

# DRILLING THE DEATH DRILL

THE SINKING OF THE SS MENDI

SECRET



PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE  
CAPE TOWN

Secret

MINISTERS have the honour to inform His Excellency the Governor General that the following telegram was received this morning from the Record Officer, South African Native Labour Contingent, London, reporting the arrival at Portsmouth Hospital of fifteen Native Privates who are survivors from the transport "Mendi" and (2) the death on the 21st instant as the result of shipwreck in the English Channel of one European non-commissioned officer and eight Native

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>02</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION</b>
<b>03</b>	<b>SETTING UP AN HISTORICAL ENQUIRY IN THE CLASSROOM</b>
<b>05</b>	<b>WORKING WITH SOURCES</b>
<b>07</b>	<b>CASE STUDY: THE SINKING OF THE SS MENDI</b> Source A "Early in the morning of February 21, 1917..." Source B "Drilling the death drill..." Source C "23 years later and I remember..."
<b>15</b>	<b>COMMEMORATING THE ROLE OF ALL SOLDIERS IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR (1914-1918)</b> Perspective 1: "Blood swept lands and seas of red" - 2014 installation at the Tower of London Perspective 2: "Let us not dishonour those who died" – Kai Brand-Jacobsen
<b>17</b>	<b>WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO COMMEMORATE WAR?</b> Perspective 1: The Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC) Perspective 2: A critical perspective from Anke Hoffstadt
<b>20</b>	<b>READING MEMORIALS</b> How has the battle of Delville Wood (1916) been memorialised? How have the war efforts of the SANLC and the sinking of the SS Mendi been memorialised?
<b>23</b>	<b>WHY DO WE TEACH (ABOUT) WAR? SHOULDN'T WE TEACH (ABOUT) PEACE?</b>
<b>26</b>	<b>REFERENCES AND WEBSITES</b>
<b>27</b>	<b>ARCHIVAL AND IMAGE CREDITS</b>

# INTRODUCTION

The South African Curriculum Statement (CAPS) states:










“History is about learning how to think about the past, and by implication the present in a disciplined way. History is a process of enquiry and involves asking questions about the past: What happened? When did it happen? Why did it happen then?  
It is about how to think analytically about the stories people tell us about the past and how we internalise that information.”

(2011, p.9)

This resource pack draws on primary sources from SAHA's archives in order to enable educators interested in working with their learners to:

- Set up historical enquiries working with the official and unofficial stories of South Africa's involvement in the First World War;
- Consider the commemoration of war, and what this can tell us about the complexities of teaching war and peace.

**The pack includes different kinds of activities, indicated by the following icons:**

	<b>ENRICHING LEARNING:</b> This icon identifies enrichment exercises suitable for older, advanced students.
	<b>LEARNING MORE:</b> This icon indicates other educational publications and products to consult for more information and primary sources relating to these topics.
	<b>MAKING CONNECTIONS:</b> This icon identifies activities where learners identify patterns and make connections between the past and present, finding similarities between conditions then and now.
	<b>PAUSING FOR THOUGHT:</b> This icon indicates questions intended to encourage internal reflection by the learners.
	<b>READING THE PAST:</b> This icon indicates activities where learners are required to analyse textual primary sources, such as reports, letters or pamphlets.
	<b>TEACHING THE PAST:</b> This icon identifies opportunities for educators to reflect on their practice or to apply teaching methodologies beyond the scope of the topic being discussed.
	<b>VISUALISING THE PAST:</b> This icon indicates activities where learners are required to analyse visual primary sources, such as photographs or posters.
	<b>WORKING AS A HISTORIAN:</b> This icon identifies activities intended to develop learners' skills in conducting oral history interviews and field research.
	<b>WORKING TOGETHER:</b> This icon is used to identify opportunities for learners to work together in the classroom.

# SETTING UP AN HISTORICAL ENQUIRY IN THE CLASSROOM

## IDENTIFY AN OVERARCHING QUESTION

**How has South Africa commemorated the roles played by all South Africans who volunteered to serve in the First World War 1914-1918?**

## INITIATE THE PROCESS BY ESTABLISHING BACKGROUND KNOWLEDGE



Use a K-W-L chart with your learners to help them to organise information graphically before, during and after a unit of learning on a particular topic.

A K-W-L chart is a tool to aid learners to establish what background information they already have about a topic, to prepare them to conduct deeper research, and to track the information they gather along the way.

In this case the topic is South Africa's role in World War 1, but the K-W-L template can easily be used for other topics too

1. Insert the topic for research above a 3-column table, and ask learners to complete column 1 – "K: What do I KNOW?" with any knowledge they might have.
2. Then learners should move on to thinking of questions they would like to know - they then write these as questions in column 2 – W: What do I WANT to know?
3. Column 3 - L: What did you LEARN? – should be completed by learners as they conduct research, work with a textbook or watch a documentary, looking for answers to questions appearing in column 2.

Try using **QUESTION WORDS** in each column to get the process going and to guide the learners through the research process. Some questions relating to the topic of South Africa's role in World War 1 are listed below:

### WHEN?

When did South Africa become involved in World War 1? When did the war start and end?

### WHO?

Who was leading the different countries involved in World War 1? Whose names come to mind when thinking about the war? Whose stories are not known?

### WHERE?

Where did South Africans become involved in the war effort? Where can we learn more about the conditions that South Africans experienced during the war, both at home and abroad? Where does your knowledge come from?

### WHAT?

What images come to mind when you think about the topic? What did South Africans do during the war? What evidence do we have? What were the consequences of the war?

### WHY?

Why did this war become a World War? Why did South Africans serve in World War 1? Why did Black and Coloured South Africans volunteer to serve in World War 1? Why was their contribution not acknowledged officially until after 1994? Why is it important to acknowledge the role played by all South Africans in the First World War?

### HOW?

How did environment or geography affect the experiences of South African soldiers? How is South Africa's role in World War 1 commemorated?

TOPIC: SOUTH AFRICA'S ROLE IN WORLD WAR I		
K: What do I KNOW?	W: What do I WANT to know?	L: What did I LEARN?
WHEN?	WHEN?	WHEN?
WHO?	WHO?	WHO?
WHERE?	WHERE?	WHERE?
WHAT?	WHAT?	WHAT?
WHY?	WHY?	WHY?
HOW?	HOW?	HOW?

Figure 1: K-W-L Chart template, adapted from Facing History and Ourselves teaching strategies



An exercise using K-W-L charts to explore apartheid history in the 1970s and 1980s is also detailed on pages 13 – 14 of the SAHA publication “Between Life and Death: Stories from John Vorster Square” available as a free download from the SAHA website.

# WORKING WITH SOURCES

## READING LIKE HISTORIANS

“For historians the act of reading is not about gathering lifeless information to repeat on a test, but engaging a human source in spirited conversation”

Wineburg et al. 2011.p.vi

Research done by Sam Wineburg (1991) investigated how professional historians worked with sources and revealed that there was something “unnatural” about the thinking of historians.

Most readers would consider texts primarily to be places from which information can be read directly. But, in the case of professional historians, the act of engaging with texts is not simply about extracting information - what the text appears to say - but is rather an interactive, interrogative process aimed at unsurfacing the subtext beneath the purported meaning or intention of the text.

Wineburg identified that they first SOURCED the text wanting to know who wrote it, when it was written, for which audience, etc.

They then CONTEXTUALISED the source, thinking about the time and place in which the source was written, drawn, or painted, and how these contextual factors may have shaped the content of the source.

The next step for the professional historians was to look for other sources or to MAKE CONNECTIONS with other sources to CORROBORATE what they were reading.

Lastly they started to look closely at the actual wording and meanings conveyed in the source by CLOSE-READING.

### SOURCING

Before reading the document ask yourself:

- Who wrote this?
- What is the author's perspective?
- Why was it written?
- When was it written?
- Where was it written?
- Is it reliable? Why? Why not?



### CONTEXTUALIZATION

- When and where was the document created?
- What was different then? What was the same?
- How might the circumstances in which the document was created affect its content?



### CORROBORATION

- What do other documents say?
- Do the documents agree? If not, why?
- What are other possible documents?
- What documents are most reliable?



### CLOSE READING

- What claims does the author make?
- What evidence does the author use?
- What language (words, phrases, images, symbols) does the author use to persuade the document's audience?
- How does the document's language indicate the author's perspective?



Classroom posters produced by the Stanford History Education Group (SHEG) – these can be downloaded free of charge from the SHEG website.

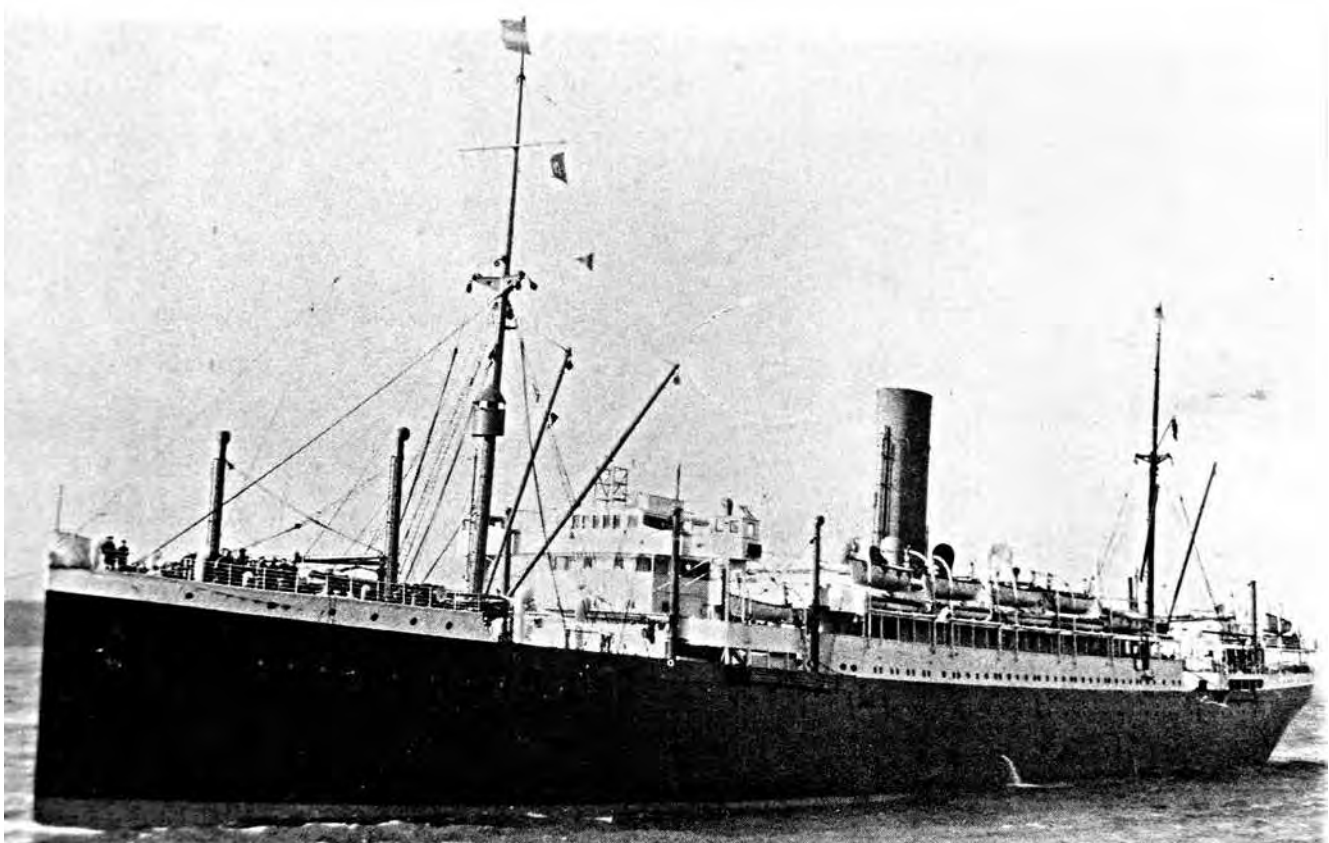
Students are not accustomed to questioning the authority of the text... Much of their past instruction in history/social studies has taught them, passively or actively, that the information they confront in their textbooks or other printed material is correct and that doing well in history is simply a reflection of how much of the information from these sources they can remember. When I pull back the curtain and show students how the subtext of the source informs the text, I have jostled them out of their history comfort zone. For some students this is empowering, whereas for others it is extremely disconcerting.

Bruce Lesh. 2011. p.38

An American teacher, Bruce Lesh, has adapted Wineburg's ideas to provide his learners with a cognitive tool to work with sources when engaging in an historical enquiry.

<b>TEXT</b>	What is visible / readable, i.e. what information is provided by the source?
<b>CONTEXT</b>	What was going on during the time period? What background information do you have that helps explain the information in the source?
<b>SUBTEXT</b>	What is between the lines? Ask questions about the following: Author: Who created the source, and what do we know about that person? Audience: For whom was this source created? Reason: Why was this source produced when it was?

Figure 1.2. Learning to Think Historically: A Tool for Historical Sources. (Adapted from: Lesh, B. 2011. p.20)





# CASE STUDY: THE SINKING OF THE SS MENDI, 21 FEBRUARY 1917



Looking at the sources on the sinking of the SS Mendi on the following pages, engage in a process of historical enquiry, reading these sources like historians, as described by Wineburg and Lesh.

Ask your learners to review the sources and complete the table below. Suggestions for context and subtext information has been provided for the sources, making these suitable for classroom discussion.

SOURCE	TEXT	CONTEXT	SUBTEXT
A			
B			
C			



The same process can also be followed with additional sources on the sinking of the SS Mendi available from the SAHA / SHTP website.





## SOURCE A: “EARLY IN THE MORNING OF FEBRUARY 21, 1917...”

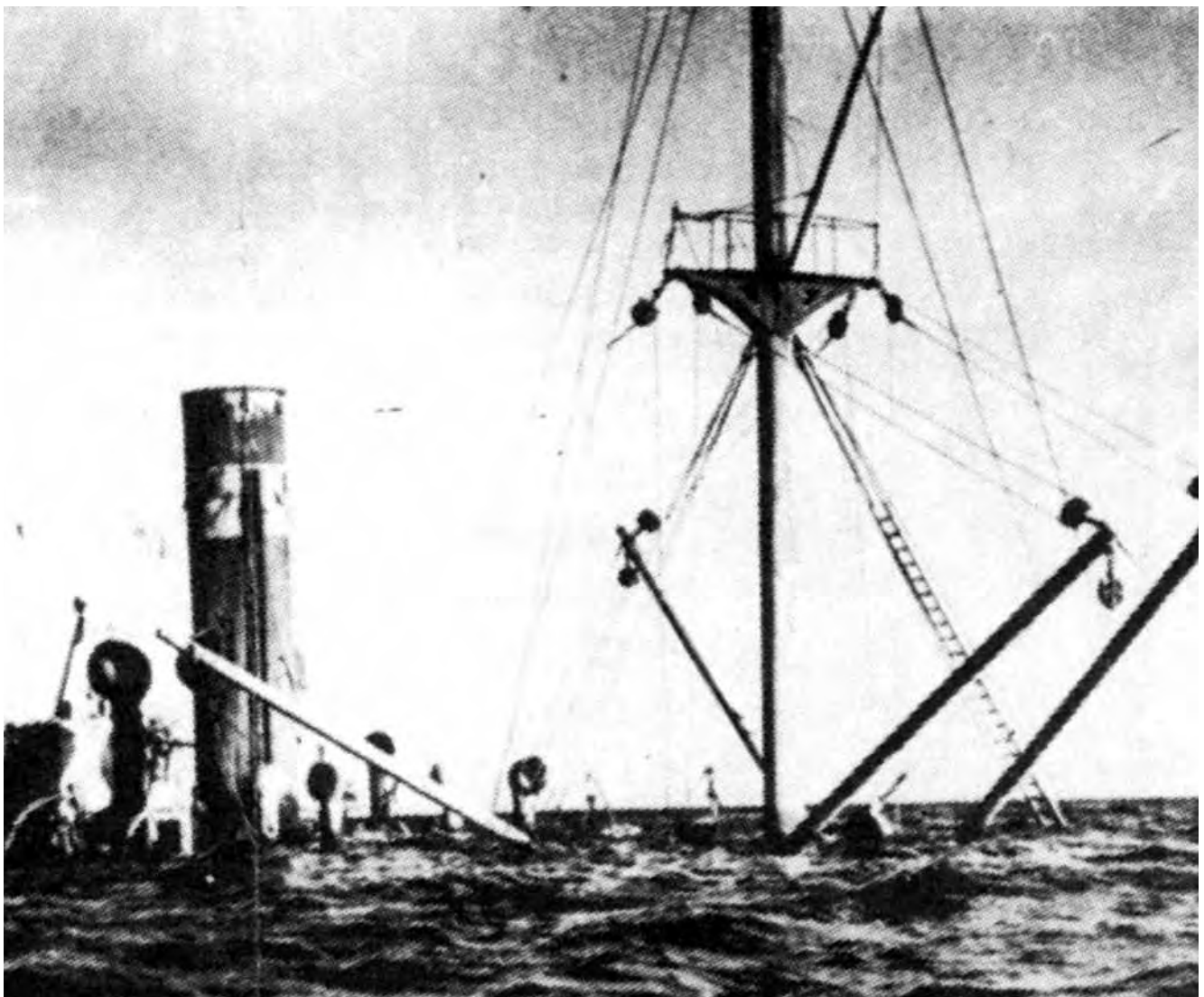
Early on the morning of February 21, 1917, a month after leaving Cape Town Harbour, the troopship SS Mendi was rammed in the thick fog in the English Channel. She sank in 20 minutes. On board, the Reverend Isaac Wauchope (Dyobha) rallied the servicemen to support the war effort in Europe:

“You are going to die, but that is what you came here to do...

Let us die like warriors, the sons of Africa.”

This was the last contingent of the South African Native Labour Corps to fight in Europe. Wauchope was among the dead that morning. Of the 895 on board, 647 lost their lives, among them 607 black troops.

Text from the plaque on the SAHA / Sunday Times memorial of the sinking of SS Mendi, University of Cape Town.



## CONTEXT

### Why were South African soldiers in the English Channel on board the SS Mendi?

The South African Native Labour Contingent (SANLC) was formed during World War 1 to provide essential labour services such as digging trenches, felling trees, loading ammunition and building roads and railways. Since black troops were not allowed to carry weapons these jobs were very dangerous. Despite this, 25 000 black South Africans volunteered to serve in the First World War. Some were attracted by the high wages on offer while others felt committed to the just cause.

The conditions for SANLC troops were much the same as for migrant labourers on South Africa's gold mines. The handbook provided to white officers leading the SANLC set down strict rules for how SANLC troops were to be treated in France:

Compounds should be surrounded by an unclimbable fence or wall, in which all openings are guarded... Under the conditions under which they are living in France, they (the natives) are not to be trusted with white women, and any native found walking around without a pass and not under escort of a white N.C.O. should be returned to his unit under guard or failing this, handed over to the military police.

W.O. 107/37, Appendix G, Directorate of Labour,  
'Appendix to Notes for Officers of Labour  
Companies (South African Native Labour)

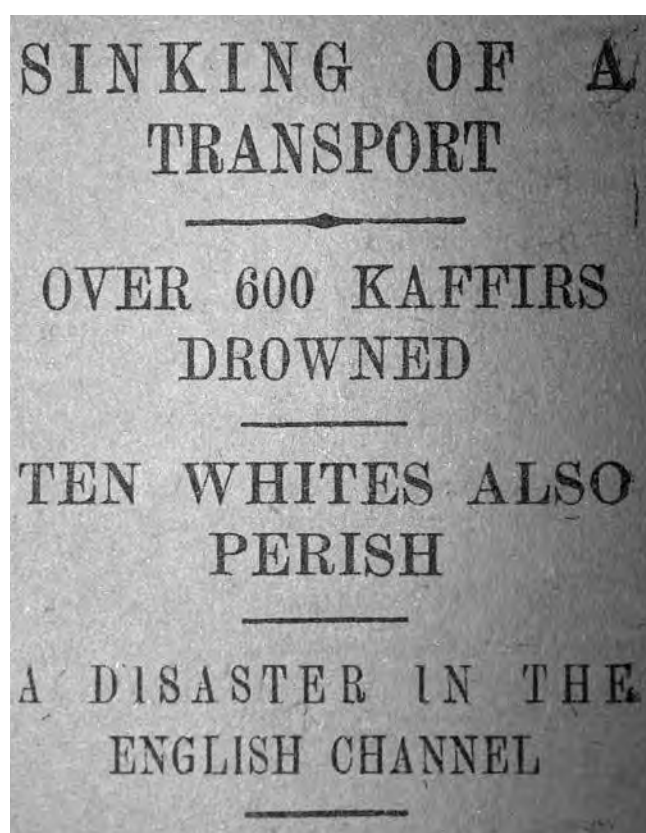
It was such treatment of the SANLC troops that makes the SS Mendi tragedy that much more poignant - not only did over 600 SANLC members die, but they died taking part in a war in which they were treated like second-class citizens.

## SUBTEXT

The SAHA / Sunday Times Heritage Project was initiated by the Sunday Times, with SAHA collaborating as archival and research partners in 2006. It is important to remember that this wording had to fit on a plaque for a memorial. Authors are generally not acknowledged.



- What might the implications be of the subtext information suggested above for historians treating memorials as historical sources?
- According to the memorial plaque, of the 895 on board the SS Mendi, 647 lost their lives, among them 607 black troops. Yet other sources record alternate figures - for example, historian Albert Grundlingh suggests 615 men died. Why do you think there are conflicting reports of exactly how many people died aboard the SS Mendi?



## SOURCE B: “DRILLING THE DEATH DRILL...

“Brothers, we are drilling the death drill. I, a Zulu, say here and now that you are all my brothers... Xhosas, Swazis, Pondos, Basotho and all others, let us die like warriors. We are the sons of Africa. Raise your war cries my brothers, for though they made us leave our assegais back in the kraals, our voices are left with our bodies...”

words of comfort to the men aboard the SS Mendi, ascribed to Reverend Isaac Wauchope Dyobha, quoted in “The SS Mendi – A historical background” – on the South African Navy website

### CONTEXT

#### What actually happened on 21st February 1917?

Early in the morning, when a thick fog had settled over the English Channel, the captain of the SS Mendi reduced speed and sounded the foghorn repeatedly. His warnings were in vain. The SS Darro, an empty meat-packing ship destined for Argentina, ploughed at full speed into the Mendi and tore a huge hole in the ship’s side. In only 20 minutes, the SS Mendi had sunk.

Most men aboard the damaged ship were asleep in their bunks when they heard the shouts to come up to the deck. In the panic and confusion that erupted, Reverend Isaac Wauchope emerged as an important leader. He calmed the men with his stirring words of patriotism and bravery.

The men sang and stamped together as the Mendi sank into the bitterly cold sea. Few made it to lifeboats. Those who did risked their lives to save others as Dr Hertslet recalled at a memorial service for the disaster many years later (see SOURCE C). Many more troops could have been saved had the master of the SS Darro, Henry Stump, acted appropriately. Stump refused to lower lifeboats from his ship and he made no attempt to rescue those on board the Mendi. According to evidence later provided to an official enquiry, Stump seemed unconcerned about the potential loss of life.



The report of the official enquiry into the collision between the SS Mendi and the SS Darro, conducted in July 1917 by the Board of Trade in London, can be accessed online and from SAHA’s archives.

### SUBTEXT

#### Who was the Reverend Isaac Wauchope Dyobha and how do we know that this is what he said?

“Isaac Williams Wauchope Dyobha was born in 1852 into a prominent mission-educated family near Uitenhage. He studied at Lovedale College and was ordained in 1892. He was a member of the movement that successfully campaigned to establish Fort Hare as an institution of higher learning for Africans. In 1910, he was jailed briefly for fraud although the evidence was unclear. In jail he wrote letters and poems published in the Xhosa language newspaper, *Imvo*, the only prison literature of its kind.”

SAHA / Sunday Times Heritage Project website



The source records Wauchope as saying: “I, a Zulu...” He was, however, born in a predominantly Xhosa-speaking area and was widely published in Xhosa. Other versions have him saying: “I, a Xhosa...”

- What does this suggest to you about a) the challenges of working with oral sources as historical evidence, and b) the potential pitfalls of conducting research online?

## ORAL TRADITION AND THE QUESTION OF RELIABILITY

The story of the Reverend's comforting words as the ship went down is regarded as oral tradition no other sources from eyewitnesses corroborate this account. In 2011, historian Grundlingh wrote:

"If it is accepted that the famed incident on the Mendi did not take place, how did such a version emerge and how did it gain a life of its own? A different line of enquiry, away from the deck of the Mendi to the realm of oral lore in South Africa is required here. Because of the lack of sources, it is not possible to provide a definitive explanation, but certain illuminating pointers can be established."

It is particularly instructive to turn to oral poetry in Xhosa society and especially the figure of Samuel E. Krune Mqhayi (1875-1945), a traditional praise singer (*imbongi*) when considering how the story of the SS Mendi has been recorded and communicated through time. Mqhayi had a noteworthy reputation; according to Mncedisi Qangule, 'he is seen as a repository of his peoples' history, culture, tradition and customs.' Besides Mqhayi's undoubted influence as a respected Xhosa cultural figure with considerable credibility, it is worth noting that not only was Mqhayi well known to the Wauchope Dyobha family, but that he took a special interest in the Mendi and the fate of Wauchope, whom he generally held in high esteem. Before the departure of detachments of the contingent to France, Mqhayi actually wrote a rousing poem in 1916, using a combination of warrior images and examples of Xhosa domestic life to exhort the men to bravery.

What is of particular significance for this analysis is that the piece shows that Mqhayi was clearly predisposed to refract the venture through a heroic prism. It would then appear that in his role as *imbongi*, formally or informally, he carried on from his original

evocative war poem to provide a stirring sequel from whatever scraps of information or permutations of the story of the sinking of that might have happened that fateful night, shaped by his predilection towards a heroic idiom and cast in a preconceived mould. What most probably circulated orally for a number of years eventually surfaced in written form in 1935, when Mqhayi published a glowing tribute to Wauchope in *The Bantu World* in a serialised form. Although it was not the first published piece to air a version of the event, it was the most extensive, with Mqhayi in full oratorical flight. Here Wauchope appears as 'the hero of Ngqika's land, descended from heroes'. It was claimed that Wauchope could have saved himself, but he preferred to appeal to the 'leaderless soldiers urging them to stay calm, to die like heroes on their way to war'. He then, according to Mqhayi, proceeded with the legendary speech.

Ultimately Grundlingh concludes

"Historians can do no more than point out these features, perhaps suggesting that the factual evidence can at best temper the dynamics of memorialisation, but ultimately it is bound to find its own niche and purpose in an ever-shifting present. Public history often tends to range free, largely impervious to the arcane workings of the historical profession."



- What role did Mqhayi play in building the narrative of the bravery of the Reverend Wauchope?
- What does Grundlingh mean when he suggests that "public history often tends to range free, largely impervious to the arcane workings of the historical profession."?

The famous speech was not the only oral evidence to tell of the story of the sinking of the SS Mendi. There is a beautiful story told about many men who knowing that they could not swim stood on the deck and took off their army boots and danced like warriors as the ship sank. The historian Tim Couzens (2014, p.243) describes the story below:

"It goes like this (perhaps in response to Wauchope's words, perhaps not): in a hush, hundreds of 'sons of Africa' removed their army boots and, as the ship shuddered in her death throes, her decks began to vibrate to the drumming of bare feet in the death dance and to the howling of the north wind was added the chant of African voices. On the bridge the captain and his crew officers, were seen standing stiffly to attention and the captain was raising his hand in salute..."

What is significant to historians is that the captain did not mention this "death drill" during the official enquiry into the SS Mendi tragedy. No other survivors spoke about the dancing and the captain standing to attention in any written account. In fact, forensic evidence suggested that the ship sank in twenty minutes leaving very little time for the kind of dancing and the formality of the captain's salute. High school history educator, Debby Joubert, wrote in a 2014 paper on the SS Mendi:

"This story has survived and perhaps become the narrative of the SS Mendi because as human beings we like to make sense of tragic events and give them credence and attribute meaning to them. This narrative exhibits valour in the face of a painful death by drowning, many of the men could not swim and the sea water was very cold. Stories about these men could be passed on from one generation to the next..."



In small groups, learners should discuss the following:

- Historians do not discount oral evidence in the 21st century but they do need to corroborate these accounts with other evidence. Why is this a challenge when working with the oral evidence sources about the Reverend Wauchope and the warriors' dance?
- What do you think of Debby Joubert's suggestion that we need to look at why we who are left behind need these stories "to make sense of tragic events..."?



This story of the SS Mendi has been represented in a recent theatre production, written by Lara Foot and directed by Mandla Mbothwe. Entitled "Ukutshona ko Mendi...Did We Dance?", the title of the play was inspired by Mqhayi's song about the sinking of the SS Mendi.

- Conduct online research to identify other artistic interpretations of the SS Mendi story. Which do you prefer and why?



## SOURCE C: "23 YEARS LATER & I REMEMBER..."

### MESSAGE FROM DR. L. E. HERTSLET.

#### 23rd ANNIVERSARY SERVICE.

25th FEBRUARY, 1940.

The memory of that cold foggy morning is still keen in my mind, though twenty-three years have now passed.

I hear the crash as the other big ship ran into us in the darkness. I see the officer in charge of the Bantu, who thought only of his men and their safety, go running round all the sleeping places, shouting "All on deck."

I see hundreds of them coming up quickly and quietly from below, and each man finding his own appointed place on the deck, notwithstanding the blackness of the night. There is no fear or panic; they put on their clothes and lifebelts as they fall into position. Each man has used his lifebelt as a pillow during the night.

I hear the warning hoots of our steamer, and standing on the deck, I see two boats being lowered into the sea alongside.

I feel the heave of the ship as the water begins to fill her, and she turns slowly on her side, so that we cannot stand on the deck.

I hear the shout "All overboard! She's sinking!" and every man who can do so jumps.

I remember the jump into the bitter cold sea, the sinking beneath the surface, the coming up again, the swimming to the boat that had been let down from our ship, and then cut adrift. I feel my hands gripping her side, as we were drawn along in the water by the rowers. I hear myself say "Good-bye, my strength is gone," and then I feel the strong hands of a Native gripping my wrists and holding me up. Then several others catch me round the chest and shoulders and drag me, nearly dead, into the boat, and so I am saved.

Nearly two hundred others were also saved, and all of us who are still alive, remember with you to-day the Bantu and Europeans who went bravely to meet their death on that black day of the last War.

On Sunday the 25th, I shall stand in my house at 4 o'clock and join with you in saluting their memory.

Our salutation is a pledge of our loyalty to the Government of our Country, to our King and to the Empire to which we all belong.

Ngi ya ba bingelela, ngi ya konza kanye nani nonke.

Message from Dr. L.E. Hertslet, 23rd Anniversary Service, 25<sup>th</sup> February 1940. Reproduced in S.M Bennett Ncwana, "Souvenir Of The Mendi Disaster." Published by the Mendi Memorial Bursary Fund, 1940.

## CONTEXT

- This source is an extract from a message sent by a survivor, Dr Hertslet, to be presented at a memorial service in 1940, organised 23 years after the SS Mendi tragedy. This memorial service was organised by Black South Africans on their own initiatives to commemorate "Mendi Day" and was not officially sanctioned.
- In his message Hertslet speaks about 'the last war' because it is 1940 and South Africans have once again been called upon to fight in Europe in World War 2.

## How was the sinking of the SS Mendi acknowledged and remembered over time?

It took three days for the first report of the SS Mendi disaster to reach the South African government in February 1917. At the time, Prime Minister Louis Botha recognized the valuable work done by the 'native' soldiers on board the SS Mendi by leading the all-white Parliament in a minute's silence. Despite this recognition and other pledges of solidarity made at the time, the government disbanded the SANLC thereafter.

The announcement was met with dismay, especially amongst black South Africans who felt that this act undermined their rights to defend their own country. Even more shockingly, the Union government refused the British government's offer of £50 000 for medals for survivors of the Mendi. The tragic incident was to be largely forgotten for many years to come. Survivors went without honour or medals for the rest of their lives. It was only after apartheid ended that the story of the SS Mendi was retold. In 2004, a new corvette ship bought for the SA Navy was named the Mendi to remember the tragedy.

### SUBTEXT:

## Who was Dr. Hertslet?

412

S.A. MEDICAL JOURNAL

21 May 1949

### OBITUARY

DR. L. E. HERTSLET

Lewis Eccles Hertslet was born in England on 6 December 1877, and died at Cape Town on 30 March 1949. He qualified at the London Hospital in 1901. For a year he was house-surgeon at the Mildmay Mission, and then came to South Africa as a medical missionary. His first station was at Maputa, a few miles from Kosi Bay, in the far north of Zululand. Here he was also District Surgeon, from 1902 to 1904, and to this day he has had no successor in that torrid and malaria-ridden area. Subsequently he served at other mission stations in Natal, and acquired that proficiency in Zulu which recently made him a valued consultant in the preparation of Doke and Vilakazi's monumental *Zulu Dictionary*.

From 1914 to 1931 he practised on the Reef, mainly as a mine medical officer, but from 1916 to 1919 was on active service in World War I. He was with the S.A. Native Labour Corps in France, and was one of the few survivors when the troopship *Mendi* was sunk. Towards the end of the War he was on the staff of the Wynberg Military Hospital.

In 1931 Hertslet gave up his practice in order to return to medical mission work in Southern Natal. In 1936 he was appointed part-time District Surgeon at Mapumulo, a densely populated Native area which is an endless jumble of hills and valleys. This difficult terrain overtaxed his strength and hastened the cardiac disorder which in the end killed him. But he carried on until he was 67, being one of the 'Old Guard' who deliberately sacrificed themselves to keep civilian services going while the younger men were on military service in World War II.

Thereafter he settled at the Cape, and devoted his whole time to what had always been his principal spare-time activity, viz., the production of material for the health education and general uplift of the backward and the under-privileged. To this task he brought great natural gifts and an insight which was the fruit of his wide experience and his deep human sympathies. In his chosen field he had, in my opinion, no equal in clear and forceful exposition accurately adjusted to the needs and the understanding of his audience; and he possessed an extraordinary flair for coining arresting slogans and really memorable mnemonics.

Throughout his career, Hertslet advocated concepts of health which were positive and stimulating. For him, 'health' meant the physical, mental and spiritual well-being of each individual and the entire community. Very early he realized that the full achievement of this ideal would require vast social and economic reforms, and all his life he was a fearless advocate of such changes. But his first exhortation, always, was to self-help. Here his wide and profound knowledge of Native life particularly, in all its phases, from remotest kraal to heart of city slum, made him an accurate diagnostician and skilled therapist. In him, the Abantu of South Africa have lost a discerning friend and wise counsellor; and the profession to which he belonged has lost a pioneer who blazed a trail which increasingly it must follow.

His wife, well known as a writer on Native life and a champion of the under-privileged, survives him; and several of his children will carry into the next generation their parents' zeal and devotion in the cause of social uplift.

It was Hertslet's own wish that it be placed on record in any account of his life that, after many years of darkness and uncertainty, his latter days were spent in the light and in the strength of the Faith that first brought him to Africa.

G. W. Gale

Gale, G.E. "Obituary - Dr L.E. Hertslet." South African Medical Journal, 21 May 1944, p.412



- How useful are obituaries as historical evidence? Do you think that it is noteworthy that there is only one line in this obituary about Dr. Hertslet surviving the sinking of the SS Mendi?
- What do you think about the fact that Dr Hertslet sent a message to be read out at this memorial service in 1940?
- The South African government refused to give any medals to the brave 'natives' of the SS Mendi even when they were offered money by Britain. Yet the white survivors were all given medals. What does this suggest about the government, and South Africa, during and after World War I?



# COMMEMORATING THE ROLE OF ALL SOLDIERS IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR (1914-1918)

**How do we commemorate the tragedy of war with dignity and respect and without glorifying the notion of dying as heroes for a nation?**

## PERSPECTIVE 1: 2014 INSTALLATION AT THE TOWER OF LONDON ENTITLED “BLOOD SWEPT LANDS AND SEAS OF RED.”

The idea behind this installation was to represent individual soldiers from the United Kingdom, Australia and the Commonwealth killed during World War 1 with a symbolic ceramic poppy. A total of 888,246 poppies were installed.

The ceramic flowers were designed by artist Paul Cummins, with the first flower being planted on 17 July 2014, and the last on 11 November 2014.

The poppies were bought by individuals for 25 pounds each, with proceeds going towards charities that support war veterans. Over 8000 volunteers helped to plant the poppies.



- What do you think about the symbolism of the art installation (including its title) at the Tower of London?
- Why is the poppy used to commemorate the fallen soldiers of World War 1?
- The number of poppies used in this art installation is very specific yet estimates of total deaths in World War 1 vary greatly. What does the specificity of this figure suggest to you?



## PERSPECTIVE 2: “LET US NOT DISHONOUR THOSE WHO DIED”

“Across Britain today at many sites commemorating the First World War and 100 years since that terrible slaughter began, there are seas of red poppies laid down as part of November 11 “Remembrance Day” ceremonies and the dedication to “never forget”. Commenting on these displays, many people have spoken of their awesome grace, dignity and beauty - that they are almost “overwhelming”.

And yet, at the same time, there’s something very sad about this. The official state sanctioned commemoration of November 11 has gradually transformed from an honouring and recognition of those killed to a legitimization of state sanctioned violence. While being touched by the ‘gracefulness’ of honouring and remembering we forget: these millions who died in World War 1 did so not for great causes, not in ‘defence’ of homes and freedoms otherwise ‘under attack’, but because of the ineptness, incompetence, and by and large, criminality of state and political ‘leaders’ who would use the resources of their countries not to generate well-being and opportunities, invest in education, health, roads, and actually improving quality of life for citizens, but into war. Those who died were fathers, sons, brothers... as well as many civilians including people of all genders and ages. They died for a war that need not have been fought, for interests which were not theirs. And thus, sadly the way in which most of us practice or reflect upon these seas of poppies actually... does a disservice and dishonours the memory of millions of men as well as many women sent to slaughter and be slaughtered...

If you want to ‘honour’ those who died, go one step further, not by disgracing their memories with red poppies which treat war as a heroic act, but by remembering that those people who went to kill and be killed were human beings - sons, fathers, brothers by and large - who might have lived another day, who might have gone on to be poets, engineers, teachers, or simply woken one morning to feel the sun upon their skin, to fall in love, to cry, to do any of the thousand things that we do daily and take for granted... but which they can’t because they were sent to war...”

Kai Brand-Jacobsen, “This November 11, let us not dishonour those who died”, 6 November 2014



### **Silent conversation about the notion of commemorating the tragedy of war.**

This activity works best in pairs or groups of four at the most.

- Provide the learners with a big piece of paper and some pens or markers.
- Explain that they are not allowed to talk at all but are to engage in conversation about a topic or a text or a picture by writing their comments to each other.
- If time allows the learners can move to other groups and contribute to their silent discussions.

Adapted from Facing History and Ourselves teaching strategies

# WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO COMMEMORATE WAR?

## PERSPECTIVE 1: THE COMMONWEALTH WAR GRAVES COMMISSION (CWGC)

The Commonwealth War Graves Commission honours the 1,700,000 men and women of the forces of the Commonwealth who died in the two world wars and ensures that their memory is never forgotten. We are the organisation that cares for cemeteries and memorials at 23,000 locations in 154 countries. Our values and aims, laid out in 1917, are as relevant now as they were almost 100 years ago.

The Commission's principles:

1. Each of the dead should be commemorated by name on the headstone or memorial
2. Headstones and memorials should be permanent
3. Headstones should be uniform
4. There should be no distinction made on account of military or civil rank, race or creed

CWGC website

The material developed by the CWGC for educators on investigating the role of Black South Africans in the First World War asks these questions:

- Compare the treatment of the South African men in 1914-18, to how they are remembered.
- Why should we remember the SANLC?
- Why is equality in memory important?
- Is it still relevant in today's society to remember the casualties of the First World War?



### The Jigsaw Puzzle Method

- Divide the class into groups of four. It works best to allocate numbers 1 - 4 and then ask all number 1's to sit together to form group 1, and so on.
- Then allocate each group one of the questions above to discuss and to write down some key points for 10 - 15 minutes.
- Then ask them to move into new groups where you have at least 1 representative from groups 1 - 4 in each group.
- Learners then share their questions and the key points that their home groups came up with.



The CWGC short film "Let Us Die Like Brothers" tells the story of the SS Mendi and the role played by the SANLC in World War 1. Information about how to order a free copy of the film, along with teaching materials on the SS Mendi and the commemoration of war, can be accessed in the learning and resources section on the CWGC website.



## PERSPECTIVE 2: A CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE FROM ANKE HOFFSTADT

### Extract 1:

Anke Hoffstadt gave the keynote address at the 28th annual conference of the South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) in 2014, discussing sites of commemoration of World War 1 in Europe. She began her presentation with an image of present day Ypres, alongside a 1916 aerial photograph of the town, and posed the rhetorical question, “Why this picture?”

“Well I think that it’s a good symbol for the main aspects I’d like to talk about today. For I am going to talk about overwritings. Like a new, rebuilt town (as Ypres is just one example amongst others at the former western front lines), memory and commemoration did and do overwrite the historical event of the Great War - the First World War - that took place a hundred years ago. And that did and does not only affect buildings, landscapes, cities and small towns in the front line zone. It affects and affected the people as well - with their experiences as eyewitnesses or in the memories of grandchildren and the next generations. And it did and does not even affect only the local landscape, the original places of war and battles. Memory is even translocatable in a limited way – as we see while looking at memorials for casualties of war, far away from the battlefields where they died. And last but not least: like the city of Ypres has been rebuilt in several layers - memory and commemoration both are to be seen as phenomena with their own history, as processes in history, so to say. First and foremost, commemoration follows its own times of silence and neglect - or its booming phases like in the remembrance year, 2014.



- What does Hoffstadt mean by the term ‘overwritings?’
- Do you agree that it is not only the physical environment that is affected by how memory and commemoration overwrite the actual historical event of the First World War?
- What do you understand by the term ‘translocatable?’
- What does Hoffstadt suggest by the comparison with the rebuilding of the layers of Ypres and memory and commemoration?



### Extract 2:

Hoffstadt refers to the words of her colleague Piet Chielens, the Director of the In Flanders Field Museum, who uses etymology to explore the complexities of commemoration, memory and mourning:

"... commemoration in English or 'commémoration' in French means to bring to a common memory, to recall for all. In Dutch 'herinnering', or in German 'Erinnerung' means to bring back to your inner self, and 'herdenken' / 'Gedenken', to reflect, to rethink... If the first concept is very much part of public, social behaviour, the second is a private, intimate process. To commemorate – 'herinneren' – the dead (and especially the military dead) of the First World War is very much part of both worlds, the private and the public. When you are standing at the grave of a relative who died in the war, you may think of the sorrow that this death caused the mother of the deceased, or his lover, or his children, and all the way down to your place in this family tree. That is a private, intimate process. But all the same you are standing in an official military cemetery, where dead are worshipped following an official design, custom, format and ritual. That is an entirely public affair, with custom rules and traditions. Sometimes these two sides may clash."

### Extract 3:

Hoffstadt refers to the ways in which black participants in World War 1 have been rendered invisible, or visible only in negative terms:

"The participation of coloured people, of black people serving in the First World War is nearly invisible. Monuments have been made for the Europeans, for the Whites, for the colonialists, Tombstones that tell the story of a soldier from the colonies or the dominion that dies in France or Belgium are exceptional... [In contrast, consider] the commemoration coin designed by Karl Gotz (1875 – 1950) in 1920. Its topic is the "Schwarze Schmach" campaign, pushed forward by German national conservatives and radical right-wing politicians and agitators during the French occupation of the river Rhine... For Gotz and those who did not accept the occupation as 'the losers' of the First World War, black soldiers, like this French tirailleur, were imagined like raping monsters, savages, cultureless and dangerous... In this way, black participants of the First World War front lines weren't invisible. Far from it!"



- What words do we have in our South African languages for the concepts of commemoration or remembrance?
- Do you agree that to commemorate the military dead of the First World War is part of both the public and private worlds? Does this apply to any conflict?
- Hoffstadt translates "Schwarze Schmach" as "black ignominy / dishonour." Why do you think such a campaign would have been launched at this time?

# READING MEMORIALS

Monuments, memorials and museum displays can also be read as historical texts that represent certain events or individuals from the past. When visiting war memorials, think about what each memorial might be trying to represent or convey, and how we should read them as historical texts.

## QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER:

- What is a war memorial?
- Why do we have war memorials?
- Who do they commemorate and how is this decided?
- What types of war memorials are there?
- How do we know what or who is being commemorated?

## HOW HAS THE BATTLE OF DELVILLE WOOD (1916) BEEN MEMORIALISED?

The Union Government established in 1910 used the tragedy to foster a common South African identity between English South Africans and Afrikaners. The image of the two 'brothers' fighting side-by-side illustrated the unity of English South Africans and Afrikaners. The sculptures at the top of the Delville Wood Monument, representing the two 'races' of English and Afrikaner in this fight together, failed to acknowledge or commemorate the bigger picture beyond white identity.



"For those attached to Jan Smuts and Louis Botha's cause of constructing the new post-1910 Union of South Africa as a British Dominion based upon a unified white nationalism, the Somme carnage represented a rich historical transition. Shoulder to shoulder in battle, English and Afrikaner had finally found each other. However heavy the loss at Delville Wood, its 'unifying blood sacrifice' had helped to seal the shared European citizenship of previously fractured English and Afrikaner communities."

Bill Nasson, 2004, p62

Much of South African history is perceived to be about racial conflict. In this situation the "two races" are the English and Afrikaner. Martin (2008) writes that this conception that the English and Afrikaners were separate races was even referred to in some Church services:

"... in 1900 during the South African War Reverend Lewis Grant noted that there were three races living in South Africa - English, Dutch and Natives... By 1926, there were two interdependent races - white and black."

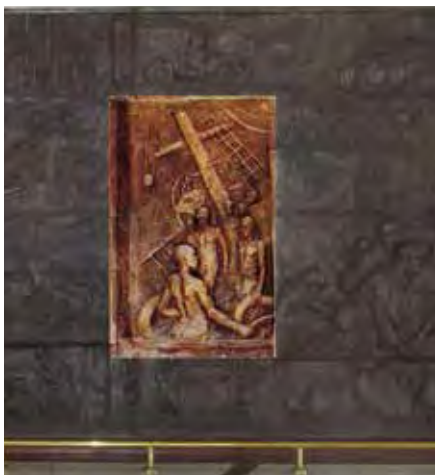


What does this suggest about changing perceptions about race in South Africa? How many 'races' were defined by apartheid policies? Does this concept of 'race' still have significance in current South African perceptions?

## HOW HAVE THE WAR EFFORTS OF THE SANLC, INCLUDING THE SINKING OF THE SS MENDI, BEEN MEMORIALISED?

In contrast to the role played by white South African soldiers in the battle of Delville Wood in France, little is known about the men aboard the SS Mendi and little attention historically given the efforts of the SANLC.

In 1986, the then-South African president P.W. Botha attended a ceremony at Delville Wood to open the museum there. He unveiled an official tribute to the SS Mendi in the form of a small panel added to the larger panel depicting South Africans contributing to the First World War. This was at a time when the South African Government was under enormous pressure to reform. Botha's act could be seen as part of his repression and reform policy in the 1980s



It was only in 2014, as the world marks the centenary of the outbreak of World War 1, that Private Beleza Myengwa of the SANLC became the first 'person of colour' ever to be laid to rest at Delville Wood.

An inscription on Private Myengwa's new resting place inside Delville Wood museum underscores the symbolic importance of his re-interment. It reads:

'Here lies the remains of the first South African Native Labour Corps member to die in France. His presence represents all the members of the SANLC whose deeds were not acknowledged in the past. He is buried here amongst his comrades as a symbol of reconciliation and nation building. Their contribution was not in vain and their heroism will forever be cherished by their nation.'

David Mannel, "One hundred years on, SA remembers fallen at Delville Wood", The South African, 4 August 2014.



Consider the extent to which the Battle of Delville Wood has been commemorated in comparison with how little official recognition was given to the story of the sinking of the SS Mendi or the broader contribution of the South African Native Labour Contingent who served without weapons or recognition from November 1916 to January 1918.



A very useful website is the one set up by the War Memorials Trust. Although it describes memorials in the UK there is much that relates to the SS Mendi.



## THE SKELETON OF A SINKING SHIP...

Installed in 2006, nearly 90 years after the tragedy, the SAHA / Sunday Times Heritage Project memorial of the sinking of the SS Mendi is set on a grassy embankment below a soccer field on the middle campus of the University of Cape Town. It was at this site where troops of the SANLC had been billeted before marching to Table Bay harbour and embarking for France on the SS Mendi. Designed by artist Madi Phala, and installed with the assistance of blacksmith and artist Luke Atkinson, the memorial evokes, in Phala's words, "the history of the people - the black corps, the officers and the crew members."

The work depicts the steel hull of the sinking ship as a skeleton, with various bronzed hats, helmets and caps lined up on front of the prow representing those who died. The numbers of the troops and crew members of the SS Mendi have been etched into the bronzed crowns of the different hats. Atkinson describes the process of creating these hats, intended to embody the key message of the memorial:

"We started off with wax moulds which were dipped in a ceramic shell, then cast in bronze... We did an acid etch to get all the lettering and detail on them and then patina to age them."



The hull and hats were then welded onto a metal frame which lies 30cm beneath the ground, set into a concrete slab, in order for the memorial to sit close to the surface of the earth, to become part of the environment.

Phala said his brief was to avoid anything "epic or monumental", which posed a significant challenge in developing the piece.

"It was very limiting. I think in epic and monumental terms, but the joy of it was the challenge... It's not like you look at it and you've got the answers, you'll still want to talk to me, you'll want to ask me questions... It's not all about what I'm saying, it's about how you perceive it. That's very important."



In small groups, discuss the following questions:

- Why do you think the SS Mendi was selected for memorialisation as part of this project?
- What is the significance of using different kinds of hats in the memorial? • How do you feel about the idea that the memorial is designed to be at ground level, that people are able to access it, walk through, or even over it?
- Do you think this is an effective memorial? Explain your answer.



# WHY DO WE TEACH (ABOUT) WAR? SHOULDN'T WE TEACH (ABOUT) PEACE?

We do not need to simply commemorate and 'honour' soldiers as we so often do – forgetting also the many, many millions more who died as well. We need, today to truly honour those men and women around the world... by abolishing war, by abolishing the incompetence, arrogance and bad decision-making which leads to and fuels war, and by training human beings – men, women, girls, boys, grandparents – in how to deal with conflicts effectively, constructively and by peaceful means. We need peace education in schools..."

Kai Brand-Jacobsen, "This November 11, let us not dishonour those who died", 6 November 2014



Use Bruce Lesh's historical thinking tool (see page 6) to analyse what this cartoon has to say about war and peace.



## TEXT

When working with visual sources such as these, the entire cartoon must be read as the "text."

Describe what you see and what you can read in both the words and visuals of the cartoon.

## CONTEXT

**What are the visual cues that indicate when and where this cartoon is set, and what it is about?**

This cartoon was published in The Daily Herald, 13 May 1919. This is the time of the Treaty of Versailles at the end of World War 1.

**Who then are the characters in this cartoon?**

Useful background information would be to know that the French Prime Minister Clemenceau was nicknamed the Tiger. What does this suggest about his attitude towards the Germans and ultimately ensuring future peace. Think about what he says in the cartoon!

## SUBTEXT

**Who was the author?**

**What do we know about him?**

The artist was an Australian cartoonist called Will Dyson.

**For whom was this source created?**

**Who is the audience?**

**Why was this source produced when it was?**

This cartoon is famous as it makes an uncannily prophetic statement. The title is "Peace and Future Cannon Fodder". The 'crying child' represents the class of 1940 – World War 2 started with the invasion of Poland on 01 September 1939...the 'crying child' would be the children who would suffer the effects of this terrible war when the Treaty of Versailles at the end of the Great War was supposed to make sure that 'never again' would the world go to war!

## WHERE IS WAR TAUGHT IN CAPS?



This cartoon symbolises how much attention we give to war in contrast to the "little book" on peace.

War is a recurrent theme throughout the history curriculum – consider how many times in CAPS, various conflicts, civil wars and revolutions are taught (and re-taught).

**Grade 8:** The Anglo-Zulu Wars, the South African War, World War 1.

**Grade 9:** World War 2, the Cold War.

**Grade 10:** The South African War, the French Revolution.

**Grade 11:** Russian Revolution, World War 2, Arab-Israeli conflicts.

**Grade 12:** The Cold War, the Vietnam War, Angola Civil War.

## WHERE IS PEACE TAUGHT IN CAPS

The history of peace is far less visible in the curricula, but there are some opportunities to focus on peace, and alternatives to war, including:

**Grade 8:** Aspects of experiences in World War 1 -

Conscription and propaganda in Britain;

Conscientious objectors; Music and Poetry

**Grade 9:** The Rise of Nazi Germany and the outbreak of World War 2 - the end of World War 1 and the Treaty of Versailles; turning points in modern South African history; Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948); Defiance Campaign (including the influence of Gandhi)

**Grade 10:** Apartheid in South Africa – 1940s to 1960s

**Grade 11:** Colonial expansion after 1750 - Cooperation and conflict on the Highveld

**Grade 12:** Civil society protests - 1950s to 1970s -

peace movements; disarmament; students

and anti-war movements; the influence of passive

resistance (Gandhi) on Martin Luther King; Civil

resistance in South Africa: 1970s to 1980s – End

Conscription Campaign (ECC)



- How can history educators use the study of war to consider strategies for peace with learners?
- What significant histories of peace are missing from CAPS?
- Can the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) be used to teach about peace?



- Visit the SAHA / STHP website to learn more about the memorial to Gandhi and passive resistance in South Africa.
- Visit SAHA's virtual exhibition on the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) to learn more about this youth movement that voiced unified opposition to increased state militarization and the conscription of white men into military service in apartheid South Africa.



- Where are conscientious objection movements active in the 21st century?
- Where is passive resistance being used as a strategy for change in the world today?



Is it the role of the history educator to teach peace?

Should we encourage our learners to become peace activists?

Would it be appropriate to get your learners to sign the UNESCO Peace Pledge?

## UNESCO PEACE PLEDGE

You can sign this pledge online at the UNESCO website: <http://www.unesco.org/manifesto2000>

I pledge  
in my daily life,  
in my family,  
my work,  
my community,  
my country and  
my region, to:

Respect the life and dignity of each human being without discrimination or prejudice.

Practice active non-violence, rejecting violence in all its forms: physical, sexual, psychological, economical and social, in particular towards the most deprived and vulnerable such as children and adolescents.

Share my time and material resources in a spirit of generosity to put an end to exclusion, injustice and political and economic oppression.

Defend freedom of expression and cultural diversity, giving preference always to dialogue and listening without engaging in fanaticism, defamation and the rejection of others.

Promote consumer behavior that is responsible and development practices that respect all forms of life and preserve the balance of nature on the planet.

Contribute to the development of my community, with the full participation of women and respect for democratic principles, in order to create together new forms of solidarity.

You can sign this pledge online at the UNESCO website: <http://www.unesco.org/manifesto2000>

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

# REFERENCES AND WEBSITES

## REFERENCES

- Brand-Jacobsen, K. (2014, May 4). This November 11, let us not dishonor those who died. [Web log post] Be the change. Retrieved from <http://kaibrandjacobsen.wordpress.com/2014/11/06>
- Board of Trade. (1921). Wreck Reports 1914-20: 7732. London: Elder Dempster & Co. Ltd. Available: [http://www.plimsoll.org/images/39085a\\_tcm4-336418.pdf](http://www.plimsoll.org/images/39085a_tcm4-336418.pdf). Also archived as SAHA collection AL3282\_E1.27.1.4.3
- Chielens, P. (2015). "Remembering the First World War in a European and a global perspective." Transcript of speech available at: <http://www.eesc.europa.eu/resources/docs/lecture-by-piet-chielens.pdf>
- Couzens, T. (2014). The Great Silence: From Mushroom Valley to Delville Wood, South African Forces in World War One. South Africa: Art Publishers Ltd.
- Department of Basic Education, (2011). Curriculum and assessment policy statement grades 10-12, History. Pretoria, South Africa: Government Printing Works.
- Gale, G. W. (1949). Obituary of Dr. L.E. Hertslet. South African Medical Journal 23(5), 142. [Accessed online 03/02/2015] Available: <http://archive.samj.org.za/1949%20VOL%20XXIII%20Jan-Jun/Articles/05%20May/3.9%20OBITUARY%20;%20Dr.%20L.E.%20Hertslet.pdf>
- Grundlingh, A. (2011). Mutating memories and the making of a myth: Remembering the SS Mendi disaster, 1917- 2007, South African History Journal, 63(1), 20-37.
- Hoffstadt, A. (2014). "Sites of memory, sites of commemoration, sites of mourning? Aspects of European commemorative culture and (national) identities; facing the others." Keynote Address at "History Makes You Think! From the Trenches of the Somme to the Trenches of the History Classroom." 28th Annual Conference of the South African Society of History Teachers (SASHT) University of the Witwatersrand, 10 - 11 October 2014.
- Joubert, D. (2014). "How has the SS Mendi been commemorated in South African History and abroad?" [Presentation] Paper presented at the 28th Annual Conference of the South African Society of History Teachers (SASHT), University of the Witwatersrand, 10 - 11 October 2014. Available: <http://sashtw.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/1-SS-Mendi-Paper-SASHT-10-October-2014.docx>
- Lesh, B. (2011). Why Won't You Just Tell Us The Answer? Teaching Historical Thinking in Grades 7-12. Portland, Maine: Stenhouse Publishers.
- Nasson, B. (2004). Delville Wood and South African Great War Commemoration. English Historical Review, 119(480), 57-86.
- Martin, S. (2008). Faith negotiating loyalties: an exploration of South African Christianity through a reading of the theology of H. Richard Niebuhr. Lanham: University Press of America.
- Qangule, M. "Samuel Edward Krune Mqhayi." In Ndletyana, M. (2008). African Intellectuals in 19th and early 20th century South Africa. HSRC Press.
- Segal, L. and Holden, P. (2008). Great Lives, Pivotal Moments. Jacana Press. Commissioned by SAHA as part of the SAHA/Sunday Times Heritage Project.
- South African Navy, (unknown), SS Mendi a historical background, Available: [http://www.navy.mil.za/newnavy/mendi\\_history/mendi\\_hist.htm](http://www.navy.mil.za/newnavy/mendi_history/mendi_hist.htm)
- UNESCO, (2000). Manifesto 2000 for a culture of Peace and Non-violence. Available: [http://www3.unesco.org/manifesto2000/uk/uk\\_manifeste.htm](http://www3.unesco.org/manifesto2000/uk/uk_manifeste.htm)
- Wineburg, S. Martin, D. & Monte-Sano, C. (2011). Reading like a historian. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Wineburg, S. (1991). On the reading of historical texts: notes on the breach between school and Academy. American Educational Research Journal, 28(3). 495-519.

## USEFUL WEBSITES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

All the **SAHA / Sunday Times Heritage Project** sources relating to the sinking of the SS Mendi can be accessed online at [http://sthp.saha.org.za/memorial/reverend\\_isaac\\_wauchope.htm](http://sthp.saha.org.za/memorial/reverend_isaac_wauchope.htm). All SAHA virtual exhibitions can be accessed at [http://www.saha.org.za/exhibitions/virtual\\_exhibitions.htm](http://www.saha.org.za/exhibitions/virtual_exhibitions.htm).

The **Commonwealth War Graves Commission** has developed excellent material for teachers and has made a special effort to include stories like the sinking of the SS Mendi, available online at <http://www.cwgc.org/learning-and-resources>

**Facing History and Ourselves** has helpful material on practical teaching strategies to deal with emotive and controversial topics available online at <http://www.facinghistory.org/foreducators/educator-resources/teaching-strategies>

**The War Memorials Trust** has a useful education site on teaching about war memorial heritage at <http://www.learnaboutwarmemorials.org/>

# ARCHIVAL AND IMAGE CREDITS

- Front cover** Minutes signed by Louis Botha, Prime Minister's Office, ST, 24 February 1917. Source: National Archives, GG 9/124/45\* Archived as SAHA collection AL3282\_E1.27.1.4.6
- Page 5** "Reading like an historian" classroom posters produced by the Stanford History Education Group (SHEG). Source: <https://sheg.stanford.edu/intro-historical-thinking>
- Page 6** The SS Darro, an empty meat-packing ship destined for Argentina collided with the SS Mendi on the morning of 21 February 1917. Source: The South African National Museum of Military History. Archived as SAHA collection AL3282\_E1.27.3.13.
- Page 7** (left) A group of SANLC men with a convoy of Ford trucks at Njangao, 1917. The South African National Museum of Military History. Archived as SAHA collection AL3282\_E1.27.3.6.  
(middle) Members of the SANLC at work in France during World War 1. Source: The South African National Museum of Military History. Archived as SAHA collection AL3282\_E1.27.3.10.  
(right) Men of the SANLC digging trenches for local defence in France, 1917. The South African National Museum of Military History. Archived as SAHA collection AL3282\_E1.27.3.11.
- Page 8** The sinking of the SS Mendi, 21 February 1917. Source: The South African National Museum of Military History. Archived as SAHA collection AL3282\_E1.27.3.15.
- Page 9** (top) Newspaper clipping regarding the sinking of the SS Mendi, 1917. Source: Imvo Zabantsundu. Archived as SAHA collection AL3282\_E1.27.1.6.10.
- Page 13** Message from Dr. L.E. Hertslet as reproduced in S.M. Bennett Ncwana, "Souvenir Of The Mendi Disaster." Archived as SAHA collection AL3282\_E1.27.1.4.2.
- Page 14** Obituary of Dr. L.E. Hertslet in the South African Medical Journal, 21 May 1944. Source: <http://archive.samj.org.za/>.
- Page 15** Images of the installation at the Tower of London entitled "Blood swept lands and seas of red", 2014. Photographer: Oosaam at English Wikipedia. Source: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Blood\\_Swept\\_Lands\\_and\\_Seas\\_of\\_Red](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Blood_Swept_Lands_and_Seas_of_Red)
- Page 17** (left) Troops of the SANLC being inspected by King George V in France, 1917. Source: The South African National Museum of Military History. Archived as SAHA collection AL3282\_E1.27.3.8.  
(right) The Prince of Wales reviewing veterans of the SANLC. Source: The South African National Museum of Military History. Archived as SAHA collection AL3282\_E1.27.3.13.
- Page 18** (top) Aerial photograph of Ypres, 1916. Source: Flanders Fields Museum Archive  
(bottom) Present day Ypres, 2015. Source: Anke Hoffstadt.
- Page 19** Coin commemorating the "Schwarze Schmach" campaign, 1920. Source: Flanders Fields Museum.
- Page 20** The Delville Wood Monument. Photographer: Paul Reed. Source: <http://www1revisited.com/>
- Page 21** Photographs of a representation of the loss of the SS Mendi on a bronze panel depicting South Africa's participation in various campaigns during World War I at the Delville Wood Memorial in France. Source: <http://allatsea.co.za>
- Page 22** (left) A sketch of how the artist, Madi Phala, envisaged the SAHA / Sunday Times Heritage Project memorial of the sinking of the SS Mendi. Archived as SAHA collection AL3282\_A4.03.  
(right) This memorial sculpture is set on the site where troops of the SANLC gathered before embarking on the SS Mendi. Source: <http://sthp.saha.org.za/>
- Page 23** Cartoon by Will Dyson, first published in The Daily Herald, 13 May 1919. Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Will\\_Dyson](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Will_Dyson)
- Page 24** Cartoon by Vejo, 28 January 2009. Source: <http://www.toonpool.com>.
- Back cover** "Roll of honour of the troopship "Mendi" who were drowned at sea on the 21st February 1917" as reproduced in S.M. Bennett Ncwana, "Souvenir Of The Mendi Disaster." Archived as SAHA collection AL3282\_E1.27.1.4.2.



# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This resource pack was developed and piloted in the course of a collaborative series of lectures, films and panel discussions held in late 2014 to commemorate the centenary of the beginning of the First World War; the 75th anniversary of the start of the Second World War and the 20th commemoration of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda that targeted the Tutsi minority.

**Content Development:** Siobhan Glanvill-Miller and Catherine Kennedy

**Design and layout:** Robyn Cook

**Archival support:** Debora Matthews, Chavonne Cupido and Inez McGregor

**Published:** February 2016

Development of this resource kit was funded by the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung. SAHA thanks the following educators and activists who participated in the pilot workshop that led to the production of this resource pack.

Alison Bell – Northcliff High School

Arlene Sher – Johannesburg Holocaust and Genocide Centre

Collin Haskins – AISA

Janine Cohen – Johannesburg Holocaust and Genocide Centre

Kevin Garcia – Michael Mount Waldorf School

L.G. Mashuga – Daleview Secondary School

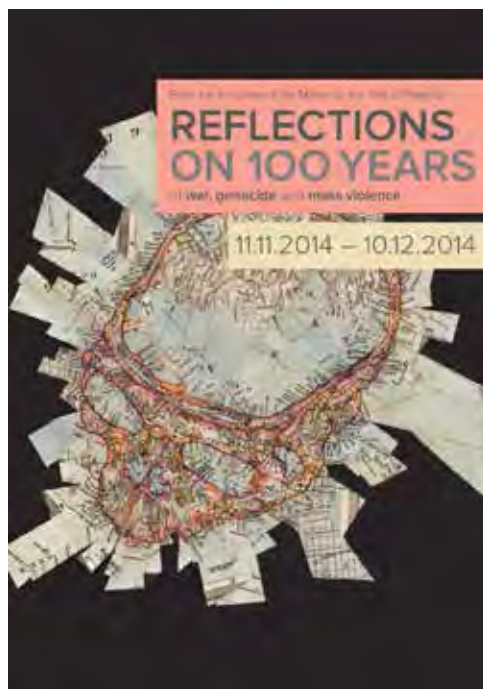
Marj Brown – Roedean School

Sele Mashuga – Senaoane Secondary School

T. Mpetukana – no organisational affiliation

Tali Nates – Johannesburg Holocaust and Genocide Centre

Zozo Jodo – O.R. Tambo Senior Secondary School



This booklet draws extensively on the archival and picture research undertaken by the SAHA / Sunday Times Heritage Project team responsible for researching the Isaac Wauchope element of this project, which culminated in the installation of a memorial in Cape Town, the related section on the SAHA/ STHP website available online at [http://sthp.saha.org.za/memorial/reverend\\_isaac\\_wauchope.htm](http://sthp.saha.org.za/memorial/reverend_isaac_wauchope.htm), as well as the chapter on the SS Mendi in the 2008 publication *Great Lives, Pivotal Moments*, which was commissioned by SAHA as part of this project, and was edited by Lauren Segal and Paul Holden. Much of the context information in the SS Mendi case study was adapted from this chapter.

The archival materials relating to this project are archived in SAHA Collection AL3282: The SAHA / Sunday Times Heritage Project collection - please see: [http://www.saha.org.za/collections/the\\_sunday\\_times\\_heritage\\_project\\_sthp\\_collection\\_3.htm](http://www.saha.org.za/collections/the_sunday_times_heritage_project_sthp_collection_3.htm)

## ABOUT SAHA

Founded by anti-apartheid activists in 1988, the South African History Archive (SAHA) is an independent human rights archive dedicated to documenting, supporting and promoting greater awareness of both past and, since 1994, contemporary struggles for justice and accountability in South Africa.

For more information about SAHA's mandate, programmes and projects, please see [www.saha.org.za](http://www.saha.org.za)





# Roll of Honour

## OF THE TROOPSHIP "MENDI" WHO WERE DROWNED AT SEA ON THE 21st FEBRUARY, 1917.

No.	Name.	No.	Name.	No.	Name.	No.	Name.
502	Daniel Magedi.	9117	Paraffia Makhitsh.	9186	Joseph Molela.	9290	Jack Mkhawwe.
503	John Molele.	9118	Daniel Mkhonana.	9187	Jack Molela.	9292	Henry Williams.
504	William Mkhonana.	9119	Charles Mkhonana.	9188	Alfred Lekau.	9293	Jan Koopman.
505	John Lekau.	9120	Frans Mkhonana.	9189	Frans Mkhonana.	9294	James Hay.
506	John Lekau.	9121	Smith Segole.	9190	Thomas Monamagata.	9295	Johannes Martinus.
507	John Lekau.	9122	Smith Segole.	9191	John Lekau.	9296	Paul Peters.
508	Stephen Lucas Legwale.	9123	Abraham Mkhonana.	9192	Jack Mkhawwe.	9297	Salomon Vili Zoodi.
509	Isaac Wauchope.	9124	Charles Mkhonana.	9193	Thasophilus Molela.	9298	Vincent Pasi Ngoboo.
510	Johannes Kgama.	9125	William Mkhonana.	9194	Jack Mkhawwe.	9299	Jack Gwaba.
511	Kiciboni Niere.	9126	Charles Mkhonana.	9195	Woldebe Samela.	9300	Arson Jii Hingelei.
512	Lukas Nkheranyane.	9127	Charles Mkhonana.	9196	Boro Makama.	9301	Frans Mkhonana.
513	James Henry Mkhonana.	9128	James Mkhonana.	9197	Jim Mkhawwe.	9302	Edmund Maphulane.
514	Maikali Nekwelo.	9129	Thousand Matuphi.	9198	Piet Damp.	9303	Elias Mkhawwe.
515	Peter Motobi.	9130	Jan Tichae.	9199	David Mkhonana.	9304	Arson Mkhonana.
516	Philip Voo.	9131	Charles Mkhonana.	9200	Charles Mkhonana.	9305	Daniel Mkhonana.
517	Peter Nkome.	9132	Walter Harore.	9201	Jack Mkhonana.	9306	Jim Mkhonana.
518	Henry Bokieri.	9133	Frans Mkhonana.	9202	Jack Mkhonana.	9307	James Radele.
519	Nehille Mkhonana.	9134	Charles Mkhonana.	9203	Jack Mkhonana.	9308	Dokoda Bileni.
520	John Gigma.	9135	Charles Mkhonana.	9204	Jack Mkhonana.	9309	Mxonywa Bangani.
521	Nyodiyana Phayana.	9136	Charles Mkhonana.	9205	Jack Mkhonana.	9310	Gwama Mkhonana.
522	Nyodiyana Phayana.	9137	Charles Mkhonana.	9206	Jack Mkhonana.	9311	Ningele Mkhonana.
523	Nzulu Ndankhule.	9138	Charles Mkhonana.	9207	Jack Mkhonana.	9312	Mkhalela Nkhetshu.
524	Thomas Mkhonana.	9139	Charles Mkhonana.	9208	Jack Mkhonana.	9313	Robert Mkhonana.
525	Alison Mkhonana.	9140	Charles Mkhonana.	9209	Jack Mkhonana.	9314	Tatani Mkhonana.
526	Timothy Mkhonana.	9141	Charles Mkhonana.	9210	Jack Mkhonana.	9315	Richard Ndawane.
527	Luvakava Songa.	9142	Charles Mkhonana.	9211	Jack Mkhonana.	9316	Pani Jongilanga.
528	Charles Mkhonana.	9143	Charles Mkhonana.	9212	Jack Mkhonana.	9317	Walter Siposa.
529	Jim Mkhonana.	9144	Charles Mkhonana.	9213	Jack Mkhonana.	9318	Mpho Mkhonana.
530	Ollant Dikeni.	9145	Charles Mkhonana.	9214	Jack Mkhonana.	9319	Nyodiyana Mkhonana.
531	Joseph Javale.	9146	Charles Mkhonana.	9215	Jack Mkhonana.	9320	Green Sodi.
532	Madala Tuguma.	9147	Charles Mkhonana.	9216	Jack Mkhonana.	9321	James Koko.
533	Robert Mkhonana.	9148	Charles Mkhonana.	9217	Jack Mkhonana.	9322	Frans Mkhonana.
534	Jim Mkhonana.	9149	Charles Mkhonana.	9218	Jack Mkhonana.	9323	James Mkhonana.
535	Honono Nkome.	9150	Charles Mkhonana.	9219	Jack Mkhonana.	9324	James Mkhonana.
536	Willie Johnson.	9151	Charles Mkhonana.	9220	Jack Mkhonana.	9325	James Mkhonana.
537	Jan Mkhonana.	9152	Charles Mkhonana.	9221	Jack Mkhonana.	9326	James Mkhonana.
538	Molise Mkhonana.	9153	Charles Mkhonana.	9222	Jack Mkhonana.	9327	James Mkhonana.
539	Joseph Mkhonana.	9154	Charles Mkhonana.	9223	Jack Mkhonana.	9328	James Mkhonana.
540	Gerard Mkhonana.	9155	Charles Mkhonana.	9224	Jack Mkhonana.	9329	James Mkhonana.
541	Sampson Mkhonana.	9156	Charles Mkhonana.	9225	Jack Mkhonana.	9330	James Mkhonana.
542	Nicodemus Mkhonana.	9157	Charles Mkhonana.	9226	Jack Mkhonana.	9331	James Mkhonana.
543	Knos Sittaro.	9158	Charles Mkhonana.	9227	Jack Mkhonana.	9332	James Mkhonana.
544	Lukas Mkhonana.	9159	Charles Mkhonana.	9228	Jack Mkhonana.	9333	James Mkhonana.
545	Jacob Mkhonana.	9160	Charles Mkhonana.	9229	Jack Mkhonana.	9334	James Mkhonana.
546	Geelbooi Sefako.	9161	Charles Mkhonana.	9230	Jack Mkhonana.	9335	James Mkhonana.
547	Abel Ramoseane.	9162	Charles Mkhonana.	9231	Jack Mkhonana.	9336	James Mkhonana.
548	Thijs Kamekane.	9163	Charles Mkhonana.	9232	Jack Mkhonana.	9337	James Mkhonana.
549	William Mkhonana.	9164	Charles Mkhonana.	9233	Jack Mkhonana.	9338	James Mkhonana.
550	Simon Mkhonana.	9165	Charles Mkhonana.	9234	Jack Mkhonana.	9339	James Mkhonana.
551	Clange Mkhonana.	9166	Charles Mkhonana.	9235	Jack Mkhonana.	9340	James Mkhonana.
552	Jan Kaka.	9167	Charles Mkhonana.	9236	Jack Mkhonana.	9341	James Mkhonana.
553	Jack Shikamba.	9168	Charles Mkhonana.	9237	Jack Mkhonana.	9342	James Mkhonana.
554	Jan Mkhonana.	9169	Charles Mkhonana.	9238	Jack Mkhonana.	9343	James Mkhonana.
555	Captain Kamekane.	9170	Charles Mkhonana.	9239	Jack Mkhonana.	9344	James Mkhonana.
556	Jonas Mkhonana.	9171	Charles Mkhonana.	9240	Jack Mkhonana.	9345	James Mkhonana.
557	Isaac Mkhonana.	9172	Charles Mkhonana.	9241	Jack Mkhonana.	9346	James Mkhonana.
558	Stephen Mkhonana.	9173	Charles Mkhonana.	9242	Jack Mkhonana.	9347	James Mkhonana.
559	Willie Mkhonana.	9174	Charles Mkhonana.	9243	Jack Mkhonana.	9348	James Mkhonana.
560	Zachariah Sigedela.	9175	Charles Mkhonana.	9244	Jack Mkhonana.	9349	James Mkhonana.
561	Meki Mkhonana.	9176	Charles Mkhonana.	9245	Jack Mkhonana.	9350	James Mkhonana.
562	Nongqayi Nakatini.	9177	Charles Mkhonana.	9246	Jack Mkhonana.	9351	James Mkhonana.
563	Abraham Mkhonana.	9178	Charles Mkhonana.	9247	Jack Mkhonana.	9352	James Mkhonana.
564	Jim Mkhonana.	9179	Charles Mkhonana.	9248	Jack Mkhonana.	9353	James Mkhonana.
565	William Mkhonana.	9180	Charles Mkhonana.	9249	Jack Mkhonana.	9354	James Mkhonana.
566	Jan Mkhonana.	9181	Charles Mkhonana.	9250	Jack Mkhonana.	9355	James Mkhonana.
567	Alfred Mkhonana.	9182	Charles Mkhonana.	9251	Jack Mkhonana.	9356	James Mkhonana.
568	Bullar Mkhonana.	9183	Charles Mkhonana.	9252	Jack Mkhonana.	9357	James Mkhonana.
569	Ephraim Mkhonana.	9184	Charles Mkhonana.	9253	Jack Mkhonana.	9358	James Mkhonana.
570	John Khadi.	9185	Charles Mkhonana.	9254	Jack Mkhonana.	9359	James Mkhonana.
571	Kosi Lubhlongwa.	9186	Charles Mkhonana.	9255	Jack Mkhonana.	9360	James Mkhonana.
572	Johannes Mkhonana.	9187	Charles Mkhonana.	9256	Jack Mkhonana.	9361	James Mkhonana.
573	Ephraim Mkhonana.	9188	Charles Mkhonana.	9257	Jack Mkhonana.	9362	James Mkhonana.
574	Verandah Mkhonana.	9189	Charles Mkhonana.	9258	Jack Mkhonana.	9363	James Mkhonana.
575	Natal Mkhonana.	9190	Charles Mkhonana.	9259	Jack Mkhonana.	9364	James Mkhonana.
576	Picannin Mkhonana.	9191	Charles Mkhonana.	9260	Jack Mkhonana.	9365	James Mkhonana.
577	Moskela Mkhonana.	9192	Charles Mkhonana.	9261	Jack Mkhonana.	9366	James Mkhonana.
578	Jim Mkhonana.	9193	Charles Mkhonana.	9262	Jack Mkhonana.	9367	James Mkhonana.
579	Whisky Mkhonana.	9194	Charles Mkhonana.	9263	Jack Mkhonana.	9368	James Mkhonana.
580	Jim Mkhonana.	9195	Charles Mkhonana.	9264	Jack Mkhonana.	9369	James Mkhonana.
581	Frans Mkhonana.	9196	Charles Mkhonana.	9265	Jack Mkhonana.	9370	James Mkhonana.
582	Jan Mkhonana.	9197	Charles Mkhonana.	9266	Jack Mkhonana.	9371	James Mkhonana.
583	Charles Mkhonana.	9198	Charles Mkhonana.	9267	Jack Mkhonana.	9372	James Mkhonana.
584	Ben Mkhonana.	9199	Charles Mkhonana.	9268	Jack Mkhonana.	9373	James Mkhonana.
585	Kecala Mkhonana.	9200	Charles Mkhonana.	9269	Jack Mkhonana.	9374	James Mkhonana.
586	Jan Mkhonana.	9201	Charles Mkhonana.	9270	Jack Mkhonana.	9375	James Mkhonana.
587	Jan Mkhonana.	9202	Charles Mkhonana.	9271	Jack Mkhonana.	9376	James Mkhonana.
588	Jan Mkhonana.	9203	Charles Mkhonana.	9272	Jack Mkhonana.	9377	James Mkhonana.
589	Jan Mkhonana.	9204	Charles Mkhonana.	9273	Jack Mkhonana.	9378	James Mkhonana.
590	Jan Mkhonana.	9205	Charles Mkhonana.	9274	Jack Mkhonana.	9379	James Mkhonana.
591	Jan Mkhonana.	9206	Charles Mkhonana.	9275	Jack Mkhonana.	9380	James Mkhonana.
592	Jan Mkhonana.	9207	Charles Mkhonana.	9276	Jack Mkhonana.	9381	James Mkhonana.
593	Jan Mkhonana.	9208	Charles Mkhonana.	9277	Jack Mkhonana.	9382	James Mkhonana.
594	Jan Mkhonana.	9209	Charles Mkhonana.	9278	Jack Mkhonana.	9383	James Mkhonana.
595	Jan Mkhonana.	9210	Charles Mkhonana.	9279	Jack Mkhonana.	9384	James Mkhonana.
596	Jan Mkhonana.	9211	Charles Mkhonana.	9280	Jack Mkhonana.	9385	James Mkhonana.
597	Jan Mkhonana.	9212	Charles Mkhonana.	9281	Jack Mkhonana.	9386	James Mkhonana.
598	Jan Mkhonana.	9213	Charles Mkhonana.	9282	Jack Mkhonana.	9387	James Mkhonana.
599	Jan Mkhonana.	9214	Charles Mkhonana.	9283	Jack Mkhonana.	9388	James Mkhonana.
600	Jan Mkhonana.	9215	Charles Mkhonana.	9284	Jack Mkhonana.	9389	James Mkhonana.
601	Jan Mkhonana.	9216	Charles Mkhonana.	9285	Jack Mkhonana.	9390	James Mkhonana.
602	Jan Mkhonana.	9217	Charles Mkhonana.	9286	Jack Mkhonana.	9391	James Mkhonana.
603	Jan Mkhonana.	9218	Charles Mkhonana.	9287	Jack Mkhonana.	9392	James Mkhonana.
604	Jan Mkhonana.	9219	Charles Mkhonana.	9288	Jack Mkhonana.	9393	James Mkhonana.
605	Jan Mkhonana.	9220	Charles Mkhonana.	9289	Jack Mkhonana.	9394	James Mkhonana.
606	Jan Mkhonana.	9221	Charles Mkhonana.	9290	Jack Mkhonana.	9395	James Mkhonana.
607	Jan Mkhonana.	9222	Charles Mkhonana.	9291	Jack Mkhonana.	9396	James Mkhonana.
608	Jan Mkhonana.	9223	Charles Mkhonana.	9292	Jack Mkhonana.	9397	James Mkhonana.
609	Jan Mkhonana.	9224	Charles Mkhonana.	9293	Jack Mkhonana.	9398	James Mkhonana.
610	Jan Mkhonana.	9225	Charles Mkhonana.	9294	Jack Mkhonana.	9399	James Mkhonana.
611	Jan Mkhonana.	9226	Charles Mkhonana.	9295	Jack Mkhonana.	9400	James Mkhonana.
612	Jan Mkhonana.	9227	Charles Mkhonana.	9296	Jack Mkhonana.	9401	James Mkhonana.
613	Jan Mkhonana.	9228	Charles Mkhonana.	9297	Jack Mkhonana.	9402	James Mkhonana.
614	Jan Mkhonana.	9229	Charles Mkhonana.	9298	Jack Mkhonana.	9403	James Mkhonana.
615	Jan Mkhonana.	9230	Charles Mkhonana.	9299	Jack Mkhonana.	9404	James Mkhonana.
616	Jan Mkhonana.	9231	Charles Mkhonana.	9300	Jack Mkhonana.	9405	James Mkhonana.
617	Jan Mkhonana.	9232	Charles Mkhonana.	9301	Jack Mkhonana.	9406	James Mkhonana.
618	Jan Mkhonana.	9233	Charles Mkhonana.	9302	Jack Mkhonana.	9407	James Mkhonana.
619	Jan Mkhonana.	9234	Charles Mkhonana.	9303	Jack Mkhonana.	9408	James Mkhonana.
620	Jan Mkhonana.	9235	Charles Mkhonana.	9304	Jack Mkhonana.	9409	James Mkhonana.
621	Jan Mkhonana.	9236	Charles Mkhonana.	9305	Jack Mkhonana.	9410	James Mkhonana.
622	Jan Mkhonana.	9237	Charles Mkhonana.	9306	Jack Mkhonana.	9411	James Mkhonana.
623	Jan Mkhonana.	9238	Charles Mkhonana.	9307	Jack Mkhonana.	9412	James Mkhonana.
624	Jan Mkhonana.	9239	Charles Mkhonana.	9308	Jack Mkhonana.	9413	James Mkhonana.
625	Jan Mkhonana.	9240	Charles Mkhonana.	9309	Jack Mkhonana.	9414	James Mkhonana.
626	Jan Mkhonana.	9241	Charles Mkhonana.	9310	Jack Mkhonana.	9415	James Mkhonana.
627	Jan Mkhonana.	9242	Charles Mkhonana.	9311	Jack Mkhonana.	9416	James Mkhonana.
628	Jan Mkhonana.	9243	Charles Mkhonana.	9312	Jack Mkhonana.	9417	James Mkhonana.
629	Jan Mkhonana.	9244	Charles Mkhonana.	9313	Jack Mkhonana.	9418	James Mkhonana.
630	Jan Mkhonana.	9245	Charles Mkhonana.	9314	Jack Mkhonana.	9419	James Mkhonana.
631	Jan Mkhonana.	9246	Charles Mkhonana.	9315	Jack Mkhonana.	9420	James Mkhonana.
632	Jan Mkhonana.	9247	Charles Mkhonana.	9316	Jack Mkhonana.	9421	James Mkhonana.
633	Jan Mkhonana.	9248	Charles Mkhonana.	9317	Jack Mkhonana.	9422	James Mkhonana.
634	Jan Mkhonana.	9249	Charles Mkhonana.	9318	Jack Mkhonana.	9423	James Mkhonana.
635	Jan Mkhonana.	9250	Charles Mkhonana.	9319	Jack Mkhonana.	9424	James Mkhonana.
636	Jan Mkhonana.	9251	Charles Mkhonana.	9320	Jack Mkhonana.	9425	James Mkhonana.
637	Jan Mkhonana.	9252	Charles Mkhonana.	9321	Jack Mkhonana.	9426	James Mkhonana.
638	Jan Mkhonana.	9253	Charles Mkhonana.	9322	Jack Mkhonana.	9427	James Mkhonana.
639	Jan Mkhonana.	9254	Charles Mkhonana.	9323	Jack Mkhonana.	9428	James Mkhonana.
640	Jan Mkhonana.	9255	Charles Mkhonana.	9324	Jack Mkhonana.	9429	James Mkhonana.
641	Jan Mkhonana.	9256	Charles Mkhonana.	9325	Jack Mkhonana.	9430	James Mkhonana.
642	Jan Mkhonana.	9257	Charles Mkhonana.	9326	Jack Mkhonana.	9431	James Mkhonana.
643	Jan Mkhonana.	9258	Charles Mkhonana.	9327	Jack Mkhonana.	9432	James Mkhonana.
644	Jan Mkhonana.	9259	Charles Mkhonana.	9328	Jack Mkhonana.	9433	James Mkhonana.
645	Jan Mkhonana.	9260	Charles Mkhonana.	9329	Jack Mkhonana.	9434	James Mkhonana.
646	Jan Mkhonana.	9261	Charles Mkhonana.	9330	Jack Mkhonana.	9435	James Mkhonana.
647	Jan Mkhonana.	9262	Charles Mkhonana.	9331	Jack Mkhonana.	9436	James Mkhonana.
648	Jan Mkhonana.	9263	Charles Mkhonana.	9332	Jack Mkhonana.	9437	James Mkhonana.
649	Jan Mkhonana.	9264	Charles Mkhonana.	9333	Jack Mkhonana.	9438	James Mkhonana.
650	Jan Mkhonana.	9265	Charles Mkhonana.	9334	Jack Mkhonana.	9439	James Mkhonana.
651	Jan Mkhonana.	9266	Charles Mkhonana.	9335	Jack Mkhonana.	9440	James Mkhonana.
652	Jan Mkhonana.	9267	Charles Mkhonana.	9336	Jack Mkhonana.		