There are however overlaps between these categories.

The government sponsored programmes that are researched in this study are the Klaasjagersberg Scheme and the Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs. Historical events leading to their establishment, with the support of moderate Coloured groupings and the response by the radical left political movement, are also presented. Then also, categories of militarism and adventure activities are presented as case studies by means of the Church Lads' Brigade, Scouting and Outward Bound Movements. Lastly, the researcher undertook a historical examination of the development of physical culture clubs. This gives a broad overview of Physical Education and physical culture activity in the broader Coloured community of the Western Cape.

5.2 PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND PHYSICAL CULTURE GOVERNMENT PROGRAMMES

In the 1940's the government sponsored holiday camps for Coloured children in the Western Cape along the same lines as camps for White children.¹ For a while after

1 In 1940, the Coloured Children's Holiday Camp arranged camps at the seaside, and George Golding acted as a fundraiser (*Cape Standard*, 10 December 1940, p.1). By 1944 this venture grew into the Coloured Children's Holiday Camp Association under the direction of a committee. Between December 1944 and January 1945, four camps were held and 798 children from 36 schools and institutions benefited from this. Visitors included Scout parties, boys from the Marion Institute and the Hewat Practising School (*Cape Standard*, 7 June 1946, p.4).

1948, liberal National Party members carried on with this project.² The NEUM regarded the presence of Dr. I.D. du Plessis,³ an acclaimed White public personality, as part of a plan to map out an inferior place in society for Coloured people. The NEUM also construed Du Plessis's views as racist. In 1952, for example, he inferred that Coloured people earn too much and subsequently turn to drink.⁴ The holiday camps gave rise to the National Association of Vocational Courses, a body created by the Cape Education Department to organise game leader courses. Their activities extended into games and even orchestra competitions in the Coloured community.⁵ In 1955, the CAD budgeted £10 000 for sport and recreation and continued with the work of the National Association of Vocational Courses. By then the curriculum included physical exercises, folk games, gymnastics, lectures and educational film on sport and physical training.⁶ The NEUM and its affiliates criticised these and other initiatives. Besides the general rejection of the CAD, their reason could be ascribed to the fact that this department assisted in the race classification of the Cape Coloured, Cape Malays and Griqua people. It also set itself the task of implementing the government policy of placing Coloured and African communities in separate residential areas,⁷ in a manner that reinforced the middle-order status of the first group in society.

The NEUM's objections against government sponsored community programmes centred around the political conditions in South Africa. They maintained that these programmes were organised by White officials with racist attitudes towards other people. By considering the account given by a liberal White official, Bob Watson, who attended one of the CAD camps, there is strong justification for the view that the organising officials were racist:

They (the National Party) saw the role of the CAD as building up the organisation, the administration of a semi-independent federated Coloured state. Their boys'

2 R. Archer & A. Bouillon, *The South African game*, 1982, p.124.

3 *Sun*, 22 March 1951, p.1. subsequently turn to drink.

4 *Sun*, 14 November 1952, p.1.

5 Coloured Affairs Department, *Report of the Department of Coloured Affairs*, 1960, p.3.

6 *Sun*, 7 January 1955, p.4.

7 Coloured Affairs Department, *Report of the Department of Coloured Affairs*, 1960, pp.4-5.

camps were very successful. They took old army and navy camps and got international sportsmen to come up for two weeks in the summer and sometimes for a weekend. They would have anything from 200 to 500 kids, Cape Coloured, who was coached in their particular sport, athletics, rugby, football ... I remember that Danie Craven was invited to coach rugby on one of them ... and he was billeted in the same room as me. When he got there, he unpacked his bags and took a revolver out of his briefcase and stuck it underneath his pillow and said, 'You can't trust these people you know, you don't know what is going to happen at night.' He believed it and believed it each time he came back ... to about three camps. When I was in University, I was an Afrikaner Nationalist myself, a member of the National [ist] Youth Party. It took about five years for the bureaucrats to decide that liberalism was not what was intended, and they put in some Pretoria government officials.⁸

The CAD planned a Physical Education project for Coloured people along these lines, known as the Klaasjagersberg Scheme, near Simon's Town.

5.2.1 KLAASJAGERSBERG SCHEME

The CAD planned the first formal Physical Education venture of the Klaasjagersberg Scheme in Simon's Town for December 1952 or January 1953.⁹ The organisers made provision for about 100 males and 50 females¹⁰ to engage in Physical Education and other activities for 10 days.¹¹ The curriculum was not original and the activities were based on those offered to young White adults at Hartebeestpoort near Brits in the then Transvaal.¹²

8 R. Archer & A. Bouillon, *The South African game*, 1982, p.43.

9 *Sun*, 15 August 1952, p.2.

10 *Sun*, 21 November 1952, p.8.

11 F. O'Neill, personal interview, 2007.

12 This camp started in Pretoria from 4 to 14 July 1950 by the Division for Adult Education of the Department of Education, Arts and Science and the Division for Soil Conservation of the Department of Agriculture in co-operation with the Departments of Social Welfare and Health. The Afrikaner ideological bias of this scheme is visible in the official name, "Volkskamp vir landsdiens" (People's camp for service to the country) (Anon., *Volkskamp vir landsdiens. Vigor*, 3(2):27, Maart 1950).

The Klaasjagersberg Scheme planned games for family groups, trained play leaders in rugby, cricket and gymnastics and offered leadership skills for boys' and girls' brigades.¹³

Many leading Physical Education and sport personalities presented these activities.¹⁴ The anti-CAD Movement applied its non-collaboration policy to this initiative and adopted a resolution to boycott the scheme.¹⁵ Some Physical Education teachers and other individuals outside this movement ignored the resolution and involved themselves with the scheme.

The Klaasjagersberg site was the temporary camp for the junior Cape Corps¹⁶ in 1946. The then minister of social welfare and demobilisation, Harry G. Lawrence, considered this military social experiment such a success that retention of the unit was justified. It was decided that it had to be maintained on a permanent basis under the Department of Social Welfare, but the training had to be conducted by the Department of Defence.¹⁷ Later, the National Association of Vocational Courses organised camps and vacation courses for teachers and youths at Klaasjagersberg.¹⁸ Du Plessis stated that the CAD intended to establish permanent centres with amenities such as playing fields, swimming pools, gymnasiums, a community hall and living quarters. Furthermore, the CAD claimed that it did not intend to replace existing organisations, but to create a medium through which Coloured people could arrange their own course.¹⁹ As a result the CAD drew up a constitution and appointed a secretariat.²⁰

¹³ *Sun*, 15 August 1952, p.2.

¹⁴ In 1953 the following White officials agreed to present lectures and instructions: Danie Craven, Chum Ochse, Hennie Muller, George van Reenen and Stephen Fry (Springbok rugby players and administrators); Dick Kemp (Springbok soccer player); Captain George Barber (international fencer and physical educationist); Ms. H. Nienaber (Springbok sportswoman), Jan Botha, Isabelle Nel and Gertrude Oertli (physical educationists) (F. O'Neill, private collection, b and c).

¹⁵ University of Cape Town, UMSA/TABATA Collection, Minutes of the 5th conference of the National Anti- CAD Movement, BC 925.E., 1954, p.31.

¹⁶ A military unit in the South African armed forces set aside for Coloured people.

¹⁷ *Cape Standard*, 20 September 1946, p.5.

¹⁸ The first vacation course took place on an informal basis in 1950 (*Sun*, 8 January 1954, p.4).

¹⁹ *Sun*, 15 August 1952, p.2. Throughout its existence, the Klaasjagersberg Scheme remained under the control of the CAD. A Coloured principal and an assistant principal supervised the local administration (Coloured Affairs Department, *Report of the Department of Coloured Affairs*, 1960, p.3; *Sun*, 10 February 1956, p.1).

²⁰ *Sun*, 21 November 1952, p.8.

All bona fide Coloured organisations could access the scheme, meaning those recognised by the state and not considered a threat to its racial policies. The CAD offered attractive allurements for poor Coloured youths. Involvement took place on a voluntary basis and the attendees received free food and accommodation.²¹ In addition, each youth received a small sum of pocket money. Besides Physical Education activities and sport lectures, participants had access to educational films and a small library. The CAD claimed that the purpose of this scheme aimed at general preparation for the future, emphasising Physical Education, discipline,²² character-building and hygiene.²³ Some of the youths who attended the course were oblivious of the political implications of the scheme and viewed it in a romantic sense as “something paradisiac and mythical”.²⁴

Attendants had to abide by three rules: no discussion of politics, no pairing off of couples and no liquor consumption.²⁵ The political and financial foundation of the Klaasjagersberg Scheme proved unacceptable to the NEUM and the anti-CAD Movement. The major political objection of the anti-CAD Movement centred on the fact it was part of the government’s policy of racial separation. Close to this camp a similar venture, *Berg-en-seekamp* (Mountain and Sea Camp), took place. The Cape Education Department, Rotary Club and the South African Sport Federation sponsored 45 White boys from nine Cape Town schools to partake in the camp. Even though the Wesley Teachers Training School Physical Education specialist lecturer, Cornelius Victor, presented gymnastic activities at the camp,²⁶ the organisers did not allow Coloured people to attend. The anti-CAD Movement’s objection against the racist nature of the Klaasjagersberg course persisted despite there being one African girl, Kathleen Enoch, at one of the camps.²⁷ This must be understood in terms of the anti-CAD Movement’s method of conducting their political struggle in a national and international perspective.²⁸ Therefore, the real issue for the

21 *Sun*, 19 December 1952, p.1.

22 One of the instructors, Isabelle Nel, emphasised this aspect in an interview (I. Nel, telephonic interview, 2008).

23 Coloured Affairs Department, *Report of the Department of Coloured Affairs*, 1960, p.3.

24 C. Thomas, personal email correspondence, 2008.

25 F. O’Neill, personal interview, 2008.

26 B.J. Keet & C.A. Victor, *Berg-en-seekamp. Vigor*, 14(1):39, 1960.

27 F. O’Neill, personal interview, 2008.

28 *Sun*, 27 June 1957, p.5.

anti-CAD movement did not centre around the involvement of one African girl in the scheme, but the destruction of the entire apartheid system, based on international capitalism where race plays no part.²⁹

Criticism (sometimes based on incorrect information) from the NEUM abounded against the Klaasjagersberg Scheme. One of the founder members of the NEUM, Richard Dudley states that the scheme did not challenge the state policy on race and relied on the military for support.³⁰ Because the South African military functioned as an important institution in maintaining law and order, the NEUM had an aversion to anything related to it. *The Torch*,³¹ mouthpiece of the NEUM, reported that army lorries picked up the teenagers in the townships³² and provided transport to the camp. The participants were housed in army barracks³³ and at least one gymnastic instructor, Jock Taylor, was a British naval officer.³⁴

Another criticism targeted that the sources of funding were the Malay Choir Board³⁵ and the CAD. One person associated with the Malay Choir Bands, a Muslim man, Ebrahim Schroeder,³⁶ worked at the CAD and acted as supervisor on the Klaasjagersberg Scheme, where he checked the dietary requirements for Muslims.³⁷ Schroeder had the reputation of being a lackey of I.D. du Plessis and White people in general. Besides his reputation, this board (established in 1939) had the derogatory Afrikaans name *Kaapse Slaamse Koore Raad* and its constitution stated that “European” judges³⁸ would be responsible for judging of its competitions.^{39 40}

29 M. Adhikari, Hope, fear, shame, frustration, 2002, p.191; R.O. Dudley, telephonic interview, 2008.

30 R.O. Dudley, telephonic interview, 2008.

31 For an analytical-historical account of *The Torch*, see M. Adhikari, *Not White enough, Not Black enough*, 2005, pp.104-115.

32 This is not completely true. The trainees boarded a train to Simon's Town Station, from where they could be transported in army trucks to the Klaasjagersberg site (G. Heeger, telephonic interview, 2008; F. O'Neill, private collection a).

33 *The Torch*, 11(43):8, 8 January 1957.

34 F. O'Neill, personal interview, 2008.

35 See R.E. van der Ross, *Up from slavery*, 2005, pp.117-130 for a historical account of this genre and other music forms practised by Coloured people for the period under review. Du Plessis and the Springbok rugby player Bennie Osler took responsibility for placing the Malay choir bands on an organised footing in the 1930s. Because of Du Plessis's involvement with the choirs, the anti-CAD Movement distanced themselves from them.

36 Schroeder featured prominently in rugby circles. He played provincial rugby and also represented the 1955 Western Province Rugby Football Union (Coloured) team that won the Rhodes Cup, as well as the manager of the South African Rugby Football Board (Coloured) team in 1959 (A. Booley, *Forgotten heroes*, 1998, pp.19, 50). Later he became a stalwart of the Kalk Bay Marines Rugby Club (F. O'Neill, personal interview, 2008).

37 F. O'Neill, personal interview, 2008.

38 The Muslim community is largely made up of Coloured people.

39 Anon., Cape Malay Choir Board / Kaapse Slaamse Koore Raad, *Rules and regulations*, 1939, p.2.

The anti-CAD Movement branded the individuals who involved themselves in the scheme as “quislings”. When it became known that Norman Stoffberg, a self-confessed TLSA member, was an instructor at the Klaasjagersberg Scheme, the relationship between him and certain Teachers League officials became strained.⁴¹ Gasant (Tiny) Abed, a sport personality in the Coloured community, also involved himself with the scheme.⁴² The NEUM criticised these individuals and claimed that “the CAD was looking for collaborators trying to make the apartheid system work”.⁴³

The state exploited these individuals to the full and the daily newspaper *Die Burger*, the mouthpiece of the ruling National Party, published an article about the Klaasjagersberg Scheme with unclear photographs, making it impossible to identify the facial images. *The Torch* claimed that this blurring was not accidental and that the government knew about the opposition to the Klaasjagersberg Scheme.⁴⁴ Most of the instructors involved with the scheme misunderstood the reasons for the anti-CAD Movement’s opposition and made uninformed judgement calls of the situation.⁴⁵ The Klaasjagersberg instructors and organisers persisted in viewing the movement’s opposition against the Klaasjagersberg Scheme as an isolated event and not part of “a national struggle against the apartheid system that attempted the Colouredisation of education”.⁴⁶

The anti-CAD Movement’s opposition to the Klaasjagersberg Scheme demonstrated its political methods to the degree that “the attendee quislings became socially isolated in the community”.⁴⁷ Although the CAD sent invitations to schools, very few

40 The TLS A often used the term “quisling” when describing TEPA members. It refers to a person who deserts the cause. The origin of the term is associated with being a “traitor”. In time it became part of the anti-CAD Movement and Teachers League of South Africa rhetoric (*Sun*, 23 September 1949, p.6).

41 R.O. Dudley, telephonic interview, 2005.

42 *The Torch*, 12(44):8, 14 January 1958. Tiny Abed captained a provincial cricket team and played in the South African Coloured Cricket Association team that toured Kenya in 1958 (M. Allie, *More than a game*, 2000, pp.18, 29, 48, 105). Bertha Klink (née Kronenberg) and Mathilda Habelgaarn (née Kronenberg) also involved themselves with this scheme.

43 A.T. Slingers, telephonic interview, 2008.

44 *The Torch*, 12(45):6, 21 January 1958.

45 Dr. Danie Craven informed White instructors about opposition from what he believed to be “Communists who were opposed to White persons being present on the scheme” (Isabelle Nel, telephonic interview, 2008). Some of the anti-CAD Movement’s supporters were fiercely anti-Communist.

46 R.O. Dudley, telephonic interview, 2008.

47 R.O. Dudley, telephonic interview, 2008. Dudley claims that Stoffberg later left South Africa because of the pressure of the anti-CAD Movement.

responded favourably.⁴⁸ Consequently, one of these courses ended up being attended almost entirely by people from the Kalk Bay fishing village on the False Bay coast. They all happened to be recruited by Tommie Carse, a liberal Afrikaner in the employ of the CAD.⁴⁹

The Klaasjagersberg Scheme satisfied the natural human desire for creating social spaces and personal enrichment. The Coloured teacher participants benefitted by the enriching experience of acquiring new Physical Education teaching skills. By acquiring these skills, coupled with being viewed favourably by the education authorities, these teachers found themselves in good positions for securing promotion posts and manipulated opportunities for themselves by becoming prominent individuals in the racist CAD education department in the field of Physical Education.⁵⁰ The anti-CAD Movement staged political demonstrations outside the gates of the Klaasjagersberg camp. This did not make an impression on the authorities and the scheme continued for a few more years. The anti- CAD Movement ignored the political actions against the apartheid policy of certain officials involved with the Klaas jagersberg Scheme.⁵¹ The scheme, as did the organisation known as the Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs, operated within the organs of state, which had as its objective maintaining White supremacy. It did not move the state towards creating meaningful social and political spaces for Coloured people in general.⁵²

5.2.2 WESTERN PROVINCE ASSOCIATION OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION CLUBS

From 1943 onwards, the Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs served the urban areas of Cape Town by producing club leaders, coaches and sport administrators involved in different aspects of indoor Physical Education. It also

48 R.O. Dudley, telephonic interview, 2008.

49 G. Heeger, telephonic interview, 2008; F. O'Neill, personal interview, 2008.

50 Mathilda Habelgaarn (née Kronenberg) stated that she learned more on this camp than her one-year specialist training course. She also mentioned how she was publicly and privately ostracised by colleagues and family members (M. Habelgaarn, personal interview, 2007).

51 Carse's most noteworthy political action is his campaign against the forced removal of Coloured people from Kalk Bay. (F. O'Neill, personal interview, 2008).

52 In November 1960, shortly after the last Klaasjagersberg camp, Dr. H.F. Verwoerd rejected direct representation for Coloured people in parliament (H. Giliomee, *Nog altyd hier gewees*, 2007, p.186).

organised and conducted numerous championships, competitions, gymnastic courses and fencing for both genders.⁵³

These activities fell under an association that was established as a result of political and social developments in South Africa, particularly the Western Cape.

After World War I, urban social unrest, that included Black resistance to White racism,⁵⁴ increased rapidly. Leisure activities of all kinds seemed to offer an admirable way of defusing and channelling the political pressure that made itself felt.⁵⁵ This had a paternalistic thinking foundation in the White community that they “could offer much to the non-White community by assisting their young men and women to achieve the ideal position of a sound mind in a healthy body”.⁵⁶ The Coloured political fraternity promoted themes such as “self-advancement” and “respectability”.⁵⁷ This allowed the idea of Physical Education clubs as a means of promoting social stability to take root in the Western Cape. Membership and rank within these clubs became a sign of social success.⁵⁸

Prior to the establishment of the Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs there existed the Western Province Association of Boys’ Clubs. This came about when, early in 1931, a Cape Town based newspaper printed a letter that directed attention to the possibility of establishing a chain of clubs for Coloured boys in Cape Town. A multi-racial group of petty bourgeoisie met, formed a committee and introduced the Boys Club Movement into the Coloured community. The committee opened and managed one club for about six months. An appeal to the community and state organs for financial help coincided with the beginning of the worldwide economic depression, and little assistance could be obtained. Due to the support of sympathetic White people, some lesser known and other public figures: R.R. Brydon, the Earl and Countess of Clarendon and Mrs. Birch Reynardson, some

53 D. Sylvester, W.P. Association of Physical Education Clubs, letter dated 28 August 1980; D. Sylvester, W.P. Association of Physical Education Clubs, letter dated 30 August 1982 [private collection].

54 S.B. Spies, Unie en onenigheid. In T. Cameron (Red.), *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, 1991, pp.243-247.

55 R. Archer & A. Bouillon, *The South African game*, 1982, p.119.

56 *Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs*, commemorative brochure, 1965, p.3.

57 H. Gillomee, *Nog altyd hier gewees*, 2007, p.70.

58 R. Archer & A. Bouillon, *The South African game*, 1982, p.119.

support was however obtained.⁵⁹ In 1938, boys' clubs for Coloured youths progressed steadily in the Cape Peninsula and the *Sun* called for a central assisting body to be established.⁶⁰

According to the *Sun*, 10 Physical Education and Culture Clubs operated in Cape Town by 1940.⁶¹ Most of them offered instruction free of charge to all children, without any colour bar.⁶² These clubs did not escape the political agendas of the state. In the same year, at the quarterly conference of the Western Province Association of Boys' Clubs, the state secretary for the national Department of Social Welfare, Georg Adolf Carl Kuschke, stressed the importance and value of youth clubs as a means whereby juvenile delinquency could be decreased.⁶³ Kuschke happened to be an Afrikaner Broederbond member and worked for a department that was the brainchild of Hendrik Verwoerd.⁶⁴ Given the racial bias of the Afrikaner Broederbond and Verwoerd, Kuschke's department did not actively promote his suggestion in the Coloured community. Consequently, a provisional committee consisting of liberal White people with a history of involvement in welfare work met to deliberate the possibility of extending Physical Education to the Coloured community. These included Sidney Lavis,⁶⁵ Ms. Mitchell (secretary), Ms. Felling, Ms. J. Seth Smith, Mrs. Stevens, Prof. Edward Batson,⁶⁶ Ms. Mary Atlee⁶⁷ and Mrs. Lou Hofmeyer.⁶⁸

Also in 1940, the Western Province Association of Boys' Clubs discussed the possibility of establishing a similar association for girls. The aim would be to "pool knowledge, give assistance to existing clubs, cater for unprovided areas and arrange

59 *Sun*, 9 September 1932, p.6.

60 *Sun*, 15 December 1938, p.2.

61 *Sun*, 5 March 1940, p.5.

62 *Cape Standard*, 1 February 1944, p.10.

63 *Cafda*, annual report 1945, p.3; *Cape Standard*, 14 May 1940, p.7.

64 V. Bickford-Smith *et al.*, *Cape Town in the twentieth century*, 1999, p.103.

65 He was made bishop in 1953 and a Cape Town suburb has been named after him (V. Bickford-Smith *et al.*, *Cape Town in the twentieth century*, 1999, p.146).

66 A University of Cape Town social scientist, elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of South Africa (V. Bickford-Smith *et al.*, *Cape Town in the twentieth century*, 1999, p.103).

67 The sister of the then British Prime Minister, Clement Atlee.

68 *Cape Standard*, 24 December 1940, p.7.

training facilities for workers”.⁶⁹ Due to the war effort, not much attention could be given to this proposal. The committee and many Coloured people shared the general feeling in South Africa that the Allied forces were going to be victorious in World War II.⁷⁰ According to William Wood, a club leader, this could be ascribed to the government’s obsession with preparing youths for the post-war period of peace.⁷¹ This call emerged in 1940 when a speaker at the Delvillewood Day service urged that “victories of peace must be even more glorious than victories of war”.⁷²

On 22 August 1943, a group of White people (culturists, business people, social welfare people and military officials) who interested themselves in Physical Education met in the vacated General Post Office building in Adderley Street, Cape Town. Among those present were Captain Ronald Miller from the army who presided over the first meeting of the Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs, Helen Southern-Holt from the Eoan Group, W. Law from the Playing Fields Association, J. Haddow, chairman and later secretary of the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA), Arnold Schrecker and Charles Baxall as the first secretary.⁷³ The founding constitution stated that the association had to further the concept of Physical Education, persuade various clubs to affiliate, arrange annual championships, club competitions and displays together with individual clubs, improve the instruction and administration of clubs and the association by seeking outside help and conduct annual club leader courses.

In 1944 the *Cape Standard* published an open invitation to all existing physical culture clubs operating in the Coloured community of Cape Town to attend a meeting on 6 April at the YMCA building in Long Street.⁷⁴ At this meeting, the Union Department of Physical Education gave the approval for the training of Physical Education leaders of boys’ clubs, provided it remained separate for different race groups. Starting with three clubs in 1944, the Cape Town Lads’ Hostel for White

69 *Cape Standard*, 24 December 1940, p.7.

70 W. Wood, personal interview, 2008.

71 W. Wood, personal interview, 2008.

72 V. Bickford-Smith *et al.*, *Cape Town in the twentieth century*, 1999, p.99.

73 *Cape Standard*, 18 April 1944, p.5; Charles Baxall was a businessman who owned a harnessing and luggage company in Castle Street, Cape Town. He was also in charge of a civilian junior military unit during the World War II. William Wood was one of the boys in the unit (W. Wood, personal interview, 2008).

74 *Cape Standard*, 28 March 1944, p.4.

boys in Kloof Street,⁷⁵ the South African College Boys' Union and the St. Paul's Boys' Club at Rondebosch, the association grew to 28 affiliated clubs in 1965 and could exert some influence, subject to government approval, in crossing race barriers in physical education.⁷⁶ Initially it served both White and Coloured sections of the population under the guidance of the National Advisory Council for Physical Education. The first class took place on 21 April 1944 under the leadership of J.J. Schoombie.⁷⁷ Throughout the period under review; a good relationship prevailed between the association and the Wesley Teachers Training School. Therefore the Wesley's principal, William Cragg and his successor, Tom Hamner, always attended the association's year-end Physical Education display function.⁷⁸

The association grew to the extent that it could participate in a physical training display, in conjunction with other organisations, in the National Health and Welfare Week demonstrations at the City Hall on VE (Victory in Europe) Day on 8 May 1945.⁷⁹ The association partnered with the Wesley Higher Primary (Physical Education) students and other organisations for a choreographed stage display of free-standing military style exercises, performed under Schoombie's direction.⁸⁰ The official involvement of the association in the celebrations is in stark contrast to the ideas of left-wing political movements of the day. While the crowd waited on the Grand Parade in Cape Town, Zainunnisa (Cissie) Gool addressed them: "The victory of the United Nations is no victory for us. Our war has begun on the segregationists, war on the promoters of racism and injustice through colour bars and racial barriers".⁸¹ The Association never reconciled itself with such radical thought and focused on the business of physical education development.

In its initial years, the association went along with the increasing government demand for racial separation. This demand stemmed out of the situation in South

75 W. Wood, personal interview, 2008.

76 *Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs*, commemorative brochure, 1965, p.9.

77 *Cape Standard*, 25 April, 1944, p.11; 16 May 1944, p.6.

78 F. O'Neill, personal interview, 2008.

79 V. Bickford-Smith *et al.*, *Cape Town in the twentieth century*, 1999, p.99; *Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs*, commemorative brochure, 1965, p.7.

80 B. Wood, telephonic interview, 2008.

81 E. Everett, Zainunnissa (Cissie) Gool, 1978, p.72.

Africa during and after World War II. The South African government estimated that there were about 60 000 soldiers on active service in the armed forces in 1945, most of whom would be unemployed when they returned. The Cape Provincial Administration devised a scheme to facilitate their employment. White soldiers found satisfactory employment, but not so in the case of the “non-European” returnees. The Cape Provincial Administration appointed a directorate to work at “schemes for these people”.⁸² Nothing came of this and White males continued to dominate in government, commerce, industry and skilled trades.⁸³ The Association preferred assisting the people through empowering them with Physical Education skills rather than a direct attack on government policy.

This Association focused on organising and helping with the administrative and organisation difficulties at physical culture clubs. They steered clear of confrontation with the state⁸⁴ and worked within the parameters of the apartheid policy. Because of this, the National Advisory Council for Physical Education gave an annual grant towards the Association from 1954. From 1962, the Cape Town City Council gave an annual grant of R800.⁸⁵ These grants subsidised the training of club leaders. This also benefited the Wesley Teachers Training School in terms of covering expenses for maintaining the gymnasium in a responsible manner where the facilities were used by the association and allowing Wesley to use the apparatus.⁸⁶ The prime focus of the Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs centred on the training of male and female club leaders.

5.2.2.1 Training of club leaders

The association conducted annual club leader courses one night a week. Club leaders received a one-year preliminary introduction course and progressed to advanced courses. These leaders conducted voluntary classes at the Cape Town City Council’s community centres, for scouts and girl guides, brigades and any

82 *Cape Times*, 8 May 1945, p.8.

83 V. Bickford-Smith *et al.*, *Cape Town in the twentieth century*, 1999, p.119.

84 *Cape Standard*, 11 March 1947, p.8.

85 D. Sylvester, An abridged history of the Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs [private collection].

86 D. Sylvester, Wesley Training School, 1979 [private collection].

premises where indoor physical activities could be held. The club leader courses aimed to “encourage the youth to interest themselves in healthy physical activity which keeps them off the streets, especially during the early evenings and at night”.⁸⁷

The forerunner of these courses was the pilot courses that commenced for White men under the guidance of Arnold Schrecker at the Gordon’s Institute in Salt River, Cape Town, in 1944. J. Schoombie conducted the same course for Coloured men at Wesley. Although the courses operated on race- and gender-based distinctions, the different population groups followed the same curriculum that ranged from fundamental exercises in the preliminary section to more advanced work. The subjects included apparatus gymnastic work, boxing, eurhythmics (for women), fencing, folk dancing, judo, wrestling, club administration, first aid and other minor subjects aimed at assisting the club leader who worked with limited facilities. Several club leaders trained by the association whose names are listed in its anniversary souvenir, gained employment at the Cape Town City Council in different community centres.⁸⁸

On 23 May 1944, the association introduced a 20-week leader course for Coloured women at the Zonnebloem Teachers Training School.⁸⁹ Young women, who worked with clubs, received training to guide, hold the interest of and train girls in their centre – without financial charge.⁹⁰ Dr. A. Maisy Southern-Holt instructed the first class.⁹¹ This course included Physical Education, folk dancing, jingles, team games, elementary hygiene, physiology, pipe playing and making, community singing, club organisation, handwork, play reading and production, puppet making and many more.⁹²

Out of these courses, many men and women emerged who promoted the subject in different communities in the Western Cape. These included personalities like Winnie

87 D. Sylvester, *An abridged history of the Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs* [private collection].

88 *Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs*, commemorative brochure, 1965, pp.5-7, 9, 12-13.

89 *Cape Standard*, 23 May 1944, p.7; *Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs*, commemorative brochure, 1965, p.7; *Cape Standard*, 16 May 1944, p.6.

90 *Cape Standard*, 23 May 1944, p.7.

91 *Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs*, commemorative brochure, 1965, p.7.

92 *Cape Standard*, 25 April 1944, p.11.

Herbert, who became the supervisor of the Cape Town City Council's community centres in 1965. She had a record of long service at both the Eoan Group and the association since its inception. Another example is the previously mentioned William Wood, resident warden of the Stakesby-Lewis Hostels of the YMCA (Coloured), who attended the first club leader's course in 1944 and who still volunteered his services to the association in 1965.⁹³ Although the association directed its attention primarily towards the Coloured community, the African population also received attention.

Soon after World War II, the cultural organisation, the Eoan Group, under the leadership of Helen Southern-Holt (mother of Dr. A. Maisy Southern-Holt), reached out to the African people in the township Langa.⁹⁴ At the same time, the Cape Town City Council directed attention to crime in this township. These two factors resulted in the council setting aside a chauffeur-driven vehicle for one male and one female club leader to conduct Physical Education classes in Langa. Two club leaders volunteered for this project: Agnes Kronenberg from the Eoan Group, who ran a girl's club and William Wood who did the same for the boys. They conducted their classes in the community hall used for a marketplace during the day and a cultural centre at night.⁹⁵

In 1948, the Langa Boys' Club competed in the Association's competitions,⁹⁶ but not in the club leader courses. By the 1960's, a few African men attended the club leader courses at Wesley Teachers Training School in Salt River.⁹⁷ The Association considered the expensive travelling expense from Langa to Salt River and provided leader courses in the community centre in the African township. When the government declared a state of emergency in Langa in 1960 and the police cordoned off the township, the activities were interrupted.⁹⁸

93 *Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs*, commemorative brochure, 1965, p.7.

94 Langa (meaning "sun" and also a shortened form of "Langalibalele", the name of the Hlubi rebel who had been imprisoned in Cape Town in 1875 after rising against the then Natal government. Langa replaced Ndabeni township and officially opened in 1927 "in healthy... idyllic surroundings next to Cape Town's sewage works" (V. Bickford-Smith *et al.*, *Cape Town in the twentieth century*, 1999, p.87).

95 W. Wood, personal interview, 2008.

96 *Clarion*, 1 October 1948, p.3.

97 One of them was a young man with the surname of Mda (F. O'Neill, telephonic interview, 2008).

98 V. Bickford-Smith *et al.*, *Cape Town in the twentieth century*, 1999, p.179; F. O'Neill, telephonic interview, 2008.

By 1965, the then Bantu Administration took over supervision of the club leader courses.⁹⁹ On completion, the leaders assisted at the African community centres in the Cape Peninsula: Guguletu, Langa and Nyanga.¹⁰⁰ The club leader courses helped to create social spaces for a few African people. From the Langa community centre came Sidney Matshiqi, who later had employment at the Oppenheimer College of Social Services in Lusaka, Zambia.¹⁰¹

These courses also show how the practice of Physical Education in the Coloured community intersected with the African community in the Western Cape. They enhanced a limited sense of interracial contact between Coloured and African people because some African people had feelings of superiority over Coloured people. The former viewed Coloured people as “amalawu” (hybrids).¹⁰² In turn, according to a research project conducted under the guidance of Prof. S.P. Cilliers¹⁰³ from Stellenbosch University, the vast majority of Coloured people in the Western Cape did not favour associating with African people.¹⁰⁴

Cilliers’ study found that most White people in the Western Cape acted imperiously towards Coloured people.¹⁰⁵ Yet, some individuals in the White community viewed the Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs favourably¹⁰⁶ and filled pivotal roles in the activities of the Association. The name and forceful personality of a Physical Educationist, Jan Botha, the technical advisor to the National Advisory Council for Physical Education and later head of the Division of Adult Education in the national Department of Education, is mentioned in official documents.¹⁰⁷ Besides being an instructor on the Klaasjagersberg Scheme,¹⁰⁸ Botha

99 The official name was Bantu Administration and Development Department, established in 1958 under the premiership of H.F. Verwoerd. The first minister was M.C. de Wet Nel (P.W. Coetzer, *Die era van apartheid*. In T. Cameron, (Red.), *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, 1991, p.273). Nel and all subsequent ministers in this portfolio were members of the Afrikaner Broederbond (H. Strydom & I. Wilkins, *Super-Afrikaners*, 1979, p.199). The majority of African political movements rejected this department during the 1960s.

100 W. Wood, personal interview, 2008.

101 Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs, 1965, p. 7.

102 B.A. Pauw, *The second generation*, 1969, p.181.

103 S.P. Cilliers, *Wes-Kaapland, 'n sosio-ekonomiese studie*, 1964.

104 H. Giliomee, *Nog altyd hier gewees*, 2007, p.189.

105 H. Giliomee, *Nog altyd hier gewees*, 2007, p.189.

106 The principal of the Wesley Teachers Training School, Cragg (a White man), often expressed himself publicly in favour of the association (F. O'Neill, personal interview, 2008).

107 *Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs*, commemorative brochure, 1965, p.5.

108 F. O'Neill, personal interview, 2008.

had international experience in the subject.¹⁰⁹ After completing undergraduate studies at Stellenbosch University, he attended Physical Education courses in Nazi Germany, Denmark and America. Because of his involvement in the Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs, the National Advisory Council for Physical Education subsidised the club leader courses. During this time, another White woman, Helen Southern-Holt, represented the “non-White” section on the National Advisory Council for Physical Education.¹¹⁰

A British born man, George Barber, also contributed greatly to the work of the Association. His Physical Education background can be traced to the Army Physical Training Corps stationed at Aldershot, Hants, England. In 1937 he, together with Major F.S. Barlow, came to South Africa on loan to the Union Defence Force for the purpose of development of physical training. The Defence Force stationed him at the South African Military College, Roberts Heights, from January 1938 till 1945.¹¹¹ He brought with him specialised knowledge of archery, athletics, fencing, swimming, gymnastics, tennis, badminton, cricket, hockey and boxing. During that time, he served on the National Association Council of Physical Education’s special committee to compile the 1943 Physical Education syllabus. He acted as Department Head of Physical Education at the Cape Technical College from January 1946 until the end of December 1965. In 1966, he assumed the post of sport secretary at the University of Cape Town. Two years later he received a gold medal for meritorious service to fencing in South Africa. The South African Association for Physical Education and Recreation honoured him at the Biennial Congress in Bloemfontein in September/October 1965 with a citation for 25 years’ service to fencing in South Africa.¹¹² Throughout all these achievements, he remained associated with the marginalised Coloured community by rendering service to the Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs.

109 H.M. Morrison, Societies and institutes for physical education. *Physical Education*, 2(2):43, June 1941.

110 *Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs*, commemorative brochure, 1965, pp.5, 11.

111 F.F.S. Barlow, Physical training at Voortrekkerhoogte. *Physical Education*, 1(3):14, September 1939.

112 E. Clarke, A tribute to Captain George Barber, *Vigor*, 19(1):9, 1965.

When Jan Botha proposed a racial split in the association¹¹³ in 1949, the “non-White” section retained the original name, but the White section grouped themselves in the Western Province Gymnastic Association, later renamed the Western Province Amateur Gymnastic Association. Both associations elected Barber chairman, but he later relinquished the office of chairman of the Gymnastic Association, retaining the chair of the association with A.J.A. Wilson as secretary of both associations.¹¹⁴ It was largely due to the efforts of the Association, under Barber’s leadership, that gymnastics was placed on an organised footing as a club sport in the Coloured community.

The left-wing political movement, the principal agent being the NEUM, distanced themselves from the association because of the view that government sponsored programmes made the machinery of racial oppression work.¹¹⁵ A few Coloured people however used the Association to create social spaces for themselves by obtaining promotion posts and employment with the Cape Town City Council.

5.3 MILITARISM AND ADVENTURE-BASED PROGRAMMES

The relevance of militarism as an area of research in South African Physical Education history is not only determined by the events during a war. As Obholzer put it, the subject is also determined “by the internal relations, especially in cases of different races living together, who cannot and do not want to assimilate”.¹¹⁶ Throughout the period under review, the issue of race remained a major area of concern in South African society. This influenced the quasi-military organisations that promoted Physical Education and physical culture in the Coloured community. These include the Brigade Movement, the Pathfinders (later incorporated in the Scout Movement) and the Outward Bound Movement.

5.3.1 BRIGADE MOVEMENT

113 D. Sylvester, Autobiography of George Barber, 10 November 1982, p.4 [private collection].

114 *Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs*, commemorative brochure, 1965, pp.11-12.

115 Members of the association assert that the principal of Wesley Teachers Training School was pressurised by NEUM officials to vacate the gymnasium.

116 A. Obholzer, A national system for South Africa. *Physical Education*, 1(1):13, April 1939.

In the closing years of the 19th century, the Brigade Movement spread to other parts of the British Empire, including South Africa and found its way to South Africa on 1 February 1889 at Pietermaritzburg. Brigade activities, that included physical education and sport, spread beyond Pietermaritzburg and in 1958 a Boys Brigade football club played in the Transvaal Independent Football Association.¹¹⁷ In August 1890 the first Cape Town Boys Brigade Company (commonly known as the Black Watch)¹¹⁸ was formed and by 1895 there was a battalion with 14 companies, at least 500 boys and more than 40 officers.¹¹⁹ The battalion arranged events such as drill competitions and exhibition parades.¹²⁰

The early Brigade Movement admitted boys from all races.¹²¹ Just over 50 Brigade companies established themselves in the two British colonies and two Boer Republics of South Africa between 1889 and 1899 and the membership embraced all population groups. The consistent strength of the movement was found in the Cape Colony, particularly in the Cape Town Battalion (formed in 1894). One of the most influential brigade leaders of the pre- South African War years in South Africa was the immigrant Reverend John C. Harris, who lived in Cape Town from 1892 and from 1898 in Johannesburg.¹²²

As captain of the 1st Cape Town Battalion, the famous and efficient “Black Watch” Company (formed in 1892), Harris addressed the racial and social problems he found in South Africa openly. In 1894 he reported: “Our aim should be chiefly to reach the poorer and rougher lads, and they are Black...There must be no colour distinction. That I insist on as a *sine qua non*, as I regard a colour line as being disastrous and unchristian”.¹²³ Outside individual companies, local social realities soon impinged upon the views of Harris and other like-minded brigade officials. By 1901 Harris came to grips with the racial complexities of South Africa. He recorded:

117 The Transvaal Independent Football Association (established 1929) limited itself to Coloured members entirely (P. Raath, *Soccer through the years*, 2002, pp.100-101).

118 D.F. Adonis, *Today's boys, tomorrow's men*, 1995, pp.85, 96, 100.

119 *Cape Times*, 5 January 1895, p.7.

120 D.F. Adonis, *Today's boys, tomorrow's men*, 1995, p.98.

121 D.F. Adonis, *Today's boys, tomorrow's men*, 1995, p.104.

122 B. Fraser *et al.*, *Sure and steadfast*, 1983, p.89.

123 D.F. Adonis, *Today's boys, tomorrow's men*, 1995, p.105.

as a rule we found it best to allow the White Boys to have Companies for themselves, for, in spite of sentimental theories, we could not advise indiscriminate mixture. I think this colour difficulty has been one of the drawbacks of the Cape Battalion, but it has also tended to intensify the spirit of competition.¹²⁴

These divisions resulted in the middle class colonial society attempting to inculcate their values into the urban poor. The values became embodied in public campaigns that encouraged citizens to uphold standards of morality and sobriety. This morality frowned upon the popular urban culture characterised by public drinking, gambling, prostitution and petty theft. This attempt at moralising society targeted “the poorer and rougher lads, who were Black”.¹²⁵ Therefore, the Black Watch received praise in an official brigade publication as “a marvellous improvement in the outward appearance ... that has its counterpart in their inward lives and characters”.¹²⁶

The willingness to admit Coloured boys came at a cost of a loss of support in the White community and contributed to its English speaking members in the Cape Colony showing increasing interest in the Scout rather than the Brigade Movement.¹²⁷ This is understood against the increasing forms of racism White people in the broader society displayed towards Black people in the 19th century. Such racism stretched beyond the confines of White and Coloured relations. In 1901, a report appeared about Coloured brigade boys refusing to take orders from an African officer during drill: “Private Sambo refuses to obey the lawful commands of Corporal Hendrik, and when sternly reprimanded, indignantly and impatiently asks, if he has to be bossed about by a *Kaffir*”.¹²⁸

After 1914, following the rise of Afrikaner youth recreational programmes and the spread of mass education for White children, the main strength of the Brigade Movement became concentrated among Coloured companies in the Cape

124 B. Fraser et al., *Sure and steadfast*, 1983, p.89.

125 D.F. Adonis, *Today's boys, tomorrow's men*, 1995, pp.96, 105.

126 *The Boys' Brigade Gazette*, 5(4):1, 1 December 1896.

127 T.H. Parsons, *Race, resistance and the Boy Scout Movement in British Colonial Africa*, 2004, p.76.

128 D.F. Adonis, *Today's boys, tomorrow's men*, 1995, pp.104, 106.

Province.¹²⁹ According to the historian Vivian Bickford-Smith, the Brigade Movement, in particular the Church Lads' Brigade, acted as a "militarist organisation for working class youths, explicitly intended to regulate male social behaviour".¹³⁰

5.3.1.1 Church Lads' Brigade

The first Church Lads' Brigade company introduced to Cape Town took place at the St. Phillip's Anglican Church (6 September 1894), followed by St. Saviour's in Claremont (31 October), St. Mary's in Woodstock (9 November), St. Paul's in Cape Town (12 November) and St. George's in Cape Town (17 December). The following year three more companies formed in Cape Town: St. Mark's in Cape Town (28 March),¹³¹ Zonnebloem Teachers Training School in Cape Town (22 April) and St. Luke's in Salt River.¹³² Most of these companies operated in District Six where, according to the historian Reginald Robert Langham Carter, life had "a seamy side". This refers to "serious alcohol problems, street gambling, prostitution, robberies and murders".¹³³

After the Second South African War, Church Lads' Brigade activity spread outside the city centre and St. Francis (1902) in Simon's Town, St. Saviour's (1903) in Claremont and Holy Trinity (1906) in Kalk Bay were started. The first battalion started in 1903.¹³⁴ This activity centred around the poorer areas of Cape Town, which happened to be Coloured.¹³⁵ In 1908, a setback in growth occurred due to the lack of men to carry on organisational work, a lack of finance, unemployment and economic depression.¹³⁶ When World War I broke out, the Church Lads' Brigade

129 D.F. Adonis, *Today's boys, tomorrow's men*, 1995, pp.137, 140.

130 V. Bickford-Smith *et al.*, *Cape Town in the twentieth century*, 1999, p.43.

131 In 1895, St. Mark's Company was registered at the London headquarters as Company No 591. In 1897, the year of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, the company was present at a review parade and formed a guard of honour for the Governor-general in Government Avenue. In 1965, this company celebrated its 70th anniversary. Among the guests of honour were Sir Hugh and Lady Stephenson, the British ambassador couple (*Cape Herald*, 8 May 1965, p.1).

132 The Church Lads' Brigade, *Diamond Jubilee*, 1954, p.15; The Church Lads' Brigade, *75th Anniversary brochure*, 1969, pp.7-8.

133 R.R. Langham-Carter, *The church on Clifton Hill*, 1986, p.11.

134 *Caledon Venster*, 2(75):3, 5 February 1927.

135 In England all Church Lads' Brigade companies attached themselves to Sunday or mission schools in the poorer areas (L.M. Rigby & C.E.B. Russel, *Working Lads' Clubs*, 1908, p.325).

136 *Caledon Venster*, 2(75):3, 5 February 1927.

revived and became known as the “cradle of the Cape Corps”.¹³⁷ Between August 1918 and August 1919, five new companies added themselves to the Church Lads’ Brigade and it stretched from Sea Point¹³⁸ to Simon’s Town in the Cape Peninsula, with 1 048 members.¹³⁹

For many years the St. Mark’s Church in District operated as an important centre for Church Lads’ Brigade activities. In 1910 it had 110 members, making it the largest in the Cape Battalion’s nine companies. St. Mark’s also participated in the annual gymnastic competitions of the South African regiment, alongside the singing and orchestra.¹⁴⁰ The St. Mark’s Church also organised a Church Girls’ Brigade Company. In 1951 a St. Mark’s community centre opened in Caledon Street at great financial cost. The government made a grant of £10 000 available, Capetonians contributed about £7 000 and the parishioner, Fr. Hudson, raised a further £23 000 from his own resources and from friends in Britain and South Africa. At this community centre the St. Mark’s Girls’ Brigade gave concerts and the Lads’ Brigade practised gymnastics. The St. Mark’s Church Lads’ Brigade declined after the promulgation of the Group Areas Act of 1950 that forced people out of District Six from 1966.¹⁴¹ One person affected by this forced removal, Douglas Sylvester, stated:

We were heartbroken when we were ordered to leave District Six. Most of us simply lost interest. We had to move to different places on the Cape Flats. Captain Phillip Gordon tried to start a Company in Hanover Park but was unsuccessful. Our spirit that was built up so strong by St. Mark’s, was broken.¹⁴²

This refers to the community spirit in St. Mark’s Brigade. A former District Six resident, a Muslim man named Noor Ebrahim, recollected:

¹³⁷ The Church Lads’ Brigade, *Diamond Jubilee*, 1954, p.16.

¹³⁸ This was the St. Andrews Company. Out of this grew the Sea Point Swifts Amateur Football Club (established in 1920). District Six Museum, exhibition reference 384, sports bag 2.

¹³⁹ S.A. *Clarion*, 26 April 1919, p.8.

¹⁴⁰ *Bylae tot Die Burger*, 29 November 2003, p.15.

¹⁴¹ R.R. Langham-Carter, *The church on Clifton Hill*, 1986, pp.10, 17; District Six was declared a White group area on 11 February 1966.

¹⁴² *Bylae tot Die Burger*, 29 November 2003, p.15; D. Sylvester, personal interview, 2008.

On Sunday mornings the whole neighbourhood would come out of their homes when they heard the sound of St. Mark's Brigade. The drum majorette twirled her baton impressively while parading a short distance ahead of the brigade.¹⁴³

Sylvester also stated that all the lads looked forward to Boxing Day (26 December) for the annual competition in drill movements and Physical Education for various groups (junior, intermediate and senior).¹⁴⁴ These activities (including Physical Education, physical training, drill, sport and outdoor adventure activities) of the Church Lads' Brigade, particularly in District Six, remained alive in the memories of many people affected by the forced removals of the apartheid system.

5.3.1.1.1 Physical education, physical culture, physical training drill and sport

The Church Lads' Brigade influenced the development of physical culture in schools in two ways. The founding constitution of the Church Lads' Brigade in Cape Town made allowance for the formation of companies at mission schools and Lads could obtain a physical culture badge.¹⁴⁵ Physical training, Physical Education, physical culture and sport always featured in the activities of the Church Lads' Brigade. The leadership, the promotion of sport and games expressed the ethos of Muscular Christianity.¹⁴⁶ A sport meeting helped to obtain uniforms for the lads on 2 January 1919.¹⁴⁷ In October 1918, a Church Lads' Brigade football league played matches for the first time in Cape Town,¹⁴⁸ and still existed in 1934. For an unknown reason, the Church Lads' Brigade leadership treated the initiators of this league curtly and indifferently.¹⁴⁹ In 1934, a Church Lads' Brigade cricket league was established.¹⁵⁰

143 N. Ebrahim, *Noor's story*, 2007, p.31.

144 D. Sylvester, personal interview, 2008.

145 The Church Lads' Brigade (South African Regiment), *Constitution*, [19-?], pp.1, 11, 20.

146 D.F. Adonis, *Today's boys, tomorrow's men*, 1995, p.122.

147 S.A. *Clarion*, 1(26):10, 27 September 1919.

148 *Sun*, 24 August 1934, p.2; Association football formed a popular pastime in Church Lads' Brigade battalions (L.M. Rigby & C.E.B. Russel, *Working Lads' Clubs*, 1908, p.325).

149 S.A. *Clarion*, 194:8, 26 April 1919.

150 The Church Lads' Brigade, *Diamond Jubilee*, 1954, p.17.

Physical Education became part of a “civilising process” employed by the Church Lads’ Brigade. Reverend Lavis said the various companies had to strive to achieve this by means of “good behaviour, physical culture and attendance at Bible classes”.¹⁵¹ The Church Lads’ Brigade spent great effort on Physical Education, including physical training, games, boxing, swimming, cricket, football, music, singing, bicycling and Indian (wooden) Club displays.¹⁵² Annually the Church Lads’ Brigade regiment met for a “review” to stage competitions in athletics and Physical Education.¹⁵³ An added feature of the civilising process came to be the Club Room or Boys’ Room. The Church Lads’ Brigade Club Room provided a structured sanctuary for boys from overcrowded homes and kept boys off the street.¹⁵⁴ The activities of a typical club are described as follows when the 11th Cape Town Company (Mowbray) opened one in 1895:

This as an adjunct which in colder climates is found invaluable in influencing the lads and holding them together. The room is well furnished and made as home-like as possible, and well supplied with periodicals, books, illustrated papers and games. Every member of the Company will be entitled to bring a friend to spend the evening. Tea will be served, and no effort will be spared to make the evening thoroughly enjoyable by all... Boys of the neighbourhood are cordially invited to take advantage of this place of resort.¹⁵⁵

In this environment some successful sportsmen were exposed to their sport for the first time. John Davids, a first grade gymnast in the Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs and nine times Western Province gymnastic champion, and Douglas Sylvester, also a first grade gymnast and later a gymnastic administrator in the South African Gymnastic Federation, had their first sport encounter in the Church Lads’ Brigade.¹⁵⁶ The international body-builder David

151 S.A. *Clarion*, 1(7):14-15, 17 May 1919.

152 *Cape Standard*, 15 June 1936, p.4; D.F. Adonis, *Today's boys, tomorrow's men*, 1995, p.122.

153 The Church Lads’ Brigade, *Diamond Jubilee*, 1954, p.30.

154 D.F. Adonis, *Today's boys, tomorrow's men*, 1995, p.120.

155 *Cape Times*, 2 February 1898, p.7.

156 *Bylae tot Die Burger*, 29 November 2003, p.15; The Church Lads’ Brigade, 75th Anniversary brochure, 1969, p.36.

Isaacs was introduced to gymnastics, boxing and later body-building at the St. Andrew's company in Newlands.¹⁵⁷

5.3.1.1.2 Outdoor adventure activities

Lads also took part in organised Saturday afternoon “rambles” driven by a turn-of-the-century “countryside ideology”. This happened to be based on the belief that exposure to the outdoors and nature would have a beneficial effect on poorer city boys and could be a means of countering the degenerative effects closely associated with urban squalor. The Church Lads’ Brigade fostered this idea by promoting a view of “manliness, energy and outdoor physical vitality as an instrument to keep boys occupied and to mould them into respectable future citizens”.¹⁵⁸

The Cape Battalion started with outdoor camps in December 1894, which became an annual event. On these camps, discipline ran strictly along military lines, with specific programmes. The usual routine of a camp started with a devotion service between 06:00 and 06:30, followed by coffee and biscuits and a parade. Inspection of tents and kit followed. The boys enjoyed dinner at midday and engaged in amusement in the afternoon or walk to the beach for bathing. They could be out until 17:00. The evening prayers followed the evening meal and lights out was at 21:00. The boys could take books, games, cricket equipment, draughts and chess with them.¹⁵⁹

Outdoor adventure along the lines of Muscular Christianity proved popular with the petty bourgeoisie of the late 19th and early 20th century. This tied in with their ideal to be associated with “civilised” society, even though the youth were developing different ideas on Muscular Christianity. In 1920, the columnist Uncle Jack¹⁶⁰ reminisced in the *S.A. Clarion* about his rural childhood in the late 19th century. He

¹⁵⁷ D. Isaacs, personal interview, 2008.

¹⁵⁸ D.F. Adonis, *Today's boys, tomorrow's men*, 1995, pp.82, 123.

¹⁵⁹ *Cape Times*, 29 December 1894, p.7.

¹⁶⁰ Uncle Jack was over 40 years of age at the time (*S.A. Clarion*, 2(64):12, 2 October 1920).

recalled the delight of boys running in water, slush and rain in a little village about 160 kilometres from Cape Town. He described how a lovely stream, a hundred paces from the main street, surpassed itself in beauty and grandeur during the winter months. On the wettest day they were off to the river after school with little handmade boats to race each other, the winning post being about a half mile away. Still dressed, boys and girls would be in the water and the losers carried the winners. Cold legs and feet did not concern them. A swimming match followed, where the participants would try to get their body wet, first by dipping their hands in the stream and throwing the water over the naked bodies of their friends.

He regretted that such healthy pastimes seemed to have died with his generation, to “the detriment of [his] race”. He appealed to boys and girls to form an open-air club to relive these experiences.¹⁶¹ A youth, W.D. Collins, responded to Uncle Jack and referred to the suggestions as “antiquated, like himself, and dangerous to the present generation’s health”. His reasons included that he did not want to be laughed at by his friends or become ill, having to carry the expense of a doctor, which his parents could ill afford.¹⁶² Collins and a few friends nevertheless agreed to start an open-air boys club in the springtime.¹⁶³

These activities served not only recreational purposes, but also inculcated the Muscular Christian spirit of self-control, self-expression, true sportsmanship and gentlemanly conduct.¹⁶⁴ Commitment towards the organisation received emphasis and those “lads” who did not attend drill nights were subject to disciplinary measures.¹⁶⁵ What is of significance, is the idea that the Church Lads’ Brigade played a pivotal role in promoting the philosophy of Muscular Christianity, yet moving from rustic ideals shared by the likes of Uncle Jack to a more modern version of W.D. Collins. Therefore the Church Lads’ Brigade, with its largely Coloured membership, remained acceptable to the colonial authorities and to the Union government later, allowing its members to advance socially in colonial society. What

161 S.A. *Clarion*, 2(57):11, 26 June 1920.

162 S.A. *Clarion*, 2(59):11, 24 July 1920.

163 S.A. *Clarion*, 2(60):10, 7 August 1920.

164 *Cape Standard*, 15 June 1936, p.4.

165 *Caledon Venster*, 2(76):2, 12 February 1927.

added to its acceptance by the petty bourgeoisie were the quasi-military practices in support of the British Empire.

5.3.1.1.3 Militarism and the Church Lads' Brigade

The Church Lads' Brigade dismissed the accusations of militarism as unfair and that drill acted as the framework of the activities.¹⁶⁶ Although army men promoted the Church Lads' Brigade initially, the brigade went to great lengths, by canvassing support from conservative clergymen, to explain that it is not a military organisation. It argued that its methods were "only rooted in militarism because militarism was embedded in common culture".¹⁶⁷ Officers often stated that although the organisation adopted military means, the ultimate aim centred around the "advancement of Christ's kingdom".¹⁶⁸

The *Sun* however stated that the Church Lads' Brigade could rightfully claim to be the biggest effort made to assist the Coloured youth in regard to military service.¹⁶⁹ From early in its history, the Church Lads' Brigade became associated with military activity. All of its early companies provided young men for service on behalf of the British during the Matabele Wars in the then Rhodesia and in the Second South African War.¹⁷⁰ This earned them the approval of British Empire figures such as Cecil John Rhodes and Lord Roberts.¹⁷¹

The Church Lads' Brigade supported the military efforts of the Cape Corps in a non-combatant capacity.¹⁷² In conjunction with teachers and pupils, functions and gifts were organised for troops in hospital in 1917.¹⁷³ During both World Wars, many Church Lads' Brigade members enlisted and the young men displayed discipline of such a high standard that army authorities asked that more lads be allowed to enlist.

¹⁶⁶ *Cape Standard*, 15 June 1936, p.4.

¹⁶⁷ D.F. Adonis, *Today's boys, tomorrow's men*, 1995, p.35.

¹⁶⁸ *Caledon Venster*, 2(96):5, 2 July 1927.

¹⁶⁹ *Sun*, 28 December 1934, p.2.

¹⁷⁰ *The Church Lads' Brigade, Diamond Jubilee*, 1954, p.16.

¹⁷¹ *The Church Lads' Brigade, 75th Anniversary brochure*, 1969, p.8.

¹⁷² *S.A. Clarion*, 1(26):10, 27 September 1919.

¹⁷³ I.D. Difford, *The story of the 1st Cape Corps*, 1920, p.326.

Many became non-commissioned officers.¹⁷⁴ Lord Buxton, Governor-general of the Union of South Africa during World War I, regarded the Church Lads' Brigade as the "cradle of the Cape Corps".¹⁷⁵ According to the master's thesis of Dan Frederick Adonis, the Church Lads' Brigade fulfilled a desire within people to affirm an idea of social respectability. To this end, the Physical Education activities embodied an "army" ethos and assisted the Cape Corps recruitment in the World Wars.¹⁷⁶

The people involved in its early history and the designations used in this movement, brigade, battalion and company, reveal the military influence in the Church Lads' Brigade. Canon Bishop Lavis, a case in point, was involved in this organisation since its inception in South Africa.¹⁷⁷ Lavis also involved himself in the Cape Corps Gifts and Comforts Committee. Its purpose was to provide comforts of every kind for the Cape Corps in the camp at Simon's Town, training in bayonet fighting in preparation for World War I.¹⁷⁸ When World War II started, many Church Lads' Brigade members volunteered their services on behalf of the British Empire.¹⁷⁹

5.3.1.1.4 Church Lads' Brigade and the community

The Church Lads' Brigade did not operate in isolation from other community programmes. It acted as an Anglican organisation that "sought to co-operate in a friendly competitive spirit with boys and girls in kindred organisations".¹⁸⁰ This happened when the First Battalion held its annual gymnastic display at the Cathedral Hall, Cape Town, in 1934. The battalion combined with the Accro Amateur Weight-lifting and Physical Culture Club (established in 1933) and the gymnastic club of the St. Mark's company, where movements in both free gymnastics and parallel bar work, combination work, vaulting horse exercises and pyramid building were performed. By then the Church Lads' Brigade had grown to the extent that

¹⁷⁴ *Cape Herald*, 8 May 1965, p.1.

¹⁷⁵ *Caledon Venster*, 2(75):3, 5 February 1927.

¹⁷⁶ D.F. Adonis, *Today's boys, tomorrow's men*, 1995, p.158.

¹⁷⁷ Lavis was very interested in Physical Education and was responsible for the introduction of a gymnastic class for boys and young men at the St. Paul's school early in the 20th century (*Educational Journal*, 2(5):9, June 1916).

¹⁷⁸ I.D. Difford, *The story of the 1st Cape Corps*, 1920, p.322.

¹⁷⁹ The Church Lads' Brigade, *Diamond Jubilee*, 1954, p.21.

¹⁸⁰ The Church Lads' Brigade, *75th Anniversary brochure*, 1969, p.2.

there were 1 125 officers at the annual parade in the City Hall. On that day Bishop Lavis was for the first time referred to, by the *Sun*, as the “people’s bishop”.¹⁸¹ The Church Lads’ Brigade worked in close co-operation with the Pathfinder Movement and the Western Cape Association of Physical Education Clubs.¹⁸²

The events at a swimming gala at the Trafalgar Park Baths in 1941 showed the connection between the Church Lads’ Brigade and other community components mentioned elsewhere in this study. The swimming gala raised funds in aid of the Governor-general’s War Fund. Abe Desmore represented the TLSA at the gala. During the afternoon, the Non-Pariel Acrobatic Troupe, the Marion Institute Physical Culture Club and St. Mark’s physical culturists presented a display. Two prominent weight-lifters in the Coloured community, J. Adriaanse and Cecil Jacobs, demonstrated their skill. The last speaker, J.S. Fort, made an appeal to parents to encourage their children to join the various youth movements, such as the Pathfinders and Church Lads’ Brigade,¹⁸³ indicating a Coloured petty bourgeoisie support base for these movements.

The Church Lads’ Brigade also affiliated to the Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs and relied on the latter organisation for judges in its annual physical culture competitions in the Drill Hall and other venues in Cape Town.¹⁸⁴ The Church Lads’ Brigade also served as an impetus for other organisations. There was also a Church Girls’ Brigade (established in April 1941) and an African Lads’ Brigade (established in 1925, with headquarters at 206 Hanover Street, District Six, with five operative companies in 1934). In 1925, a South African Moslem¹⁸⁵ Lads’ Brigade was formed at St. Joseph School in Frere Street, Cape Town.¹⁸⁶ They all offered programmes along the lines of the Church Lads’ Brigade.

181 *Sun*, 23 November 1934, pp.6, 8.

182 *Sun*, 12 October 1934, p.3; F. O’Neill, personal interview, 2006; W. Wood, 2006.

183 *Cape Standard*, 18 March 1941, p.1.

184 F. O’Neill, personal interview, 2008.

185 This is the reference used in the 1940’s instead of the later, Muslim.

186 *Cape Standard*, 8 April 1941, p.8; *Cape Standard*, 23 September 1941, p.5; *Cape Standard*, 26 July 1946, p.5; *Cape Standard*, 8 April 1947, p.4; *Sun*, 30 September, p.6; *Sun*, 7 October 1932, p.5; *Sun*, 11 August 1933, p.6; *Sun*, 12 October 1934, p.6.

In 1965, Church Lads' Brigade competitions still took place, but their influence had waned. This might be due to the emphasis on military aspects during the early years.¹⁸⁷ By the 1960's many Coloured people started rejecting all programmes that were military in nature and associated it with the apartheid state's military apparatus. The Church Lads' Brigade responded relatively slowly to this attitude. In 1965 only the following companies competed in the annual competition: All Saints Heatherley (Lansdowne), St. John's Christ Church (Constantia), St. Matthews (Claremont), St. Andrews (Newlands), St. Andrews (Ceres) and Moorreesburg. The activities included a physical culture display, company drill, athletic competition and first aid demonstration.¹⁸⁸

This historical account of the Church Lads' Brigade provided a sketch of the brigade's Physical Education youth programme. The "civilisation" idea had been engrained in the minds of the founders of the Church Lad's Brigade and combined the glamour of the military in style and ideas. It also provided leisure facilities, such as a Boys Room, football, cricket and camping. The Church Lads' Brigade knew that it would not be able to carry out its programmes successfully if it did not have the support of the White community. It therefore enlisted the support of their social elite: the administrator of the Cape, Sir William Gordon Cameron, and Dr. Thomas Muir became members or patrons of the movement in the 1890's.¹⁸⁹ This had no positive effect because they had no intention of improving the social conditions of Coloured people. Early in the 20th century, Muir refused Dr. Abdurahman's daughters, access to the Good Hope Seminary.¹⁹⁰ Other incidents led Abdurahman's political opponent, F.S.Z. Peregrino, to state that Muir was "not innocent of the charge of being unfriendly towards the non-White people of the Cape Colony".¹⁹¹

The brigade also accommodated people belonging to organisations with conservative ideas of race. This is evidenced by the Coloured People's National Union member, Isaac Stober, the first bursar of the organisation in 1959. Ironically,

187 D.F. Adonis, *Today's boys, tomorrow's men*, 1995, p.65.

188 *Cape Herald*, 24 April 1965, p.3.

189 D.F. Adonis, *Today's boys, tomorrow's men*, 1995, pp.123, 153.

190 University of Cape Town, Abdurahman family papers: Letters to Mrs Abdurahman, BC 506 A1.1.

191 S.A. *Clarion*, 1(2):16, 12 April 1919.

this conservatism made it possible for two Church Lads' Brigade boys from the Western Cape to attend a camp in Scotland in 1963. This is an example of how the Church Lads' Brigade manipulated an opportunity for youths to explore avenues generally not open to them. The Church Lads' Brigade promoted the idea of behavioural conformity¹⁹² and therefore never publicly opposed the state's racial policies. Because of this silence, the Church Lads' Brigade experienced no state harassment and could proceed unhindered with its programmes, including Physical Education, creating social spaces for youths.

5.3.2 THE PATHFINDER, WAYFARER AND SCOUT MOVEMENT

The Swedish system of Physical Education accompanied the Boy Scout Movement during its infancy. The Cape Education Department therefore encouraged scouting "in a very legitimate manner, being regarded as effective aids in the training of boys, both physically and otherwise".¹⁹³

This refers to aiding boys (and girls) to demonstrate loyalty to British culture. In 1947 Coloured boys from this movement, along with the brigades, physical education clubs and other White organisations were part of the 21st birthday celebrations of Princess Elizabeth during the royal visit to the country. The celebrations included Physical Education activities at the Rosebank Showground's on 24 May 1947 where items on the programme included free hand exercises, horizontal bar work and horse vaulting by members of the "deaf Boy Scouts", tent pitching, camp lay-out, flag and first aid displays.¹⁹⁴ The Scout Movement also held Physical Education competitions, solidly based on the Muscular Christian ideal, and taught boys to "play the game for the game, not for the result but learning to win with humility and lose with cheerfulness and it is good that whatever point a boy wins, benefits his side, not himself".¹⁹⁵

192 D.F. Adonis, *Today's boys, tomorrow's men*, 1995, pp.35, 153.

193 Department of Public Education. Cape of Good Hope. *Report of Superintendent-general of Education*, 1915, pp.1, 34.

194 *Cape Standard*, 27 May 1947, p.1.

195 Anon., *The South African boy*, 1928, pp.37-38.

The Scout Movement reached the Coloured community¹⁹⁶ in the Western Cape in 1924 as part of the Pathfinder Movement.¹⁹⁷ From the outset, the Scout Movement blocked the demands by Coloured people in the Pathfinder Movement for recognition or greater independence. It refused to integrate with the Pathfinders and Wayfarers or permit them to seek independent international recognition. The Scout leadership thought it inappropriate to give Coloured boys the same title as White Scouts,¹⁹⁸ despite its claim that it was non- sectarian and international.¹⁹⁹ The reactions of Coloured Pathfinders and Wayfarers varied, but the greater majority opted to remain within the movement.

The Scouts established the Pathfinder Movement with the aim of developing what it believed to be good citizenship among “non-European” boys.²⁰⁰ Leaders in the Pathfinder Movement such as S.M. Rahim believed this and stated that the Scout Movement proved to be an excellent means to train respectable citizens.²⁰¹ According to Timothy Parsons, an associate professor in History and Afro-American studies at Washington University, the South African Scout Movement valued their ties to political and social legitimacy and would not jeopardise their intimate relationship with the South African state by weakening the colour bar.²⁰² The Pathfinder Movement concealed this by stating in its policy that it was not used for any political movement or organisation.²⁰³

The historical origin of the Pathfinder Movement is embedded in White paternalism that opposed attempts of social advancement of Coloured people. Initially, Coloured girls found themselves excluded from the girls’ Scout Movement, the Girl Guides.²⁰⁴ Faced with this refusal, mission leaders and educators founded the Girl Wayfarer

196 For an elucidation of the relationship between race and the Scout Movement in South Africa, see T.H. Parsons, *Race, resistance and the Boy Scout Movement*, 2004, pp.72-112, 191-236.

197 *Sun*, 28 September 1934, p.6. This was the organisation, started at the Grace Dieu Diocesan College in the then Transvaal in 1922 for African people, that used the aims and methods of the Scout Movement without enjoying official recognition (T.H. Parsons, *Race, resistance and the Boy Scout Movement*, 2004, p.72).

198 R. Archer & A. Bouillon, *The South African game*, 1982, pp.123, 136.

199 Anon., *The South African boy*, 1928, p.12.

200 The Pathfinder Movement of the South African Boy Scouts Association, *Policy organization and rules*, 1932, p.3.

201 *Cape Standard*, 24 January 1939, p.11.

202 T.H. Parsons, *Race, resistance and the Boy Scout Movement in British Colonial Africa*, 2004, p.74

203 The Pathfinder Movement of the South African Boy Scouts Association, *Policy organization and rules*, 1932, p.4.

204 The Girls Guide Movement was introduced in South Africa in 1910 (B. Helm, *A Cape Town directory of social welfare*, 1959, p.36).

Association in 1925. Prominent female missionaries and liberal activists, including the wife of Rheinallt Jones, formed this association as a supervised movement for African (in Langa) and Coloured (in Cape Town at the Marion Institute) girls.²⁰⁵ The Wayfarers adopted the Pathfinders' segregationist policies and the South African Guide officials convinced Lady Olave Baden-Powell, chief Guide of the British Association, not to wear her Guide uniform while inspecting the Wayfarers during her 1927 tour of the Union.²⁰⁶

In 1935, the Girl Guides Association incorporated the Wayfarer Movement as a sub-branch of the Girl Guides Association.²⁰⁷ This movement made provision for Physical Education activities in its programme, even for Coloured women older than 25 who were called Torchbearers.²⁰⁸ Initially, junior Wayfarers became known as Brownies, but a commentator remarked that "it might be offensive to Coloured girls" and the name changed to Sunbeams.²⁰⁹ Supervision for all work in the South African Wayfarer Movement took place under a White director for "non-European" affairs and had to report to the Girl Guide headquarters in South Africa.²¹⁰ At all Wayfarer camps at least two White leaders had to be in charge, with a Coloured assistant.²¹¹ The Wayfarers' growing emphasis on healthy Coloured women influenced them to identify with one of the original aims of the Wayfarers:

to help the girls of the non-European races of South Africa to become better Christians by training them in habits of truthfulness, obedience, helpfulness, industry and courtesy ... promoting their physical development and making them good homemakers and capable of bringing up good children.²¹²

The Scouts and the Guides never intended that this aim should lead to integration with the Pathfinders and the Wayfarers. In February 1936, the then Transvaal

205 The Marion Institute, 1953, pp.3-4.

206 H. Parsons, *Race, resistance and the Boy Scout Movement*, 2004, p.86.

207 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1953*, p.4; *Sun*, 19 April 1935, p.7.

208 One of the tests for becoming a Torchbearer included a health test where the testee performed three physical exercises and explained the value of each (Girl Wayfarers Association, *Handbook of organization and rules*, 1936, p.37).

209 R. Archer & A. Bouillon, *The South African game*, 1982, p.136. For the range of sunbeam activities, see M. Thomas, *Signposts*, 1943.

210 The Girl Guides Association, *Constitution*, 1945, p.10.

211 M.E. Sutton, *Rules and hints for camping for Wayfarer and Indian guides*, n.d. [unpublished material].

212 The Girl Guides Association Wayfarer branch, *Policy, organization and rules*, 1939, pp.1, 5.

headquarters of the Boy Scout Association proposed a formal separation on grounds of race (European, Bantu,²¹³ Indian and Coloured). The following month a Scout council meeting in Durban, that happened to be attended by the founder member, Lord Baden-Powell, ratified the proposal. This contradicted the principles of the international Scout Movement that made no distinction between races.²¹⁴

The international Scout Movement accepted racial divisions of the South African Scout Movement and in 1937; the international body recognised the Pathfinder Movement as the Scout organisation for “non-White” people in South Africa.²¹⁵ In 1945, the Scout world body recognised the Wayfarers as a legitimate representative of the South African Guide Movement.²¹⁶ According to Parsons, the White community’s support for the government’s deepening commitment to formal segregation after World War I resulted in the South African Scout establishment opposing the granting of Coloured troops formal Scout status. After this war the South African Prime Minister, Jan Smuts, stated that the Union government had the ideal of making South Africa a White country with a fixed policy to maintain White supremacy.²¹⁷

Because of the international status attached to the Scout Movement, the Coloured petty bourgeoisie overlooked this racism. Its members became involved in the movement, viewing it as a valuable asset that should be developed. They stressed the benefits of physical training, self-help and steadiness the Scout Movement engendered in all boys.²¹⁸

Scouting also reinforced, among school children a body of values, ideals of justice, equality and fair play. These are values that appealed to the ambitious Coloured

213 At this time the African Scout Movement organised itself in the African Pioneer Movement (started in 1933 in Grahamstown) and had the blessing of the Cape Education Department. In 1936, branches of this movement were formed in the Western Cape (*Sun*, 20 November 1936, p.10).

214 R. Archer & A. Bouillon, *The South African game*, 1982, p.123.

215 *Sun*, 15 January 1937, p.1.

216 S. Patterson, *Colour and culture in South Africa*, 1953, p.138.

217 M. Motlhabi, *The theory and practice of Black resistance to apartheid*, 1984, p.7.

218 *Cape Standard*, 24 January 1939, p.11.

petty bourgeoisie because this moral ethos offered them the opportunity to claim their rights.²¹⁹

Despite actions of marginalisation against the Coloured Scout Movement, Coloured Scout leaders resisted being lumped together with African Scouts and lobbied successfully for the privilege of having their own separate section.²²⁰ With the inauguration of the South African Coloured Boy Scout Movement in 1943, with its own constitution, it became a parallel movement alongside the White, African and Indian movements.²²¹ This situation is similar to what Adhikari claims in his analysis of Coloured identity to be the strain of adopting non-racism in principle but accompanied the acceptance of racial systems in practice.²²²

Because of the support it gave welfare organisations, the Scout Movement had a large following in the Coloured community. In 1947, the movement numbered 5 000, having grown from 50 in 1935.²²³ Among the beneficiaries of the first Pathfinder rally in the Cape Peninsula in 1937 included the Athlone School for the Blind, Princess Alice Home of Recovery and the Dominican School for the Deaf. Individual petty bourgeoisie members thought of themselves as champions of their people and associated themselves with the Scout Movement. Examples include Dr. Francis M. Gow, a prominent clergyman and politician²²⁴ and Stephen Reagon, a prominent politician and sport administrator.²²⁵ Also in 1966, Norman Stoffberg, occupied a lectureship at Hewat Teachers Training College, supported social events of the Scout Movement.²²⁶ This link between the petty bourgeoisie and the Scout Movement was based on shared values of integrity, discipline and self-reliance.²²⁷

219 R. Archer & A. Bouillon, *The South African game*, 1982, p.123.

220 T.H. Parsons, *Race, resistance and the Boy Scout Movement*, 2004, pp.78, 98.

221 *Sun*, 21 April 1950, p.2.

222 M. Adhikari, *Hope fear, shame, frustration*, 2002, p.163.

223 *Cape Standard*, 27 May 1947, p.1.

224 Gow succeeded Abdurahman as president of the African Political Organisation after his death.

225 *Sun*, 1 October 1937, p.2. For a fuller account of Reagon's political career, see R.E. v an der Ross, *The rise and decline of apartheid*, 1986, pp.63-64, 92, 94-96, 98-99, 102, 111, 154 -155, 168, 178, 197, 217.

226 *Cape Herald*, 12 March 1966, p.2.

227 M. Adhikari, *Hope, fear, shame, frustration*, 2002, p.156; T.H. Parsons, *Race, resistance and the Boy Scout Movement*, 2004, p.5.

A further reason for the large following of the movement is the opportunity youths had of making contacts outside the Western Cape.²²⁸ The movement intended sending 16 Coloured boys as representatives to the Empire Scout Rally in New Zealand in 1948.²²⁹ The lure of recognition by White people also added a stimulus for growth. The columnist George Manuel commented proudly on how White people remarked on the “splendid behaviour, smart uniforms, intelligence, politeness and the training they (Pathfinders) received”.²³⁰ In 1966, the first eight Coloured Springbok scouts received the prestigious Chief Scout Award.²³¹

During their early years, the Pathfinder and Wayfarers, alongside the Brigade Movement, made inroads into mission schools. Individuals promoted scouting among students and teachers as an extramural activity. On 2 March 1936, Lady Baden-Powell visited Zonnebloem and spent an evening with the Cape Wayfarers.²³² In 1937, the Pathfinder Movement negotiated with the acting principal to take over the lease of the entire Zonnebloem Park above De Waal Drive for development as a training ground. The warden favoured this and suggested that the police should eject the homeless people who lived in the park. He stated that the value of the Scout and Guide Movement for the hostel boarders (particularly on Saturdays and holidays), the college and the neighbourhood would be “for infinite good”. He however expressed concern about possible conflict with existing Church Lads’ Brigade activities at Zonnebloem.²³³ Nevertheless, the Pathfinders had an amicable relationship with Zonnebloem and other training schools. In 1947, for example, the first combined Scout troop boxing tournament was held in the Zonnebloem school hall and several hundred spectators witnessed how the Silvertree troop defeat their opponents.²³⁴

Arthur F. Pietersen from the Athlone Teachers Training School became a district Pathfinder master in Paarl and attended the Boy Scout Pathfinder conference in

²²⁸ *Cape Standard*, 17 January 1939, p.11.

²²⁹ *Cape Standard*, 27 May 1947, p.1.

²³⁰ *Cape Standard*, 17 January 1939, p.11.

²³¹ *Cape Herald*, 12 March 1966, p.2.

²³² *Sun*, 13 March 1936, p.2.

²³³ University of Cape Town, Zonnebloem papers, BC 636 C2. 48, 29 April 1937.

²³⁴ *Cape Standard*, 22 July 1947, p.6.

Johannesburg in 1936.²³⁵ The following year he attended the first Pathfinder rally in the Cape Peninsula.²³⁶ Pietersen represented the “Old Guard” politicians in various capacities, for example, on the staff of the Paarl Higher Mission School from 1920 until 1923, the TEPA president in 1951 and serving on the Athlone Teachers Training School committee in 1955.²³⁷ Prior to World War II, the Wayfarer Movement arranged activities at the Battswood Training School. In 1932, a teacher, Mrs. Blaxall, enrolled 11 female students from the training school as Wayfarers. This did not occur as an isolated event, but formed part of a community drive and detachments of the Marion Institute and Zonnebloem also participated.²³⁸ By 1939, Battswood had an active Girl Guide and Pathfinder Movement that formed a guard of honour for Lady Duncan when she visited the institution in 1939.²³⁹

Having a look at Jack Allies, the first Coloured administrator to lead the Pathfinder Movement during the period under review, gives insight into the scope of the Scout Movement in the Coloured community of the Western Cape. Allies, a committee member of the Athlone Primary School in Cape Town since 1934, became chief commissioner in 1950. His credentials indicate the influences he brought with him to the Pathfinder and later the Scout Movement in the Coloured community. He entered the movement in 1936 as a signalling instructor, having gained his knowledge and experience during World War I. He held a certificate of the Zeitoun School of Instruction in Cairo as a first-class signaller. While stationed in Cairo, he “represented” South Africa in army sports against England at Alexandria as a cricketer and was mentioned in various dispatches. Under his leadership, the Cape Town Rover Scouts junior division (the White equivalent was the Cubs) comprised, among others, 1st Cape Town (Silvertree), 2nd and 3rd Cape Town (Marion Institute) and 5th Cape Town (Liberman Institute). He actively assisted the establishing of

235 *Sun*, 18 December 1936, p.2.

236 *Sun*, 14 May 1937, p.12; *Sun*, 1 October 1937, p.2.

237 *TEPA Educational News*, 5(4):13, April-June 1951; *TEPA Educational News*, 11(5):66, May 1957; By then the management of the Athlone Teachers Training School happened to be largely under the influence of the TEPA.

238 *Sun*, 30 September 1932, p.5.

239 *Sun*, 10 March 1939, p.11.

Scout divisions in the Northern suburbs, Wynberg, Athlone, Salt River in Cape Town and Paarl districts.²⁴⁰

The South African Scout Movement quietly and often with little recognition pioneered racial integration at a time when the political situation militated against this. In the process it gave many thousands of young people their first opportunity of interracial contact in the field of Physical Education and scouting activities. In 1957, when a contingent of South African Scouts sailed to Great Britain to attend the 50th anniversary jamboree, it included boys of all races. Everyone travelled together as one unit; everyone wore the same uniforms and was mixed in non-racial patrols. The Scout Movement promoted the idea of family life and parents were actively involved in the development and maintenance of scout groups. They did this by raising finances for the training of scout leaders and the activities of their children. With no government and little corporate funding, fundraising activities happened regularly in the community.²⁴¹ In this way the Scout Movement taught boys and girls the importance of self-reliance and hard work, essential elements for advancing socially.

The Scout Movement, along with the Church Lads' Brigade²⁴² and the Outward Bound Movement, completed a trilogy of adventure activities as part of the Physical Education experience of the Coloured community in the Western Cape.

5.3.3 OUTWARD BOUND MOVEMENT/VELD AND VLEI ADVENTURE SCHOOL

The Outward Bound Movement established itself in the White community in South Africa in 1958, and five years later in the Coloured community. An instrumental figure in this process included the director of the then Bantu Education Department in the Eastern Cape, Jock L. Omond. He visited Europe in the 1950 to inquire into the latest school curricula and teaching methods and came into contact with the Outward Bound Trust. On his return, he set up a small committee and after the mayor had

240 *Sun*, 23 April 1954, p.7.

241 W. Adams, email correspondence, 2008.

242 On some occasions, the Pathfinder Movement supported both the Church Lads' Brigade and the Moslem Lads' Brigade (*Cape Standard*, 24 January 1939).

called a public meeting, a steering committee was established to investigate the possibility of running a pilot course in the Eastern Cape. The committee dubbed it “The Veld and Vlei Adventure School”²⁴³ and the first course held for White boys took place from 23 June to 18 July 1958 at Sedgefield, between George and Knysna.²⁴⁴

This course consisted of 26 days’ adventure activity and the warden of this camp stated:

It is only during war that young men and women have the chance of working as a team to overcome difficulties and discover their potentialities. The youth must be given the chance to live dangerously, as our forefathers did when they had to build their own houses, hunt for their food, and fight for existence against the elements. During peacetime, young men and women must have similar opportunities of struggling against nature, and the substitutes offered so far such as cricket, rugby, fishing and other sports, have not been a complete success.²⁴⁵

In the meantime, Omond visited Cape Town and established a committee with himself, Bob Shearman, owner of the Colemco factory in Woodstock and a pilot in the Royal Air Force, and Captain Francis Meynell, a retired Royal Navy commander. This committee approached the CAD with the view of introducing the Veld and Vlei concept. Consequently, the CAD’s Physical Education school inspector, J.A.E. Steyn, approached two Physical Education teachers, Norman Stoffberg and Gustav Jacobs, on this matter. Soon afterwards a meeting took place at the Colemco factory to plan the first Veld and Vlei school for Coloured youths. Omond and Meynell looked for a suitable site and found Appelthwiate, a farm in Elgin belonging to Mr. Lombardi.²⁴⁶

243 The Outward Bound Movement refused to lend its name to its South African version because of the country’s apartheid policy.

244 D.V. Coghlan, *The Veld and Vlei School*. *Vigor*, 11(4):60, 1958.

245 D.V. Coghlan, *The Veld and Vlei School*. *Vigor*, 11(4):60, 1958.

246 G. Jacobs, telephonic interview, 2007.

The first Veld and Vlei School for Coloured boys was held in June 1963 at Appelthwiate, with 27 boys in attendance and Norman Stoffberg and Gustav Jacobs, were among the first instructors. The instructors divided the boys into four teams: Springboks, Lions, Zebras and Leopards. The two aforementioned instructors dealt with Physical Education, while two others dealt with expedition work. A manager supervised general control and administration. The day started with basic Physical exercises, followed by an obstacle course. In addition, each boy had to spend one night alone in the forest.²⁴⁷

The Veld and Vlei School, along with the Church Lads' Brigade²⁴⁸ and the Scout Movement, provided a Physical Education experience for Coloured youths that they otherwise would not have had. This refers especially to the physical education opportunities presented to orphanages free of charge.²⁴⁹ This chapter is rounded off with a historical overview of clubs that operated outside schools.²⁵⁰

5.4 CLUBS AND ORGANISATIONS THAT PROMOTED PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND PHYSICAL CULTURE

The Coloured petty bourgeoisie had a belief that Western bourgeoisie culture represented the apogee of human achievement and that the degree of conformity with its norms and values provided an objective scale for the measurement of human development.²⁵¹ When English clubs found their way to Cape Town, the Coloured petty bourgeoisie imitated them and started their own.

The establishment of the Civil Service Club in Cape Town in 1858²⁵² formed a model for all social clubs in the Cape Colony. A founding member, John Currey, stated:

²⁴⁷ *Alpha*, 1(5):11, July 1963.

²⁴⁸ Certain Church Lads' Brigade companies sent some of their members on the "Veld and Vlei" course in Elgin (Church Lads' Brigade, *75th Anniversary brochure*, 1969, p.35).

²⁴⁹ G. Jacobs, telephonic interview, 2008.

²⁵⁰ These clubs are discussed separately from the Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs because they focused solely on gymnastic and sport activities. The other clubs included welfare programmes in their activities and may be regarded as social clubs with physical education and physical culture programmes.

²⁵¹ M. Adhikari, *Not White enough, not Black enough*, 2005, p.92.

²⁵² S. Brooke-Norris & R. de Villiers, *The story of the Rand Club*, 1976, pp.3, 5.

“The club should be the means of raising the tone of the government service and creating a stronger *esprit de corps* among the young members by giving them opportunities of mixing freely with their elders and if possible keeping them out of bars”.²⁵³ Another virtue of clubs is seen in the establishment of a sport club in 1884 for students at Stellenbosch College, with the aim of teaching people about “fair play”.²⁵⁴

A cleric, Oswin Bull, first organised Physical Education clubs for White boys in the then Cape Province around 1910. Later, clubs were set up for Coloured boys. These did not operate as sport clubs, but rather boys’ clubs that had the support of schools and were more of a night out – something to be enjoyed”.²⁵⁵ Supporters of the club movement in South Africa believed “the success of a club depend[s]ed on the degree of discipline” that promoted group identity.²⁵⁶ A White perspective on the issue of discipline and leisure, was based on the idea that it helped control the threat of the “large Coloured and Native population”.²⁵⁷ Coloured people developed a sense of group consciousness around such clubs and George Manuel commented favourably on how Physical Education clubs promoted group action among them.²⁵⁸

The idea of physical culture gained popularity with Capetonians during the visit of Eugene Sandow in 1904, where he gave displays in the Tivoli Hotel.²⁵⁹ The earliest available report of a physical culture club in the Coloured community is found for the year, 1919, when the *S.A. Clarion* reported on a School for Physical Culture in District Six where a “number of young fellows spent the evening in healthy recreation”.²⁶⁰ Due to the work of the international organisation, The Health and Strength League, a growing interest occurred in physical culture, especially among urbanites during the period 1930 to 1940. The organisation established branches in

253 National Library, Cape Town Division, John Currey Collection, Half a century in South Africa. Obituary: MSB 140, 5(3):155.

254 This club served as an impetus for the formation of the first degree course in Physical Education in South Africa at Stellenbosch University (E.T. Stegmann, Liggaamsopvoeding aan ’n universiteit, *Liggaamsopvoeding*, 1(1):15, April 1939).

255 R. Archer & A. Bouillon, *The South African game*, 1982, p.34.

256 J.T. Nel, Societies and institutes for physical education. *Physical Education*, 2(1):58, April 1940.

257 O. Wagner, A short introduction to the sociology of recreation. *Physical Education*, 2(2):21, June 1940.

258 *Cape Standard*, 17 January 1939, p.11.

259 *Cape Times*, 20 July 1904, p.6; 29 July 1904, p.5.

260 *S.A. Clarion*, 1(14):2, 5 July 1919.

Woodstock and Cape Town.²⁶¹ Many men belonged to this organisation, where they participated in boxing and weight-lifting. An awareness permeated through the community that the satisfaction of cultural and recreational needs of the local community had to be a major aim in town and countryside.²⁶²

A major stimulus for the development of physical culture clubs in Cape Town is due to the work of the American Charles Atlas. He embodied the late 19th and early 20th century ideal of the self-made man, a dream of self-improvement and rapid transformation that began with a strengthened, healthy body. By 1942, more than 400 000 copies of the Atlas programme for self-development had been sold. His personal life had much in common with the urban working class Coloured population, who grappled with issues of identity and poverty and found it easy to identify with him.²⁶³

In 1939 the visit of a company of Danish gymnasts under Niels Bukh, who gave a display of physical culture for Coloured learners at the Green Point Track, further stimulated the interest in boys' clubs. E.A. Ball, George Golding and Captain Fowler, all of whom who moved in petty bourgeois education and political circles in the Coloured community and may be regarded as public figures with a moderate political outlook, organised the event. A report in the *Cape Standard* indicates that this event did not enjoy mass support of the community. According to the report 1 000 children representing 63 schools attended, i.e. 15 pupils per school.²⁶⁴ Despite this poor support, the display led George Manuel to plead for a "Coloured Niels Bukh" to study the needs of the working class, with the aim of making them healthy and strong, taking up physical culture enthusiastically. This appeal lends insight into the class and race consciousness in the minds of the petty bourgeoisie, because he added that, as the Coloured community advanced in ambition, education and cultivated pride of colour and race, a Bukh would certainly rise from that community. According

261 R.E. van der Ross, personal interview, 2003.

262 *Sun*, 29 April 1955, p.3.

263 For an overview of Atlas life see Anon., Charles Atlas, Hyperlink [http://www.answers.com/topic/charles-atlas#after_ad1]. n.d., p.1.

264 *Cape Standard*, 29 August 1939, p.11.

to Manual, such a leader had to come from the petty bourgeoisie,²⁶⁵ probably with the same political outlook as George Golding.

By then Physical Education and physical culture clubs became more visible and interconnected with the social life, as can be seen from accounts of an open-air physical culture display in 1939. Here, the music of the Cape Corps band accompanied dancing girls. The Liberman Physical Culture Club staged a wrestling exhibition. The Non-pareil Acrobatic Troupe²⁶⁶ provided balancing acts, tumbling and pyramid building. Ms. M. Rawson, a prominent physical culturist in the community, provided a mass display with 200 girls from the Marion and Liberman Groups participating. The Coleridge-Taylor Quartet²⁶⁷ under Dr. Frances Gow, arranged singing items. The Coons (Cape minstrels), drawn from the Jubilee Coloured Coronation Board and managed by J.W. Allen also presented items. The Pathfinders and Wayfarers presented a campfire scene. Bishop Lavis paid tribute to the three organisers, Dr. Gow, Ms. M. Rawson and Captain H.C. Fowler. The speakers included John William Kay, a Coloured school board member, and deputy mayor W. Brinton. Gilbert Little, an executive member of the oldest Coloured school sport organisation, the Central School Sport Union (established in 1929) acted as announcer.²⁶⁸ These individuals and organisations names recur in the social and political activities of the Coloured community.

The Coloured petty bourgeoisie generally accepted that more could be attained by adopting a compliant attitude towards White supremacism than by taking a principled stand on racial equality or militantly asserting rights. This readiness to sanction White people involving themselves in community work and by implication physical education and physical culture, predicated upon the condition that Coloured people

²⁶⁵ *Cape Standard*, 5 September 1939, p.12.

²⁶⁶ Not much is known about this club other than that it staged, according to the *Sun*, successful items at the South African Pageant in 1936 and 1937 (*Sun*, 8 January 1937, p.8; *Sun*, 24 September 1937, p.10). The club started in 1935 and its first manger, Jacob Abrahams, happened to be a circus jester (*Sun*, 24 September 1937, p.10). Other early members included Basil Perez and Colin Petersen (*Sun*, 8 January 1937, p.8).

²⁶⁷ This was a male singing quartet started by Dr. Francis Gow, an African American who studied in the USA and became the first South African Bishop of the American Methodist Episcopal Church in South Africa. The quartet became well-known in the Coloured community for the singing of "Negro" spirituals and performed at concerts, in churches and on the radio (R.E. van der Ross, *A political and social history of the Cape Coloured people*, part 2 & 3. 1973, p.587).

²⁶⁸ *Cape Herald*, 9 April 1966, p.9; *Cape Standard*, 28 February 1939, p.1; 9 February 1943, p.10.; *Sun*, 3 March 1939, p.4.

could not to be denied the opportunity to develop at an acceptable pace.²⁶⁹ The clubs and organisations offering physical education and physical culture in the Coloured community, emerging after World War I, proceeded along these lines.

5.4.1 THE MARION INSTITUTE

By the first decade of the 20th century some 30 women's clubs, based on the same model as male social clubs, operated in England.²⁷⁰ This and the historical events during the first quarter of the 20th century gave rise to the establishment of the Marion Institute in Cape Town. The presence of soldiers in Cape Town during World War I resulted in an increase in prostitution and aroused the concern of the South African branch of the International Federation for the abolition of State Regulation of Vice. A proposal to the Cape Town police stated that "respectable women patrol the streets, using moral force to reclaim young people". The object was to approach girls who acted "indiscreetly and became carried away by the excitement of the moment and to direct their enthusiasm into wholesome channels". The Cape Town police accepted this idea and the organisation soon fielded more than 65 patrols.²⁷¹ Patrolling the Cape Town streets brought these White petty bourgeoisie women to recognise the plight of young urban Coloured girls, employed in business and industry. After long hours in offices, their overcrowded home drove them to the streets for recreation. Being poorly educated and lacking resources, there was little for them to do and clubs seemed the answer.²⁷²

In 1916 the wife of the Anglican Archbishop, Mrs. Carter, Lady Rose Innes and other White women formed a committee with the purpose of forming a club for Coloured girls.²⁷³ They found a little grocer shop at the corner of Chapel and Queen Street in District Six and opened the Marion Institute, commonly known as the Marion, for women and girls, with deacon Julia as superintendent.²⁷⁴ In this shop, a night school

269 M. Adhikari, *Hope fear, shame, frustration*, 2002, p.160.

270 T. Girtin, *The abominable clubman*, 1964, p.103.

271 V. Bickford-Smith *et al.*, *Cape Town in the twentieth century*, 1999, p.55.

272 *Cape Times*, 9 December 1916, p.10.

273 Until 1944, the Marion introduced its annual report and financial statement as: The Marion Institute (for Coloured people).

274 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1953*, p.2.

provided basic education along with activities in Physical Education, singing and Morris dancing for young Coloured girls in Cape Town.²⁷⁵ Later the Marion formed informal partnerships with similar organisations that provided many Coloured youths in District Six with Physical Education experiences.²⁷⁶ Although the Marion established itself as a girls' club, Reverend C.J. Skett began club work among the boys of District Six and started a Friday evening club for boys in 1933.

Because the institute had the moral and financial support of prominent White people, it was able to acquire property relatively easily. In 1924 an upper storey was added to the building and in 1941 further extensions took place with the acquisition of adjacent cottages that had to be reconditioned. The work extended and by 1956 it served as a social centre for Coloured men and women, boys and girls and younger children.²⁷⁷ In 1935, under the presidency of Ms. Solomon, a woman devoted to the moral upliftment of Coloured people', the institute acquired an adjacent house with the help of Countess Clarendon, the Governor-general's wife.²⁷⁸ In 1940 the old Queen Street Club room was expanded and in the afternoons volunteers supervised physical culture activities.²⁷⁹ This contributed to the growth in attendance. In 1946, 2 043 boys attended the boys' club, 1 372 girls attended the Wayfarer and Sunbeams, 1 599 boys attended the Rovers and Pathfinders and 1 015 men and 1 298 girls attended the physical culture club.²⁸⁰ This growth meant that accommodation space for indoor Physical Education activity remained a problem.²⁸¹

Throughout the period under review, the Marion remained influenced by a British ethos and the Anglican Church, with British royalty as patrons.²⁸² The Marion Institute, named after an English woman, Marion Trist²⁸³ maintained a cordial

275 *Cape Times*, 9 December 1916, p.10; Anon., The Marion Institute. *Educational Journal* 2(5):12, 1916.

276 In 1938 the Liberman and the Marion joined forces to promote a "Get Fit" campaign under the guidance of one Ms. Rawson (*Sun*, 9 December 1938, p.11; *Sun*, 15 December 1938, p.6).

277 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1957*, cover page.

278 *Sun*, 20 March 1936, p.2; In 1942, an extra club room was added to the institute (*Cape Standard*, 2 June 1942, p.5).

279 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1940*, p.3.

280 *Cape Standard*, 3 May 1946, p.9.

281 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1941*, p.6.

282 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1954*, p.1.

283 B. Frank *et al.*, *District Six*, 1967, pp.29-31.

relationship with Bishopscourt, the headquarters of the Anglican Church.²⁸⁴ This relationship resulted in the St. Philip's (Anglican) School for Coloured children being used as a venue for club activities.²⁸⁵ The location of the institute in the socio-economic depressed inner-city part of Cape Town resulted in the media calling it a "beacon of light".²⁸⁶ The activities gradually expanded, until it covered many phases of welfare activity. In 1949, the activities of the club included a first aid clinic, a nursery school, preparing home-made meals for factory workers, Bible study classes, dressmaking, knitting, embroidery, sewing, woodwork, table tennis, indoor board games, children's play games and showing educational films. Two religious plays were also staged.²⁸⁷

A number of sport clubs owe their existence to the Marion. In 1940 the table tennis division affiliated to the Western Province Table Tennis Board.²⁸⁸ The institute introduced tennis in 1943 and coaching took place at Trafalgar Park.²⁸⁹ Two years later this club joined the South Peninsula Tennis Union, and in 1945 two Marion netball teams affiliated to the Wynberg Netball Union.²⁹⁰ In 1951, the institute affiliated to the Western Province Amateur Boxing Union (Coloured) under the leadership of a boxing instructor, Charles Petersen.²⁹¹ Petersen came from a working class background and lived in Grey Street, District Six.²⁹²

Cape Town's Pathfinder and Wayfarer Movement found a home at the Marion,²⁹³ and it became the first venue for Wayfarer activity in Cape Town. Physical Education was a feature of the Wayfarers' activities at the Marion.²⁹⁴ In 1921 Ms. Jessie Seth-Smith, a woman who exerted a profound influence on the work of the Marion, arrived

284 *Cape Standard*, 18 January 1944, p.9; *Cape Standard*, 3 May 1946, p.9; *Sun*, 6 May 1949, p.6.

285 *Cape Standard*, 13 February 1945, p.10.

286 *Cape Standard*, 19 August 1947, p.7; *Sun*, 5 April 1935, p.5.

287 *Sun*, 6 May 1949, p. 6

288 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1940*, p.3.

289 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1943*, p.5.

290 *Cape Standard*, 14 June 1946, p.11; The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1945*, p.5.

291 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1951*, p.7; *Sun*, 23 February 1951, p.8; Petersen possessed a Western Province Physical Education Association club leader certificate (F. O'Neill, personal interview 2008).

292 N. Adams, telephonic interview, 2008.

293 B. Frank *et al.*, *District Six*, 1967, pp.29-31; T.H. Parsons, *Race, resistance and the Boy Scout Movement in British Colonial Africa*, 2004, p.86; *Sun*, 6 May 1949, p.6.

294 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1939*, p.4.

from England to work there.²⁹⁵ Under her supervision attendance increased. In 1934, the Wayfarer attendance stood at 1 831, and the boys' section drew 564.²⁹⁶ The following year, Sunbeam attachments held meetings on Mondays and Thursdays.²⁹⁷ In 1937 a Coloured scoutmaster Johannes Losper formed and guided the Marion Pathfinder troop. Leadership of the Pathfinders at the Marion remained under the supervision of Coloured people and Mr. Hugo and then James Gallant succeeded Losper.²⁹⁸ This Pathfinder troop devoted a considerable time in assisting various Coloured organisations with fundraising. In 1938, the troop assisted the Community Chest concert in the Cape Town City Hall, the Hyman Liberman Institute, the Get Fit display, the Athlone Football Association in the Maitland Town Hall and the International Fair for the Van Der Westhuizen Hostel²⁹⁹ in the Drill Hall in Cape Town.³⁰⁰ The Marion also provided secretaries for the Coloured Children's Camp Association.³⁰¹

The Marion always sought the favour of state organs and sympathetic White people. As a reward, it received a fair amount of support from state organs. The National Advisory Council for Physical Education made £15 available in 1939 for the purpose of purchasing physical education equipment.³⁰² In 1950, the Marion received a state grant of £50 for the same purpose.³⁰³ Jan Both a, in his capacity as technical advisor of the National Advisory Council for Physical Education, advised the Marion on matters pertaining to Physical Education.³⁰⁴ The institute also received a subsidy from the Cape Town City Council, the Cape Education Department and the Department of Social Welfare.³⁰⁵ When the Cape Town City Council zoned off parts of Cape Town for light industry and many families were forced to move to the Cape

295 B. Frank *et al.*, *District Six*, 1967, pp.29-31.

296 *Sun*, 5 April 1935, p.5.

297 *Sun*, 15 February 1935, p.6.

298 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1953*, p.5.

299 This was a boarding house where Coloured teachers and domestic factory workers and mothers met and socialised during their holidays (The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1938*, p.9).

300 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1938*, p.9.

301 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1940*, p.3.

302 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1939*, p.4.

303 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1950*, p.3.

304 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1943*, p.5.

305 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1951*, cover page.

Flats, the institution opposed government policies.³⁰⁶ This rezoning also affected the Marion.³⁰⁷ The cordial relationship with White people and organisations probably led to the Marion building not being destroyed under this act, but with the forced removal of people from District Six, attendance at the Marion declined.

In 1932, the Marion Institute held physical culture classes on Wednesday nights.³⁰⁸ The first known instructor, Ms. Edith Stevens, gave “simple instructions once a week”. A group of voluntary workers, called the Radiant Health Instructors, succeeded her.³⁰⁹ By 1935, the boys’ club held its meetings regularly on Fridays³¹⁰ and the following year Fridays were reserved for physical training.³¹¹ By 1935, Physical Education activities for girls formed part of the “Marion curriculum”.³¹² In 1938, the Marion participated in the Get Fit campaign under the guidance of a certain Mrs. Bruce,³¹³ and the institute “carried off one cup and shared a floating trophy with the Hyman Liberman Institute”.³¹⁴ In 1939, a Mrs. Landsberg introduced the Medau method to the girls³¹⁵ and in 1942 she had one Ms. Parry as assistant in providing Physical Education classes for senior and junior girls at the Marion.³¹⁶ Landsberg gave up these classes the following year,³¹⁷ but offered her services again in 1947, when she assisted Coloured teachers with the Medau method.³¹⁸

The institute tried to keep abreast with physical education developments and in 1944 four of the institute’s members attended a Physical Education course at Wesley Teachers Training School.³¹⁹ One of them happened to be the Coloured professional boxer Charles Petersen, who also took charge of the social club for men and girls

306 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1964*, p.1.

307 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1964*, p.1.

308 *Sun*, 16 September 1932, p.5.

309 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1953*, p.6; Little is known about this group other than that it participated in the Health, Anti-waste and Welfare Week in 1945 (*Cape Times*, 10 May 1945, p.5).

310 *Sun*, 15 February 1935, p.6.

311 *Sun*, 15 May 1936, p.9.

312 *Sun*, 3 January 1936, p.7.

313 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1953*, p.6

314 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1938*, p.9.

315 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1939*, p.4.

316 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1942*, p.3.

317 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1943*, p.4.

318 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1947*, p.4.

319 *Cape Standard*, 13 March 1945, p.4.

older than 17. The following year Bertha October, who attended a short course in Physical Education in England, took responsibility for Physical Education for girls and women.³²⁰ Along with James Gallant, who took charge of the boys, she still involved herself in the activities at the Marion in 1950.³²¹ The following year October introduced eurhythmics for junior girls, who gave a display at the St. Phillip's school hall.³²² In 1947, the Marion acquired the voluntary services of Fred Morrison, a Stellenbosch University trained specialist.³²³

In 1951, Prunella Stack (Mrs. Albers), the daughter of the British physical educationist, Mary Bagot Stack, brought the Women's League of Health and Beauty to South Africa. The Marion organised weekly classes in the Zonnebloem hall for this league and many of the older girls, teachers and factory workers participated. They also participated in a display at the Maynardville Park.³²⁴ The following year Albers announced that she intended taking a physical culture team to England for the league jubilee, which coincided with the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. Two girls in this team came from the Marion.³²⁵

From 1952, Physical Education and physical culture reports became more scant. The final Physical Education and physical culture report of the Marion appeared in 1961, when five boys' clubs existed in addition to junior and senior boys being provided with table tennis games. A dwindling Physical Education club, under the charge of Norman Adams, a qualified club leader from the Western Province Physical Association of Clubs, still operated. A body-building club also met twice a week.³²⁶

When Seth-Smith retired in 1954, she received many community and state awards. By then, according to media reports, the attendance at the Marion had grown to

320 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1945*, p.5.

321 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1950*, p.3.

322 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1951*, p.6.

323 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1947*, p.4.

324 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1951*, p.7.

325 *The Marion Institute*, 1952, p.5.

326 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1963*, p.1.

more than 43 000 a year.³²⁷ The following year 412 boys attended physical culture and boxing lessons, and 2709 girls attended the health and beauty class the Marion organised at Zonnebloem.³²⁸ At the end of the period under review, the institute still functioned, but no evidence could be found of physical culture or Physical Education work.

5.4.2 SILVERTREE

For 40 years children³²⁹ from all over District Six participated in sport activities such as badminton, boxing, gymnastics, judo, weight-lifting, soccer, rugby, netball, table tennis and youth groups at the Silvertree Club. Indoor activities such as library, club meetings, concert rehearsals and cinema shows also kept the club busy with activity. The objective of the club, as stated in the *Cape directory of social welfare*, included “to inculcate a sense of responsibility towards the community among the Coloured youth of Cape Town by teaching them self-discipline and applying it in the group”.³³⁰

This club, originally known as the Octopus Club (established 1926),³³¹ and, according to the *Cape Herald*, snowballed into a big club.³³² A liberal minded White man, Fred Searle, was one of the driving forces behind this club, which was initially steered by White people. On 1 March 1932, the same committee that formed the Western Province Association of Boys’ Clubs, under the direction of R.R. Brydon, the Governor-general, the Countess of Clarendon and Mrs Birch Reynardson, a sympathetic White woman, secured premises for the Silvertree Club in Roeland Street. Members came from Woodstock, Salt River, Mowbray and Camps Bay. The activities included gymnastics, physical culture, tumbling, wrestling, boxing, cross-country, first aid classes, indoor games, story reading and scouting. By then

327 B. Frank *et al.*, *District Six*, 1967, pp.29-31; *Sun*, 2 July 1954, p.1.

328 The Marion Institute, *Annual report 1955*, p.10.

329 The Silvertree Club provided club activities for children up till the age of 17 years (S. Bassadien, telephonic interview, 2008).

330 B. Helm, *A Cape Town directory of social welfare*, 1959, p.60.

331 The *Cape Standard* placed an incorrect report that the club celebrated its first anniversary in 1940 (*Cape Standard*, 24 December 1940, p.7). The name Octopus Club probably lasted until 1931. The club possibly adopted the name, Silvertree, that year (*Sun*, 9 September 1932, p.6).

332 *Cape Herald*, 19 November 1966, p.4.

Coloured members served on the executive: Irwin Combrink, Tommy Paries, Bobby Rhodes, Dougie de Cola, Nicky Basson, Leonard Gordon and Arthur Arendse.³³³

Initially only boys were allowed to participate in club activities. This may be ascribed to the club being based on a model of St. Andrew's College (Grahamstown) and Pembroke College (Cambridge), because of Searle's association with them.³³⁴ These models refer to the male exclusivity practiced at these schools. St. Andrew's College had a cricket tradition dating back to 1878 and, according to tradition; it was this school's headmaster, Reverend Mullins, who introduced rugby to the Black community there.³³⁵ Both these sport codes were male dominated at the time.

The idea of this club emanated from a meeting of Cape Town citizens who had been invited by Princess Alice, wife of the Governor-general, the Earl of Athlone,³³⁶ to discuss what had to be done about the need for welfare in the poorer districts.³³⁷ Their concern stemmed from the absence of parks in District Six and the many Coloured children appearing in court.³³⁸

Searle found an upper room above a Greek shop in Roeland Street on the fringe of District Six and there, with the help of a fellow barrister, Hastings Beck, and the brothers Alex and Basil Tyler, formed the Silvertree³³⁹ Club for boys in the area. Although the club claimed a non-sectarian position, boys received every encouragement to carry out their religious (Christian) duties.³⁴⁰

The club moved to Findlay's Building in Commercial Street, an old unused warehouse owned by G. Stuart Findlay.³⁴¹ By 1932, it catered for gymnastics,

333 *Sun*, 9 September 1932, p.6.

334 Anon., *Silvertree Youth Club*, 1978, p.32.

335 A. Odendaal, *The story of an African game*, 2003, p.55. For an account of the St. Andrew's cricket and rugby tradition, see R.F. Currey, *St Andrew's College*, 1955, pp.28, 34, 45, 55-57, 85, 125, 127.

336 This couple has a history of social welfare concern in Cape Town. A medical institute was named after Princess Alice and a residential area on the Cape Flats bears the name Athlone.

337 Anon., *Silvertree Youth Club*, 1978, p.32.

338 *Cape Herald*, 19 November 1966, p.4.

339 The silver tree, *leucadendron argenteum*, is an indigenous South African tree (K. Pienaar, *The ultimate book of trees and shrubs*, 1996, p.275).

340 *Sun*, 9 September 1932, p.6.

341 Anon., *Silvertree Youth Club*, 1978, p.32; *Cape Herald*, 19 November 1966, p.4.

physical culture, tumbling, wrestling, boxing, cross country running, first aid, indoor games, story reading and scouting. Twice a month the boys could watch a film on educational matters. They also had access to a reading room, as well as a library. On Sunday evenings, the boys could engage in community singing and prominent citizens gave short informal talks. The Cape Education Department also sponsored free night classes. By then four senior and junior groups, under group leaders competed in games and activities. In the summer the boys could choose from, cricket, swimming, life-saving, hiking, camping and mountaineering.³⁴² By then the club had an active membership of 200 and a waiting list of 100.

In 1935, the club still received no financial assistance from the Cape Town City Council and therefore no permanent staff could be employed.³⁴³ It can be deduced from a report in the *Sun* that the club formed partnerships with community organisations and enjoyed the moral support of prominent White people:

Sir James Rose-Innes was the president. He believed that the additional space obtained in Commercial Street resulted in a noticeable improvement in the conduct of the boys. The club also adopted the principle that membership be restricted to regular attendants and that new admissions be limited to younger boys. The work of the club included the dealing with individual troubles of present and past members, particularly in finding employment. Throughout the year the club had the assistance of Mr Baker from the Y.M.C.A. who arranged the fortnightly bioscope and Mr Slood who provided a dental service to the boys. The Pathfinders were under the instruction of Tyler and White. The troop took part in the Jubilee Rally of Scouts, Girl Guides, Pathfinders and Wayfarers Rosebank and represented the Club at the Centenary Pageant of slave Emancipation. In April, the Countess of Clarendon visited the club once again.³⁴⁴

342 *Sun*, 9 September 1932, p.6.

343 *Sun*, 8 November 1935, p.7; Membership remained free and in its later history the club was supported by a grant from the Cape Town City Council as well as donations from other organisations (*Cape Herald*, 19 November 1966, p.4).

344 *Sun*, 1 November 1935, p.5.

The following year, John Brett, an Oxford graduate and a teacher at Bishops High School,³⁴⁵ made his services available to the club. He brought experience of the Oxford³⁴⁶ and Bermondsey Clubs in the previously mentioned notoriously decadent East End in urban London, as well as Diocesan College, better known as Bishop's.³⁴⁷ Under his guidance a Sea Scout troop started, which remained the only Coloured Sea Scout troop in the country for many years.³⁴⁸ The club did not neglect gymnastics and an early photo of the Silvertree Club, performing a gymnastic pyramid, in 1933 is found in the *Sun* newspaper; to date the oldest available photo of a physical culture club in the Coloured community.³⁴⁹ On 25 May (Empire Day) 1936, Lady Clarendon, wife of the Governor-general, visited the club and took great interest in the gymnastic and boxing classes, Pathfinder troop and other activities.³⁵⁰ However, growth proceeded slowly and due to the economic depression, the *Sun* reported in 1937 that the Silvertree Club had faded away.³⁵¹

After World War II, club activities expanded once again. In 1951, land could be acquired on the Zonnebloem estate and by 1954 a building fund of £8 000 existed. Soon afterwards, the Fred Searle Memorial Building, with its hall built to international gymnastic specifications, arose in Maidstone Street on five acres of land at the top of District Six.³⁵²

Three sport fields were added and rag days, cup finals, rugby, soccer, baseball, sport meetings and marching girls' parades took place on the lower field. Having its own facility meant that the work could be extended and the National War Memorial Health Foundation³⁵³ set up one of their main crèches at the Maidstone Street building.

345 P. Dobson, *Bishops rugby*, 1990, p.71.

346 This club aimed to bring "university culture" into direct contact with poor people (C. Booth, Institutions and classes. In C. Booth (Ed.), *Labour and life of the people*, 1891, p.122).

347 Bishop's High School acquired a fully equipped gymnasium with modern appliances at a cost of £4 000 in 1904. The instructor was J.T. Pratt, a former gymnasium instructor to the then Transvaal Education Department (Centre for Education Conservation, Diocesan College Box: Article 2, p.29).

348 *Cape Standard*, 24 June 1947, p.8.

349 *Sun*, 10 February 1933, p.2.

350 *Sun*, 5 June 1936, p.11

351 *Sun*, 18 June 1937, p.3.

352 *Cape Herald*, 19 November 1966, p.4.

353 The National War Memorial Health Foundation came about in 1945, when the South African troops stationed in Florence, Italy were awaiting orders to return home started discussing how they could honour the memory of comrades who would never return (*Souvenir of the National War Memorial Health*

In 1954, the club had plans to erect a clubhouse with showers, a crèche and other conveniences on its site between Zonnebloem Practising School and the dry dock area. It also proposed to level this area so that a large sport field to cater for soccer, cricket, baseball, netball, etc. could be laid out. This field would eventually be placed at the disposal of the general public. The club extended an invitation to interested people to attend a meeting at the Zonnebloem Boys' School on 3 August. Indicating the close relationship between the local community and Silvertree, the club expressed the desire that out of this meeting a controlling board could be started to see the scheme through.³⁵⁴ This community support coupled with financial aid of the Cape Town City Council helped Silvertree to expand. In 1960, with the help of the council, the club managed to hire enough ground for a clubhouse and sport ground in Maidstone Street.³⁵⁵ The permanent premises also meant that executive meetings could be held at the club's headquarters and no longer at private businesses in Cape Town.³⁵⁶

The move to Maidstone Street, with its newly constructed fields, heralded the advent of rugby, cricket, soccer, baseball, athletics and netball at Silvertree. At Sunday morning matches at the Silvertree complex, players could count on spectator support of at least a thousand rugby lovers.³⁵⁷ Silvertree's baseball club became a major force in the Western Province Baseball Union.³⁵⁸ It should be mentioned that the baseball and later badminton sport codes drew players mainly from the petty bourgeoisie living in Walmer Estate³⁵⁹ while the rugby, cricket and soccer codes drew players from the working classes that lived in close proximity to the Silvertree headquarters.³⁶⁰ Throughout the period under review, the Silvertree club relied

Foundation, 1955, p.39). In 1946, the foundation made its first public statement, stating that it proposed the promotion of health and living conditions for all sections of South Africa, with special regard to the needs of "non-Europeans" (*Cape Standard*, 20 September 1946, p.4). The Silvertree Club and the National War Memorial Health Foundation always remained on friendly terms (*National War Memorial Health Foundation. Christmas Bulletin*, 1958, p.23).

354 *Sun*, 30 July 1954, p.8.

355 *Cape Herald*, 19 November 1966, p.4.

356 S. Bassadien, telephonic interview, 2008.

357 A. Booley, *Forgotten heroes*, 1998, p.225.

358 E. Henderson, personal interview, 2005.

359 Walmer Estate was a residential area marked by a pattern of growing material wealth distinct to the stagnant levels of poverty in District Six (see V. Bickford-Smith, *et al.*, *Cape Town in the twentieth century*, 1999, pp.128,130).

360 S. Bassadien, telephonic interview, 2008.

heavily on volunteers to keep these codes going, and young men like Johnny Geduld (body building and weight-lifting), Ronnie Hess (club administration, badminton, film shows, rugby), Ivan Meihuisen and Dougie Lomborg offered such services during the 1950s and 1960s. Precious McKenzie, also trained at Silver tree before leaving the country to become a British Commonwealth titleholder.³⁶¹ By 1966 the club had an attendance of between 20 000 and 22 000 children per month, and five rugby teams.³⁶²

In 1956, Tommy Paries, a Sea Scout master became club leader, while Dougie de Cola, occupied the resident quarters and was appointed warden of the building, because the committee members wanted the Coloured people of District Six to assume more responsibility for the club.³⁶³ In 1958, the club appointed its first full-time warden, but he resigned within a year for political reasons. The following year Stephen Jacobs took up the position of the first Coloured assistant warden. Jacobs had a flair for showmanship and, according to an official Silvertree account, his rag days, sport days and minstrel displays captured the hearts of the community.³⁶⁴

In 1966, Silvertree offered rugby and cricket codes to boys in District Six.³⁶⁵ Under the prominent rugby, cricket player and warden, Abdullah (Dol) Joseph Freeman,³⁶⁶ guidance, the club arranged talent contests as part of fundraising drives for the Conradie Hospital and other hospitals.³⁶⁷ However, broader political developments ruptured Silvertree's work. A Hewat graduate, Frank Gatuza, who left his teaching post in Richmond to take up his new post in District Six, succeeded Freeman. Gatuza stated that one of the reasons he left the teaching profession was his disheartendness with the drunkenness among the Coloured teacher corps in the

361 R. Archer & A. Bouillon, *The South African game*, 1982, p.40. McKenzie won a gold medal in the bantamweight weight-lifting division in the 1966 Commonwealth Games, in Kingston, Jamaica.

362 *Cape Herald*, 17 June 1967, p.9; *Cape Herald*, 19 November 1966, p.4.

363 Prior to Paries becoming club leader, Mr. McAdam, a White man, acted as the sea scoutmaster and possibly the club leader also (S. Bassadien, telephonic interview, 2008).

364 Anon., *Silvertree Youth Club*, 1978, pp.32-37.

365 *Cape Herald*, 26 March 1966, p.12.

366 Freeman played for the Roslyns Rugby Football Club and was selected for the 1939 Coloured Springbok rugby team to tour overseas. Due to the outbreak of World War II, the tour had to be cancelled (A. Booley, *Forgotten heroes*, 1998, p.43). He was the first president of the Western Province Cricket Federation in 1952. This organisation spearheaded the drive to unite cricket unions in the Western Cape in a single body where race or religion played no part (M.Allie, *More than a game*, 2000, p.13).

367 *Cape Herald*, 14 May 1966, p.3. These were hospitals that catered for African and Coloured patients.

Karoo. He associated this state of affairs with the feelings of hopelessness teachers felt because of the apartheid system. The other reason was his love of sport and the promise of sport administration at Silvertree. He was disappointed when he discovered that his new employment entailed more welfare matters than sport coaching and administration. The urban moral decay, manifested in gangsterism, drug addiction, prostitution and other problems soon replaced the rural hopelessness he left behind.³⁶⁸ The effect of the Group Areas Act, that declared District Six a White area on 11 February 1966, shattered Gatuza. Silvertree's members ended up being forcibly removed to the Cape Flats, where club activities had to be rekindled in a new township called, Manenberg.³⁶⁹ The value of Silvertree, according to Salie Bassadien, is that it helped him and others "to open their minds to help people on the Cape Flats".³⁷⁰

5.4.2.1 Silvertree and Bishops

A close connection developed between Silvertree and Bishops school, a fact emphasised by Silvertree but underplayed by Bishops.³⁷¹ This happened to be a prevailing custom in the greater public schools in England that each school had to be responsible for the running of a boys' club in the city nearest to it.³⁷² The Bishops boys, who happened to be White, did this in a way that did not upset their privileged social position in Cape society. A former Silvertree club member, Salie Bassadien, has recollections of the Silvertree-Bishops connection that leaves an impression of paternalism, in line with the English head master, Edward Thring's ideas of 'rich boys helping poor boys'. Bassadien recalled how the Bishop boy's (who were the sons of prominent United Party members) always came to the club on their Thursday night-off but the Silvertree boys never went to them. He goes further by stating that usually only six or seven senior Bishop boys – the number depending on the availability of

368 F. Gaduza, personal interview, 2006.

369 Anon., *Silvertree Youth Club*, 1978, pp.38-43. The researcher visited the centre in Manenberg and found nothing that resembled the state of affairs in its District Six days. The building looked dilapidated and the gymnastic equipment misused. Frank Gatuza was still in charge of affairs at the centre. The township of Manenberg is representative of other areas on the Cape Flats.

370 S. Bassadien, telephonic interview, 2008.

371 No mention s made of this link between Silvertree and Bishops in the school's official biography (D. McIntyre, *A century of 'bishops'*, 1950).

372 *Cape Herald*, 19 November 1966, p.4.

car transport - who resided on the school hostel, visited the Silvertree Club.³⁷³ There is also no indication that the same cordial relationship existed between the Bishops School and the Silvertree Club as between the Zonnebloem Training School and the Silvertree Club. All of this indicates that the Silvertree club visits were 'fill-ins' for Bishop hostelites, rather than sincere commitment towards helping the less advantaged. Despite this, Bassadien admits that these visits "helped us, and hopefully the Bishop boys, to see beyond the apartheid barriers".³⁷⁴

When John Brett left the club in 1939 to join the war, Richard Hennessy, a teacher at Bishops, took his place. Hennessy also left for the war in 1942 and, with the help of some Bishops boys, Dougie de Cola kept the club a live in a tiny garage in Upper Loop Street.³⁷⁵

Their equipment consisted of an old gymnastic horse, with the run-up directly across the street. In 1946, at the instigation of a Bishops teacher, Colonel Lex Sales,³⁷⁶ a number of old Bishop Boys met under the chairmanship of Hubert J. Kidd.³⁷⁷ This committee aimed at re-establishing the club and promoting its growth.

The following year, the club moved its headquarters to Bishops Anglican sister school: Zonnebloem Teachers Training School. In 1955, when Brigadier Ardene took over chairmanship of the club, it no longer operated as a purely Bishops enclave and marked the beginning of a period of increased fundraising.³⁷⁸ Over the years a number of teachers associated themselves with the management of Silvertree. These included Martin Henley, Beatrice Hufkie, Peter Lemesurier, Ed Milne and Hughie Poggenpoel. The presence of two Bishops teachers, Milne and Lemesurier, can be ascribed to the Silvertree constitution that stated that Bishops had to have a representative on the management committee.³⁷⁹ This also explains the Bishop

373 S. Bassadien, telephonic interview, 2008.

374 S. Bassadien, telephonic interview, 2008.

375 The *Cape Herald* reported that it was in Long Street (*Cape Herald*, 19 November 1966, p.4).

376 See P. Dobson, *Bishops rugby*, 1990, p.71.

377 Kidd was headmaster at Bishops from 1943 till 1963 (M.A. Peacock (Ed.), *Some famous schools in South Africa*, volume 1, 1972, p.39; P. Dobson, *Bishops rugby*, 1990, p.18).

378 Anon., *Silvertree Youth Club*, 1978, pp.32-37.

379 F. Gatuza, personal interview, 2006.

tradition of rugby and Old Boys at Silvertree and the helping with running the activities. One such activity, the special “club night”, proved very popular and became the prerogative of Basil de Broize, a Coloured man originally from Durban working at the Silvertree Club, and assisted by Yusuf Yu³⁸⁰ and other rugby enthusiasts.³⁸¹

5.4.3 ACCRO, WESLEY AND ANNOS

The clubs Accro, Wesley and Annos differ from the previous ones in that their origin and management rested completely in the hands of Coloured people. The predecessor to the Wesley Physical Culture Club, the Accro Club, started in 1933 in an old sand floor garage that belonged to a certain Ismail Brown, in Caledon Street, District Six. Here young men, most of whom left school between grade 4 to 8, trained with homemade weights and ropes tied to the ceiling. Later the club moved to a room in a building on the corner of Sir Lowry Road and Russel Street.³⁸² The club staged its first official physical culture display in the St. John’s school room in Waterkant Street, Cape Town, on 8 September 1934. The *Sun* reported that the club’s 15 regular attendants gave a demonstration in weight-lifting, balancing and acrobatic stunts, muscle control, strength feats and pyramid building.³⁸³ Cecil Jacobs became the first instructor and Noor Siers, a school teacher, acted as the secretary for the next two years,³⁸⁴ while Ismail Brown and H. Freeman fulfilled other official duties.³⁸⁵ That year a number of past and present students of Wesley Teachers Training School trained at the Accro Physical Culture Club. They gave weight-lifting displays as part of physical training competitions staged by the physical training teacher, Kathleen Malherbe.³⁸⁶ The club appears to have been successful and a

380 People in District Six knew him as Boeta Yu (In Cape Afrikaans context, the term, Boeta, is used as a sign of respect or affection for a male). Yu spearheaded the formation of the Silvertree Boys Rugby Club, an offshoot of the Roslyns Rugby Football Club (S. Bassadien, telephonic interview, 2008).

381 *Cape Standard*, 24 June 1947, p.8.

382 H. Stevens, personal interview, 2007.

383 *Sun*, 23 November 1934, p.8.

384 *Sun*, 8 November 1936, p.5.

385 *Sun*, 21 September 1934, p.8.

386 *Sun*, 5 October 1934, p.6.

confident Siers called for a union of Coloured physical culture clubs in the Western Province.³⁸⁷

The involvement of Brown and Siers in club activities is of interest, because it relates to the quintessential view the petty bourgeoisie held about their community, namely that the petty bourgeoisie became “knee-haltered because a large portion of our people drag us down into a mire of filth”.³⁸⁸ At the same time, some White intellectuals expressed the idea that education and training alone would not regenerate a race, but the continual increase in numbers of the “desirable elements of the population would”. The Coloured petty bourgeoisie believed this. One of the first attendants of Accro, Herman Stevens, states that the club started “as something to keep the lads off the street and because of Ismail Brown’s politician father, who encouraged his son to do something good for the local street boys”.³⁸⁹

The Coloured petty bourgeoisie members held on to a “civilising process” which meant the eradication of “ignorance of the working class”.³⁹⁰ Siers thus obtained books by Charles Atlas, out of pocket, for the purpose of training the boys and to “enlighten” them.

The Wesley Physical Culture Club replaced the Accro, apparently on a formal basis, meaning with elected officials.³⁹¹ According to H. Titus, the 1947 club secretary, the club established itself under the direction of Sidney Rule,³⁹² in 1935 with the aim of teaching the “sacredness of body and soul” and bringing many young men off the street. An anonymous writer in the college yearbook claimed it started in 1936, therefore the club celebrated its tenth anniversary in July 1946 with a “monster display”³⁹³ of gymnastic and body-building activity, and Matt October’s “Herculaen

387 *Sun*, 25 May 1934, p.7.

388 M. Adhikari, *Hope, fear, shame, frustration*, 2002, p.158.

389 H. Stevens, personal interview, 2007.

390 M. Adhikari, *Hope, fear, shame, frustration*, 2002, p.152. Not only working class Coloured people benefited from the Accro Club, but also the petty bourgeoisie. Richard van der Ross was introduced to the club by a friend, Roland Palm. The latter became deputy principal of a high school and a senior official of the Western Province Senior School Sports Union (R.E. van der Ross, personal interview, 2007).

391 In 1948 the *Sun* drew special attention to Matt October (instructor), Phillip Joorst (assistant instructor) and Kenneth Carstens (treasurer) (*Sun*, 10 December 1948, p.8). The latter position infers the function of an elected official.

392 Rule grew up in a working class area in Cape Town – Rutger Street, District Six (B. Rule, telephonic interview, 2008).

393 This is a common term used for big sport events at the time

feats”³⁹⁴ in the Woodstock Town Hall and a social evening in the college hall.³⁹⁵ The origin of the club is rooted in the idea of doing good deeds for the labouring poor. This is evident in a letter Rule sent to the club on its tenth anniversary:

The club is doing good work in a variety of ways, including the giving of entertainments from time to time to help raise funds for schools and other good causes ... Some of the club’s own members have organised smaller clubs near their homes, others are assisting in various Church Lads’ Brigades and social centre movements. In the country, town and suburbs, our club, ably led by Silver Leaguer Matt October, South African Light Weight wrestling champion, has built up a very fine reputation.³⁹⁶

Later, the club presented gym nastic and physical culture activities at functions in diverse settings, from Church halls to the annual Western Province Domino Association trophy presentation at the Liberman Hall.³⁹⁷ The club introduced body-building competitions to the Cape Town Coloured community. It received favourable coverage from the *Sun* to the extent that at the end of 1948 the newspaper regarded Wesley as the leading club in the Cape Peninsula.³⁹⁸ Club activities extended beyond the Peninsula and in April 1951, under the guidance of Matt October and physical culture displays were organised in the Paarl Town Hall and in the Dreyer Hall in Ceres. Wesley Club activities also extended to Wellington in the Boland.³⁹⁹

The growth of the Accro, Anno and Wesley Clubs can be explained on two accounts. Firstly, they did not pose a threat to the government’s policies on racial segregation. If they had any politically active members, they usually involved themselves with the TEPA or other moderate organisations. Secondly, the clubs had the moral support of many White people. A number of White sport personalities accepted invitations to

394 In this feat, October with a body weight of 130 lbs. and with 400 lbs. on his shoulders, made two complete circles and performed a neck lift with 300 lbs. He wound up his performance by lying prone and allowing the entire club of 22 men to jump, one by one, from a chair onto his abdomen (*Cape Standard*, 23 December 1946, p. 10).

395 *Cape Standard*, 12 July 1946, p.10; *Wesley Training College Magazine*, 1946, p.25; *Wesley Training College Magazine*, 1947, p.15.

396 *Wesley Training College Magazine*, 1946, p.25.

397 *Sun*, 12 November 1948, p.8.

398 *Sun*, 10 December 1948, p.8.

399 *Sun*, 27 April 1951, p.5.

their physical culture events. In 1952, when the Goodwood branch gave a display of pyramid building on parallel bars, the judges were Dr. Danie Craven, department head of Physical Education at Stellenbosch University⁴⁰⁰ and the Springbok rugby coach,⁴⁰¹ Tromp van Diggelen,⁴⁰² Milo Pillay (a prominent weight-lifter in the Black community), Jack Lunz,⁴⁰³ Anne Ross (the American female diving champion) and Jean Brownlee (holder of the 1952 Ms. Cape Town title, for White women).⁴⁰⁴

In July 1954, two prominent White physical educationists, Issy Bloomberg⁴⁰⁵ and Esme Clarke, a Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs official, formed part of the judging panel at the club's Mr. and Ms. Cape Town Physique Competition in the Cape Town City Hall.⁴⁰⁶ The club also made use of other liberal White patrons as officials at its physical culture events, even though they sometimes displayed hostility towards working class Coloured people. One such patron happened to be councillor G.E. Ferry, who presented the club with a set of weights at a physical culture display in 1946⁴⁰⁷ and a trophy for the annual wrestling competition in December of that year.⁴⁰⁸ When the apartheid policy was applied to public transport in 1955 and the best seats reserved for White passengers, Ferry appealed, in a racist tone, for an exception to be made for "cultivated Coloured people who have 80 percent European blood and have civilised European standards".⁴⁰⁹ The club tolerated such people because they brought a certain amount of status and facilitated growth. These White people also paid tribute to the work done by the club and to individual members, reassuring them that their work

400 A.L. Boshoff, *Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch*, 1981, p.195.

401 B. Booyens, *Danie Craven*, 1975, p.151.

402 *Clarion*, 11 November 1948, p.1; The *South African Who's Who* of 1919 gave the following epitaph of him: "Tromp van Diggelen is a man to whom we are indebted for the physical culture boom and the resultant smashing of records." He is the managing director of the Tromp van Diggelen Institute of Physical Culture, with branches in Johannesburg and Pretoria. He promoted the means of introducing muscle control as a method of developing the human body. He introduced the ideas in London and in Europe in 1909, and they were adopted in nearly every part of the industrialised world (K. Donaldson (Ed.), *South Africa's Who's Who*, 1919, p.207).

403 Also known as Jackie Lunz, a Jewish businessman who had premises in Plein Street and later Barrack Street, Cape Town. He distributed body-building products (F. O'Neill, telephonic interview, 2008).

404 *Sun*, 24 October 1952, pp.7-8.

405 Issy Bloom berg, an Olympic and British Empire Games athlete and a Maccabi Games champion (*Sun*, 20 August 1954, p.1).

406 *Sun*, 16 July 1954, p.5.

407 *Cape Standard*, 12 July 1946, p.10.

408 *Cape Standard*, 17 December 1946, p.8.

409 R.E. van der Ross, *The rise and decline of apartheid*, 1986, p.284.

was “not in vain”, after successful physical culture displays.⁴¹⁰ This to relation also meant that the club could dispense charitable duties without eliciting state harassment. For example, Matt October assisted in raising funds for the victims of the 1949 Durban riots.⁴¹¹

From early on, prominent sportspeople in the Coloured community in the Western Cape had some association with this club. When the Wesley Physical Culture Club staged their boxing and wrestling finals on 18 May 1937, the boxer Sonny Thomas⁴¹² gave an exhibition match.⁴¹³ This contributed to a growth in club membership and by the following year an annual club boxing and wrestling championship tournament could be held at the Wesley Training College Hall.⁴¹⁴ The first available names in the media of Wesley Club wrestlers are Joe Bosch, Matt October, Robey Elliot, D. Ellis, Ken Karstens, C. Landers, P. Lewis and H. Wentzel.⁴¹⁵

The most important figure among them is Matt October, who combined the influences of entertainment, sport and religion in the club. From the 1940s until the 1960s, he became a household name in physical culture in the Western Cape. He practised his physical culture programme along the lines of showmanship and the name “the incomparable Matt October” became synonymous with terms such as “death-defying bottle balancing act”,⁴¹⁶ “Herculean feats”⁴¹⁷ and his “human merry-go-round”.⁴¹⁸ Apparently October entered the physical culture world in 1939 and the *Cape Standard* commented in 1950 that “for 11 years now... October was the

410 For examples, see *Cape Standard*, 15 March 1938, p.4; *Sun*, 9 November 1951, p.4; *Sun*, 24 October 1952, pp.7-8; *Sun*, 30 July 1954, p.8. These accolades were in all cases directed at Matt October. Sometimes the rewards were more lasting, such as the Cape Education Department naming a school, the Sid G. Rule Primary School.

411 *Sun*, 20 May 1949, p.8.

412 Thomas became a well-known boxer in Cape Town prior to World War II.

413 *Sun*, 21 May 1937, p.4.

414 *Cape Standard*, 30 August 1938, p.10.

415 *Cape Standard*, 14 July 1942, p.4.

416 *Sun*, 4 November 1949, p.8. A newspaper picture shows this as an act where October performs a handstand on a chair supported by a table. The legs of the chair and table in turn are supported by four glass bottles (*Sun*, 20 May 1949, p.8).

417 The most impressive of these feats is the “rope strangle” applied by 20 men (*Cape Standard*, 12 July 1946, p.10).

418 In this feat October, with a body weight of 130 lbs. and with 400 lbs. on his shoulders, makes two complete circles and perform a neck lift with 300 lbs. He wound up his performance by lying prone and allowing the entire club of 22 men to jump, one by one, from a chair onto his abdomen (*Cape Standard*, 23 December 1946, p.10)

instructor, trainer, leader and manager of Wesley Club". He also had the reputation of "a musician that often entertained audiences with his harmonica".⁴¹⁹

October initiated and maintained relationships between the Wesley Club and a wide range of religious organisations and his physical culture activities included assisting the Church Lads' Brigade.⁴²⁰ The club provided regular support for church functions, especially the Moravians. This is possibly due to the fact that October was a Moravian Church member himself. In 1943, the club gave a display of physical exercises, feats of agility, strong man stunts and pyramids in aid of funds for the Moravian Weldadige Genootskap (Moravian Charitable Society) in the St. Phillip's Hall, Cape Town.⁴²¹ In 1946, the club staged a successful display in the G.B.V. Hall in Genadendal. Here Matt October gave some harmonica selections and acted as a conjurer. The Genadendal community made several requests for a repeat performance.⁴²² In 1954, October invited the Reverend A. Habelgaarn⁴²³ of the Moravian Church, Port Elizabeth, to open a physical culture competition in Cape Town with prayer.⁴²⁴ However, the Wesley Club did not operate on sectarian lines.

The Moravian Church viewed Islam with disdain and had an uncompromising stand that "Onze God kan de keten van het Mohammedanisme verbreken"⁴²⁵ (Our God can break the chains of Islam). Despite the support the Wesley Club gave the Moravian Church, the Moslem Progressive Society relied on Wesley for a gymnastic display on 25 November 1946 in the Cape Town City Hall as part of a fundraising drive.⁴²⁶ When Wesley staged a gymnastic display on 3 November 1947, some of the most prominent Muslim clerics in Cape Town sat in the audience: Sheik Ismail Ganief, Manland Azierbour Rahman, Imam Sulaiman Harris, Imam Abas Jassiem,

419 *Sun*, 17 March 1950, p.2.

420 *Sun*, 20 May 1949, p.8.

421 *Cape Standard*, 28 September 1943, p.5

422 *Cape Standard*, 25 October 1946, p.7.

423 He later married Mathilda Kronenberg. He had the title Bishop at the Moravian Hope Congregation, Port Elizabeth. He served there from 1947 until 1958 (B. Krüger & P.W. Schaberg, *The pear tree bears fruit*, 1984, p.177).

424 *Sun*, 16 July 1954, p.5.

425 *De Bode van Genadendal*, 51(5):5, Maart 1910.

426 *Cape Standard*, 25 October 1946, p.7.

Sheik Moegamat Jassiem, Hassiem Edross, E. Palmer, A.K. Stemmet and Dr. A. Abrahams.⁴²⁷

October also arranged and participated in physical culture events for other church groups. On 6 August 1946 the Wesley Club arranged such a programme in the Wynberg Town Hall in aid of the People's Mission Church, Ottery, to raise funds for the erection of the first school for Coloured children in that area.⁴²⁸ The programme opened with pyramid building, followed by vaulting, tumbling, agility, parallel bar work, feats of strength, body-building posing and musical items. Matt October performed his "strangle pull" and his "human merry-go-round".⁴²⁹ Danie van Rooi entertained the audience with club swinging. October also planned a repeat performance in the Somerset-West Town Hall for 6 September in aid of the All Saints Sunday School (Anglican) fund.⁴³⁰

A past student, Basil de Vries, teaching on the staff of Blouville Dutch Reformed Church Primary School in Retreat, Cape Town, stated in the 1948 yearbook that there seemed to be no doubt that Wesley past students could be located in every part of the country.⁴³¹ Many took with them the skills they acquired at the Wesley Physical Culture Club. In 1946 Sidney Rule continued with the work he started at the Wesley Physical Culture Club in Velddrift on the West Coast, being principal of St. Christopher's E.C. School, Berg River. Matt October donated a trophy for physical culture to the St. Christopher's Sunday School, where Rule acted as the superintendent.⁴³² About the same time in George the former Higher Primary Teachers Certificate student Adolf Olieslager, did duty as the local TEPA branch secretary, organised physical culture displays and arranged physical culture club activities for young and old people.⁴³³

⁴²⁷ *Cape Standard*, 11 November 1947, p.7.

⁴²⁸ *Cape Standard*, 12 July 1946, p.10.

⁴²⁹ *Cape Standard*, 23 December 1946, p.10.

⁴³⁰ *Cape Standard*, 23 December 1946, p.10.

⁴³¹ *Wesley Training College Magazine*, 1948, p.23.

⁴³² *Cape Standard*, 5 April 1946, p.10.

⁴³³ *TEPA*, 5(1):16, August 1950; *Wesley Training College Magazine*, 1947, p.28.

A major contribution of the Wesley Club towards the development of physical culture, is the introduction of the Mr. Body Beautiful competition, held for the first time in Ottery, Cape Town, in 1947.⁴³⁴ A patron of the club offered a suitably inscribed trophy for the competition, to the member who obtained the highest marks. This competition was open to athletes, weight-lifters, wrestlers and physical culturists throughout the Cape Province, both professional and amateur. Besides this competition, the club held an annual gymnastic display, arranged regular health talks for the community and a suitable instructor set an annual theory gymnastic test for its members.⁴³⁵ The Body Beautiful contest was a “search for the most vital, vigorous man through physical development and to encourage Coloured boys to build better, stronger and healthier bodies”.⁴³⁶ The range of participants, officials and spectators represented the leading White and Coloured physical culturists of the 1940s and 1950s, as well as body-builders that became household names in Cape Town. These included Ernest Groenewald (Wesley), Sasman Nazo (St. Raphaels), Salien Gierdien (Liberman), Henry Jones (Perseverance), Jacob Paulse (Wesley) and Phillip Joorst (Wesley).⁴³⁷ Participants from as far as Wellington and Paarl entered in 1952 to compete for the 22 trophies.⁴³⁸ The scope of the competition expanded to the extent that club members suggested a Junior Physical Culture competition be included in the 1951 programme.⁴³⁹ That year, a South African business company, Jungle Oats donated a trophy for the junior Mr. Body Beautiful.⁴⁴⁰ The Ms. Peninsula competition formed part of the Body Beautiful competition, for the best arms, best legs and the best chest,⁴⁴¹ but it did not have the same status as the male competition.⁴⁴²

434 *Cape Standard*, 16 September 1947, p.7. It was also called the Physical Excellence Competition, Display and Variety Show (*Sun*, 27 October 1950, p.8). In 1951 it was called the “Cavalcade of health and strength” (*Sun*, 9 November 1951, p.4).

435 *Sun*, 27 October 1950, p.6.

436 *Cape Standard*, 18 November 1947, p.2.

437 *Sun*, 3 December 1948, p.8.

438 *Sun*, 31 October 1952, p.2.

439 *Sun*, 22 December 1950, p.8

440 *Sun*, 5 December 1952, p.4.

441 *Sun*, 8 September 1950, p.1; *Sun*, 27 October 1950, p.6. Isobel Roman won the first Ms. Peninsula competition (*Sun*, 22 December 1950, p.8).

442 *Sun*, 5 March 1948, p.5; *Sun*, 14 July 1950; *Sun*, 3 November 1950, p.8; *Sun*, 16 November 1951, p.8; *Sun*, 24 October 1952, p.7; *Sun*, 12 September 1952, p.8; *Sun*, 31 October 1952, p.2; *Sun*, 7 November 1952, p.5.

The first significant mention in the media of female participation in Wesley Club activity is of Anne Orange who, along with male members, gave a display of muscle control and feats of strength at the 1948 Mr. Body Beautiful competition.⁴⁴³ Orange represented the Annos Club that had its headquarters at the Industrial School in Roeland Street, Cape Town.⁴⁴⁴

This club functioned under the supervision of Matt October and specialised in balancing feats, acrobatics and contortion. It usually provided supporting acts for the Mr. Body Beautiful contest in the Cape Town City Hall.⁴⁴⁵ Orange enjoyed some media attention for her balancing and contortion acts and became a popular feature in physical culture circles, where she entertained crowds by complementing October's feats of strength.⁴⁴⁶ Due to her influence, Wesley Club featured work aimed specifically at women that included folk, tap and ballet dancing. The *Sun* described her as "a marvellous instructor",⁴⁴⁷ but she never had the same status in media coverage as October.

Another prominent Wesley Club member worth mentioning is Ron Eland, who had an impressive weight-lifting record. During the 1950s, with humble beginnings, he received his initial schooling at Weis Primary School in Port Elizabeth and proceeded to Dower Training School in Uitenhage to pursue the Lower Primary Teachers Certificate course. In 1943, he started his teaching career at De Vos Malan Primary School in Port Elizabeth. Eland's entry into the body-building world was unimpressive. On 6 January 1944, he joined the Milo Academy of Health and Strength.⁴⁴⁸ His body mass stood at a mere 136 lbs. and he could only bench press 100 lbs., snatch 100 lbs. and clean and jerk 120 lbs. His concentration and scientific training methods eventually enabled him to beat his trainer, Milo Pillay. On 27

443 *Sun*, 5 March 1948, p.5.

444 F. O'Neill, personal interview, 2006.

445 *Sun*, 24 October 1952, p.7; *Sun*, 12 September 1952, p.8; *Sun*, 31 October 1952, p.2; *Sun*, 7 November 1952, p.5.

446 *Sun*, 16 November 1949, pp.7, 18.

447 *Sun*, 10 December 1948, p.8.

448 *Sun*, 28 May 1948, p.7. The Milo Academy of Health and Strength was a body building club, probably affiliated to the International Health and Strength League. The founder, Milo Pillay a Coloured weight-lifter and physical culturist, planned to attend a South African weight-lifting conference in the then Transvaal in 1945 with the intention of proposing that the ban on interracial weight-lifting competitions in South Africa be abolished (*Cape Standard*, 6 February 1945, p.4).

November 1945 at the annual Milo Academy Show, Eland, with a body mass of 143 lbs., bench pressed 195 lbs., snatched 185 lbs. and cleaned and jerked 250 lbs.

From then on his career gained prominence in weight-lifting circles. On 23 December 1947, again at the annual Milo Academy Show, Eland had improved to the extent that he bench pressed 210 lbs., snatched 215 lbs. and jerked 290 lbs.⁴⁴⁹ With the assistance of October's entertainment finesse, he later dominated the weight-lifting code, not only in the Western Province but in South Africa. Eland's weight-lifting ability became a popular draw card for October's ventures. Besides his prominence in weight-lifting, he also played rugby and performed the duties of a captain in a Church Brigade (Dutch Reformed) company in Port Elizabeth.⁴⁵⁰ He belonged to the TEPA⁴⁵¹ and on 5 May 1951 he gave a display of weight - lifting and posing at the TEPA physical education display.⁴⁵²

Eland, along with October and other Wesley members, moved weight-lifting to a level of organised national activity. On 22 August 1950, they convened a meeting at the headquarters of the Wesley Physical Culture Club with the aim of establishing a South African Weight-lifting Federation that would seek recognition from the British Amateur Weight-lifting Association and nominate Coloured people to world meetings or the Olympic Games.⁴⁵³ The leading role of the Wesley Club in developing weight-lifting in South Africa may be seen in the election of Matt October as manager of the first South African Amateur Weight-lifting (Coloured) competition and Ron Eland and Ernest Groenewald as Western Province representatives in the lightweight division.⁴⁵⁴

Eland became the first Coloured weight- lifter in Cape Town to pursue an international career. He left for England on 6 March 1948 with the financial assistance of the Milo Academy and the British Amateur Weight-lifting Association.

449 *Sun*, 28 May 1948, p.7.

450 *Sun*, 28 May 1948, p.7.

451 *TEPA*, 3(4):8, March 1949.

452 *TEPA Educational News*, 5(4):13, April-June 1951.

453 *Sun*, 11 August 1950, p.1.

454 *Sun*, 22 September 1950, p.8.

Oscar State, secretary of the British Amateur Weight-lifting Association, took him under his care and Tromp van Diggelen arranged that W.A. Pullum, a British weight-lifting expert, coach Eland⁴⁵⁵ At the “Cavalcade of Health and Strength” meeting, organised by the Wesley Club in 1951, the master of ceremonies announced Eland’s invitation by the British weight-lifting body to participate in the 1952 Olympic Games.⁴⁵⁶ He also finished third in the Mr. Universe competition that year.⁴⁵⁷ Eland brought an international aura to a club and community that it would otherwise not have enjoyed in a racially restrictive South African society. His achievements can be partly ascribed to him pursuing a moderate political course.

This historical account of the Accro, Annos and Wesley Clubs directs attention to the efforts of the Coloured petty bourgeoisie for assimilation into and acceptance by White society. They could not have achieved this if the mass of working class Coloured urbanites continued to embarrass them and therefore needed to be taught “the importance of the sacredness of body and soul”, along ways of acceptable Western cultural (White) norms. The support of liberal White people, the international community⁴⁵⁸ and churches⁴⁵⁹ were needed and successfully obtained. This success allowed Ron Eland to pursue an international career in weight-lifting. In the main, the moderate political approach of the Wesley Club however failed to impress upon the ruling class the need to change its racist attitude towards the Coloured community. The Coloured community in general viewed the activities of the Wesley Club as innocent entertainment, in aid of some charitable cause, therefore only isolated incidents of criticism from grassroots level occurred.⁴⁶⁰ At a physical culture display on 3 November 1947, impersonations by Marjorie Burger, a White girl, of a typical “non-European” met with protest. An anonymous reader wrote to the *Cape Standard* that he and his friends intended boycotting the club’s future activities.⁴⁶¹ However, no reference could be found that the community boycotted any of the

⁴⁵⁵ *Sun*, 28 May 1948, p.7.

⁴⁵⁶ *Sun*, 9 November 1951, p.4.

⁴⁵⁷ *Sun*, 28 September 1951, p.1.

⁴⁵⁸ Wesley Club affiliated to the Health and Strength League of London (*Wesley Training College Magazine*, 1947, p.15).

⁴⁵⁹ Members of the Wesley Club referred to themselves as the Wesley Guild and the majority belonged to the Methodist Church (D. Sylvester, telephonic interview, 2008).

⁴⁶⁰ A TLSA stalwart, when asked about his attitude towards the Wesley Club, stated that he “knew what was going on in the Woodstock Town Hall, but was not really concerned”.

⁴⁶¹ *Cape Standard*, 11 November 1947, p.7.

Wesley Club's activities out of political motivation. The theme of physical culture as a tool for social progress by means of collaboration is also found in the history of the YMCA and YWCA.

5.4.4 YOUNG MAN'S AND WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

Founded in 1841, under the influence of the clerk George Williams, the Young Man's Christian Association (YMCA) grew into a worldwide organisation with programmes of systematic Physical Education in Europe, North and South America, Asia and Africa.⁴⁶² According to the *S.A. Clarion*, it started as an "agency of the Church, directing its efforts towards the furtherance of the Church's mission in the world and was a brotherhood which recognised no barrier of class distinction, party politics or racial differences".⁴⁶³ The *S.A. Clarion* announced that the premises of the YMCA is "the only place in Cape Town where the "self-respecting Coloured person could have a meal in public".⁴⁶⁴

The YMCA started its activities in Cape Town in August 1865 in Barrack Street and commenced with a number of sports, notably gymnastics.⁴⁶⁵ Rejected by Whites, the Coloured petty bourgeoisie established its own YMCA.⁴⁶⁶ In the Western Cape the association organised separate branches for Coloured and White people, deviating from its original policy mentioned above. When a women's section, the Young Woman's Christian Association (YWCA), started at a public meeting in Cape Town on 6 May 1886, the attitude towards Coloured women reflected paternalism⁴⁶⁷ with the emphasis on evangelisation rather than social improvement. The YWCA (Coloured) began with 120 members at the Metropolitan Methodist Church Hall in Cape Town under the leadership of Coloured female petty bourgeoisie: Mrs. F. Gow,

462 A.L. Boshoff, Die geskiedenis van gimnastiek in Suid-Afrika tot 1989, 1991, p.47; R.T. McKenzie, *Exercise and education and medicine*, 1924, p.166.

463 *S.A. Clarion*, 14 February 1920, p.10.

464 *S.A. Clarion*, 2(60):10, 7 August 1920.

465 RGN-sportondersoek. *Sportgeskiedskrywing en -dokumentasie. Verslag nommer 15*, 1982, p.72; G.A. Parker, *South African sports*, 1897, p.229; For a historical account of YMCA gymnastic activity in the White community of the Western Cape, see A.L. Boshoff, Die geskiedenis van gimnastiek in Suid-Afrika tot 1989, 1991, pp.47-51.

466 V. Bickford-Smith *et al.*, *Cape Town in the twentieth century*, 1999, p.43.

467 Media reports indicate that this organisation carefully scrutinised the texture and colour of Coloured girls' hair with the object of eliminating contact with White girls (*S.A. Clarion*, 1(9):5, 31 May 1919); *S.A. Clarion*, 1(51):7, 27 March 1920.

Sister Catherine Blackburn (an African American), Ms. Beukman and Mrs. Wooding.⁴⁶⁸ The aim was to “promote a spirit of helpfulness and comradeship to form a united front against all forces that were in conflict with the teachings of Christ”.⁴⁶⁹ Under their leadership the YWCA introduced Physical Education classes in 1920,⁴⁷⁰ camp outings for girls the following year and by 1929 Wayfarer activity had been introduced.⁴⁷¹

Prominent members of the Coloured petty bourgeoisie⁴⁷² had connections to the YMCA and they brought experience of involvement in sport and Physical Education. An example is A.S. Williams, the elected member of a YMCA (Coloured) committee (established on 30 December 1919) with the purpose of drawing up a constitution for the Coloured Association.⁴⁷³ His involvement in Physical Education and sport organisations included the Church Lads’ Brigade;⁴⁷⁴ serving on the executive body of the Clarion Lawn Tennis Club in Queenstown,⁴⁷⁵ being the first president of the Western Province Lawn Tennis Association (Coloured) (established in Wellington on 9 October 1920) and chairing the Western Province Amateur Athletics and Cycling Association (Coloured) from 1913 until at least 1920.⁴⁷⁶ In 1920, when the YMCA established a swimming club, Williams and one W. Willenberg organised the swimming division and acquired the service of a popular Coloured boxer, Mannie Abrahams.⁴⁷⁷

These physical education and sport efforts could not be concentrated solely on the petty bourgeoisie, because of their low numbers. The YMCA therefore aimed toward

468 G. Cuthbertson & D. Whitelaw, *God, youth and women*, 1986, pp.8, 20, 23; S.A. *Clarion*, 1(5):7, 3 May 1919. The latter two featured prominently in TLSA circles.

469 S.A. *Clarion*, 1(5):7, 3 May 1919.

470 In 1940 the YWCA in England offered club leadership training at the YWCA College. The training included physical education training under the supervision of the British Board of Education (The Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, *The Carnegie bursary scheme for the training of youth leaders*, 1943, p.17).

471 G. Cuthbertson & D. Whitelaw, *God, youth and women*, 1986, pp.23, 25.

472 Being members of the YMCA created an opportunity for the petty bourgeoisie to be associated with prominent figures such as Cecil John Rhodes. After his death, Dr. Abdullah Abdurahman, still admired him. Rhodes also allowed the YMCA Rambling Club to visit his estate, Groote Schuur (R. Durbach, *Kipling’s South Africa*, 1988, p.65).

473 S.A. *Clarion*, 14 February 1920, p.10.

474 S.A. *Clarion*, 2(55):9, 29 May 1920.

475 S.A. *Clarion*, 1(41):15, 17 January 1920.

476 S.A. *Clarion*, 2(66):8, 11, 30 October 1920

477 S.A. *Clarion*, 2(67):14, 13 November 1920.

attaining a bourgeoisie standard of acceptance in order to gain social respectability from White people. In this regard, Adhikari states that rowdiness, drunkenness, criminality and a whole range of delinquent behaviour were sufficiently common among Coloured working class people to embarrass “respectable” Coloured people acutely.⁴⁷⁸ The YMCA focused on addressing these social issues. One of the few shelters for working class juvenile delinquents in Cape Town could be found at the YWCA for Coloured girls at Castle Bridge.⁴⁷⁹ Sections of the Coloured community believed that elements of sectarianism infiltrated the YMCA. The *S.A. Clarion* therefore appealed for a “wider sphere of non-sectarianism where one could go for refreshment and exchange views on different matters”.⁴⁸⁰ It is evident that this appeal was directed at religious sectarianism, particularly the exclusion of Muslims,⁴⁸¹ rather than a criticism of class distinction. The YMCA made no secret about its opposition to any non-Christian activity, pointing out that such activity was dangerous. It later used examples of the “evils of the Youth Movement in Nazi Germany” as a reference point.⁴⁸²

The major physical education effort of the YMCA in the Coloured community became the establishment of the Schotsche Kloof Chiappini Street Club for youths between the ages of nine and 25 in 1938 later renamed the YMCA Boys’ Club.⁴⁸³ This club situated itself in the working class part of Cape Town, known as the Bo-Kaap, with its headquarters in two old storerooms in a condemned building rented from the City Council. Club activities centre around the promotion of the idea of “respectability”. According to an early club leader, Bill Wood, boys could only participate in Physical Education activities if they showed some sign of reverential appearance: if their “faces were clean”.⁴⁸⁴

478 M. Adhikari, *Hope, fear, shame, frustration*, 2002, p.155.

479 *Sun*, 17 September 1937, p.1.

480 *S.A. Clarion*, 1(51):6, 27 March 1920.

481 The *S.A. Clarion* acted as the mouthpiece of the United Afrikaner League. Its leadership consisted mainly of former members of the APO who had a gripe against its president, Dr. Abdullah Abdurahman, a Muslim.

482 *Cape Argus*, 11 May 1954, p.2.

483 W. Wood, scrapbook collection [private collections].

484 W. Wood, personal interview, 2006.

In the early years of the Chiappini Street Club, this working class Coloured man, William Wood, acted as the club leader. Wood received his first gymnastic training from Arnold Schrecker as a grade 8 pupil at the Wesley Practising School. Between 1945 and 1955, he completed the elementary and advanced part-time courses in leadership training in Physical Education with the Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs.⁴⁸⁵ Wood volunteered his services to the Chiappini Street Club for two nights of the week. On the other nights, he visited clubs in District Six and the African township Langa. During his annual holiday, he took the older boys of the club on camps financed by the YMCA.⁴⁸⁶

The first media report of this club, under the chairmanship of J.R. Haddow, is found in the *Cape Standard* of 23 January 1945.⁴⁸⁷ During World War II the club's activities stopped, but re-opened in 1945. According to a club official, P.J. Hancock, also a qualified social worker, the club had a registered membership of about 150 and visits of about 300 boys on an informal basis. The club served primarily as a recreation al centre, but a qualified tailor and carpenter taught the members trade. Members also had access to a well-stocked library.⁴⁸⁸ Because of the large numbers, physical training occurred on two evenings of the week: boys aged six to 12 years trained on Tuesdays and those aged 13 to 16 years on Wednesdays.⁴⁸⁹ This included Physical Education (gymnastics), boxing and games.

Whenever possible the boys were taken to swim.⁴⁹⁰ Haddow made arrangements with the Eoan Group, starting in January 1945, to offer Thursday night Physical Education classes for girls living in District Six. Two certified instructors availed themselves for this purpose.⁴⁹¹ By 1948 a girls' section functioned and received instruction not only in Physical Education, but also in sewing and hygiene from members of the Eoan Group under supervision of Anna Kronenberg.⁴⁹²

485 W. Wood, scrapbook collection [private collections].

486 *Sun*, 30 January 1948, p.5.

487 The *Cape Standard* incorrectly reported that Haddow acted as the club leader (*Cape Standard*, 23 January 1945, p.5).

488 W. Wood, scrapbook collection [private collections].

489 The boys aged 17 to 25 probably went on the camps.

490 *Sun*, 30 January 1948, p.5.

491 *Cape Standard*, 23 January 1945, p.5.

492 *Sun*, 30 January 1948, p.5.

Initially the YMCA and the YWCA contributed to the development of Physical Education in the Western Cape by holding out an image of “civilised decency” for the working class. This image reacted as a response to socio-economic conditions in a rapidly industrialising country.⁴⁹³ It therefore had the support of government agencies such as the Cape Town City Council and could reach hundreds of young boys and girls. The YMCA and the YWCA firmly believed that it offered working class boys and girls the chance of experiencing what it believed to be social respectability and what may be termed “high culture”. This theme of striving after “high culture” through physical Education also permeated the Eoan Group.

5.4.5 THE EOAN GROUP

The Eoan⁴⁹⁴ Group established itself as a cultural, social and educational body that claimed to cater for such needs in Cape Town’s poorer classes.⁴⁹⁵ The establishment of the Eoan Group Movement in District Six in 1933⁴⁹⁶ is accredited to the initiatives of Helen Southern-Holt, a White businesswoman who immigrated to South Africa in 1930⁴⁹⁷ and viewed by her supporters as “the mother and founder of the group”.⁴⁹⁸ By 1955 the following branches existed: Athlone Central, Athlone North, Brooklyn, Grassy Park, Maitland, Maitland East, Newlands, Norwood, Ochberg, Paarl, Parow, Simon’s Town, St.Paul’s, Silverlea, Walmer and Wynberg. The Eoan Group also had studios in Athlone, Claremont, Cape Town, Wynberg, Stellenbosch and Goodwood.⁴⁹⁹

With the forced removal of people from District Six, starting in 1966, the activities of the Eoan Group in the city centre came to an end. In April 1966, the Cape Town City

493 G. Cuthbertson & D. Whitelaw, *God, youth and women*, 1986, p.1.

494 The term “Eoan” is derived from the Greek god of the morning red, Eos. According to Greek mythology, this god appeared out of the depths of the sea daily with forward moving chariots to announce the dawn of the new day with rose-coloured fingers. The Latin adjective is Eous and the English variant is Eoan (Eoan Group, *The Eoan*, 1938, p.6; G. Manuel, *Kampvegters*, n.d., pp.69-70; *Cape Herald*, 14 October 1967, p.4).

495 *Clarion*, 6 November 1948, p.3.

496 *Cape Herald*, 14 October 1967, p.4.

497 G. Manuel, *Kampvegters*, n.d., pp.69-70.

498 Eoan Group, *The Eoan*, 1938, p.6.

499 *Sun*, 1 August 1952, p.1; *Sun*, 18 February 1955, p.1.

Council, under the influence of councillor E.F. (Ned) Doman, granted about three acres in Athlone to the Eoan Group.⁵⁰⁰ They could erect a building on this site and Joseph Stone, a naturalised White South African born in England, pledged R100 000 for the project.⁵⁰¹ Such support and growth were possible because the non-threatening “virtues of neatness, good manners, obedience, love of truth and beauty and perseverance formed part of the instruction of the Eoan Group”.⁵⁰²

The organisation focused on music and classical movement and these were topics of previous academic research in terms of its contribution to the performing arts.⁵⁰³ No academic research exists on its promotion of physical culture and Physical Education. Historical accounts, drawn primarily from the *Sun* and other newspapers, however indicate that it made a contribution in these two areas.⁵⁰⁴

The Eoan Group enjoyed the moral support, supplemented by financial aid, from the government. The National Advisory Council for Physical Education allotted a grant to them.⁵⁰⁵ Until March 1956, the Eoan Group also accepted a grant from the Cape Education Department, but due to continual political pressure from the NEUM,⁵⁰⁶ they opted not to apply for further government grants. It however continued accepting an annual grant of R2 000 from the Cape Town Municipality.⁵⁰⁷ The Anti-CAD Movement therefore remained critical of the Eoan Group.⁵⁰⁸

From its early years, the Eoan Group brought the latest trends in Physical Education, practiced in the White community, to the people in the Western Cape. When Helen Southern-Holt’s daughter, Maisy Holt, arrived in South Africa in 1935, she introduced

500 *Cape Herald*, 7 May 1966, p.8.

501 *Cape Herald*, 16 April 1966, pp.1-2; *Cape Herald*, 3 December 1966, p.5.

502 Eoan Group, *The Eoan*, 1938, pp.6-7.

503 R.E. van der Ross, A political and social history of the Cape Coloured people, part 3, 1973, pp.604-607; A.J. Venter, *A profile of two million Coloured South Africans*, 1974, pp.350-352.

504 The bulk of the Eoan Group’s physical education programme focused on club work. A few exceptions that may be viewed as physical culture exist. For example, in 1952, the Wynberg branch opened the proceedings of the interracial soccer match between Herbert’s XI and Kemp’s XI with a dance display (*Sun*, 3 October 1952, p.2). In the same year, the group provided various dance items at the inaugural Western Province Weight-lifting and Body-building Association Physical Excellence competition on 12 December (*Sun*, 19 December 1952, p.5).

505 E. Jokl, Physical education, sport and recreation. In E. Hellman, (Ed.), *Handbook on race relations in South Africa*, 1949, p.447.

506 *The Torch*, 24 November 1947, p.5.

507 R.E. van der Ross, A political and social history of the Cape Coloured people, part 3, 1973, p.606.

508 The radical movement in Coloured politics remained critical of the Eoan Group (*The Torch*, 24 November 1947, p.5).

natural movement classes that proved popular among the girls in District Six. The following year Helen Webb, the Physical Education teacher at Zonnebloem, got involved with Eoan activities.⁵⁰⁹ The Eoan Group also provided physical culture activities and in September 1937 planned a physical culture display of acrobatics and natural movement in conjunction with children of Hawston.⁵¹⁰ Until then, Physical Education and physical culture provision catered for girls only. Gymnasium classes by a qualified instructor got started in August 1938 in Maitland “in order to train young men as voluntary teachers of physical culture”. On 26 December an open-air display was held at the Rosebank Showground’s in conjunction with the Church Lads’ Brigade.⁵¹¹ A few years after its establishment, the Eoan group introduced an annual physical culture competition. Only negligible information is available about this competition, which usually took place on the public holiday 16 December (then called Dingaans’ Day, today’s Reconciliation Day) at the Rosebank Showground’s. In 1940, both genders participated⁵¹² under the supervision of Coloured persons. Edward Canterbury (a school teacher) took charge as the male organiser and Olga October (also a teacher and the first Eoan Group secretary) helped to prepare female teachers by working through the prescribed table of exercises with them.⁵¹³ The following year the Eoan Group started a special two-year course in Physical Education under the instructorship of Helen Southern-Holt, who gave lectures in Physiology and Anatomy. Students sat for an examination, set by Helen Southern-Holt, at the end of each year.⁵¹⁴

The available evidence shows the broad scope covered in the Eoan Group’s Physical Education and physical culture programme. By 1942 physical culture activities featured regularly at its branches.⁵¹⁵ In 1945 the Wynberg branch, under the club leadership of Myrtle Martin (a qualified ballet teacher), planned a physical culture display at the Battswood College.⁵¹⁶ The following year, a school teacher and

509 Eoan Group, *The Eoan*, 1938, p.7; *Sun*, 17 January 1936, p.2.

510 *Sun*, 10 September 1937, p.6.

511 Eoan Group, *The Eoan*, 1938, pp.13-14.

512 The individual winner of the trophy in the men’s section was R. Pfaff (*Cape Standard*, 19 November 1940, p.9).

513 *Cape Standard*, 19 November 1940, p.9.

514 *Cape Standard*, 4 February 1941.

515 *Cape Standard*, 29 September 1942, p.2.

516 *Cape Standard*, 13 March 1945, p.10.

local sportsman was appointed club leader of the Eoan Group with the purpose of extending the work in the area of boys' physical culture.⁵¹⁷ In 1947 the Grassy Park branch, under the club leadership of Louise Jacobs (a primary school teacher) and assisted by Mrs. Petersen and Williams showcased the work of its boys' and girls' sections. The boys, under the guidance of two Coloured men, Phillip America⁵¹⁸ (a Wesley trained physical educationist) and Chris Reddy (a school teacher who later obtained a doctorate in Education), demonstrated Physical Education activities. Under the guidance of Olive Calvert, a dancer who often received invitations to perform in other centres of the Union of South Africa, the girls gave a display of national, classical and tap dancing.⁵¹⁹ Thereafter, in 1948, the branch planned activities that included remedial and physical health, girls' and boys' exercises, dancing (national, folk, country, ballet, Greek, tap and comedy), indoor and outdoor games, boys' club discussion groups and health talks.⁵²⁰

When the Cape Province administrator, Johan G. Carinus, outlined the state of Physical Education in the Coloured community in a public address in 1950, he singled out the Eoan Group who, according to him, showed that Coloured girls had rhythmical talent for most dance forms and could easily find expression in specialist Physical Education teaching".⁵²¹ The following year the Eoan Group established a part-time course to train club leaders in all fields associated with group activities. The course was free and students received lectures in the Commerce Block, Upper Orange Street on premises of the University of Cape Town.

Sessions were open to the public and not restricted to members of the Eoan Group. Topics covered by experts in their field included club management, social services and the place of drama, library, art and singing in club life. The club leaders also received instruction in Physical Education. The lecturers included W.H. Hutt (Department of Commerce, University of Cape Town), M.B. Williams (town clerk of Cape Town), Joseph S. Manca (musical director of the Eoan Group), Sheila Fort

517 *Cape Standard*, 5 July 1946, p.5.

518 He taught at the School for the Deaf (Coloured) in Wittebome, Cape Town (C. Reddy, telephonic interview, 2008).

519 *Cape Standard*, 4 November 1947, p.6.

520 *Sun*, 16 January 1948, p.2.

521 *Sun*, 5 May 1950, p.4.

(Zonnebloem Training School art teacher), D.R. Fischer and Dr. Oscar Wolheim (warden of the Cape Flats Distress Association).⁵²² Most of these people were respected academics and social figures in the White community and their presence lent an “element of prestige” to the Eoan Group and those associated with it. Coloured people also received an opportunity here to associate with the prestigious University of Cape Town.

In 1952 the work for the year included:

1. Physical Education, with a syllabus of exercises for health promotion and remedial purposes, as well as natural movement, folk dancing and games, both indoor and outdoor.
2. Recreation games, including badminton and other games.
3. Social evenings and community dancing.
4. Boys’ clubs catering for weight-lifting, indoor games and character building talks.⁵²³

By the late 1960s, the activities of the Eoan Group expanded to home entertainment, sport, folk dances, tap dancing, children’s art, handwork clubs for men and boys, as well as weight-lifting.⁵²⁴ The Eoan Group also played an important part in the activities of the Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs. As an example, they planned a Physical Education course, starting on 7 May 1947 under the auspices of the Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs, for male club leaders of any youth or church organisation.⁵²⁵

The Eoan Group solicited many prominent liberal-minded individuals and organisations for support. In 1948, Captain du Toit, who first raised the idea of a Coloured Advisory Council and therefore disliked by the “Young Turks”, was made its patron.⁵²⁶ The TEPA always associated itself with the Eoan Group. In 1948 Helen

⁵²² *Sun*, 9 March 1951, p.2.

⁵²³ *Sun*, 1 August 1952, p.1.

⁵²⁴ G. Manuel, *Kampvegters*, n.d., pp.71-72.

⁵²⁵ *Cape Standard*, 6 May 1947, p.1.

⁵²⁶ *Sun*, 29 October 1948, p.6. He gave his support to the Eoan Group as early as 1938 (Eoan Group, *The Eoan*, 1938, p.4).

Southern-Holt and one of the Kronenberg sisters acted as adjudicators for the girls' section of the TEPA Physical Education competition.⁵²⁷ In 1955, Dr. Richard van der Ross acted as a guest speaker at one of the important functions⁵²⁸ and about the same time George Cloete, a prominent sport administrator and TEPA member, performed as a singer and actor in the activities of the Eoan Group.⁵²⁹

The Group claimed a neutral stand concerning politics. Because of this non-threatening attitude towards the state, the group endured criticism from the NEUM and the South African Coloured People's Organisation.⁵³⁰ The former launched one of its many attacks against the Eoan Group in 1947, when the Stellenbosch girls' branch of the Eoan Group displayed class work in exercises, natural movement and dancing.⁵³¹ This happened after segregation measures were visible at its performances. This segregation, applied by the Eoan Group, was voluntarily since the official apartheid legislation dealing with separate amenities for separate population groups was only introduced in 1953.⁵³²

Later, the South African Coloured People's Organisation went so far as to accuse the Eoan Group of supporting apartheid and delivered a letter indicating its dissatisfaction to each of their *La Traviata* cast members after a special performance for members of parliament.⁵³³ The Eoan Group members also involved themselves, in their personal capacity, in the activities of the Klaasjagersberg Scheme.⁵³⁴ Given the racist constraints placed on society, the Eoan Group did attempt to break down racial barriers on a small scale. Its founding principles included having "no bar of race, creed, colour or condition".⁵³⁵ In November 1948 the instructor of the Langa

527 *Sun*, 30 April 1984, p.1; *TEPA*, 2(6):2, June 1948.

528 *Sun*, 28 January 1955, p.4.

529 H. Robinson, personal interview, 2006.

530 Coloured teachers formed the South African Coloured People's Organisation in the 1950s. The name later changed to the Coloured People's Congress. One section of the organisation, under Reg September, aligned itself with the African National Congress and the other, under Barney Desai, aligned itself with the Pan Africanist Congress (*Cape Herald*, 7 May 1966, p.4).

531 The Muslim community is largely made up of Coloured people.

532 P.W. Coetzer, Die era van apartheid. In T. Cameron (Red.), *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, 1991, p.278.

533 *Sun*, 13 April 1956, p.6.

534 *The Torch*, 10(47):5, 31 January 1956.

535 Eoan Group, *The Eoan*, 1938, p.3.

Boys' Club and his African pupils gave a boxing demonstration at the annual Eoan Group bazaar in the Banqueting Hall, Cape Town.⁵³⁶

The Eoan Group largely owes its establishment to the work of a British born woman, Helen Southern- Holt, who was employed in a commercial concern where she engaged with Coloured workers. Her motive for establishing the Eoan Group was to to “improve their precarious condition in life by uniting in brotherhood to serve the best aims of the group, forgetful of personal self”.⁵³⁷ She firmly believed that Coloured people could realise the “dawning of a new cultural expansion in themselves and a new understanding of well-being, physical and mental, for their race”.⁵³⁸ With government aid, the Eoan Group pursued this belief and developed into a prodigious cultural organisation that included physical culture and Physical Education in its activities. The beliefs of Helen Southern-Holt were underpinned by personal ambition and she behaved passively towards the government’s racist policies. This rendered the Eoan Group powerless against the forced removal of many of its members from their homes in District Six.

5.4.6 THE HYMAN LIBERMAN INSTITUTE

The Hyman Liberman Institute, commonly known as the Liberman, (established on 19 April 1934) owes its existence to the first Jewish mayor of Cape Town⁵³⁹ and its building became an oasis of cultural and educational activities in District Six.⁵⁴⁰ This event had its origin in the friendship between Hyman Liberman and Chief Rabbi A.P. Bender, who had an association with the Toynbee Hall in London. Bender was however reluctant to be seen as a champion of Cape Town’s poor and the Liberman could therefore only be established under the executed will of Hyman Liberman, not

⁵³⁶ *Clarion*, 6 November 1948, p.3.

⁵³⁷ Eoan Group, *The Eoan*, 1938, p.3.

⁵³⁸ R.E. van der Ross, A political and social history of the Cape Coloured people, part 3, 1973, p.604.

⁵³⁹ *Cape Standard*, 9 August 1938, p.4; District Six Museum, Anon., The Jews and District Six. *The world of S.A. Jewry*, 1988; *Sun*, 9 March 1956, p.7; Another media report shows that the Liberman was officially opened on 23 June 1934 (Jacob Gatlin Library Archives, Archive Box PMP 136, Hyman Liberman).

⁵⁴⁰ R.E. van der Ross, A political and social history of the Cape Coloured people, part 3, 1973, pp.593-594. See Hyman Liberman Institute. *Report of the Hyman Liberman Institute transfer committee*, 1964, pp.12-13 for the list of organisations using the institute between 1934 and 1958.

during his lifetime.⁵⁴¹ From early in its inception years, the Union Department of Social Welfare recognised the Liberman as a “social centre”.⁵⁴² These social activities included Physical Education experiences for the poorer people of Cape Town, of whom the majority were Coloured.

The objectives of the Liberman included producing Coloured people of both genders, fit and healthy in mind and body.⁵⁴³ The support of the Coloured and White elite had to be solicited for this purpose. Prominent Cape Town public people therefore became associated with the Liberman, as can be seen from the list of speakers at the opening ceremony: Prof. Hutt (the first warden), Dr. Abdullah Abdurahman, Bishop Simms and Sir Carruthers Beattie (vice-chancellor of the University of Cape Town). Beattie was the first Liberman vice-president and Louis Gradner, the mayor, the first president.⁵⁴⁴ The elected committee who took responsibility for the daily running of the Liberman consisted of prominent Coloured people: A. Gamiet⁵⁴⁵ (chairman), A.E. Abdurahman (vice-chairman), Ray Carlier (secretary),⁵⁴⁶ Ms. W. Carelse (treasurer), Ms. R. Benjamin, A. Willoughby, A. Davids, W. Parry, M.B. Abdurahman, A. Jacobs and E. Said (additional members).⁵⁴⁷ Because the constitution stated that “the activities of the Institute shall be non-political, non-sectarian and non-racial”,⁵⁴⁸ the Liberman catered for a wide range of personalities and groups in the political spectrum of the Western Cape.⁵⁴⁹ However government organs funded the Liberman,⁵⁵⁰ and therefore it could not completely escape the influence of state policy but it tended to be more liberal than other clubs.

541 M. Shain, *If I am for myself alone, what am I?*, 1983, p.6. Toynbee Hall had as its aim “to bring University culture into direct contact with the poorest of the people” (C. Booth. Institutions and classes. In C. Booth, (Ed.), *Labour and life of the people*, 1891, p.122). The Liberman made provision for a professor of Social Science at the University of Cape Town to have a permanent position on the management board (Hyman Liberman Institute, *Report of the Hyman Liberman Institute transfer committee*, 1964, p.9).

542 Hyman Liberman Institute, *Memorandum on the work of the Hyman Liberman Institute*, 1943, p.4.

543 *Cape Standard*, 15 August 1939, p.11.

544 Jacob Gatlin Library Archives, Archive Box PMP 136, Hyman Liberman.

545 He played bridge for the Old Trafalgar Club alongside the Abdurahman family (*Sun*, 10 August 1934, p.8).

546 She became principal of the Livingstone High School and was involved in netball, tennis and table tennis. She also moved in the NEUM circles (R.O. Dudley, telephonic interview, 2003).

547 *Sun*, 17 August 1934, p.1.

548 Hyman Liberman Institute, *Report of the Hyman Liberman Institute transfer committee*, 1964, p.9.

549 In 1943 the Liberman executive congratulated the moderate politicians Councillor S. Dollie and TEPA member Paul Heneke on being elected onto the CAC. At the same time Cissie Gool served on its executive committee and the Non-European Front, Non-European Unity Front and Friends of the Soviet Union were allowed to use the Institute for meetings (Hyman Liberman Institute, *Memorandum on the work of the Hyman Liberman Institute*, 1943, pp.5, 16).

550 In 1957 the CAD introduced a subsidy scheme for the Liberman, but on 1 April 1958 the Cape Town City Council took complete control (Hyman Liberman Institute, *Proceedings at a public meeting convened by the Hyman Liberman Institute transfer committee*, 1958, pp.2, 8).

By October 1934, the Liberman offered free Physical Education classes, paying particular attention to dance.⁵⁵¹ The emphasis was on folk and natural movement.⁵⁵² Partnerships were soon established with religious organisations and the following month the institution provided a teacher for a class of girls who started to give Wednesday night displays in dance movements in the Parish Hall, Holy Redeemer Church in Tramway Road, Sea Point.⁵⁵³ By March 1935, Physical Education classes for girls were offered at St. Paul's Church.⁵⁵⁴ A boys' club, without any age limit, was started in 1935 in conjunction with a play centre, for boys aged seven to 12 years, under the leadership of F.K. Adams, K. Adams, F. Bodman, P. Dunberg, W. Forgas and Christiaan Ziervogel. A list of occupations of senior members of the boys' club indicates that the majority had a working class background.⁵⁵⁵

In 1937, Physical Education and physical culture activities took place on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday evenings.⁵⁵⁶ By 1940, meetings were held four times a week with a membership of between 70 and 80 for the club and 30 and 40 for the play centre. In 1941, the number decreased to 60 because many members enlisted with the Cape Corps. The two divisions combined to form one club offering boxing, wrestling, weight-lifting and physical culture. The following year the Liberman added social activities to the physical culture functions under the guidance of F. Adams. Financial difficulties in obtaining equipment were overcome by organising dances and sufficient equipment could be purchased to maintain the club for six months.⁵⁵⁷

Over the years, these activities extended to exhibitions in physical drill for boys, a junior and senior table tennis club and a Pathfinder and Cub troop.⁵⁵⁸ The latter two owes its establishment to the Fifth Cape Town Scout troop in 1940 under the leadership of Mr. Gallant (Pathfinders) and Mr. Garoute (Cubs). In January 1943 the

⁵⁵¹ *Cape Standard*, 14 September 1936, p.3; *Sun*, 19 October 1934, p.2; *Sun*, 16 November 1934, p.8.

⁵⁵² *Cape Standard*, 24 March 1942, p.2.

⁵⁵³ *Sun*, 26 November 1934, p.8.

⁵⁵⁴ *Sun*, 15 February 1935, p.8.

⁵⁵⁵ Hyman Liberman Institute, *Memorandum on the work of the Hyman Liberman Institute*, 1943, p.16.

⁵⁵⁶ *Sun*, 12 February 1937, p.9.

⁵⁵⁷ Hyman Liberman Institute, *Memorandum on the work of the Hyman Liberman Institute*, 1943, p.16.

⁵⁵⁸ *Cape Standard*, 9 August 1938, p. 4; District Six Museum, Anon., *The Jews and District Six. The world of S.A. Jewry*, 1988; *Sun*, 9 March 1956, p.7.

St. Mark's Church Lads' Brigade started using the Liberman.⁵⁵⁹ Nine years later, 14 organisations, some with Physical Education programmes, used the Liberman Hall, with 52 meetings in May.⁵⁶⁰

When the Department of Social Welfare released an official report on the Liberman in 1958, it reported on the boys' club as follows:

The main activity consists of physical culture, wrestling and boxing on Tuesday and Thursday evenings from 7 to 10 p.m. The ages range from 10 years upwards, but the members are divided into two groups' viz. juniors and seniors. There are 27 regular juniors and 57 regular seniors attached to the club. They have the services of a voluntary instructor who used to be a boxing champion. These children are very keen to attend and they enter boxing tournaments. This is a very good service against juvenile and adult delinquency. Many boys, who used to be gang members, have become club members. The members are all from the poor income groups. An experienced wrestler and a qualified instructor are in charge of the physical culture tuition.⁵⁶¹

This indicates the value this government department attached to clubs in maintaining discipline in society. This value, combined with the pursuit of "high culture", formed part of the Liberman's philosophy. The first Coloured person to make a significant contribution towards Physical Education at the Liberman was Christiaan Ziervogel, who combined this "high culture" with ordinary people's experiences. Adhikari describes Ziervogel as an autodidact whose education background resulted in him being able to contribute to the spiritual, cultural and socio-economic upliftment of the community, particularly in District Six, where he lived. These contributions earned him the nickname "Professor of District Six"⁵⁶² and under his direction the Liberman became known as the Poor Man's University.⁵⁶³

559 Hyman Liberman Institute, *Memorandum on the work of the Hyman Liberman Institute*, 1943, pp.16, 18.

560 *Sun*, 25 July 1952, p.4; *Sun*, 19 September 1952, p.4.

561 Hyman Liberman Institute, *Report of the Hyman Liberman Institute transfer committee*, 1964, pp.15-16.

562 M. Adhikari, *Hope, fear, shame, frustration*, 2002, pp.77-78.

563 R.E. van der Ross, *A political and social history of the Cape Coloured people*, part 2 & 3, 1973, p.654.

Ziervogel became warden of the Hyman Liberman Institute sometime in the 1930s and arranged Physical Education classes for men, women, girls and boys.⁵⁶⁴ He also regularly played football with the kindergarten class at the Liberman.⁵⁶⁵ In 1939, after the completion of building extensions and due to his influence, provision could be made for a gymnasium with showers for the boxers and wrestlers.⁵⁶⁶ Besides being chairman of the Western Province Amateur Boxing Union⁵⁶⁷ and vice-chairman of the Peninsula Debating Society, he also served on the Juvenile Board.⁵⁶⁸ He is accredited for being the chief organiser of the 1936 Coloured Sports Pageant and in 1938 he acted as secretary.⁵⁶⁹ During his tenure as warden, he oversaw the establishment of a boxing club at the Liberman.

Because of his interest in academic affairs, he made arrangements for Dr. Jean van der Poel, an academic from the University of Cape Town, to present four lectures on education at the Liberman. In her final lecture, she referred to the uselessness of Physical Education in schools and stressed the importance of proper feeding and medical inspection that were “more beneficial than physical exercises to a child whose stomach is empty and teeth are rotten”.⁵⁷⁰ Ziervogel would have agreed with this statement, because of his activity in left wing politics, supporting the Trotskyist National Liberation League and contributing to its journal, *The Liberator*.⁵⁷¹ Van der Poel’s statements opened up alternative perspectives on Physical Education for the teachers who attended her lectures. It is possible that the world- class library of the Liberman supplemented Van der Poel’s ideas with reading material.

In 1944, the curator of the Liberman, S. Crowden, initiated “quieter social entertainment”⁵⁷² for boys younger than 18 who had no inclination to participate in the more physical activities. From then on the club provided indoor games and card

564 *Sun*, 1 May 1936, p.9.

565 *Cape Standard*, 14 September 1936, p.3.

566 *Sun*, 24 March 1939, p.9.

567 This body was first known as the Western Province Boxing and Physical Culture Club (M. Adhikari, *Hope, fear, shame, frustration*, 2002, p.77).

568 *Cape Standard*, 6 October 1936, p.3; *Cape Standard*, 27 April 1943, p.12.

569 *Cape Standard*, 4 January 1938, p.5.

570 *Cape Standard*, 29 October 1940, p.7.

571 M. Adhikari, *Not White enough, not Black enough*, 2005, p.41.

572 The value of “being quiet” was stressed in “English civilised behaviour” (see H.B. Fantham, *Evolution and mankind. The South African Journal of Science*, 25(1):302, August 1918).

activities every Monday from 20:00 to 22:00.⁵⁷³ The following year, for unknown reasons the Physical Education activities decreased and classes took place only on Tuesdays between 19:00 and 22:00.⁵⁷⁴ By 1952, Physical Education work among Cape Town girls had stopped.⁵⁷⁵

This historical account of the Hyman Liberman Institute shows how the practice of Physical Education was shaped by left wing politics, quite different to what was happening at other clubs. At the same time, it also infused an idea of striving after “high culture”, a common thread among other physical culture clubs, into its members. This indicates how the Coloured petty bourgeoisie internalised the belief that Western European bourgeoisie culture represented the apogee of human achievement and that the degree of conformity with its norms and values (including democracy) provided an objective scale for what may be termed progress.⁵⁷⁶ A historical account of some of the lesser known clubs reveals a similar interrelatedness between the practice of Physical Education and physical culture and the socio-political landscape within which people operated.

5.4.7 OTHER CLUBS

The salient features of social responsibility, White dependency, British loyalty and religiosity also surfaced in the less reported clubs. When these clubs emerged shortly after World War I, they largely depended on White people for administrative guidance and financial support. One example of a club that openly displayed the characteristic of British loyalty is the short-lived Empire Sporting Club that started in June 1919 in the heart of District Six at 60 Aspeling Street and disbanded in January 1921.⁵⁷⁷ In its first year of existence, true to its name, it showed loyalty to the British war effort by staging an all-night Peace Ball in the Mechanic and Fidelity Hall on 29 August.⁵⁷⁸ The influence of various churches in promoting physical culture cannot be

⁵⁷³ *Cape Standard*, 28 November 1944, p.3.

⁵⁷⁴ *Cape Standard*, 30 January 1945, p.9.

⁵⁷⁵ *Sun*, 3 October 1952, p.4.

⁵⁷⁶ M. Adhikari, *Not White enough, not Black enough*, 2005, p.92.

⁵⁷⁷ *S.A. Clarion*, 2(72):9, 22 January 1921.

⁵⁷⁸ *S.A. Clarion*, 1(21):10, 23 August 1919.

ignored, because they supplied facilities where these did not exist in the broader community. It was also easier to woo White personalities to support church events. Of interest here are St. Alban's and St. Mark's, both connected to the Anglican Church.

St. Alban's Club existed in 1937, where Sonny Thomas gave an exhibition at the St Alban's Boxing and Physical Culture Club interclub tournament in the St Phillip's school room in Chapel Street.⁵⁷⁹ Besides boxing, the club offered wrestling⁵⁸⁰ and weight-lifting. One of the popular members was Cecil Jacobs, a weight-lifter and wrestler.⁵⁸¹ Partnerships also existed with other clubs. On 8 May 1945, V.E. (Victory in Europe) Day, the club staged a vaulting display as part of the Health and Anti-waste Welfare Week. The Eoan Group gave a dance display and club leaders of various other clubs demonstrated exercises and dances. Piet Taljaard, the White South African heavyweight weight-lifting champion, gave a display of weight-lifting and partnered Cecil Jacobs. Tromp van Diggelen commentated and Andy Dell, known as the South African Apollo (White), demonstrated muscular posing.⁵⁸²

St. Mark's Church, on the corner of Caledon and Clifton Street, was in the centre of District Six, where it played a pivotal part of community life.⁵⁸³ Muslim and Christian children sat side by side on Sunday church services and attended Physical Education classes together at St. Marks Club.⁵⁸⁴ The rector of St. Mark's, Reverend Arthur F. Green, a White clergyman, formed part of the first controlling body of the Playing Fields Association (established in the Cape Town City Hall on 3 May 1939) "because of his knowledge of and interest in the non-Europeans".⁵⁸⁵ One of the aims of the Playing Fields Association was to encourage the training and appointment of play leaders, and organising voluntary helpers of all races and classes. This association also secured Somerset Site, a two and a half acre piece of land between

579 *Sun*, 17 September 1937, p.11.

580 According to the chairman in 1954, this was the oldest Coloured wrestling club in the Western Province (*Sun*, 11 June 1954, p.4); *Cape Standard*, 14 July 1942, p.4).

581 In June 1944, the Gleemor Town Hall was packed to capacity when the Indian wrestler Goolam Rasaal Khan had a demonstration bout with Jacobs (*Cape Standard*, 6 June 1944, p.10).

582 *Cape Standard*, 15 May 1945, p.11.

583 N. Ebrahim, *Noor's Story*, 2007, p.16.

584 N. Ebrahim, personal interview, 2008.

585 W.H. Law, *Playing Fields Associations in South Africa*, *Vigor*, 6(2):14-15, 1953.

Main Road (to Green Point) and Old Dock Road, preserving it from industrial development.⁵⁸⁶ This secured the use of the Green Point Track for Coloured people. By 1936, this venue had been the chief centre of outdoor sport for this community for longer than a century, being the only playing ground near the city centre available for their sportspeople on Saturdays and holidays.⁵⁸⁷

St. Mark's Physical Culture Club started in June 1944, with a Cape Town Coloured wrestler, Jimmy Battle⁵⁸⁸ as its first supervisor.⁵⁸⁹ Through its existence, working class people from District Six acted as Physical Education instructors and club leaders. These included Vincent Brigladner, who resided in William Street; Norman Adams from 12 Canterbury Street, a printer and Joe Humbles also a printer by trade.⁵⁹⁰

On 20 November 1944 it staged its first wrestling competition in the Gleemor Town Hall. Wesley, Liberman and St. John's Clubs also participated.⁵⁹¹ On 29 September 1947, the club staged a physical culture display in a variety show in Cathedral Hall, Cape Town. The programme opened with a ground pyramid display, followed by parallel bar work and balancing feats. Most of the members, including the club leader, received training at the Wesley Physical Culture Club before and reflected the influence of Matt October. Ann Orange gave an exhibition of suppleness. Members of the Bosco Physical Culture Club demonstrated the three Olympic lifts and other strength feats.⁵⁹² In June 1948, the club visited Robertson, where they staged a display of physical training in aid of funds for the local English church. Both the Coloured and White section of the community received the show with rounds of applause.⁵⁹³

586 W.H. Law, *Playing Fields Associations in South Africa*, *Vigor*, 6(2):14-15, 1953.

587 *Cape Standard*, 6 July 1936, p.6.

588 Battle, a working class man, was employed as a factory worker in Salt River, Cape Town (F. O'Neill, personal interview, 2008).

589 *Cape Standard*, 14 November 1944, p.10.

590 N. Adams, personal interview, 2008.

591 *Cape Standard*, 28 November 1944, p.10.

592 *Cape Standard*, 7 October 1947, p.7.

593 *Sun*, 18 June 1948, p.2.

Until 1951, the activities focussed around non-gymnastic apparatus work.⁵⁹⁴ That year, things changed with the establishment of the St. Mark's Community Centre and club activities moved to premises on the corner of William, Tennant and Caledon Street under the direction of Reverend Robin Hudson, a White clergyman, with the purpose of taking "delinquents off the streets".⁵⁹⁵ Part of the centre included a school, conducted under the auspices of the Cape Education Department. Eight years later the centre still operated at St. Mark's School. By that time, the school acquired a large gymnasium on the top floor where Physical Education instruction took place during school hours.⁵⁹⁶ After school hours the community of District Six had access to it and could take up table tennis, badminton, netball, judo, wrestling, football, cricket, *kerem*, gymnastics, sewing, dancing, girl guides, Church Lads and Girls Brigade activities.⁵⁹⁷ Both St. Alban's Club and St. Mark's Community Centre ceased to exist after their members were forcibly removed from their homes in District Six. Under the influence of Father John D' Costa, a White clergyman at St. Mark's, the boys distributed leaflets to people, asking them to resist the forced removals. This did not prevent St. Mark's Community Centre being destroyed by the Group Areas Act.⁵⁹⁸

The practice of Physical Education and physical culture clubs reflects elements of conservatism that had as their main ideal the upliftment of the Coloured community in order to become acceptable to White society. Clubs based their practices on the model of social clubs that always had some form of exclusionary aspect. The emergent left wing organisations from the 1930s onwards distanced themselves from them, believing that they did not challenge racial discrimination. These organisations concentrated their efforts more on sport development than on physical education and physical culture. A notable example is the National Liberation League that had militant watchwords: "National liberation", "Abolition of the colour bar" and "Abolition of imperialism", as well as continuous referral to what it termed "opportunistic political

594 N. Adams, personal interview, 2008.

595 St. Mark's Community Centre. Annual appeal, 1959 [unpublished material].

596 L. Fortune, *The house in Tyne Street*, 1996, pp.9, 24, 47.

597 L. Fortune, *The house in Tyne Street*, 1996, pp.9, 24, 47; St. Mark's Community Centre. Annual appeal, 1959 [unpublished material].

598 D. Sylvester, telephonic interview, 2008.

leaders”.⁵⁹⁹ The National Liberation League, established in 1935, set out as one of its objectives “the right of non-European athletes to take part in all national and international sporting events on an equal footing with Europeans”.⁶⁰⁰ At its executive meeting in 1939, a member proposed that a youth movement be started where they could be trained from a political perspective and undergo training in military drill, physical exercises and discipline.⁶⁰¹ Nothing came of this, as the organisation disbanded in 1940.⁶⁰²

This chapter demonstrated how Physical Education and physical culture, practised outside school context, operated mainly within the code of conduct of “civilised behaviour” that the petty bourgeoisie held out for themselves and the working class. In doing so, they pursued a policy of what the NEUM termed collaboration with White people, even though the latter might have has a history of racist behaviour. The issue of collaboration is however complex and cannot be relegated merely to labelling people “sell-outs” and “quislings”. This issue manifested itself in the political debates across the Black spectrum (African, Coloured and Indian). For example, a view expressed by an African leader who worked within the government’s apartheid policy, Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Inkatha Freedom Party, at a later stage than the period under review has relevance here. Buthelezi’s biographer remarked: “The system of separate development⁶⁰³ only works because there is no choice f or the people who have to operate it. In Buthelezi’s own words: ‘It is idle nonsense to talk as though we had any options. Somebody would be found to serve in these White created institutions... My people asked me to make the best I could for them out of this miserableness’”.⁶⁰⁴ In similar fashion, physical educationists and physical culturists used such programmes in the same way many of their British working class clubs “produced fraternal and patriotic emotions”,⁶⁰⁵ for self-advancement. The Coloured petty bourgeoisie believed such advancement could only occur if the mass of the working class and unschooled people became part of a “civilising process”,

599 *Sun*, 3 January 1936, p.6.

600 *Sun*, 29 November 1935, p.7.

601 *Cape Standard*, 11 July 1939, p.12.

602 M. Adhikari, *Not White enough, not Black enough*, 2005, p.99.

603 The racial policy that the ruling class pursued in the 1970s.

604 P. Hugo, *Quislings or realists?* 1978, pp.3-4.

605 B. Darwin, *British clubs*, 1943, p.37.

helped along by physical culture clubs. They therefore accepted what White South African social scientists such as Harold Benjamin Fantham believed: “Duties, not rights, must be the watchword if real progress is to accrue”.⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰⁶ H.B. Fantham, Evolution and mankind. *The South African Journal of Science*, 25(1):304, August 1918.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

6.1 PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND PHYSICAL CULTURE IN THE COLOURED COMMUNITY

A recurring issue in the historical overview of Physical Education and physical culture in this study was that more meaning could be attached to the exercises, games and displays than what was generally recognised in traditional literature. Such literature tends to present Physical Education and physical culture without subjecting it to complex social and political phenomena. Throughout the period under review, issues of race and class were highlighted as major areas of concern in South African Physical Education and physical culture programmes. Initially these programmes emanated from sectors within middle class colonial society attempting to inculcate their values into the urban poor in order to maintain hegemonic control. This is understood in terms of the racism in the broader society during the 19th and 20th century. Such racism did not remain confined to White and Coloured relations, but Coloured people internalised them, with Physical Education and physical culture programmes being a part of this.

6.1.1 THE PERIOD UNTIL 1938

The year 1938 ruptured the teaching of aimless Physical Education for school children. Until then, Coloured students received no specialist training in the subject at their main source of education, missionary schools. During the 19th century, missionary education reached Coloured children in the Western Cape who hoped eagerly to advance in the class conscious English society. These schools functioned in a hostile environment of racism. Many mission schools operated at a lower exit level than schools for White children, placing them at a disadvantage for entry into institutions of higher learning. Furthermore, many of the missionaries attached to these institutions shared the belief, sometimes publicly, that Coloured people should occupy a middle order status between the numerically superior African and privileged minority White classes. The administrators of these schools never

seriously challenged the racial order of the day and Physical Education practices conformed to this.

The discovery of minerals coupled with the military demands of maintaining an imperial order exacerbated the need for a physically fit youth loyal to the British Empire. This resulted in the introduction of syllabi and teacher certificates that included physical training drill, emphasising discipline and obedience. Because the Coloured community formed a numerically minority group and their social and economic conditions posed no threat to White society, the Cape Education Department had no problem in extending physical training drill programmes to mission schools. After World War I, urban social unrest increased as a form of Black resistance to White racism. A twofold response flowed out of this: an intensified racist attitude from the government on the one hand and an increase in leisure provision activities to channel the rising political pressure on the other.

The Cape Education Department introduced racially separate teacher training at the Cape Town Teachers Training College in 1915, which later impacted directly on the provision of Physical Education for mission training schools. When the Cape Town Teachers Training College introduced a specialist course for White women in 1921, almost all the graduates received employment in White schools. This can be attributed to the fact that most Coloured girls left school before grade 4, leaving the higher classes filled mainly with boys. Teachers with specialist training were expected to be employed in the higher standards.

Teacher training schools built up a formidable reputation among Coloured people for their drive and for self-improvement in the face of adversity from White oppression – and Physical Education proved evident in this process. In the rural area of the Cape Colony, the Genadendal Teachers Training School in the Overberg introduced a unique Physical Education programme that showed influences of the educational philosophers Johann Amos Comenius and Johann Hus. It focused on motor-sense development, merged with the English system of physical training drill. When teacher training reached the Black community at Zonnebloem in Cape Town in 1859 through the Anglican missionary agency, it was done for the purposes of developing good conduct, obedience, attentiveness and a willingness to learn. One historian asserted

that games could be used as a means to achieve these objectives. These games proceeded along Muscular Christian lines despite many boys resisting it in pursuit of book knowledge.

Physical training drill became an official part of the Cape Colony school curriculum in 1893 by means of the Swedish system. This did not reach the Coloured community as a whole because most children roamed the streets of Cape Town or worked on farm fields in the rural areas during school time. By the end of the 19th century, only a third of all schools in the Cape Colony gave some attention to the subject. When it formed part of a mission school's curriculum, it was practiced in overcrowded classrooms in unhygienic conditions. Present studies on South African Physical Education history indicate that the subject found its way into Cape schools for medical reasons. Officials within the TLSA saw the medical value of physical training drill in a different light to what the Cape Education Department had in mind. The prevailing conditions of poor primary medical care¹ resulted in the department viewing the medical value of physical training drill as combating disease and improving general hygiene. The officials of the TLSA accepted this, but also saw it as a means to assist people wishing to rise out of their "sunken state".

As further motivation to implement physical training drill, the Cape Education Department aimed to maintain discipline in the broader society. This aspect was well-suited for the Swedish system and discipline remained a prominent part in all syllabi for the period under review. The department hoped that by instilling discipline in the curricula the emerging Coloured community would accept a middle order status. These syllabi were prescriptive and attempted to make the subordinate groups in South African society accommodate dominant group values, in which the hegemony² of the former could be assured.

¹ South Africa produced its first medical graduates only in 1922 (*Cape Argus*, 8 May 2008, p.15).

² An Italian philosopher and leading Marxist thinker, Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937, popularised the term "hegemony". Gramsci used the term to denote the predominance of one social class over others (e.g. bourgeoisie hegemony). This represents not only political and economic control, but also the ability of the dominant class to project its own way of seeing the world so that those who are subordinated by it accept it as "common sense" and "natural". Commentators stress that this involves willing and active consent. Common sense suggests it is "the way a subordinate class lives its subordination" (D. Chandler, Marxist Media Theory. Hyperlink [<http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/marxism/marxism10.html>]. 4 October 2007, p.1.

The hegemonic practices of the ruling class proved successful when the petty bourgeoisie members of the marginalised Coloured community accepted hand-outs in the form of participating in Physical Education competitions separate from White children. They did so to prove their loyalty to the British crown and to gain respectability from White society with the hope of creating social spaces for themselves. In 1902 mission schools participated in the military, masculine and British styled Coronation Physical Training Competition, even if it meant doing so separately from White schools and not doing all the prescribed exercises. This competition also indicated a growing awareness among Coloured people of a separate, middle order status identity to that of being African or Native, knowing that many “Hottentot”, “Malay” and “mixed races” lived in the first African township in Cape Town, Ndabeni. During the early years of Physical Education in mission schools the majority of pupils therefore practised Physical Education as they did everything else in society – with a White mind and spirit.³

White people introduced themes of “civilisation” and “respectability”, dovetailing with the ideas of social evolution, with motives of extending racial supremacy in society. Consequently, the Coloured petty bourgeoisie, eager to be accepted into colonial society, grew increasingly weary of the “seven-day week vices of drink, dagga and dice of the working class in urban Cape Town”.⁴ Against this background, the Cape Education Department introduced physical training drill and later Physical Education curricula in mission schools. This had the blessing of the Coloured petty bourgeoisie, in the hope of “civilising” the working class.

A considerable number of the Coloured petty bourgeoisie, keen to advance socially and economically in society, unwilling supported the idea that civilisation also meant distancing themselves from their indigenous origins and becoming education conscious.⁵ Most of the Coloured petty bourgeoisie, mainly mission school trained teachers, felt embarrassed by the large number of unemployed Coloured people who displayed traits of “uncivilised behaviour”, such as drunkenness, stupidity,

³ *Educational Journal*, December 1917, p.5.

⁴ *A.P.O.*, 8(226):5, 7 October 1922.

⁵ G.F. van Wyk, *A preliminary account of the physical anthropology of the “Cape Coloured people”* (Males), 1939, p.2.

carelessness, intractability and inefficiency. Municipal authorities concerned themselves with the loss in tax revenue, whereas the petty bourgeoisie remained keen on establishing and proving themselves as worthy partakers in colonial benefits. Subconsciously they realised that they might not personally reap the benefits of a better education, but the next generation would. Consequently, the petty bourgeoisie saw the existence of Physical Education and physical culture clubs for children in the eugenic context as “racial progress”.⁶

When English clubs found their way to Cape Town, the petty bourgeoisie imitated them and started their own in the 20th century. They based their actions on the belief that Western bourgeoisie culture represented the ultimate achievement of human development and conformity with its norms and values providing an objective scale for the measurement of civilisation. In their social armour, physical culture clubs also assisted them in their quest to attain respectability. By definition, a respectable person is found to be morally upright and financially independent. This could only be achieved by being industrious, honest and exhibiting self-control. Physical culture clubs upheld and promoted this view. Not surprisingly, these clubs became vital strands in what respectability referred to: occupation, status, lifestyle, morals, values and ultimately culture.⁷ Respectability also meant that one is not a continual victim of charity, thus becoming a symbol of servile status.⁸ Physical culture clubs and state sponsored Physical Education programmes therefore always formed a pivotal part in some form of fundraising for a community project, while stressing the concept of self-help. The organisers of these clubs and programmes remained constantly aware that they had to solicit the support of prominent White people if they hoped to survive. Many of these people however had dubious records of insincerity in their dealings with the Coloured community.

When the Cape Education Department introduced compulsory education, they excluded Coloured children. Because mission schools fell outside the jurisdiction of the 1905 School Board Act, little benefit could be derived from later measures such

⁶ L. Darwin, *The need for eugenic reform*, 1926, pp.312, 314.

⁷ A. Badham, *St. Mary's Anglican church as a window on turn-of-the century Woodstock*, 1985, pp.79-80.

⁸ G. Stedman-Jones, *Language and class: Studies in English working class history*, 1983, p.196.

as compulsory Physical Education in Board schools. This act implied that all provision of education remained the sole responsibility of the state. Mission schools resorted under churches and could not meet the demand for expensive facilities and equipment for gymnastics and sport to the extent that the state could.

State sanctioned physical education programmes and physical culture clubs, (with its emphasis on keeping boys off the street) established in the broader community in the 19th and 20th century, attracted Coloured people. These programmes and clubs promoted themes of “civilisation” and “respectability” in the community and also supplemented the practice of physical training drill in schools (with its emphasis on strict obedience to commands). These Physical Education and physical culture programmes did not openly set out to upset the middle order racial position of Coloured people in society. Because of this passivity towards racism, they perpetuated what many White politicians hoped to maintain, namely White supremacy. These politicians also had the desire to maintain “racial fitness where the (White) people of a country must as a whole be fit, mentally, morally and physically and must continuously reproduce equally fit offspring in adequate numbers”.⁹ The Coloured petty bourgeoisie, eager to imitate the ruling class, soon started emphasising the need for a healthy and strong race and demanded the same privileges White school children had: medical inspection and Physical Education specialist courses. Although they succeeded in achieving this, the lack of compulsory education overshadowed their seeming victory because the majority of Coloured children remained outside the school system.

The race conscious English ruling class depended on a steady supply of an inexpensive but disciplined Black labour force for the successful expansion of the British Empire. Physical training drill, with its emphasis on discipline, proved a successful medium for this objective. The fact that Coloured children received exposure to military aspects through physical training drill posed no threat of uprising against colonial authorities. The Coloured working classes remained too small and powerless to pose a serious military threat to the social order. In fact, the obedience

9 H.B. Fantham, Some factors in eugenics, together with notes on some South African cases. In *Report of the twenty-third annual meeting of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science*, 22:400, 1925.

to a teacher or army officer putting children through drill exercises did much to support the idea of accepting the social order mapped out by the ruling class of the day.

The Coloured petty bourgeoisie desired to share the economic and status privileges of a British “high culture” society. In order to achieve this, they accepted their racial marginalisation and continued to express loyalty to the British crown through active participation in physical training competitions and physical culture clubs. After World War I, a gradual mind-set shift took place in the ranks of the Coloured petty bourgeoisie. As they grew in stature, they became increasingly embarrassed by the “uncivilised” and “uneducated” behaviour of the Coloured working class masses. Physical Education and culture programmes provided a medium to address these concerns. Because the Coloured petty bourgeoisie fell under the same yoke as their working class compatriots, they went to great lengths to “educate” them and expose them to “culture”. The majority of physical culture clubs therefore emphasised ideas of “decency” and “civilisation”. At the same time, the Coloured petty bourgeoisie remained acutely aware of the plight of the working class in their midst and the physical culture displays always reflected a sense of social responsibility where funds had to be raised for charitable causes. They however carefully and consciously did not to challenge the existing racial order and solicited the support of sympathetic White people.

The Coloured petty bourgeoisie did not only imitate White attitudes of race and class, but also those of gender. Coloured women were never encouraged to challenge their lack of Physical Education opportunities. They depended on men to agitate on their behalf because of a belief that “politics were not for women” and they had to try to excel in performances specifically set aside for them. Also, they had the added burden of race. White women therefore took the lead in Physical Education and physical culture activities. Many of the Physical Education programmes offered to Coloured women originated in Europe at a time when leaders over-emphasised the health of women with the view of “racial purity”. The Coloured petty bourgeoisie in the Western Cape, male and female, shared this view and believed in the “progress of the race”, the development of graceful movements and keeping young girls’ minds clean.

6.1.2 THE PERIOD AFTER 1938

This period starts with the establishment of the first Physical Education specialist course for men in South Africa at the Wesley Teachers Training School in 1938. This happened after the TLSA advocated that teachers had to be better qualified and that existing teachers had to improve their qualifications. It also agitated for a specialist course in Physical Education for Coloured people along the same lines as that offered

for White people at the Cape Town and Paarl Teachers Training College. These ideas found expression in the report of the Coloured Fact Finding Commission. It is significant that immediately after this commission published its report, the National Party began a campaign against Coloured people and continued so throughout the period under review.¹⁰

The Physical Education courses for White students were partly established to address the Poor White problem. The TLSA felt that the same programmes would be of benefit to the community and it successfully solicited the support of sympathetic White people. On three counts the course at Wesley remained inferior to the programme offered at the Paarl Teachers Training College. Firstly, the White graduates always outnumbered the Wesley graduates who found it too expensive to take on an extra year of teacher training and not enough posts for these specialist teachers had been created. Secondly, the benefits of expertise associated with the training of specialist teaching did not reach a large number of Coloured children not attending school because of the 1905 School Board Act. Upon qualification these students found employment in overfilled mission schools without the equipment or facilities they had exposure to in their training. In many cases they found themselves teaching in other areas of the curriculum. If they did engage students in Physical Education, they mostly resorted to playing aimless games and performing physical jerks. The few Coloured petty bourgeoisie members elected onto the Cape School

10 M. Adhikari, *Dr. Abdurahman. A biographical memoir by J.H. Raynard*, 2002, p.79.

Board, Stephan Reagon, John William Kay and Frederick Hendricks proved themselves ineffective in securing compulsory education for Coloured children. Finally, the specialist teachers often abandoned the subject when they received promotion.

The positive contribution the Physical Education specialists made towards community development counterbalanced these negative factors. These graduates contributed greatly to sport development, gymnastics in particular. They also introduced a scientific approach to coaching, administration and playing different games. Their administrative contribution to the TLSA's physical culture competitions in the 1940s contributed to the success of these ventures and ultimately to the growing interest in Physical Education. From early on in the existence of the Higher Primary Teachers Certificate course, the students provided physical culture displays for the purpose of generating income for some charitable cause and reflected a sense of social responsibility. These displays were always planned in a manner to be acceptable to White society in order to solicit financial and moral support. Because of the marginalised position Coloured people occupied, the dominant White society largely ignored or downplayed the contribution of these Physical Education specialists towards Physical Education and other related areas.

When the Cape Education Department introduced Physical Education specialisation for Coloured women in 1948 at Zonnebloem, issues of marginalisation were also evident. A low enrolment, a lower state subsidy than that received by White institutions and poor quality of work became the order of the day. Instead, the Eoan group (under the direction of a White woman) and other physical culture clubs that provided Physical Education opportunities for Coloured women.

The Coloured petty bourgeoisie never stood united in the quest for acceptance by the White community. In the 1930s, a slim group of radicals ("Young Turks") emerged with ideas of non-collaboration. They stood at the forefront of conscientising people about their oppression in global terms. They viewed the state sponsored Physical Education programmes and community-based physical culture programmes as ruling class ploys seeking to use the oppressed as rubber stamps for their own oppression. They also began challenging the ideas of health and

culture that the ruling class held out for Coloured people. Soon the radical-minded petty bourgeoisie locked horns with the moderate section of individuals and organisations that accommodated the overtures the ruling class made towards them. These included the establishment of a CAC and later a CAD that acted as a communication channel for Coloured people as part of the government's policy of racial separation. Some of these programmes happened to be connected to the state's military apparatus and individuals branded as "quislings" or "sell-outs" by the "Young Turks". Despite their claims of fighting oppression in world context, in reality the critical focus of the "Young Turks" remained the existence of the CAD.

The anti-CAD movement did not have the financial means or expertise to provide alternatives to the CAD's Physical Education and physical culture programmes. Many working class children experienced physical movement through these Physical Education programmes and physical culture competitions. The programmes satisfied the natural desire human beings have for creating social spaces and personal enrichment for themselves. Nevertheless, the personal ambitions of teachers remained a major driving force for their involvement in such programmes, at the expense of striving after liberation and political freedom.

Out of the circle of the "Young Turks", an idea radiated that Physical Education through school syllabi and community programmes, with the intention of addressing poor social conditions, are irrelevant unless fundamental changes are made to the racial oppression in society. They believed the generators of syllabi had intentions of mapping out a South African system of Physical Education that maintained a hierarchal racial social structure. This can be seen in the pictorial presentation in the first South African Physical Education syllabus – Black people doing menial labour that could be imitated by White toddlers as Physical Education activities. This harmonised with the state's intention to train Coloured learners for becoming agriculturists and artisans rather than professionals. In addition to this, government officials gave no serious attention to the socio-economic disadvantaged position these children found themselves in, unless directed to it by the Coloured petty bourgeoisie.

Radical-minded leaders had no input in education matters and therefore could not direct school-based Physical Education in a manner that would conscientise people about the reasons for their oppression. Instead, school-based Physical Education syllabi were driven by an education department intent on maintaining the racial status quo. Therefore the “Young Turks” considered much of the Physical Education activity in schools as purposeless, without any educational value, and turned to organising school sport programmes.

On the other hand, the conservative section of the petty bourgeoisie continued to attach special significance to Physical Education and physical culture in a manner that made themselves acceptable to English “civilised” and “respectable” society. For this reason, the Physical Education and physical culture programmes and clubs stressed the importance of individual, family and civic responsibility, something which many White intellectuals also believed. Social scientists, believing in evolution theory and its derivate (eugenics and Muscular Christianity), convinced themselves that absolute equality in any respect is impossible. They firmly believed in the inevitable variations in nature because all people are not born equal in physical condition or mental ability.¹¹ From a White perspective, the Physical Education provision coming from that community formed part of his burden to rule over people of colour.¹²

Some White people who expressed racist political views also supported Physical Education and physical culture programmes in the Coloured community. When the South African troops stationed in Florence, Italy, at the conclusion of World War II awaited orders to come home, they started to discuss how best they could honour the memory of comrades who would never return.¹³ In 1946, the National War Memorial Health Foundation made its first public statement, stating that it proposed the promotion of good health and living conditions for all sections of South Africa, with special regard to the needs of “non-Europeans”.¹⁴ The first apartheid Prime

11 H.B. Fantham, Evolution and mankind. *The South African Journal of Science*, 25(1):302, 304, August 1918.

12 T. Dobzhansky & L.C. Dunn, *Heredity, race and society*, 1952, p.108.

13 *Souvenir of the National War Memorial Health Foundation*, 1955, p.39.

14 *Cape Standard*, 20 September 1946, p.4.

Minister, D.F. Malan, stated that the government had no hesitation in “pledging its fullest support for the noble cause of the Foundation because its (the apartheid government’s) avowed aim included the promotion of the health of all the inhabitants of South Africa, irrespective of race, religion or political belief”.¹⁵ In 1951, the foundation launched a programme of health and Physical Education for the Coloured population of Elsies River and Goodwood,¹⁶ but had to vacate their homes soon afterwards due to the notorious Group Areas Act implemented by the Malan government.

Community-based programmes, some not wholly independent of government funding, expanded on a large scale in the Coloured community during the 1930s. This marked the beginning of the Boys’ Club Movement. During World War II an idea circulated among the ruling class that boys had to be prepared for the coming peace.

White people, who played instrumental roles in establishing the Western Province Association of Physical Education Clubs, supported this idea very much. This organisation empowered many people with sport and administrative skills, but did so within the parameters of the state’s racist policies. In its initial years, the association could only survive if it went along with the increasing government demand for racial separation.

Other organisations that promoted Physical Education and physical culture operated within this framework of appeasing a racist government in order to advance Coloured people. The issue of race remained a major area of concern in South African society and non-governmental programmes, such that the Outward Bound Movement, the Scouts and Church Lads’ Brigade could not escape from it. The Apartheid policy attempted to engineer society along lines of race and this resulted in the decline of community-based Physical Education and physical culture programmes and clubs. Established clubs and programmes had to abandon their activities and many long-standing members and participants dispersed in all directions over the Cape Flats. Ironically, many of these clubs and programmes moved close to the government

¹⁵ *National War Memorial Health Foundation. Annual report, 1950.*

¹⁶ *Sun*, 3 August 1951, p.1.

through means of funding and ideology. The latter point refers to the link between the Coloured petty bourgeoisie and the ruling class values of integrity, discipline and self-reliance.

6.2 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The initial intention behind the research in this dissertation aimed at providing a historical account of the strategies Coloured individuals and organisations employed to develop Physical Education and Physical Culture in the Western Cape. This was achieved by posing four secondary questions:

- Did the practice of Physical Education and physical culture in the Coloured community intersect with other communities?
- What was the Physical Education and physical culture political and social landscape within which Coloured people operated?
- How did Coloured people manipulate political and social opportunities in Physical Education to create spaces for themselves?
- How influential were they on the development of Physical Education and physical culture in South Africa?

The Coloured petty bourgeoisie employed strategies of collaboration in developing Physical Education and physical culture in the Coloured community of the Western Cape. This allowed White and Coloured people's interests to intersect when a common aim of achieving and maintaining ideas of "civilisation" and "respectability" existed. Such contact resulted in a middle order status for Coloured people. In this situation they manipulated opportunities in physical education and physical culture to create social spaces for themselves. Because they remained politically powerless to influence official policy, they could not manipulate the practices of Physical Education and physical culture as agents of social and political change.

In piecing together a history of Physical Education and physical culture in the Coloured community, the practitioners of these areas grappled with the phenomena of identity insecurities, social and political marginalisation as well as poverty. These

issues remain unresolved in the 21st century, but without the arenas of Physical Education in schools and physical culture in the community where they could be addressed as in the past. This vacuum provides fertile ground for political and social insecurities, gangsterism and substance abuse. Consequently, many calls are made from academics to reintroduce Physical Education in the school curriculum and community life. Community-based clubs, similar to those that existed during the period under review, hold the promise of addressing these social concerns in the 21st century. However, a word of caution is necessary. The reintroduction of clubs and school-based Physical Education operate in a society where the blotting out of inherent discriminatory race and class consciousness is not yet complete. A simplistic re-introduction would mean a return to what Norman Stoffberg called a “verkrampste¹⁷ or dark age in Physical Education”.¹⁸

Coloured people did not play influential roles on the development of Physical Education and physical culture programmes in South Africa without the support and consent of White people who, even if they tried, did not fundamentally change the racist structure of South African society. The political attitudes of Coloured people, who legitimised discrimination in the pursuit of personal ambition, partly shaped the practice of Physical Education and physical culture. It is therefore unacceptable to have those who championed racism in society recognised alongside its victims. There is a danger that the powers that be may dangle a carrot of social advancement through programmes of Physical Education and physical culture (and its modern derivatives of school sport) with the ultimate aim of entrenching racial, social and gender advantages. A cautionary approach is therefore necessary when debating models of reintroduction versus introduction of an entirely new system of Physical Education for a South African nation.

¹⁷ This is a loosely used term given by liberal-minded Afrikaans speaking White persons to more conservative thinking and practicing members of their community, referring to them as “pig-headed and irrational ideologues” (W. de Klerk, *The second [r]evolution*, 1984, p.2).

¹⁸ N. Stoffberg, personal correspondence, 18 November 2002.

6.3 AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Because this study was limited to the period 1837–1966, when teacher training started for Coloured people under missionary supervision until specialist Physical Education teacher training was placed under complete state control at teachers training colleges, avenues for further research are left for the remainder of the apartheid era of education. A vexing problem that arises from this study is: Did the missionary Physical Education system lay the foundation for the apartheid era Physical Education programmes? A historical investigation of Physical Education in the other Black communities also has space for areas of investigation. In the interest of brevity, this study ignored a closely related field of endeavour, namely school sport. The development of school sport paralleled the political developments in the Coloured community and as such creates the opportunity for historical scrutiny.¹⁹ This research also alluded to the prominent role many of the Physical Education specialist teachers played in sport organisations. Much of the history of these organisations has not been subjected to academic research and therefore needs to be examined in a historically critical manner.²⁰ The complete list of names of these teachers in the appendix is intended for further historical research.

This study honed in on the practice of Physical Education and physical culture with special reference to the Coloured petty bourgeoisie. More voice for constituencies other than the petty bourgeoisie is required to give the area of South African Physical Education and physical culture history a semblance of balance.

¹⁹ A starting point might be the published conference discourse of Hamilton Petersen. See H. Petersen, School sport organisations and education, 1960s–1990s. In C. Thomas (Ed.), *Sport and liberation in South Africa. Reflections and suggestions*, 2006, pp.120-137.

²⁰ At the moment there are three publications: M. Allie, *More than a game*, 2000; A. Booley, *Forgotten heroes*, 1998 and A. Odendaal, *The story of an African game*, 2003. Only the latter can be regarded as scholarly.

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APPENIX**REGISTER OF HIGHER PRIMARY GRADUATES OF THE WESLEY TRAINING SCHOOL**

Surname	Name	Date of Birth	Year qualified
Accom	Cedric Raymond	30 November 1928	1953
Adamson	Alridge Jarvis	29 June 1926	1946
Adams	Gilbert William	12 July 1936	1959
Adams	Leonard	19 November 1920	1939
Adendorff	Jephta Johannes Jacobus	20 November 1929	1949
Adonis	John Martin	7 July 1930	1948
Adriaanse	John Alfred Edward	8 December 1917	1943
Africa	Albert Reuben	8 December 1937	1958
Agherdien	Mohammed	9 August 1923	1944
Ajam	Achmat	23 February 1940	1961
Allen	Eric Carl	4 August 1936	1955
America	Phillip Christian	1 January 1927	1946
Anthony	Alexander	27 September 1920	1946
Anthony	Richard Russel	17 July 1929	1948
April	Peter Alexander	20 October 1934	1954
Arendorf	Ivan Duncan	11 June 1934	1955
Arendse	Aubrey Stephen	22 September 1933	1956
Arendse	Leonard Charles	26 July 1919	1939
Arendse	Leslie Charles Jacobus	13 May 1935	1953
Arendse	Wilfred James	11 December 1921	1941
Arendse	William John	23 February 1931	1948
Baatjes	Ulric John	21 February 1924	1945
Balie	Isaac John	20 September	1952
Balie	Samuel George David	31 May 1913	1942
Barnes	Harold Sylvester	10 September 1934	1958
Baron	Karel	16 February 1922	1942
Baugaard	William Francois	21 September 1917	1945
Beets	Jacobus Adam	1 May 1924	1943
Benting	Isaac James	21 March 1931	1950
Beppo	Claude Ronald	26 January 1935	1955
Beukes	Frantz Johannes	28 August 1915	1940
Benn	Charles Henry	21 August 1937	1959
Block	Smith Solomon	29 September 1923	1946
Blows	Cecil Charles	14 March 1940	1961
Britten	Frederick Gamelin	17 January 1940	1961

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Bruiners	Abraham George	19 September 1937	1959
Bok	Cornelius	23 June 1928	1955
Bosch	Ronald Abraham	30 December 1930	1952
Bosman	Bernard Edmund	3 September 1934	1958
Botha	Hubert Barthelomew	10 May 1919	1948
Bowers	Robert	7 August 1936	1957
Brander	Charles Alfred	22 February 1921	1941
Britten	Montaque Charles	11 September 1926	1944
Brown	Abdullah	7 December 1917	1939
Bulpitt	Edward Ernest Gordon	2 August 1936	1956
Caincross	Henry Martin	9 September 1926	1949
Carels	John Edward	1 January 1914	1939
Carelse	Ernest John	21 October 1922	1943
Carelse	George Edmund	14 May 1935	1953
Carletti	Elbano Amedeo Umberto	1 September 1918	1946
Christian	James Stepen	29 August 1924	1945
Christians	Clifford John	21 February 1938	1960
Christians	William Jacobs	5 August 1929	1952
Claasen	Hendrik	26 October 1929	1950
Clarke	Lionel Vivan	26 January 1930	1954
Cloete	Marcus	8 August 1919	1939
Coerecius	Anthony Johannes	23 November 1924	1954
Coetzee	Michael Charles	8 April 1921	1940
Cupido	Carolus John	8 February 1927	1946
Cupido	Victor Cupido Stephen	5 March 1933	1953
Cyster	Gerald King	26 January 1925	1946
Damons	Abraham	3 November 1919	1942
Daniels	Arthur Henry	17 March 1927	1946
Daries	Daniel Andrews Anthony	6 October 1922	1947
Daries	Godfrey Ivan	10 July 1937	1957
Daries	Jacobus Bernard	13 March 1918	1945
Dauids	Aubrey Robert Hilton	18 February 1934	1956
Dauids	Jacobus Johannes Andreas	19 March 1924	1944
Dauids	Julian Harold	7 May 1935	1959
Davis	William Douglas	18 September 1923	1945
De Beer	Daniel J.	18 May 1920	1941
De Mink	Edward Arthur	23 January 1936	1957
Desai	Jinnue	11 January 1915	1938
De Vries	Basil Ivor	16 October 1926	1945
De Kock	Frank Raymond	19 January 1936	1957

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Dien	Salie	3 January 1921	1939
Donald	Neville John	20 January 1938	1956
Du Plessis	Charles Frederick	28 January 1933	1953
Du Plooy	Bertram Percival James	27 April 1922	1942
Du Toit	Phillip Daniel	3 October 1936	1958
Du Toit	William Martin	9 June 1920	1940
Eland	William Ronald	28 February 1923	1950
Elders	Gavin Jude	8 December 1931	1951
Engel	Paul Albert	14 January 1922	1940
Engelbrecht	George Frederick	5 May 1935	1956
Erasmus	Fredrick Laurence	9 March 1922	1942
Essau	Ronald David	22 March 1939	1960
Europa	Benjamin	28 January 1933	1953
Fakir	Mogamat Ismail Cassiem	20 September 1918	1940
February	Ernest	28 May 1938	1958
February	Ronald Austin	16 January 1915	1944
Fischer	Eric John Graham	21 August 1926	1945
Fischer	Henry August	23 June 1924	1945
Fredericks	Norman	21 November 1937	1960
Fredericks	Peter	14 January 1919	1939
Fortein	Andrew James	1 September 1913	1946
Fortuin	Jacob Jacobus	9 December 1926	1954
Fortuin	Val Peter	10 January 1935	1954
Frolick	Fred	8 July 1934	1959
Gabriel	Raymond Edward	19 June 1937	1958
Gaffley	Henry	2 November 1925	1946
Galant	Henry Edward	6 January 1931	1950
Garnie	Ismael	29 October 1934	1953
Gaskin	Ivan Valentine Frederick	20 June 1935	1956
Geduld	Benjamin	7 August 1940	1960
Geduld	Thomas David	3 November 1930	1958
Gelderbloem	Isaac Douglas	23 August 1920	1947
Geldenhuis	William Henry	4 November 1930	1949
George	Joseph Albert	29 June 1938	1960
Godden	Isaac Theodore	20 January 1925	1946
Gordon	Bernard Frank	11 March 1938	1959
Gordon	James Cumming	18 February 1922	1945
Gordon	Peter George	5 April 1922	1946
Gorvalla	Zalhbai Sorabjee	17 September 1921	1939
Goudia	Edgar William	3 May 1923	1944

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Grassman	Henry Daniel	14 August 1925	1954
Hambury	George Wilfred	1 December 1933	1955
Hansby	John Thomas	21 September 1918	1939
Hansby	Peter	21 May 1917	1940
Harris	Charles William	27 September 1927	1946
Hartogh	Johannes Francois	24 March 1925	1944
Hartzenberg	Lewis	3 June 1936	1960
Hayat	Achmat	27 November 1926	1945
Hector	Eric Andrew	3 April 1939	1960
Hendricks	Gerald Thomas Peter	21 September 1938	1959
Hendricks	Henry (Harry) Charles	10 August 1923	1941
Hendricks	Isaac Warie	12 March 1925	1944
Hendricks	Joseph Edward	12 November 1917	1939
Hendricks	Sonny	13 November 1937	1958
Herman	George Harold	23 August 1923	1947
Hermans	Deryck	26 February 1931	1950
Hermanus	Peter Thomas	28 September 1916	1940
Hess	Aubrey	27 June 1937	1961
Hess	Henry	22 February 1934	1953
Hess	Jacobus Johannes Daniel	5 October 1924	1946
Heynes	John Phillipus	13 May 1932	1955
Hinrichsin	Leonard Edgar	29 October 1938	1958
Hoffman	Auvergne Augustus Anderson	July 1925	1945
Hufkie	Patrick Samuel	29 December 1931	1950
Ismail	Essop	September 1924	1945
Jacobs	Arend Jacobus	15 July 1924	1944
Jacobs	David	16 February 1918	1939
Jacobs	Gustav William Ernest	3 February 1938	1960
Jacobs	Wilfred Gore	3 February 1936	1958
Jaftha	Alfred Moses	12 March 1938	1959
Jaftha	Peter Bernard	21 May 1933	1958
James	Peter Edward Charles	18 March 1933	1956
Jansen	William Thomas	13 September 1926	1945
Jansen	Michael Peter	3 April 1935	1954
Jasson	Neville	28 June 1934	1953
Jenkins	Frank Daniel	27 January 1931	1955
Jenneker	Christian Daniel	29 April 1928	1949
Jenniker	Nathan Gordon	24 March 1938	1959
Jenniker	Jakkie	11 November 1915	1938
Jogee	Mohammed Ally	11 May 1937	1958

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Johansen	Thomas Henry	28 May 1921	1945
Jonathan	Arthur Leslie	12 April 1932	1952
Johnson	James Christoffel	19 May 1921	1946
Jonker	Arthur Karl	9 August 1929	1948
Joorst	Phillip Isaac	26 December 1927	1948
Josephs	Henry Thomas	7 September 1933	1953
Kamies	Abdul Gamiet	29 March 1935	1957
Kemp	William Alfred Zackary	29 October 1924	1948
Keur	Justus	14 October 1919	1942
Klaasen	Fred Thomas	19 November 1938	1958
Kleintjies	Vernon Charles	2 November 1937	1957
Klink	Ernest Benjamin	2 April 1922	1941
King	Wilfred Basil	16 January 1929	1950
Kippies	Abraham Carolus	28 April 1935	1955
Koopman	James Sydney	26 August 1934	1959
Lambert	Joseph Herman	4 February 1939	1959
Langley	Norman Arthur	20 March 1936	1958
Lategan	Izak Gabrie	11 March 1933	1953
Lawrence	Charles Thomas John	20 October 1932	1958
Le Hane	Henry James	22 September 1921	1939
Leukes	Dennis Leslie	4 April 1934	1953
Leverment	Harry Douglas	27 July 1942	1961
Lewis	Noel Alfred	2 September 1917	1939
Liedeman	Christian Bernard	2 September 1926	1946
Links	John Henry	6 March 1919	1948
Linnerts	John William	6 October 1929	1950
Lemienie	John Edward	October 1922	1945
Londt	Henry Lawrence	20 January 1917	1939
Londt	William Thomas	28 July 1935	1956
Lottering	George Henry	9 February 1938	1958
Maarman	Frederick William	29 January 1934	1957
Maart	Jacob	21 January 1905	1938
Mariens	Henry Malcolm	23 October 1935	1957
Mackay	Daniel	12 September 1933	1952
Mackay	Tennyson	26 April 1926	1945
Macmaster	John Henry	15 April 1929	1954
Magerman	Frederick John	7 August 1920	1944
Maggot	Charles	20 January 1917	1939
Maggott	David Lascelles	10 April 1922	1943
Malgas	Henry William George	9 October 1918	1945

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Manuel	Achmad	6 August 1917	1939
Marais	John Stephen	28 August 1929	1950
Marr	Ronald Vivian	15 November 1931	1952
Martin	Edward Eric	5 December 1936	1956
Martin	Leslie George	19 November 1927	1951
Martin	Robert Jacobus	19 April 1912	1939
Matthews	Douglas James Roy	15 August 1921	1946
Matthews	Paul Harold	27 January 1938	1960
Matthysen	Peter Isaac	14 May 1922	1951
Mawona	Martin Godfrey	30 April 1936	1959
May	Henry Peter	20 November 1929	1948
May	Solomon Samuel	26 April 1924	1945
McBoneswa	Peter van Ludenforff	8 April 1926	1946
McLeod	James Thomas William	2 February 1923	1956
Meissenheimer	William James	13 November 1930	1950
Mentor	Abraham Andrew	25 July 1920	1952
Mezichel	Solomon Martin	13 June 1935	1955
Minaar	John Felix William	25 December 1924	1946
Moerat	Leonard James	13 January 1921	1939
Moos	Johannes	5 August 1921	1943
Morrison	Aubrey Patrick	13 January 1929	1948
Nasson	David Evelyn	28 September 1939	1960
Naude	Fred	21 January 1915	1938
Neethling	Daniel Johannes	3 January 1937	1959
Neethling	Daniel William	14 March 1939	1961
Neethling	Johannes Martinus	7 May 1919	1938
Nefdt	Sydney Richard	25 January 1935	1953
Nicolaai	Ferdinand Dennis	27 August 1928	1954
Nicolaai	Gordon Stewart	14 September 1938	1961
October	Andreas Hermanus	31 January 1931	1954
October	Frederick Richard	8 June 1935	1955
October	William John	29 May 1938	1959
Olieslager	Adolf Bernhard	6 October 1917	1942
Oliver	Walter Robert	29 October 1926	1948
Olivier	Christoffel David	4 November 1931	1953
Ontong	Arthur	16 March 1928	1954
Opperman	Abraham	2 December 1922	1944
Palm	Norman Martin	8 September 1932	1950
Paulsen	Charles Stanley	16 February 1934	1960
Paulsen	Reginald Kouter	30 November 1935	1959

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Petersen	Clarence Daniel	4 February 1938	1956
Petersen	Henry Arthur John	30 January 1918	1943
Petersen	Basil	14 August 1931	1951
Petersen	Henry Arthur John	30 January 1918	1943
Petersen	Havelyn Johannes	2 January 1933	1951
Pfaf	Dennis George	3 September 1930	1952
Phalla	David	17 September 1936	1954
Philander	Mentor Jacobus	22 November 1931	1952
Pick	William Donald Desmond	15 February 1939	1958
Pieterse	Borman Dick	5 September 1930	1956
Pieterse	William Bernard	25 January 1918	1941
Pietersen	Noel Sidney	23 July 1939	1958
Pinetown	Joseph Alexander	30 April 1935	1956
Poole	Desmond Leonard William	5 November 1937	1959
Poole	Moses Isaac	26 June 1919	1938
Pretorius	Vivian Romeo	14 October 1932	1952
Preyser	Norman Victor	15 January 1921	1940
Randall	Alfred Morris	4 March 1934	1955
Rhode	John	14 December 1916	1938
Robertson	Samuel Matheus	24 February 1932	1959
Robyn	Hennie	1 June 1935	1955
Rogers	Percival Thomas	6 June 1910	1938
Rose	Herbert Cornelius	17 March 1933	1953
Rossouw	Arthur Robert	29 March 1932	1954
Rossouw	John Christian	15 November 1930	1950
Ruiters	Sidney Elmo	12 April 1924	1943
Sambaba	Emile Daniel	6 September 1933	1955
Saville	Herbert Donald	19 May 1957	1957
September	Daniel Peter Jacobus	18 May 1934	1961
Schwartz	John Peter	11 February 1914	1940
Scott	Peter Charles	3 May 1931	1950
Seconna	Peter Jacobus	31 January 1918	1947
Segers	Matthew Edward	23 May 1919	1938
September	Dennis Augustine	27 March 1922	1941
September	Edward Martin	3 October 1932	1956
September	Johannes Jacobus	27 March 1926	1947
Sheldon	Peter Martin	15 September 1924	1952
Siljeur	Abraham Christian	28 August 1924	1944
Smith	Christian William	17 August 1919	1943
Smith	Gordon Richard	28 July 1923	1943

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Smith	Lucien Alexander		1946
Smith	Paulus Johannes Jacobus	29 November 1931	1953
Smith	Wilfred Edward	20 August 1922	1945
Snyders	Aron Johannes	30 March 1935	1961
Snyders	Charles Samuel	1 August 1922	1945
Soldaat	William Frederick	2 June 1931	1952
Solomon	Henry Hermanus	15 January 1930	1951
Solomons	Abraham Jacobus Nathienal	21 December 1936	1959
Southgate	Stanley Patrick	17 May 1921	1940
Stafford	Henry James	27 March 1917	1947
Stanfliet	Abraham	22 April 1935	1956
Stanfliet	John Jacobus	14 June 1932	1952
Steenkamp	Andrew Neville	28 May 1929	1950
Stevens	Harry George	3 May 1919	1940
Stoffberg	Norman Reginald	2 March 1924	1945
Stoffels	Gabriel	31 February 1928	1947
Swart	Ivan	4 June 1933	1955
Sylvester	Douglas Stewart	3 September 1940	1960
Thomas	John Christian	15 August 1914	1939
Thomas	John William	30 December 1938	1959
Tobias	Andrew John	14 November 1931	1958
Tomlinson	Albert Douglas	29 December 1918	1939
Valentine	Andrew Jacobus	17 July 1931	1950
Van der Heyden	Andrew John	3 September 1926	1951
Van Dieman	Leslie Thomas	30 July 1938	1957
Van Gensen	George Harold	4 October 1924	1945
Van Harte	Alexander	20 February 1934	1953
Van Harte	Andrew Krieling	22 April 1928	1952
Van Niekerk	Daniel John	27 May 1934	1953
Van Niekerk	David Barr	31 August 1924	1944
Van Niekerk	Henry Vincent	21 July 1935	1958
Van Rooi	Abraham	10 January 1916	1941
Van Rooi	Johannes Jacobus	2 November 1929	1955
Van Rooy	Chistiaan Morris	28 May 1923	1941
Vember	Thomas Benjamin Peter	21 January 1919	1947
Vlotman	William John	27 February 1921	1942
Volkwyn	George Harold	24 March 1913	1943
Walker	Cecil Frederick	15 August 1937	1955
Wentley	Nicolas Solomon	9 September 1923	1952
Wesso	John	9 November 1932	1952

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Wilcox	Charles Desmond	3 March 1931	1952
Witbooi	William Johannes	5 November 1935	1958
Wilkinson	Edward Richard	8 March 1912	1938
Wilson	Harold James	2 August 1929	1957
Woodman	William Henry John	15 May 1920	1943
Young	Frank Gerard	3 July 1918	1938
Zerf	Edmund George	22 October 1921	1940
Zerf	Jephta Kattzs	10 November 1918	1939
Zincke	Isaac Jacobus Nicolas	25 January 1921	1945

FEMALES

Surname	Name	Date of Birth	Year qualified
Anthony	Gouwa	13 May 1947	1964
Jansen	Hillary Virginia	4 January 1944	1964
Jayashree	Nadasen	30 August 1946	1964
Johnson	Jacoba Yvonne	6 July 1944	1964
Joorst	Angeline Augustha	17 November 1944	1964
Mathys	Leah Irene	12 September 1942	1964

ZONNEBLOEM TRAINING SCHOOL

Surname	Name	Date of Birth	Year qualified
Abrahams	Mildred Bertha Petronella	20 April 1938	1963
Abrahams	Rachael Doris	1 November 1946	1965
Adams	Abeeda	25 June 1946	1965
Adams	Dinah Cornelia	9 September 1932	1951
Adams	Marjories Florenve	5 December 1930	1951
Adams	Patricia Jane	22 February 1936	1955
Adams	Paulina Georgina	17 September 1931	1952
Adendorf	Paulina Dilina	12 November 1934	1961
Adonis	Hedwig	24 November 1940	1960
Baatjies	Jessica Sarah	27 April 1947	1966
Barlow	Margaret Catherine	5 January 1943	1965
Basson	Maureen Maria	3 February 1931	1952
Boesak	Madeline Helena	14 May 1933	1959
Bouah	May	14 May 1943	1962
Carlse	Ruth Magdeline	10 June 1945	1965
Carollisen	Annie	21 September 1940	1960
Carollissen	Janet Mabel	27 December 1931	1951
Cecil	Patricia Frances	28 January 1936	1958

Appendix

Claasen	Elaine Yvonne	19 December 1943	1963
Coert	Pauline	11 September 1936	1957
Crombie	Fatima	1 December 1940	1961
Daniels	Elaine Caryll	2 August 1944	1962
Davids	Brenda Malgas	12 August 1943	1961
Davies	Ursula	3 February 1938	1958
Deane	Ruby Lilan	9 April 1944	1959
Dreyer	Winifred Suzan	26 September 1942	1963
Du Preez	Cyntha Agnes Eugené	21 March 1947	1965
Dye	Beatrice Deanna	3 November 1931	1951
February	Louis Andrina	22 August 1934	1955
Ferreira	June Pauline	13 October 1939	1962
Filies	Mary Ruth		1948
Fish	Patricia Ann	5 December 1943	1965
Fourie	Carol Rose	12 July 1945	1966
Fraser	Jenis Kathy	4 January 1944	1962
Friedeling	Barbara Alexander	19 May 1935	1957
Friedeling	Joanna Myrtle	21 July 1930	1949
Goetham	Daneen Catherine	10 August 1944	1963
Goldschmidt	Deborah Leslie	8 October 1945	1963
Hardenberg	Mary Mathilda	7 November 1940	1959
Heldsinger	Beatrice Mercia	4 September 1937	1956
Hermans	Muriel Cynthia		1948
Hermans	Marjorie Cynthia	20 December 1933	1952
Heynes	Lorna Ruth	20 October 1945	1963
Hugo	Sally	15 May 1942	1961
Hopley	Joy Florida	23 December 1946	1966
Isaacs	Akeeda	13 February 1942	1961
Isaacs	Ghouwa	2 March 1947	1965
Jacobs	Cecila Jacoba	1 November 1939	1958
Jacobs	Elaine Dorothy	20 July 1935	1956
Jacobs	Maureen Felicia	15 April 1940	1959
Jacobs	Maureen Lorraine	7 February 1947	1965
Jasson	Sonia	9 October 1946	1965
Jonkers	Sybil Joy	1 August 1935	1958
Joorst	Wilhelmina Louisa	24 December 1937	1957
Karriem	Jubira	28 April 1942	1960
Kronenberg	Bertha Dorethea	3 October 1928	1948
Kronenberg	Mathilda Charlotte Rosetta Theodora	8 January 1930	1949

Appendix

Laattoe	Koelsum	6 September 1946	1966
Lamont	Yvonne Juliana	22 July 1938	1959
Langeveldt	Rosalie Cornelia	15 March 1939	1959
Lee	Beryl Mildred	19 July 1938	1957
Leon	Ruth Naomi	4 April 1945	1963
Lottering	Moira Cynthea	24 January 1937	1956
Mackier	Dulcie Mercia	7 December 1942	1961
Martin	Charlotte Adelaide	9 June 1942	1960
Masaking	Magdeline Frances	23 October 1942	1962
Maxwell	Yvonne Grace	20 December 1938	1956
Mahomed	Gulgha	1 March 1933	1959
Meyer	Cecila Joelyn	26 September 1945	1963
Mohamed-Leher	Amina	19 November 1932	1952
Montanus	Jean Ivy	11 June 1942	1962
Moore	Merle Doreen Angela	18 October 1932	1951
Mulder	Jean Lorraine	15 April 1940	1959
Mullins	Thelma Jennifer	13 October 1947	1966
Musson	Maureen Margeret		1948
O'Connor	Nancy Lena	16 December 1940	1959
Orgill	Audrey Sarah	15 December 1939	1958
Rosaline Phillina	Oliphant	4 October 1935	1956
Page	Dancia Evelyn	11 June 1944	1962
Pandie	Fawzia	13 February 1940	1959
Parenzee	Shirley Joy Brenda	20 October 1946	1966
Petersen	Cynthia Dolores	8 April 1931	1951
Petersen	Edwina Constance Pauline	11 January 1934	1952
Petersen	Yvette Frances	23 June 1937	1957
Pieterse	Pearline Florina Cynthia	29 March 1944	1965
Raff	Esmé Laura	28 August 1934	1955