# EXERCISING 'RACE' THROUGH THE CORONATION PHYSICAL TRAINING COMPETITION

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#### **ABSTRACT**

During the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> and first two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Cape Colony education authorities employed an instructional method known as physical training or physical training drill. This investigation expands on two previous studies that explored the Coronation Physical Training Competition (1902-1906). The low number of entries indicates that the Education Department was not serious in drawing a mass of learners to the competition. This article investigates the racial considerations behind this. The competition was organised in a post South African War (1899-1902) period where the education authorities asserted British racial superiority through their concern with race. The Coronation Physical Training Competition fitted into this agenda. Despite betrayal by the English during the post South African War negotiations, Black political movements and individuals continued seeking means to prove themselves loyal subjects of the King. Black schools therefore had no problem with competing in the Coronation Competition as second-class citizens. The education authorities held two Coronation competitions under the same banner. The competition was not only divided racially but differed in quality, favouring Whites.

**Key words:** Coronation Competition; Physical training; Race.

# INTRODUCTION

This study investigates salient features of 'race' in the Coronation Physical Training Competition held for the first time in 1902 at the Green Point Common in Cape Town, which lasted until 1906. The term, Black, is used as a collective descriptor for the Non-white grouping. The competition coincided with the emergence of a new racial, political and social structure in post-war Cape Town. Therefore this research is guided by two questions: What ideas did key players advocate during this time? Why did physical training become important during this period?

The South African War confirmed English supremacy in South Africa. Blacks were, however, disillusioned by British betrayal at the signing of Treaty of Vereeniging on 31 May 1902, which ended the war. Clause 8 declared, despite previous British promises to them that the franchise would not be extended to Blacks in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony (Lewis, 1987:15). Nevertheless, the political conscious Black elite retained faith in the Cape liberal tradition and in a belief that they would progressively advance toward full assimilation into a meritocratic society (Adhikari, 1993:14). A Coloured writer in a newspaper said: "Let us ... build an honourable reputation as worthy subjects of King Edward VII" (APO, 1909:4).



The Challenge Shield of the Physical Training Competition (Cape division)
Instituted in commemoration of the Coronation of Edward VII
(Cape of Good Hope, 1902e:172)

The war had also brought bubonic plague to Cape Town. Many Capetonians linked the plague with the poorer areas of the city and secured the removal of Africans to a location at Uitvlugt. Many Coloureds feared they would be next. A deputation representing the respectable Coloureds of Cape Town waited upon the Cape Colonial Secretary in March 1901 to raise their voices about the harsh treatment inflicted on them by plague control authorities. The threat of residential segregation outlasted the actual plague epidemic. Black political leadership in Cape Town in 1902 was under Francis Peregrino and expressed their ideas in his self-funded newspaper, *The Spectator*. Being aware of British superiority and the futility of open confrontation, Peregrino wrote that Blacks "should make every effort to educate themselves ... adopt habits of sobriety and respectability and ... maintain a high moral standard" (Lewis, 1987:16-18). Respectability also implied being associated with 'high culture' events such as Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee (1897) and the spectacular 19<sup>th</sup> century military parades on the Grand Parade to mark the Queen's birthday (Adhikari, 1996a:59; Bickford-Smith *et al.*, 1999:262).

Cape Town authorities marketed the Coronation Competition as a 'high culture' event. It operated as an inter-school Physical Training Drill competition organised by the Department of Public Education, Cape of Good Hope (henceforth referred to as the Education Department). This competition was the first mass school sport competition in 20<sup>th</sup> century Cape Town. By investigating the social environment within which the competing schools operated, it is envisaged to provide information on government provision for mass school sport participation in Cape Town during the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. An argument is made that the colonial education authorities used the Coronation Physical Training Competition to continue the 19<sup>th</sup> century project of creating racial-social distance through education. In the last decade of that century, the outgoing Superintendent-General of Education (SGE), Langham Dale, reported that White schooling has become "a means of elevating the European to the dignity of his glorious heritage not to be degraded to the level of the savage" (Department of Public Education, 1891:14). The Education Department regarded

it the duty of the colonial government to provide Whites with a superior education (Adhikari, 1993:19).

The late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century British imperial project was supported by ideas of social consciousness, 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" (Fantham, 1924:498). The first great eugenic exponent was 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" (Fantham, 1925:410-411)

This belief of race bettermen" was taken seriously by prominent South African social scientists such as Harold Fantham and advocated it along the lines of education rather than legislation (Fantham, 1924:498,499). Fantham (1918:304) believed and advocated that: "Duties, not rights, must be the watchword if real progress is to accrue". The disguised aim was to instil loyalty to the British Empire and physical training drill in schools was a suitable means to accomplish this. This aim was a shift from 19<sup>th</sup> century muscular Christianity (a philosophy that made exercise and fitness compatible with Christian life) to a 20<sup>th</sup> century phenomenon where the educational value of sport was recognised (Siedentop, 1990:23).

Although the emerging 20<sup>th</sup> century Black political leaders accepted such ideas they occasionally accused the educational authorities of blatant racism. Despite increasing racist legislation against Blacks, they voluntarily (and involuntarily sometimes) participated on both sides in the South African and later First World War (Grundlingh, 1987:11,24,25; Nasson, 1999:5-19,24-52). Francis Peregrino, who published a special brochure painting 'Native' involvement in the First World War in glorious colours, also stated that the SGE, Thomas Muir, from 1892 until 1915 was "not innocent of the charge of being unfriendly towards the non-White people of the Cape Colony" (Grundlingh, 1987:61; *S.A. Clarion*, 1919:16). Muir saw the progress of Coloured education as a racial separate entity in church or mission schools compared to public (White) institutions. In 1899, Thomas Muir stated that the only chance for continuing the progress in mission schools "lay in the improvement of the teachers and this could only be done by a determined effort on the part of the churches that have Training Schools set apart for this purpose" (Department of Public Education, 1899:11). Muir therefore gave no consideration of integrating Coloured and African learners into the same schools that would lead to uniform teacher training entry examinations and qualifications.

The Education Department advanced notions of race in Cape schooling and used the Coronation Physical Training Competition to this end. This paper on the Coronation Competition also makes the point that physical training provision at schools was influenced by the racist attitudes of the period. The purpose for physical training drill was not health development but instilling loyalty to the British Crown (Howes, 1996:15). Thus, while there is little evidence that mission schools in Cape Town derived benefit from physical training, it is apparent that the practice of physical training drill was intended to favour White persons. The Coronation Physical Training Competition has not been given due consideration in South African education history (Borman, 1989:167). To date two works deal with this topic in this area: an unpublished paper by Siggi Howes and part of a doctoral dissertation (Howes, 1996;

Cleophas, 2009:61-65). Howes ignores the social and political landscape within which this competition operated whilst Cleophas explored the participation of Non-white teachers and learners only. There is therefore a need to view the situation holistically.

School inspector reports, newspaper clippings, journals and books were used as research materials to extend on the above-mentioned studies. This led to an exploration of physical training in the Cape Colony between 1892–1906; historical background of the Coronation Competition; and the forced relationship between race, schooling, physical drill and the Coronation Competition.

## PHYSICAL TRAINING DURING 1892-1906

During the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> and first two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, British education authorities throughout the empire employed the instructional method known as physical training or physical training drill, inherited from military manoeuvre (Cape of Good Hope, 1902d:86; 1905b:692; Ministry of Education, 1952:85). The major motive behind physical training and sport in British schools remained the instilling of discipline (Mason & Reidi, 2010:5). Physical drill was entrenched in the English military campaign of the South African War and the historian, Allan Dean, records that "...on board the Union liner *Briton* whilst en route to Cape Town during January 1900... the men on board double round the boat-deck for hours every day and did plenty of physical drill..." (Allen, 2002:45). A great contribution towards the development of physical training in England came from the teaching and writings of Archibald Maclaren, for many years proprietor of a gymnasium at Oxford. Under his influence, a teaching method (in the army and schools) developed from several roots: military drill, callisthenics and gymnastics. This led to the British physical training system, which at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century also spread to schools in British colonies (McIntosch, 1968:11,17.18).

Thomas Muir introduced the subject in the Cape Colony school curriculum. At the time, physical training also formed part of a system called manual training or manual work. A 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. It included kindergarten, handwork drawing for boys, needlework for girls, domestic economy (or science) and physical training (*Teachers' Review*, 1911:3,4).

#### PHYSICAL TRAINING IN MISSION SCHOOLS BETWEEN 1892-1906

In 1895, school inspector J.H. Brady of the Cape Town circuit, reported that in some of the mission schools under his charge he found "half White and half Coloured children in attendance" (Borman, 1989:127; Department of Public Education, 1895:9,16). Brady served as the inspector of Cape Town schools at the time when some pupils received "a little bit of drill" in 1894 (Department of Public Education, 1895:9). 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 (Department of Public Education, 1900:13).

Physical training in all Cape schools was not given much attention because of the lack of qualified teachers and limited outdoor space (*Cape Argus*, 1903:5). The Education Department's solution that "school furniture be moved or cleared to permit the few simple steps and arm movements set forth in the syllabus of the *Education Gazette*" did not help much (Cape of Good Hope, 1906a:376). Most mission schools had overcrowded classrooms and teaching happened under conditions detrimental to the health and progress of the pupils and teachers (Western Cape Archives, correspondence file). In 1905 the Education Department published an article in its Education Gazette where it advises communities who intend designing new schools to plan the classrooms around a quadrangle. The quadrangle should provide the space for "physical drill and taking exercise" (Cape of Good Hope, 1906a:376). Mission schools also known as 'blikskooltjies' ("tin schools") were without a quadrangle (Van der Ross, 2011).

The lack of physical fitness amongst the British recruits for the second South African War resulted in national intervention. King Edward VII took keen interest in physical training in schools and on 31 March 1902 he appointed a commission of nine. The commission was:

"to enquire into the opportunities for physical training available in state-aided schools and other educational institutions of Scotland and to suggest means by which such training may be made to conduce to the welfare of the pupils; and further, how such opportunities may be increased by continuation classes and otherwise, so as to develop, in their practical application to the requirements of life, the faculties of those who left the day school, and thus contribute towards the sources of national strength" (Leonard & McKenzie, 1927:215,216).

British education authorities displayed keen interest in the commission's report findings and established an "Interdepartmental (English and Scottish) Committee on the Model Course of Physical Exercises". This report was tabled to both Houses of Parliament on 10 March 1904 (Leonard & McKenzie, 1927:216). The committee concluded the maintenance and improvement of health and physique along with the development of alertness, decision, and perfect control of mind over body were of paramount importance. Further, it was suggested that military drill should be discontinued and a new system based on scientific principles, requiring no special apparatus, be introduced (Cape of Good Hope, 1904b:614). The Education Department introduced the *Model Course of Physical Exercises* that year with the general principle that there should be "rapid and vigorous exercises, which stimulate the respiration and circulation for short periods only and should be followed by exercises of an entirely different nature, during which the pulse and respiration are slowed down" (Cape of Good Hope, 1904c:282).

The implementation of these developments was not uniform and was determined largely by "the first legal distinction between 'White' and 'non-White' in 1893" (Backman, 1991:8). Also, the authorities did not insist that the new scheme be adopted immediately to the exclusion of other schemes (Cape of Good Hope, 1904d:299). Although Physical Training Drill was compulsory in teacher training courses, it was not so for schools. This only happened in July 1934 and only at secondary schools, under the jurisdiction of the School Board Act (De Vries, 1963:85). The *Cape Argus* pointed to the German education system where all schools possessed a gymnasium (*Turnhalle*) (*Cape Argus*, 1903:5).

#### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CORONATION COMPETITION

The Victorian era ended with the death of Queen Victoria and the accession of her son Edward VII on 26 January 1901. The following year the Education Department organised the first Coronation Physical Training Competition funded by the City Corporation (Cape Town City Council) (*Cape Argus*, 1903:5). This formed part of the Coronation Celebrations of Edward VII. On 2 May 1902, the SGE announced:

the children's sub-committee for the Cape Town Coronation Celebration has intimated to find two silver Challenge Shields for the annual competition among the White and Coloured schools ... It is exceedingly pleasing to see that there is to be something of lasting value as an outcome of the festivities (Cape of Good Hope, 1902a:217).

Muir took charge of the entries and a departmental instructor, W.J. Milne, visited schools to prepare them for the competition and the Education Department supported the competition financially (Cape of Good Hope, 1902a:218,219). Prominent Cape Town teachers formed a Coronation Cup Committee and took charge of the marshalling on the day of the competition. Muir later expressed much satisfaction at the "distinct success of the competition" (Cape of Good Hope, 1902d:3). At the time Cape Town was ablaze with displays of patriotic fervour in a city heightened by the tensions of war. The Coronation of Edward VII was celebrated throughout the empire and other parts of the Cape Colony within this military atmosphere.

# Militarism and the Coronation Competition

The Second South African War had just come to an end in 1902 and there was a strong military presence at the Green Point Common, with thousands of Boer prisoners and their guards. Muir introduced his official report, for the year 1902, with the words: "The most important fact to remember – the fact which explains almost all anomalies – is that the year under review was the last year of the war" (Cape of Good Hope, 1903a:86). It is possible that the intention of organising the drill competition at Green Point Common was to gloat the "youth of the empire" (Howes, 1996:15).

The competition was judged according to military parameters and Lieutenant-Colonel Robert-Francis Cantwell, Sergeant-Major Wilson and Sergeant-Major Brennan acted as judges (*Cape Times*, 1904b:7). These were prominent military figures at the time and all three were listed in the first edition of *South African Who's Who* in 1909 (Anon., 1909:54,72,529). The fact that Black children in Cape Town 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 (Adhikari, 2002:155). A visible military atmosphere permeated the Coronation competition and education authorities presented it as materially beneficial for the participating Black schools.

The Department prescribed double marches and waltzes for public schools but restricted mission schools to figure marching and free exercises. Mission schools were also excluded from the "floral march display" after the competition (*Cape Argus*, 1902:5; Cape of Good Hope, 1902a:219,220). This was in line with British regime thinking, under Alfred Milner, that the war had not altered master-servant relations (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007:224). Milner's educational policy aimed at achieving a dominance of pro-British views and the

school curriculum had a strong imperialist bias (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007:226). Therefore, British nationalist march past music was played with the exercises: *The British Grenadiers* and the *Keel Row* (for marching exercises) and *The National Guard Waltz* by Ada Henriques for the dumbbell exercises (Cape of Good Hope, 1902a:220). Two weeks later the waltz was replaced by *The Myosotis* by Caroline Lowthian, owing to "the fact that a sufficiently large number of copies of the music sheets were not available" (Cape of Good Hope, 1902b:236).

# A forced relationship between race, schooling, physical drill and the Coronation Competition

The first Coronation Competition took place during the June school vacation and school managers were given permission to close school one week later than normal (27 June) and reopen on 23 July instead of the 16<sup>th</sup> (Cape of Good Hope, 1902b:236). The presence of many female instructors was evidence of an urban mission work that provided an outlet for some of Britain's surplus single women (Bickford-Smith *et al.*, 1999:186). In 1902 the Education Department officially employed 3078 female teachers, compared to the 2357 males (Cape of Good Hope, 1902e:173).

The competition was held at the Corporation Athletic Ground at Green Point Common on 26 June and the Education Department divided the competition in two sections: One for White schools and one for Coloured schools (Cape of Good Hope, 1902a:217,219; 1902c:3). At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, education authorities referred to schools as Public (White) and Mission (Coloured) schools (Cape of Good Hope, 1902d; 86). Public Schools were officially divided into three sections: first, second and third class that and catered for most of the White population of the Cape Colony (for those who were financially able to found schools and pay half the teachers' salaries). Mission schools were funded for teachers' salaries only and were intended for people of colour (Malherbe, 1925:96). However, the prevailing school system, prior to 1905 (when the School Board Act was passed), was such that pupils of different racial groups mixed in mission and public schools (Marais, 1955:32). Yet, the Department insisted on classifying schools, competing in the Coronation Competition, as Coloured and White (Cape of Good Hope, 1902c:3). Education authorities forced participation in the Coronation Physical Training competition along lines of race and ignored the multi-racial character of some participating schools. Two examples highlight this. In 1903, St Agnes (Woodstock Roman Catholic School) had 119 White boys, 148 White girls and three Coloured girls on its books; St Phillips School had five White and 33 Coloured boys and the Dock District Public School had 51 White boys, 28 Coloured boys, 55 White girls and 21 Coloured girls (Cape of Good Hope, 1903d:154,155). The Cape Argus marketed it as a "competition open to all White schools throughout the Cape Peninsula" (Cape Argus, 1903:5). These two artificial categories of schools competed in separate competitions and the Coloured schools did not participate in all the prescribed exercises (Cape of Good Hope, 1902a:217). Official figures indicate that approximately 1000 children participated in the Coloured section and 2000 in the White section. Yet, the bulk of Cape Town children were found in the schools designated Coloured (Malherbe, 1925:96). Some managers at these mission schools encouraged White children to enrol. (Backman, 1991:43). Not only was education racially divided but differed in quality and the South African News, after praising the St Agnes (White) team, referred to the St George's Mission School (Coloured) who "gave a monotonous display but gave evidence of careful tuition" (South African News, 1904:8).

The post-Second South African War years were characterised by a British school system intent on extending control over Black people (Christie, 1985:159). Physical training drill, being part of this school system, could be used to teach Black children obedience and acceptance of their status in society. Black opinion makers (amongst others: Francis Peregrino, John Tobin, Abdullah Abdurahman and their organisations: Coloured People's Vigilance Committee; Stone meetings and African Political Organisation) were invisible in this imperial experiment although they were increasingly visible in the broader early 20<sup>th</sup> century Cape society.

The Education Gazette reported in 1903 that Cantwell acted as chief adjudicator and donated a £4 cheque to be divided among the participating Albertus Street and Ndabeni (St Cyprian's) 'Location Schools'. Both these schools participated in the 'Coloured' division. The Albertus Street School agreed that the money, with an equal contribution from the Education Department, be used for the extension of the school library. The Ndabeni Location School "preferred to expend the amount of its prize, £1 10s, on books for individual members of the team, most of whom were likely to leave school at the end of the year and return to their homes in distant parts of the colony" (Cape of Good Hope, 1903e:222). Such competition creates a festival atmosphere, with attending traditions, rituals and celebrations. It also establishes a forum within which children and youth can test themselves against accepted standards of excellence. Further, it promotes friendly rivalry and lastly striving within the rules and tradition is emphasised. 'Good competition' is the antithesis of 'bad competition' that uses the rules to gain an advantage, assuming the only way to win is to have the best score, disregarding traditions and rituals of the activity and letting the outcome affect you after the competition is over (Siedentop, 1990:261). Coronation participation along the lines of 'good competition' took place along the lines of 'enforced race'.

The St Cyprian's pupils were viewed as African by the colonial authorities that argued their natural home is outside the Cape Colony, beyond the Kei River in the east. On the other hand, the greatest portion of the Albertus Street School pupils were regarded Coloured, whom colonial authorities considered having a certain measure of permanency in the Western Cape. The education authorities previously supported legislation aimed at restricting Africans from entering the Western Cape. A case in point is the Education Department's support for the Glen Grey Act of 1894 (Cape of Good Hope, 1903b:97). Mining imperialist, Cecil John Rhodes, proposed this Act and set a 10 acre limit on land ownership in the Black reserves beyond the Kei River (Williams, 1990:93). Schooling provision for Africans was subject to this Act (Cape of Good Hope, 1903b:97; 1904a:270). The Albertus Street School, however, registered African pupils and the Ndabeni Location residents were described by the authorities as a "mixed race" rather than African (Bickford-Smith, 1999:44; Cleophas, 2009:65).

When the hype, generated by the Cape Town colonial authorities, of the 1902 Coronation fever passed the competition was shifted to 26 and 27 November the following year (Cape of Good Hope, 1903e:222). The rules for the competition were altered with a shorter set of exercises and no combined display was planned for the closing ceremony. Again the Education Department organised two competitions, one for White schools and one for Coloured schools. The former would be tested in various detailed exercises but the latter only in figure marching and free exercises (Cape of Good Hope, 1903c:109,111). Six schools

participated in the White division and the *Cape Argus* expressed its disappointment by this (*Cape Argus*, 1903:5). By 1904 interest in the Coronation Competition had waned to the degree that only three schools entered: St George's Mission School in Roeland Street; the St Cyprians Mission School in Ndabeni Location (Coloured) and St Agnes School in Woodstock (White) (*Cape Times*, 1904b:7). The competition was held on a later date than the previous two, on 14 December. That year the competition had moved to the (smaller) indoor venue of the Drill Hall and no entry fee was charged. The Education Department insisted that the only White team should go through "the prescribed exercises at the close of the Coloured schools competition" (Cape of Good Hope, 1904c:281). Cantwell remarked that "if there had been a competition... the squad (St Agnes) would have obtained the maximum number of marks" (Cape of Good Hope, 1905b:314). The Coronation Competition was shifted to May in 1906, an indication of the lack of permanency on the school calendar (Cape of Good Hope, 1905c:150). Again, White schools were tested in all the prescribed exercises and Coloured schools only in figure marching and free exercises (Cape of Good Hope, 1906b:647).

Colonial authorities supported urban missionary work to inculcate Western values to create a 'respectable' poor. These values included consciousness about dress, a time discipline, basic literacy and drill and games (Bickford-Smith *et al.*, 1999:186). It is not surprising therefore, that the Coronation Competition awarded marks for general set-up and carriage; smartness and accuracy in movements, covering and distance in marching and neatness and uniformity in dress (Cape of Good Hope, 1903c:111). Institutions, such as the media, supported these values. In 1903 the *Cape Times* reported of the schools competing in the Coloured division that the movements were "simple and of entertaining order and precision and order was well pleasing" (*Cape Times*, 1903a:7). The following year it said that "the neatness and alertness of the movements evoked enthusiastic applause" and the girls were complimented for their "methodical and neat work" (*Cape Times*, 1904b:7). This is in response to the strict rules enforcing propriety of conduct and attire that deterred Blacks from enrolling their children at public schools (Adhikari, 1993:18-19).

# Dress code, rewards, race and the Coronation competition

In 1903, the Cape Times over-stressed the clothing appearance of St Agnes (white with red sachets and ribbon), Hebrew Public School (white with Cambridge blue), St Mary's Convent School (navy blue and sky blue), St Michaels Boys School (white and red), High School Simonstown (naval uniform) and Dock District Public School (white and light blue) (Cape Times, 1903b:7). Similarly, the Cape Argus reported that the favourite dress code was the sailor blouse and short skirt. These were schools in the White division. Those in the Coloured section reportedly all "wore white with red or blue sashes... with the exception of St George's School who had dark blue sailor costumes with red sashes" (Cape Argus, 1903:5). It is possible that these were not school uniforms but specially purchased outfits. Stuttaford & Co. Department Stores in Cape Town advertised white drill sailor knickers suits (Cape Times, 1904a:10). The other competing schools in the Coloured division were St Phillip's, Albertus Street and St Cyprian's Schools (Cape Times, 1903a:7). The South African News reported in 1904 that the "St Agnes team was made up of a 19 member squad consisting of 6-12 year old girls. They were neatly garbed in white stocking caps, white sailor blouses and red shirts... performed intricate figures in marching drill and afterwards credibly performed free gymnastics and barbell drills" (South African News, 1904:8). Finally dress and grooming

articulates a sense of national identity. Therefore, the *Cape Argus* writer took exception on the absence of a dress code, in the Coronation Competition, as worn in the Home Country (England) (*Cape Argus*, 1903:5).

Competition, with its rewards, also played an important part in colonial capitalist societies. Besides the Coronation Competition, the Education Department also staged an annual Drill Marching competition for infant school pupils (Cape of Good Hope, 1905c:150). In 1907 G.G. Cillié, chairman of the Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwysers Unie (SAOU), lashed out at the 'drill, solfa singing and sand modelling' (Borman, 1989:168). These competitions and their subsequent rewards were not meant to promote racial interaction and instead reflected colour status. The Coloured school competition was therefore the curtain raiser for the Coronation Competition (Cape Argus, 1902:5). Considerations of race in the Coronation Competition remained important for the Education Department, and the St Agnes Roman Catholic School participated in the White section despite being positioned within the multi-racial working class suburb of Woodstock. When St Agnes was the sole entrant in 1904 in the White section, an opportunity was created to enter the schools in one division. Instead, the Education Department persisted in having two separate competitions with separate rewards. In consequence, W.J. Milne and Miss O'Connor (the St Agnes trainers) each received a teacher's medal alongside Miss Cole, who trained the St George's team (girls). All St Agnes and St George's team members received book prizes and both schools retained the shield from the previous year (Cape Times, 1903b:7; Cape of Good Hope, 1905a:314).

## CONCLUSION

The Coronation Physical Training Competition did not deviate from the accepted notion of race at the time for the purpose of celebrating imperial Britain. Despite being marginalised, African, Coloured, Jewish and poor White people accommodated British advances and, through this Physical Training Competition, they expressed loyalty to the British Crown. It is questionable if it was loyalty alone 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, 1902:5). Also, the post-war period was characterised by an intensified racial and political hierarchical contestation where Blacks were at the receiving end. In 1901 Alfred Mangena, a school teacher at a night school in Cape Town, urged a stand against government demands of rent and refusing free-hold title to Blacks. This resulted in a mass demonstration that turned violent and ended with the arrest of resisters. The result of this was to put the newly established African location, Uitvlugt, on a legal footing with the passing of the Native Reserve Location Bill of 1902 (Bickford-Smith, 1999:29-30). However, Capetonians attached much importance to competition. Such importance stemmed from a desire to emphasise social advantages and consciousness in Westernised society (Bickford-Smith et al., 1999:22). The involvement in a Coronation Physical Training Competition afforded marginalised communities with an opportunity of association with British class prestige.

The low number of entries indicates that the Education Department was not serious in drawing a mass of learners to the Coronation Physical Training Competition. In the circuit of school inspector Edward Noaks alone, that included the Cape Town area, there were 142 schools (Noaks, 1902:97a). Also the Coronation Competition was an exercise in a low status

subject, physical training that was also referred to as 'physical jerks' (Van der Merwe, 1941:35). The education authorities expressed less zeal for the Coronation Competition than for the cadet corps, a movement that was best suited for "teaching patriotism... and the cultivation of military intelligence" (Cape of Good Hope, 1906c:675). After the establishment of the Union of South Africa, the Education Department (then known as the Cape Education Department) never supported mass based school sport organisations in the poor communities of Cape Town. The first mass based school sport organisation in Cape Town that targeted poor children, mainly Coloured, was the Central School Sports Union established in 1928 (Cape Standard, 1941:12; Cape Herald, 1966:9). This body was established independently of the Cape Education Department.

Further, the Education Department was overly concerned with issues of race and ignored the 'multi-racial' nature of the participating schools in the Coronation competition. Schools with differing physical and human resources came together, for the first time, to participate in a movement extravaganza, called the Coronation Physical Training Competition. However, participation in this extravaganza did not dent social injustices. Three years later the Education Department implemented the 1905 School Board Act, which made provision for compulsory education for selected racial groups and excluded others (Adhikari, 1996b:11). The Coronation Competition was an exercise for reinforcing existing ideas of race in the post South African War period. This social marker continued in the practice of school sport during the years of Union (1910-1960).

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