

CHAPTER III.

THE COLOURED PEOPLE OF THE TRANSVAAL.

1. RACIALITY OF EUROPEAN AND NON-EUROPEAN AS A CAUSE OF THE GREAT TREK:

The opening years of the nineteenth century were characterised by the rise of liberalism as a philosophy of life and policy of state in England and in France. This liberalism was, in fact, but an extension of the humanism of the sixteenth century and glorified the rights and liberties of the individual; it stressed the intrinsic value of the individual as a self-determining moral and rational being. Its fundamental concept was to be found in the idea of the equality, liberty and brotherhood of all mankind, irrespective of race or colour. Where the liberalism in England developed gradually and along constitutional lines, that in France was violent and revolutionary in character.

This doctrine of liberalism profoundly influenced the subsequent history of South Africa. It gave rise to a great British philanthropic movement in this country, which culminated in two great acts of emancipation as far as the Coloured People were concerned. These acts were the Cape Ordinance 50 of 1838¹⁾, which liberated the Hottentots within the Colony, and the British Act 73 of 1833, which abolished slavery throughout the British Empire. Ordinance No. 50 made Hottentots and other free people of colour equal before the law with Europeans. It regulated the relationship between European master and Coloured servant and decreed, inter alia, that the children of Coloured people could be apprenticed to Europeans with their parents' consent. When the slaves were emancipated in 1834-1838, they, too, received equality before the law.

The Coloured People were as a result of this liberalistic policy also granted the right to vote in 1855 when a parliament

1) Cape Government Gazette, 25 July 1838.

Also : 420 and 514 of 1835, (Slavery Abolition Proceedings and Slavery Abolition Act.)

and constitution was adopted by the Cape Colony in that year.¹⁾ To this day, this policy of equality remains a bone of contention in the political life of South Africa.

It was, in fact, this policy of liberalism and equality which brought about a crisis in the history of South Africa, and it was one of the main reasons which caused the Boers to revolt against the British authorities at the Cape and resulted in the Great Trek,²⁾ though the roots of the Great Trek must be sought earlier in the history of race contacts and the development of race attitudes during the eighteenth³⁾ and nineteenth centuries.

The Voortrekker leader Karel Trichardt himself gave as the main reason for the Great Trek "de gelijktelling van kleurlingen met de blanken".⁴⁾ Retief in his Manifesto desired that "de behoerlyke betrekking tusschen meester en dienaar zullen bewaren".⁵⁾ Anna Steenkamp, a Voortrekker woman, expressed her strong disapproval at the placing of liberated slaves on a footing of equality with Christians and regarded it as "strijdig met de wetten van God en het natuurlik onderschijf van afkomst en geloof".⁶⁾ The English traveller Alexander described the tremendous reactions and emotions which this liberalistic policy wrought upon the Boers on the North-Western frontier of the Colony.⁷⁾

It was not only the actual legislative acts of emancipation which caused resentment amongst the emigrant Boers, but also the manner in which the philanthropists approached the problem of racial relationships between European and non-European in the period prior to and following the Great Trek. The line of action adopted

1) (a) But Act 7 of 1878 provided for discrimination against Coloured in respect of military service, C.10'79. (b) See also (1851) of 1852-3, p.292, 295.; (c) See also Hansard, Parl. Debates (House of Commons, 15.4.1851 Vol. CXVI, Column 227).; (d) Also Eybers, Select Const. Documents p.30 - 32.

2) Muller, C.F.J.: "Die Britse Owerheid en die Groot Trek" p. 66 - 68.

3) MacCrone, I.D.: Race Attitudes in S.A., p. 136.

4) Pretorius, G.S.: "Voortrekkersense II p. 4.

5) "De Zuid Afrikaner" 17.2.1837, dated 22.1.1837; originally in "Grahamstown Journal", 2 Febr. 1837.

6) Dagboek van Anna Steenkamp, in Voortrekkersense II p.30 -1.

7) Notes on the N.W.Frontier of the Colony by Alexander to D'Urban 22.10.1837 : D'Urban Papers VII No. 45.

by the philanthropists did influence the policy of the Voortrekkers towards the Coloured People and their education. It would therefore be of interest to trace briefly the action taken by the philanthropists.

2. PHILANTHROPIC ACTION BEFORE THE REFORMATION PRIOR AND SUBSEQUENT TO THE GREAT WAR.

During the middle years of the second quarter of the previous century, various influential organisations were established in England to foster philanthropic ideas under the banner of "Justice and Humanity."¹⁾ Such philanthropic ideas wrote Napier in 1839 were based on strict principles of humanity, impartiality and justice.²⁾

Among the philanthropic organisations were the Aborigines Protection Society, British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and the Civilisation of Africa. These societies, as well as the British missionary societies, i.e. London, Wesleyan and Church Missionary Societies, propagated and popularised their ideas with great effect in England, and had the support of Buxton and Lord Glenelg.³⁾ A writer commented that at the time the British world "was ringing with revolutionary watch words of a universal philanthropy".⁴⁾ Of Glenelg, Buxton wrote that he was assured that he would do more "justice to negroes, Caffres, Hottentots and Indians than any other Secretary of Colonies."⁵⁾

The effects were felt in the British administration at the Cape and governors and officials were appointed because of their philanthropic views. The replacement of D'Urban by Napier as Governor of the Cape speeded up the philanthropic movement.⁶⁾

1) CO 43/170: Napier to Glenelg, 20.11.1839 (private letter).

2) CO 1443, No. 30 p. 347 Napier to Normanby, 18.12.1839.

3) (a) Harey, History of the English People in 1915, III p. 69ff, 205-215.; (b) Murray, English Social and Political Thinkers of the Nineteenth Century, I p. 60, 72-75, 82-86.

4) Murray, English Social and Political Thinkers.....I p. 165. See also: Mathieson, British Slavery and its Abolition, p. 115-119.

5) Buxton, Memoirs p. 306.

6) (a) CO 1325, No. 1782 : Glenelg to Napier 9.11.1837;
(b) CO 43/170. Napier to Glenelg 20.11.1839.

Andries Stockenström, a noted philanthropist was appointed Lt.-Governor of the Eastern Districts and he would ensure "a fixed course of justice"¹⁾ In a letter directed by Napier to Stockenström he contended that the only possible control had to be vested in "a government based upon impartial justice and humanity without regard to the colour of the human race."²⁾ Membership of the Council Board was to be confined to those men who zealously approved of the government policy of liberalism and non-discrimination.³⁾ Philanthropists were appointed to all key positions. M. West of Albany became Lt.-Governor of Natal.⁴⁾ J. Dill was replaced in April 1843 by J. Montagu as Government Secretary at the Cape.⁵⁾ He had, according to Dr. John Philip, liberal and enlightened views.⁶⁾

When Napier was succeeded by Maitland in 1844, the same policy was continued.⁷⁾

In Cape Town itself, the pressure to uplift the non-European people made itself felt in the columns of "The South African Commercial Advertiser" under the editorial leadership of J. Fairbairn, and in the establishment of various local societies, such as the Cape Town Friendly Society, Ladies Benevolent Society, Bible Society and the Temperance Society.⁸⁾

There was much uncertainty as to the attitude to adopt with regard to the annexation of the areas occupied by the Voortrekkers.

One view held by the permanent Under-Secretary of Colonies at the time, Sir James Stephen, was that : "If we are

1) CO 1325, No.284: Stockenström to Urban, 11.7.1837.

2) LG 5, No.2: Napier to Stockenström, 1.2.1838.

3) CO 1326 No.1931: Glenelg to Napier, 16.4.1838.

4)(a) CO 48/170: Napier to Glenelg (Private) 30.11.1838. (b) See also Bird, J : The Annals of Natal 1495-1845, II, p.471.

5) Newman, Biographical Memoir of J. Montagu, p.70, 449-470.

6) Jane Philip to Miss Wills, 9.1.1844. Philip Papers Mus. (Witwatersrand University Library).

7) (a) Jane Philip to Miss Wills, 12.6.1838 (Philip Papers Mus).

(b) Ibid 24.6.1844; (c) CO 1017: Philip to B. Maitland, 15.6.1846.

8) See CO 48/170 : Narrative No.33.

to follow the fugitive settlers as they wander with their herds into the interior, when and where are we to stop?.....The single motive for pursuing the emigrants is to protect the aborigines; if we pursue them with that view, we shall but drive them on new tribes, provoke more emigration and new wars.¹⁾ This point of view was also maintained by Secretary of State Russell.²⁾

Opposed to this viewpoint were the missionary societies. They contended that the welfare of the native people lay in the annexation of such territories as were occupied by the Voortrekkers. "Annexation up to the Tropics", was the cry of Dr. Philip. That would be the only way of safeguarding the rights of the aborigines against the injustices committed by the Voortrekkers, was his contention.³⁾ The Wesleyan missionary, W.B. Boyce, was of the same opinion and held that annexation of the territories was indispensable for the security of the aborigines.⁴⁾ The American missionary Lindley, contended that the Voortrekkers were prejudiced against missions and he was of the opinion that it was first necessary to spread the light amongst the Voortrekkers so as to minimise their prejudice against missionary work.⁵⁾

Not only Dr. Philip, but others as well, through the public press and from public platforms, addressed themselves to the British government and the British people. Thus we find that S. Bannister, in his book "British Colonisation and Coloured Tribes", published in London in 1838, referring to "the violences of the emigrating boers". He appealed for a system of federal union with the different native races, in which he regarded the Griquas parti-

1) (a) CO 48/214, 215: Memoranda by Stephen 11.2.1841 and 31.1.1842
(b) Also CO 48/170 : Memorandum by Stephen 12.12.1839.

2) CO. 1327 No. 2079 : Russell to Maclellan 22.12.1839.

3) MacMillan, W.M.: "Bantu, Boer and Briton" p.107-208.

4) Boyce, W.B.: Notes on South African Affairs from 1834 to 1838 (1838 MS) p.165-166.

5) Gray, M.W. Tyler: "Stories of the Early American Missionaries in South Africa", p. 23-27.

See also : Bird, J: The Annals of Natal 1495-1845, I p.221 where letter from Lindley, 1 Dec.1837 in "The Missionary Herald" Vol.34, p.432 is reproduced.

station for missionaries in Natal.¹⁾ The same view was held by another missionary, G. Chapman²⁾, while T. Jenkins contended that the Boers were very much antagonised to the missionaries.³⁾

Constant appeals were being made to the British government for the annexation of Natal. In 1840 Backhouse and Walker stressed the desirability of British rule in Natal to prevent the Voortrekker from committing injustices against the aborigines.⁴⁾ The missionary Shaw supported this viewpoint and regarded "the establishment of British rule at Port Natal as an event greatly to be desired."⁵⁾ He also contended that the attitude of the Boers to the non-Europeans was "scandalous".⁶⁾ Napier said in 1841 that he would not like to see Voortrekker-rule in Natal, because "the laws and regulations they would adopt in their Council relative to the native tribes would in all probability be utterly repugnant to the views of Her Majesty's Government".⁷⁾

It was, in fact, the consideration of the rights of the non-Europeans, which contributed largely to the eventual annexation of Natal by the British government.⁸⁾

There were others, however, who held a different point of view. This missionary Archbell wrote in 1841 in "The Grahamstown Journal" that the Natal Natives "are very numerously interspersed in villages among the emigrants, are a perfectly free people, and not the slaves we were some time ago led to suppose them. The principles of freedom have been proclaimed throughout the whole emigration."⁹⁾

1) V.R.S. No.7, p. 103, 137 - 8.

2) Bird Annals of Natal I, p. 211, 222, 226.

3) Letter Jenkins to Shaw dated 10.7.1838 in "De Zuid-Afrikaan" of 10.8.1838.

4) C.O. 1448 No.42: Napier to Russell 24.6.1840 p.432 - 3.

5) Bird, Annals I p.646 - 9.

6) L.O.191 No.198: Shaw to Hudson 27.7.1841.

7) C.O. 1449 No.136, Napier to Russell, 6.12.1841, p.331 -9.

8) (a) C.O.1830 No.2545, Stanley to Napier, 13.12.1842.

(b) See also Bird, Annals II, p.116, 140 - 7.

9) Bird, Annals I, p.655.

cularly as "useful federal connexions".¹⁾ The Aborigines Protection Society in 1828 brought to the attention of the British authorities the need to protect the non-European tribes against the predatory and hostile incursions of the Voortrekkers on the Mantatees. In strong terms the Society refers to these attacks on the native tribes as "reckless, ferocious and revengeful".²⁾

"The South African Commercial Advertiser" used its columns, not only for propagating philanthropic ideas, but also for publishing tales of alleged violence committed by the Voortrekkers against the natives, and for bringing pressure to bear upon the government, to take action against the Voortrekkers.³⁾

One of the most ardent critics of the Voortrekker native policy was Andries Stockenström, who referred to the Voortrekker policy in terms such as "a career of savage desolation",⁴⁾ "a bloody career",⁵⁾ "deeds of infamy".⁶⁾ He drew attention to a report from a French missionary Rolland in which it was alleged that Bushmen children were taken into bondage by the Boers.⁷⁾ He accused the Boers of slave trade⁸⁾ and urged that effective steps be taken to control the emigrant Boers.⁹⁾

Accusations were also made that the Voortrekkers abducted and took with them freed slaves; and that they, also, by fraud or violence, took with them a number of individuals, formerly their slaves, but latterly their apprenticed labourers.¹⁰⁾

The accusations against the Voortrekkers and the appeals for action continued unabated. In 1838 Owen of the Church Missionary Society complained that the Dutch would never allow a

1) Hannister, S: "British Colonisation and Colonial Tribes." p.278 op.cit.

2) Boyce, Notes on S.A.Affairs, p.146 n.

3) "S.A.Commercial Advertiser", 30.11.1836; 21.1.1837, 4.2.1837; 4.11.1837.

4) CO 1353, No.240: Stockenström to D'Urban 26.7.1837.

5) CO 1354, No.199: Stockenström to D'Urban, 23.5.1837.

6)(a) C.O.1355, No.234: Stockenström to D'Urban, 11.7.1837;

(b) See also: CO 1354, No.161: Stockenström to D'Urban, 14.4.1837.

7) CO 1353, No.240: Stockenström to D'Urban, 26.7.1837.

8) CO 1356, No.303: Stockenström to D'Urban, 11.10.1837.

9) (a) CO 48/175, No.72: Appendix, Stockenström to D'Urban, 6.6.1837

(b) See also Ibid, No.25 ann. Stockenström to Napier, 12.3.1838.

10) (a) CO 1326, No.1841: Glenelg to Napier, 24.4.1838; (b) See also CO 1449, No.11: Napier to Russell 23.1.1841 p.100-2; (c) This accusation was later denied by Joubert. See Bird, J, Annals

Accusations were also made against the Voortrekkers in the area beyond the Orange River, the present-day Orange Free State, particularly by missionaries of the Wesleyan, Paris and London institutions.

The Wesleyan missionary J. Allison wrote on 1st August 1842 from Tlaba Moku to a colleague that it was necessary to send 150,000 British colonists to the area, for "such a body would, if well regulated, preserve the native tribes from destruction and forever bar the prospect of the Boers in setting up their worse than Turkish tyranny and sway"¹⁾. Missionary Superintendent Shaw made representations to the British government in October 1842, in which he contended that slavery was in existence for three or four years among the Trekkers in the area north and east of the Orange River, and that these Trekkers showed "a spirit of bitter hostility against the missionaries."²⁾ The French missionaries Casalis and Holland also complained in 1839 of encroachments on their stations by Boer farmers, who removed more than 200 Bushmen from the mission station and who threatened to destroy their work as missionaries.³⁾ The French missionaries did not only make their plea to the British authorities, but through their influential organ "Journal des Missions Evangeliques," they also made an impression upon the people of Netherland.⁴⁾

To their pleas were added further pleas by the ubiquitous Dr. John Philip, who complained in 1842 that the Griquas were being ousted from their territory by the Boers and that the Boers were actively engaged in slave traffic with Bushmen children. A crisis could only be avoided through British intervention.⁵⁾

1) Bird, Annals II, p.58; See also, Ibid p. 61.

2) (a) G.O. 1361, No.78: Shaw to Hulton 25.10.1842; (b) See also G.O. 1361, No.95 Apr. Shaw to Hulton 14.11.1842.

3) Theol. "Basutoland Records" I p. 36 - 40.

4) Lants Collection IA/17 No.17 Koenen to Lants, 10.2.1846. (Tvl. State Archives). The Trekkers were regarded as "een der bezwarende etc belemeringen van de Evangelieprediking onder de Kaffers".

5) (a) MacMillan, "Bantu, Boer and Briton" p.193 - 7.

(b) See also : L.G. 139 : Philip to Hare 12.7.1842.

The continual and persistent pleadings and representations to the British government by the London, Wesleyan and Paris Missionary Societies eventually bore fruit, resulting in British intervention, firstly in the form of treaties with Griqua and native chieftains and later by military action.¹⁾

Many of the accusations against the Trekters were, however, found to be completely untrue and without foundation, and as the strong force of philanthropy began to wane by 1845, the same philanthropists were found to sing a new and different tune. Thus the philanthropist Maitland was able to say in 1845 of the natives on the Eastern Frontier, that they were "an uncivilised race, greedy of cattle, and equally unscrupulous and adroit as to the mode of obtaining them."²⁾

Where previously the natives had been looked upon as peaceful and harmless there now arose a cry that they were "barbarous!"³⁾ Missionary Calderwood wrote to the Head Office of the London Missionary Society in August 1846 that "the ruin effected by Caffres upon missionary property erected for their salvation, is most striking and lamentable."⁴⁾

Certain prominent individuals were even beginning to have doubts about the value of missionary work.⁵⁾ Sir Harry Smith concluded that "success in conversion was extremely limited!"⁶⁾ Interference in secular and political affairs by missionaries was looked upon with disfavour even by missionaries themselves, and "cannot but have an injurious effect upon his (the missionary's) spiritual labours".⁷⁾

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- 1)(a) G.O.1451, No.69: Maitland to Stanley, 22.7.1844, p.102 - 3.
 (b) I.B. 424 (1851) p. 211 - 2; (c) G.O.1451 No.83: Maitland to Stanley, 13.8.1845, p.310 - 3; (d) See also, Theal, "Basutoland Records" I, p.57 -60; 69-73.
 2)(a) G.O.1451, No.165: Maitland to Stanley, 17.11.1845, p.451;
 (b) See also Ibid, No.149 of 25.10.1845 p.429.
 3) S.A.Commercial Advertiser 6.12.1847.
 4) Macmillan, "Bantu, Boer and Briton" p.257 note.
 5) G.O.1453 No.36: Fottinier to Grey 14.4.1847 p.43 -61
 6) (a) G.O.1454, No.26: Smith to Grey 4.3.1845; (b) Also I.B. No.930- (1847-'48) p.318.
 7) (a) Jenkins Private Papers p.26: Circular of 29.9.1846 (Univ.Stel
 (b) Gerdener, G.B.A: "Toustone vir die Geskiedenis van die N.G. Kerk in die Transgariep" p.105.

By 1847 - '48 the powerful and influential British press through "The Times" and "The Quarterly Review", took the missionaries and philanthropists to task for the methods which they had adopted to improve the lot of the non-Europeans, but which had resulted on the contrary, in incalculable damage to their cause.¹⁾

Sir Harry Smith was able to say in 1848 that "throughout my journey among the emigrants I saw no appearance of slaves - much less than any traffic in them - which has been erroneously alleged to exist. The Boers and natives, as far as my observations went, are everywhere on the best of terms."²⁾

By 1854 the British Government was prepared to admit publicly that the Trekkers in the area north of the Orange River, Trans-Orange, never entertained slavery nor did they keep slaves.³⁾

3. BRITISH PHILANTHROPY IN THE TRANSVAAL:

Against the Voortrekkers of the Transvaal a persistent attack was also being maintained by missionaries, philanthropists and others. This attack was directed against the attitude and policy of the Voortrekkers in regard to non-Europeans.

In July 1842 "The South African Commercial Advertiser" pleaded for effective measures to be taken against the Trekkers of the Transvaal so as to prevent them from committing injustices against non-Europeans.⁴⁾ A year later, in July 1843, Livingstone wrote from Kuruman:- "Boers are again stealing the children of the natives in order to make them slaves."⁵⁾ Four years later, in March 1847, he contended that "the Boers hate missionaries."⁶⁾

From various sources the attention of the British Government was being directed to the alleged slave traffic that was

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- 1) Bell, K.N. and Morrell, W.P.: "Select Documents on British Colonial Policy" 1830-1860, p.434.
 - 2) C.O.1454, No.17: Smith to Grey, 10.2.1848, p.42 - 48.
 - 3) Eybers, G.W.: "Select Constitutional Documents Illustrating S.A. History", p.281-5.
 - 4) S.A.Commercial Advertiser, 27.7.1842.
 - 5) Chamberlain, D. (Publ.): "Some Letters from Livingstone" p.62. (Oxford, 1940).
 - 6) Agar-Hamilton, J.A.I.: "The Native Policy of the Voortrekkers" 1836 - 1858", p.123.

being conducted by the Voortrekkers in connivance with the Portuguese.¹⁾ The philanthropist Governor Maitland made certain investigations which led him to conclude, in a dispatch to the British Secretary of State, that the Voortrekkers of Andries Shrightstad had established "a slave-holding settlement" there and "have proceeded to sell certain of the conquered natives to the slave dealers at Delagoa Bay."²⁾

To support his allegation, Maitland added the testimony of a native Mabaleni.³⁾

The appeals of the philanthropists on behalf of the native races of the Transvaal led to emotional reactions on the part of the British authorities. Sir E. Foxton said in the House of Commons in April 1851 that the non-European should no longer be left to "the tender mercies of the Boers".⁴⁾ State Secretary Grey expressed himself in 1848 rather indignantly "that amongst the emigrant Boers the practice not only of mere slave-holding but of slave-dealing has been established." He concluded that these were evils that could not be tolerated and urged the British Government "to interfere more decidedly in the affairs of the South African Republic".⁵⁾

Yet, in spite of all these allegations, the British Government was prepared to admit by the Sand River Convention in 1852 that it disclaimed all alliances with the coloured races of the Transvaal, and that it agreed "that no slavery is,.....permitted or practised in the country to the north of the Vaal River by the emigrant farmers."⁷⁾

1) C.O. 1836 No. 58: Grey to Maitland : 30.10.1846.

2) (a) C.O. 1452, No. 110: Maitland to Gladstone, 4.6.1846 p.66; (b) See also C.O. 1452, No. 129: 12.9.1846 p.151-2.; (c) Also C.O. 1452, No. 17: Maitland to Grey 21.1.1847, p.288-6.

3) I.B. No. 1059 (1849) p.39 - 41.

4) Hansard, Parl. Debates 3rd Series, Vol. CXVI, Column 872, 15.4.1851.

5) I.B. No. 930 (1847-'49) p.96: Grey to Pottinger, 4.12.1846.

6) The word "coloured" includes all non-Europeans.

7) Eybers, Select Const. Documents, p.358. The terms of the Sand River Convention are to be found also in I.B. 15 April 1852 - The Sand River Convention, 17.1.1852.

But this did not deter the philanthropists. They continued their accusations against the Boers with increased fervour, and particularly the missionaries of the London Missionary Society, culminating in the arrest by the Boers of the missionaries Edwards and Inglis.⁽¹⁾

It is against this background that the attitude of the Boers of the South African Republic towards the Coloured People, and their relations with them, must be viewed.

4. THE COLOURED PEOPLE UNDER THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC AND THEREAFTER:

There were some Coloured People who accompanied the Voortrekkers on the Great Trek as domestic servants and labourers, but the numbers were small. When Retief and his party were murdered by Dingaan in February 1838, a few Coloureds who accompanied the Boer-deputation as "agterryers" also lost their lives. When Dingaan attacked the laagers of the Voortrekkers after the murder of Retief, some two hundred Coloureds were also killed. Those who survived helped to plant the Coloured communities of the northern province of South Africa.⁽²⁾

The majority of Coloured People came to the Transvaal from the Cape Colony and particularly from Kimberley in later years when gold was discovered on the Witwatersrand and elsewhere in the Transvaal. Prior to 1890 there were but few Coloureds in the Transvaal, but when a census of the population was taken in 1904, there were 35,647 persons of mixed blood in the Transvaal Colony.⁽³⁾ Few of the Coloureds went to work on the mines as unskilled labourers.⁽⁴⁾

1) Lovett, R.: "History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895. (London 1899) I, p.598.

2) Cruise, H.J.: Die Oorheffing v.d. Kleurlingbevolking I, p.17.

3) (a) Results of a Census of the Transvaal Colony and Swaziland taken on the night of Sunday, 17th April 1904 (Meyn & Sons, Ltd., London, May 1906). (In Africana Library, Johannesburg).

(b) See also: Transvaal Book Almanac and Directory 1877, 1881.

(No distinction was made between Coloureds and other non-Europeans)

4) U.G. 54 - 1937, para. 132.

Many of the Coloureds on the Witwatersrand occupied themselves as tradesmen, coach-drivers, and domestic servants, while some were independent persons who had their own businesses or trades.¹⁾ So we find, for example, that Caroline Lingevelde, who had previously resided for ten years in Kimberley and from 1894 in Johannesburg, was a washerwoman.²⁾ Pieter Daniels, who had come to the Rand from the Cape in 1890 was a tailor and had his own business for a period of seven years;³⁾ James David Moses came to Johannesburg from Cape Town in 1893 and was employed by the firm of Hansen Schrafer and Co.⁴⁾ The Coloured man Dirk Helm came to live in Johannesburg from Worcester in July 1897 and was a coachman on the horse-driven trams.⁵⁾ Jacob Petersen was, however, employed on the mines. His father was a German and his mother a woman from St. Helena. He was born at Piketberg and came to the Transvaal in 1897.⁶⁾

Among the Coloureds who came to the Transvaal in those days before 1900 were also small numbers of teachers and preachers.⁷⁾ One of the first Coloured schoolmasters to come to the Transvaal was C.S. Koopman, who was for many years Manual Training Instructor under the Transvaal Education Department at the Manual Training Centre for Coloured children at Main Street, Ferreira, Johannesburg. This Manual Training Centre was transferred in 1947 to the City and Suburban School, under the jurisdiction of the writer. From this Mr. Koopman the writer was able to get much valuable first-hand information on the problems of Coloured Education in the first decade of this century. C.S. Koopman is today one of the two Transvaal members of the Coloured Advisory Council.⁸⁾

As has been pointed out, the Boers would not tolerate equality with the Coloured People, but neither would they allow

1) Correspondentie van de Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek met betrekking tot de Kaapse Kleurlingen in de Republiek Z.A.R. No. 9-1899, p. 3.

2) Z.A.R. No. 8 - 1899, p. 8.

3) Ibid, p. 6.

4) Z.A.R. No. 8 - 1899, p. 10.

5) Ibid, p. 11.

6) Ibid, p. 13.

7) Ibid, p. 7.

8) Official Yearbook of the Union of S.A. (Preprint No. 33-1946) Ch. XXV, p. 15.

slavery. The constitutions of their republics disavowed slavery and set out clearly the attitude towards Coloured People under their control. They were not averse to the evangelisation of these people, but foreign missionary societies were circumspect in their eyes, and naturally enough, not without reason! Missionary work was allowed, but only under the strictest supervision.¹⁾ The Voortrekkers indeed, "aimed at establishing a state which should be based upon a reasonable and common-sense acceptance of the proper relationship between the white master and the subservient coloured races."²⁾ This they hoped to achieve as far as the Coloured People were concerned, by debarring them from the franchise, by making them carry passes or identity discs and by circumscribing their rights to own property.³⁾

The South African Republic was consistent in its attitude that there would be no equality between people of colour and the white inhabitants either in church or state.⁴⁾ Even in its laws relating to military service, the South African Republic decreed that Coloured People would not be used as soldiers against Europeans, but could be called upon "om of persoonlyken dienst te doen, of om by te dragen tot de oorlogskosten, of om te werken op de plaatsen van den burghers die krygsdienst doen."⁵⁾

In 1897 President Kruger declared that he could prove from the Bible that "gelykstelling" was anti-christian.⁶⁾

There was always a measure of antipathy between the Coloureds and the Voortrekker Boers, for in 1915 it was a Hottentot detachment under the command of a European officer which fired at

1) (a) Voortrekker-argiefstukke 1839-'49, p.15; especially "sendelinggenootschap van Engelandt"; (b) Also Z.A.R. Grondwet 1856, Art.8,9,10; cf. Grondwet of 1858, 1863.

2) Agar-Hamilton, J.A.I.: "South Africa" p.19 *op.cit.*

3) Headlam, C.(Ed) : The Milner Papers : 1897-1905, Part I, p.192,3

4) Grondwet - Z.A.R. 1856 - Art.9.

5) Z.A.R. Wet No.20, 1898 article 20; also Z.A.R. Wet No.21, 1899 (28.9.1899).

6) Notulen van den Eersten Volksraad, 11.8.1897.

and killed the Boer Frederik Bezuidenhout when he resisted arrest, and it was a Hottentot regiment that suppressed the Slagters Nek Rebellion.¹⁾

During the Anglo-Boer War there was a number of Coloured soldiers, the "Border Scouts", who sided with the British against the Boers. The Boers showed but little respect for the lives and possessions of these Coloureds. Until 1902, when the British threatened retaliation, every armed Coloured person, who fell into the hands of the Boer rebels and republican allies, was shot without ceremony.²⁾

British support and intervention for the rights of the Coloured People in the Transvaal was maintained until the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War in 1899 and for some time thereafter.

But the government of the South African Republic had trouble with the Coloured People under its jurisdiction. The Coloured People would not subject themselves to the provisions of the "Passet No.31" of 1896, and would not carry passes nor display metal identity discs.³⁾ In their attitude the Coloured People were supported by the British Government. The British Government contended in its representations to the government of the South African Republic, that the Coloureds were British subjects and should not be subjected to the pass laws.

In a letter from F.W.Reitz, the State Secretary of the South African Republic to the British Agent in Pretoria, dated 22nd March 1899, it was contended, inter alia, that the Coloured People of the Witwatersrand were unreliable, provocative and brutal "en doorgaans tot het laagste zedelijke peil in die maatschappij behooren." This letter also mentioned that a number of the Coloured

1) (a) R.C.C.I p.474; Craig created a small Hottentot corps in 1796
(b) Leibbrandt, Slagters Nek Rebellion, 1915, p.112 - 116.
(c) R.C.C. XI, p.2 - 6. Somerset wanted to replace the Hottentot corps by British troops.
2) Theal, G.M.: "History of S.A. from 1673 to 1884, Vol.II p.39-47.
3) Z.A.R. No.8, 1899, p. 15.

People who resided in the locations at Johannesburg was responsible¹⁾ for keeping brothels.

In contrast to this was the point of view of the British Agent, contained in a memorandum addressed to the Government of the South African Republic on 12th July 1897 in which he stated: "The Coloured People are as a class sober, industrious and law-abiding and in no way to be compared to the raw kaffir working in a mine." The government of the South African Republic did, however, admit that there were Coloureds who had attained a measure of civilisation superior to others of their race, and these Coloureds were exempted from the provisions of the pass laws.²⁾

The grievances of the Cape Coloured of the Transvaal were among the factors that prompted Milner to interfere with the domestic policy of the South African Republic just prior to the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War.³⁾

During the Anglo-Boer War, the British Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, stated that "we cannot consent to purchase peace by leaving the Coloured population in the position in which they stood before the war, with not even the ordinary civil rights which the Government of the Cape Colony has long conceded to them."⁴⁾

Shortly after the War, Lord Milner, then the British High Commissioner in South Africa, reiterated these sentiments in an address to delegates of a Municipal Congress in the Transvaal. He said: "I feel even more strongly perhaps about the coloured class(than about the native). The vast majority of them are in a deplorably low state of civilisation. There is a small section, a very small section, unfortunately, who have overcome the enormous

1) Ibid.

2) S.A.R. No.8 - 1899, p. 32.

3) The Milner Papers I, p. 192-306; II p.310.

4) Cd. 528 of 1901, p.5.

disadvantages of their origin, and who have attained to a considerable degree of civilisation. It is a further consideration, which I do not wish to lay much stress upon, that throughout South Africa men of that class, for whom personally I feel the deepest sympathy, have stood most loyally in the great struggle for enfranchisement by the side of those who have been in favour of that wider extension of popular liberties which is what the triumph of the British idea in this country means. They have been among its most ardent supporters; I should be sorry if one of the first fruits of our victory was to place an indelible stigma upon them." ¹⁾

Cecil John Rhodes was an ardent supporter of this viewpoint and enunciated his maxim of "Equal rights for every civilised man South of the Zambesi", and for him a civilised man was a man, no matter whether white or black, who had sufficient education to write his name, who owned some property, or worked and was, therefore, not a loafer. ^{2) 3) 4)}

In spite of all these assertions by the makers of British policy at the time, there was the inconsistency that among the first British ordinances to be enacted in 1903 in the erstwhile Republics, was one which debarred Coloured People from the franchise ⁵⁾

In fact, the British annexation of the Transvaal made little difference to the legal status of the Coloured People in that territory. They remained very much in a similar position to what they were in before the Anglo-Boer War.

5. THE COLOURED PEOPLE IN THE TRANSVAAL TODAY: ⁶⁾

The statistics of 1946 show that there are 55,270 Coloured People resident in the Transvaal. Of this total 29,030

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- 1) The Milner Papers II p.467. See also "The Spectator", 14.7.1906.
 - 2) Le Gaur, C: "Cecil Rhodes, the man and his work" (1903) p.76.
 - 3) Millin, S.G.: "Rhodes" (1903) p. 62-5; p.221.
 - 4) Williams, B.: "Cecil Rhodes" (1921) p.204 - 11.
 - 5) (a) Transvaal Ordinance No.38 of 1903.
(b) See also C.O. 347, p.7 ; C.O. 363, p.1 - 2.
 - 6) Yearbook of Union of S.A. No.22 - 1946, Reprint Ch.XXV p. 5.

are resident in the municipal area of Johannesburg. The remainder lives on the Reef and in the rural villages of the Transvaal. The number living in the rural districts and on farms is about 13,000.

The Coloureds of Johannesburg live in special suburbs and areas at Vrededorp, Sophiatown, Martindale, Newclare, Denver, Wolhuter, Ferreira'stown, and in the recently established villages for Coloured People at Coronationville, Albertsville and Noord-gesig. Others again live in the locations for natives.

Small numbers of the better class of Coloured People live in their own homes; the majority, however, lives in hired houses and rooms and in a number of cases, whole families occupy a single room.¹⁾

The rentals paid for houses and other living accommodation constitute a large percentage of the monthly earnings.²⁾

The occupations in which the Coloured People of the Transvaal are engaged, are connected with industries, trades, transport and communications. Some are engaged in agriculture, chiefly in the rural areas, while a very small number is employed on the mines. There is also a small professional class engaged as teachers, preachers and doctors. Some 6000 are engaged in domestic and other services.³⁾

There is no doubt that the Coloured People of the Transvaal play a not insignificant part in the labour-supply and the economic life of the Witwatersrand.

1) U.C. 54 - 1937 p.126, para. 666 - 667.

2) Ibid, para. 670.

3) See Appendix B for list of Occupations of the Coloured Population, according to the Census of 1936. Union Yearbook No.23 - 1946, Ch. XXV.