Cape Town at War:
The City, lived Experiences and Loyalties, 1914-1919

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A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Historical Studies.

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Compulsory Declaration

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signed by candidate

Sarah-Jane Walton Date: 07 February 2020

Abstract

This thesis explores ways in which the First World War affected Cape Town. It addresses the absence of research on urban histories in South Africa and non-European urban histories of the war. It tells of the history *in* Cape Town and the history *of* Cape Town during the war. By drawing on a variety of primary sources – government and city records, organisational archives, print media - it demonstrates some of the infrastructural, economic and social consequences of the war on the city.

The thesis is structured in three main parts. The first considers the city on the advent of the war and Capetonians' responses to its declaration. This related to the Anglo-Boer War and the 1910 formation of Union, and Cape Town's particular history of Anglicisation. It also explores how war changed the experience of daily life, imbuing the city with war-related sights, sounds and symbols. The second part of the thesis emphasises that the war was a period of considerable infrastructural and demographic change. The city's work-force, too was affected by the war, whilst a rise in living-expenses, and a wartime spread of socialist ideas, led to intensified strike action. This was notable for increased cross-racial co-operation, as well as the marked presence of semi- and unskilled workers organising en-mass for the first time. The third part of the thesis speaks to subjective depictions of Cape Town. It considers three main discourses about the city – 'slum city,' 'sin city' and 'destination city' - indicating the co-existence of multiple and sometimes contrasting representations of wartime Cape Town.

Lastly, the war was a period of heightened identifications with Britain, which cut across race, gender and class lines. Nevertheless wartime patriotism was inconsistently sustained, with certain events fuelling feelings of loyalty towards Empire and animosity towards those deemed as 'disloyal.' Overall it is concluded that although the war has faded in Cape Town's popular memory, it was important to how many Capetonians identified themselves. Moreover it was a significant catalyst for change, informing debates and subsequent policies about health, segregation and the future of South African cities.

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Dedicated to Roger and Betty Walton (01.06.1934 – 06.07.2018)

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Abbreviations

ACVV	Afrikaanse Christelike Vroue Vereeniging (Afrikaans Christian Women's Union)
APO	African Political Organisation (when Italicised this refers to its publication)
ATT	African Theatres Trust
CDA	Contagious Diseases Acts
CFLU	Cape Federation of Labour Unions
CNC	Cape Native Congress
CPPA	Cape Peninsula Publicity Association
CTCM	Cape Town Citizen's Meeting (when Italicised this refers to its publication)
GEA	German East Africa
GSWA	German South West Africa
ICU	Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union
ISL	International Socialist League (not to be confused with Industrial Socialist League)
IWA	International Workers of Africa
NUHRAS	National Union of Railway and Harbour Servants
NP	National Party
NCW	National Council of Women
SAMNS	South African Military Nursing Service
SANLC	South African Native Labour Corps
SANNC	South African Native National Congress
SAP	South African Party
SALP	South African Labour Party
SDF	Social Democratic Federation
TTU	Tailors and Tailoress' Union
UP	Unionist Party
VAD	Voluntary Aid Detachment
WCARS	Western Cape Archives and Records Services
WCTU	Women's Christian Temperance Union
WEL	Women's Enfranchisement League

Timeline of relevant events

	1910
31 May	Union of South Africa *The former independent Dutch republics (Orange River Colony and Transvaal), that were brought under British colonial rule after the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902, are united with the British colonies of Natal and the Cape, to form the Union of South Africa, under Prime Minister Louis Botha of the South African Party (SAP).*
	1912
01 July	The Union Defence Act
	1913
June	The Natives Land Act
August	Formation of the Greater Cape Town Municipality.
	1914
January	Industrial unrest breaks out on the Witwatersrand and spreads across the country. In Cape Town approximately 400 men of the Salt River Workshops and 50 dock workers march to the Grand Parade in solidarity.
May	JMB Hertzog forms the anti-Imperial, pro-Dutch, National Party (NP).
05 August	Capetonians hear of Britain's declaration of war on Germany.
07 & 9 August	Britain cables Botha asking that the Union capture German South West Africa (GSWA).
09-12 August	Botha gains the support of his cabinet to invade GSWA, but has to call a special parliamentary session to proceed.
Mid-late August	German reservists sent to internment camps in the interior.
05 September	APO first offers a contingent of coloured men (for the Cape Corps). This is rejected.
14 September	The Union officially enters war against Germany.

15 September	Brig. General Christian Beyers and several other ex-Boer Commando leaders, resign from the UDF, objecting to the invasion of GSWA.
16 September	Union parliament approves the invasion of GSWA and plans proceed.
09 October – end December	Lieutenant Colonel Manie Maritz, who was leading one of the UDF forces along the GSWA border, rebels. He attempts to side with German forces and proclaims the Transvaal Republic and Orange Free State independent from Britain. Almost 12000 Dutch/Afrikaners – mostly impoverished farmers from the Interior, join the rebellion. Botha suppresses the rebellion, using a largely Afrikaans force to minimise further alienation and feelings of animosity towards Anglophone South Africans.
End of 1914 and early 1915	Men unwilling to wait for the Union to decide upon service in Europe depart to join overseas imperial contingents.

1915

1915 (-1918)	Continued drought in the Peninsula. Stakesby-Lewis Hostel for poor coloured females opens.
January	Petition against the 'slum,' Wells Square.
March	Temperance campaigners submit a petition to curtail access to alcohol in the city.
April	Approval is granted for Women's Patrols.
May	The Dutch nationalist newspaper, *De Burger,* is established.
12-13 May	Anti-German riots break out in Cape Town in response to the torpedoing of the civilian liner, the *Lusitania.* Stricter regulations are brought against Germans across the Union.
June	Britain approaches South Africa for an expeditionary force for France.
09 July	Germans surrender – Botha's victory in GSWA. Botha approves a contingent for France, and mitigates opposition towards it by ensuring that it is Imperially funded. The Union simultaneously embarks on the German East African campaign (GEA).
21 July	Recruitment drives open for overseas and GEA.
04 August	Annual ceremony held for the re-dedication of the war cause.
August & September	Overseas Contingent mobilised. The coloured regiment, the Cape Corps, is approved (a wartime exception of the 1912 Defence Act).
September	The South African Labour Party's 'War on War League' splinters to form the International Socialist League.

October	Start of the monthly citizen's meetings in honour of absent troops.
20 October	General Election: Botha's SAP emerges as the largest party but does not secure an overall majority and it has to rely on the support of the pro-Imperial Unionist Party. Hertzog's NP wins 27 seats, having gained support by arguing against Botha's support of Britain in the war.

1916

	Anzac convoys pass through Cape Town. A Visiting Troops Entertainment Committee is established. Provincial branch of the *Helpmekaar Beweging* is formed in Cape Town, aiding families left destitute after the rebellion, and promoting 'Afrikaans culture.'
May	The Tramway Union's first strike.
June	The Cape Coloured Labour Regiment is formed.
Mid-end July	The SA Infantry Brigade suffers terrible losses at the Battle of Delville Wood (part of the July Somme Offensive).
04 August	Annual re-dedication ceremony to the war cause.
October	Second petition against Wells Square.

1917

	Marion Institute for coloured girls opened in District Six.
21 February	The *HMT Mendi* is sunk off the Isle Of Wight, the South African Native Labour Corps (SANLC) suffers losses.
July	The anniversary of Delville Wood is marked by various services, including a major recruiting rally to replenish the numbers of the overseas contingent.
04 August	Annual re-dedication ceremony to the war cause.
22 October	The Tailor and Tailoress' Union strike begins.
November	The Bolshevik Revolution inspires local socialists.

1918

January	One fifth of Cape Town's police force go on strike. Hawkers strike Painters' Union strike
March	Mass protest at Ndabeni against the draft of the Native (Urban Areas) Bill (passed 1923).
May	Two-minute silence initiated by Mayor Harry Hands. The anti-war Social Democratic splits, resulting in the Industrialist Socialist

	League.
04 August	Annual re-dedication ceremony to the war cause.
October	Spanish Flu Women can now be municipal council members.
11 November	Armistice

1919

January	Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) and the Industrial Workers of Africa (IWA) are established, early 1919.
July	Second Tramway Strike
August	Peace celebrations
November	Public Health Act of 1919
December	Multi-racial dock-workers strike.

1920

The Housing Act is introduced, targeting the upliftment of poor-whites and promoting segregation. Municipalities are provided with the funds to provide housing. Black South Africans are excluded from housing assistance.

1923

The 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act is introduced, creating influx controls for black South Africans coming into urban areas. Municipalities are now allowed to create racially segregated locations with advisory boards (which would include representatives of the location). Cape Town made use of the Act from 1926, although Ndabeni had existed since 1901.

Introduction

It was the 30th July 1914. The new concrete Pier jutted out into the chill waters of Table Bay. This modern 'marvel', boasted the City of Cape Town's Publicity Association, was an exemplary attraction for locals and tourists alike. On a busy day, the pier was packed with men, women and children strolling its length, while fisherman cast their lines from the decks below. Bobbing up and down in the bay were small rowing boats for hire, while bathing boxes on the lowest levels allowed daring swimmers the chance for a dip. For those with more terrestrial tastes, a cafe offered treats and fancies, while from the copper-domed bandstand, strains of the local orchestra mingled with the shrill cries of gulls (Photographs 1 and 2, below). Visitors unfamiliar with Cape Town might have commented on the variety of skin tones of the local population - Cape Town was a 'cosmopolitan' city, and its people reflected its history of slavery, starting after the Dutch East India Company first laid claim to the Cape in the mid-1600s, and later, from the 1800s, of British settler colonialism. As seen in Table 1, approximately 53% of the city's overall population was white (or 'European'), while 46% of it was 'coloured' (or 'mixed race'). At this time, Cape Town's official black population was notably small, below 1%.

Table 1: *Population of Cape Town, according to Census categories of 1911*

	'European or White'	'Mixed and Other Coloured'	'Black'	Total
Number	85442	74749	1338	161579
Percentage (%)	52,9	46,3	0,83	100

Source: Union Government of South Africa UG 32, *Census for 1911 (*Pretoria Government Printer, 1912), 86-7.

Facing inland, looking up the pier and further along, one could see the city's chief thoroughfare, Adderley Street. Impossible to miss, Table Mountain hugged the back of the burgeoning city. In inclement weather its flat top was hidden by clouds, but on clearer days its famous 'table cloth' of cloud often draped itself over the mountain and tailed off into the aether.

Photograph 1*: Strolling down the Pier with Table Mountain in the background, c. 1916*

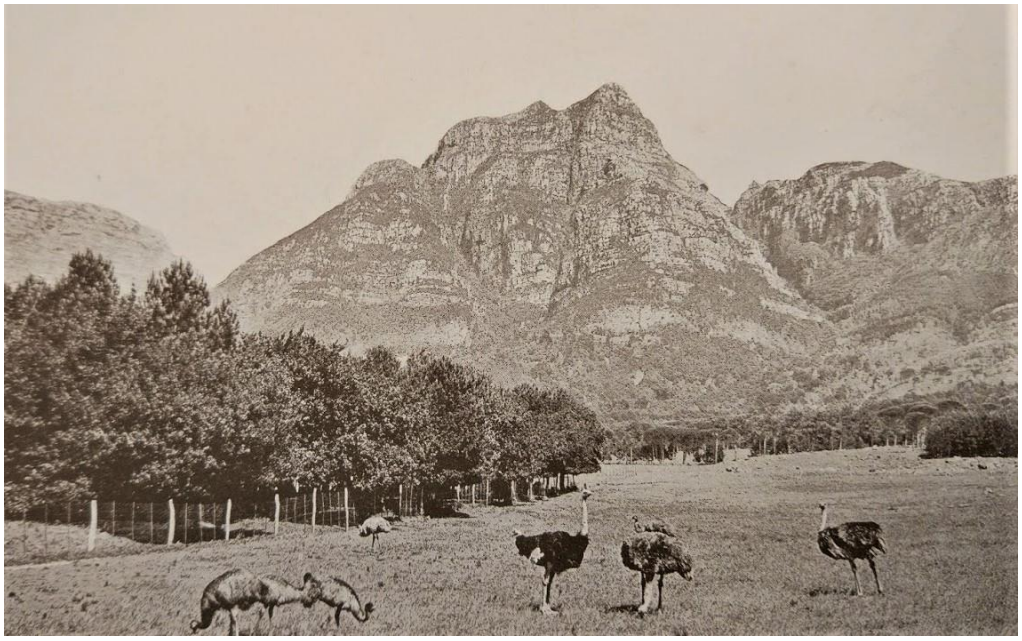
Source: Western Cape Archives and Records Services (WCARS), AG Collection, AG12658

Photograph 2: *The open-air concert hall, the Pier c.1914*

Source: Special Collections, UCT, 'Souvenir Album of 75 views of the Cape Peninsula' (Valentine and Sons: Cape Town, c.1914).

The weather had been unseasonably summer-like leading up to the last week of July 1914, until a sudden change had plunged Cape Town into a howling winter's gale.[1] Residents had been quick to complain about the slowness of the train as it chugged around the Peninsula, from the 'Southern Suburbs' to the city centre, hampered by the wind. The Pier - the *Cape Times* proudly announced - although 'deluged by the sea,' withstood the assault. Not far from 'Devil's Peak' (Photograph 3, below), the suburbs of Claremont and Maitland had been hard-hit, with trees uprooted and havoc wrought on several roofs. Looming above the Southern Suburbs, the 1912 grand memorial to Cecil John Rhodes, carved out of granite from the mountain, stood untouched. The *Cape of Storms* was living up to its name. Perhaps some citizens later found symbolic meaning in the change of weather - the calm before the storm, the moment before the Empire was plunged into a four-year-long war. Except Cape Town was *not* feeling calm. There was an edginess in the air, an anxiety about the possibility of war considering the 'Black Outlook' of the 'European situation.'[2] The newspapers brimmed with it and would continue to do so as the First World War became one of the defining features of life in Cape Town over the following four years.

Photograph 3: *View of Devil's Peak from Groote Schuur Estate, Rondebosch (Emus and Ostriches in the foreground)*



Source: *Cape Town Citizens' Meeting Booklet*, No 21, 03 June 1917.

[1] *Cape Times,* 30 July 1914.
[2] Ibid, 26 July 1914.

This thesis explores ways in which the First World War affected Cape Town. It demonstrates that whilst most Anglophone Capetonians aligned themselves with Britain and the war, the war affected everyone in the city, regardless of their ideological or political views. The material changes the war wrought in the city were experienced daily on a number of levels: wartime militarisation and restrictions on civilian movement, the presence of soldiers in the city, a sharp rise in the cost of living, the movement of men from their occupations to war service, the expansion of factories and accelerated urbanisation, full employment and strains on both the electricity system and housing supply. These various material changes, accompanied by the presence of the war in sights, sounds and smells in the city, help shape the daily lives of Capetonians (these are the *lived experiences* of which the title speaks). Furthermore, the outbreak of the Spanish Flu in October 1918 brought the city to a standstill and accentuated fears of the spread of disease from the city's impoverished quarters. It represented the closest experience Cape Town had to being a 'home front,' as the geographical distance between the city and the major theatres of conflict otherwise protected it from the physical ravages of war.

This thesis draws upon Vivian Bickford-Smith's approach to recognise the importance of, and interrelation between, both the 'objective' and 'subjective' components of a city.[3] Objective components are in the realm of the physical and practical, including 'a city's or space within a city's geographical position, topographical features, monuments, institutions, spatial arrangement, wealth, amenities, physical and demographical size.' [4] Yet the 'subjective' or 'imaginative' component is equally important for understanding city experiences. Through representations - in newspapers, plays, films, and official city publications - ideas about the city and its people were spread and debated. Stefan Goebel and Derek Keene refer to this as the 'interplay between morphological and imaginary landscapes,' considering both 'urban practises and representations.' Drawing on the work of Edward Soja, they propose that this results in 'thirdspace,' or '"real-and-imagined" places.'[5] Within this framework it is contended that wartime material changes to Cape Town shaped ideas about the city and its people. Cape Town was simultaneously imagined as a 'city at war,' a 'slum

[3] V. Bickford-Smith, *The emergence of the South African metropolis: cities and identities in the twentieth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 9-10.
[4] Ibid, 9-10.
[5] Stefan Goebel and Derek Keene (eds.), *Cities into Battlefields: Metropolitan Scenarios, Experiences and Commemorations of Total War (*Farnham: Ashgate, 2011); 2.

city,' a 'sin city,' and a modern, 'destination city.' These discourses reflected the city elite's views on progress, modernity and race, and the future of South Africa's cities. The accelerated urbanisation of poor whites and rural blacks was deemed a particular challenge to the modern, ordered and civilised city (and thus a challenge to racial purity and white hegemony) and drove ideas about who belonged in the urban environment and under what conditions. These ideas were paired with heightened wartime anxieties about child welfare, accentuated by the increasing poverty in the city and the loss of the Empire's white men as 'cannon fodder.'[6] As such they represented a local variation of a trans-imperial anxiety regarding racial purity and the viability of Empire.[7]

These discourses about the city were, in turn, significant in shaping policies and practices which had real-world effects on Capetonians. Accordingly, this thesis reflects Susan Parnell and Alan Mabin's argument that the development of South African urban society 'does not begin with race - rather it reflects the creation of race as part of the intricate development of modern urban society.'[8] In other words, it was the local experiences and concerns in South Africa's cities which helped shaped attitudes and legislation around race and urban living. Heightened wartime anxieties about health, housing, child welfare and urbanisation spurred on a slew of post-war legislation, from the 1919 Public Health Act and 1920 Housing Act - both of which showed a preference for the upliftment of urban whites - to the 1923 Native (Urban Areas) Act, which largely defined black South Africans as temporary city-dwellers and created the mechanisms for influx control and greater residential segregation.[9] This thesis

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[6] Anna Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood,' in F. Cooper and A. Stoler (eds.), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 123.

[7] Ann Stoler, 'Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in Twentieth Century Colonial Cultures,' in A. McClintock, A. Mufti and E. Shohat (eds.), *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation and Postcolonial Perspectives, Cultural Politics,* Volume 11 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 355-356. See also S.E. Duff, 'Babies of Empire: Science, Nation and Truby King's Mothercraft in Early Twentieth Century South Africa,' in S. Robinson and S. Sleight (eds.), *Children, childhood and youth in the British world* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 61-62; P. Levine and S. Grayzel, *Gender, Labour, War and Empire: Essays on Modern Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 2-3; K. Pickles, *Female Imperialism and national identity: The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 9-10, 39-42; J. Muirhead, '"The children of today make the nation of tomorrow," A Social History of Child Welfare in Twentieth Century South Africa,' (Master's thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 2012).

[8] Susan Parnell and Alan Mabin, 'Rethinking Urban South Africa,' *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 21:1 (1995), 61.

[9] Paul Maylam, 'Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 years of South African Urban Historiography,' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 21:1 (1995), 19-34. See also Susan Parnell, 'Creating racial privilege: the origins of South African public health and town planning legislation,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 19:3 (1993), 471-488; Susan Parnell, 'Sanitation, segregation and the natives (urban areas) act: African exclusion from Johannesburg's Malay location, 1897–1925,' *Journal of Historical Geography* 17:3 (1991): 271-288; Alan

accordingly demonstrates that the war period is particularly insightful for examining many of these concerns that were prevalent, but far from settled, in the early twentieth century.

The First World War was a period which revealed a variety of local, national and transnational identifications within the city. Bill Nasson has made the point that, throughout South Africa, 'the intensity of political energies…and the influence and pressure they exerted, meant that large combinations of people were stirred to define their positions in relation to the war in 1914.'[10] In Cape Town this largely resulted in a period of heightened identification with Empire. The war was a keen reminder that the city, as an ex-colony, was in many ways 'British.' Nevertheless, this thesis argues for the complicated and contingent nature of pro-war loyalism. The latter cut across identifications of class, race, ethnicity and gender, but was also affected by them - demonstrating that pro-war loyalism and pro-Britishness was far from absolute.

Moreover, this heightened identification with Britain did not translate into a homogeneous, sustained, patriotic fervour in the city. It is now understood that 'patriotic crowds' in Britain were limited to a small proportion of the population.[11] The same can be said for Cape Town, where certain events intensified sentiments of belonging. Emmanuel Cronier in his exploration of 'the street' (as the nexus between 'experience, symbolism and imagination')[12] in wartime Paris, London and Berlin, has referred to these as instances of 'collective sociability.'[13] These included acts deliberately designed to garner war support - such as recruiting rallies, fund-raisers, parades and remembrance ceremonies - but also specific developments, such as the outbreak of war in 1914, the Union's victory in German South West Africa (GSWA) mid-1915, the extreme losses suffered by the South African Overseas Infantry Unit at Delville Wood in July 1916, and the Armistice celebrations of November 1918. Similarly, moments such as the Afrikaner Rebellion of late 1914, or the anti-German

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Mabin, 'Origins of Segregatory Urban Planning in South Africa, c.1900-1910,' *Planning History* 13:3 (1991), 9; Maynard Swanson, 'Urban Origins of Separate Development,' *Race* 10:1 (1968), 31-40.

[10] Bill Nasson, 'War Opinion in South Africa,' in Ashley Jackson (ed.), *The British World and the First World War,* (Oxon: Routledge, 2016), 207.

[11] Goebel and Keene, *Metropolitan History of Total War,* 12; Catriona Pennell, *A Kingdom United: Popular Responses to the Outbreak of the First World War in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 3-5; A. Gregory, 'British "war enthusiasm" in 1914: a reassessment,' in G. Braybon (ed.), *Evidence, History and the Great War: Historians and the Impact of 1914-1918.* (Oxford and New York: Berghahn, 2003), 71-3.

[12] Emmanuelle Cronier, 'The Street,' in Jay Winter and Jean-Louis Robert, *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin 1914-1919,* Volume Two (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 57.

[13] Cronier, 'The Street,' 73.

riots of May 1915 (after the civilian liner, the *Lusitania*, was torpedoed by a German submarine south of Ireland), accentuated sentiments of distrust and exclusion of those considered 'disloyal.' The war period thus provides insight into Cape Town's various constituencies as they continuously re-aligned themselves in relation to the war, the Empire and each other.

Rationale and Justification:

The First World War is an extensive field within Historical Studies and, with the Second World War, remains highly popular as a topic of research and curiosity both within and outside of academia - and particularly so in the previous few years, with the passing of its centenary. Yet, as Jay Winter and Jean Louis Robert noted in 1999, in *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin 1914-1919*, the majority of these historical works are nationally framed or tend to focus on military campaigns and pursuits.[14] It was this first volume of *Capital Cities* that prompted a new wave of urban histories of the First World War. In part this approach countered the mythical division between the experiences of civilians and soldiers, instead focusing on ways in which the war affected the material and subjective dimensions of the cities. Ross J. Wilson, writing about New York and the First World War, has similarly made the point that 'urban experience' during the war was not merely 'a microcosm of national and international issues,' rather 'a specific locale in which the effects of the war were lived by individuals and communities.'[15] As such, urban histories of the war are effective in teasing out the far-reaching, multiple and varying ways in which the war impacted upon the everyday lives of people across the world, and for suggesting both similarities and differences across a wide range of regions.

Subsequent works reflecting this approach have included Roger Chickering's study of the German town of Freiburg; Stefan Goebel and Derek Keene's *Cities into Battlefields: Metropolitan Scenarios, Experiences and Commemorations of Total War* and Jerry White's *Zeppelin Nights: London in the First World War.*[16] Pierre Purseigle has discussed the

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[14] Jay Winter and Jean-Louis Robert, *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin 1914-1919*. Vol. 1. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 3-4.

[15] Ross Wilson, *New York and the First World War,* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), 10; Adam Seipp, *The ordeal of peace: demobilisation and the urban experience in Britain and Germany,'* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2016), 13.

[16] Winter and Robert, *Capital Cities at War:* Vol. 1; Goebel and Keene (eds.), *Cities into Battlefields*; J. White, *Zeppelin Nights: London in the First World War* (London: Random House, 2014); Mark Connelly, *The*

development of the field in his recent 2018 chapter 'An Urban Geography of the World at War, 1911-1923,'[17] whilst Claire Morelon's analysis of wartime Prague (exploring the daily lives of the city's inhabitants), points to other wartime urban histories of East Central Europe.[18] A recent addition to the growing body of urban histories of the war is James Kempling's 2019 exploration of Victoria, British Columbia, in which he posits that this city's unique demographic and ethnic make-up was key to 'who went to war, who resisted and how war was commemorated.'[19] Both Wilson's study on New York and Kempling's work on Victoria point towards a growing awareness that the histories of non-European cities during the war form an integral part in understanding the global and varying experiences of the conflict.[20] The focus on European wartime cities has made the idea of 'rubble cities' or 'cities in ruins' the imaginative short hand for *all* urban experiences of the wars, when it is clearly not universal. By focusing on Cape Town - a sub-Saharan, ex-colonial city - this thesis seeks to further the understanding of the First World War as a 'global' affair, pointing towards both local peculiarities and transnational connections.

Generally speaking there has been some effort to include non-western experiences of the war, with many studies originating in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In terms of the African continent this is so with Richard Rathbone's 'World War I and Africa,'[21] Albert Grundlingh and Norman Clothier's work on the South African Native Labour Corps,[22] David Killingray and James Matthew's research into British West African carriers,[23] and Melvin E. Page's compilation, *Africa in the First World War.*[24] Recent studies include Hew Strachan's *The First World War in Africa*,[25] Tim Stapleton's exposition on the experiences of the Rhodesian

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Great War, Memory and Ritual: Commemoration in the City and East London, 1913-1939 (Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2015).

[17] Pierre Purseigel, 'An Urban Geography of the World at War, 1911-1923,' in Nico Wouters and Laurence van Ypersele (eds.), *Nations, Identities and the First World War: Shifting Loyalties to the Fatherland,* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), 235-254.

[18] Claire Morelon, 'Street Fronts: War, State Legitimacy and Urban Space, Prague 1914-1920,' (PhD thesis, University of Birmingham and the Institut d'Etudes Politiques of Paris, 2014), 13.

[19] James S. Kempling, 'A City Goes to War: Victoria in the Great War 1914-1918,' (PhD thesis, University of Victoria, 2019).

[20] Wilson, *New York,* 4.

[21] Richard Rathbone, 'World War I and Africa: an introduction,' *The Journal of African History* 19:1 (1978), 1-9.

[22] Albert Grundlingh, *Fighting their Own War: South African Blacks and the First World War.* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press,1987). Norman Clothier, *Black Valour: the South African Native Labour Contingent, 1916-1918, and the sinking of the Mendi* (Durban: University of Natal Press, 1987).

[23] David Killingray and James Matthews, 'Beasts of Burden: British West African Carriers in the First World War,' *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 20, 6-23; James Matthews, 'World War One and the rise of African Nationalism: Nigerian veterans as catalysts of change,' *Journal of Modern African Studies* 20, 493-502.

[24] Melvin Page, *Africa and the First World War*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1987).

[25] Hew Strachan, *The First World War in Africa* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2004).

Native Regiment [26] and Christian Koller's look at the recruitment of colonial troops in Africa and Asia.[27] Ultimately, however, these works do not consider the war through an urban-history specific focus.[28]

The same can be said for South African literature on the First World War. Bill Nasson's *World War One and the People of South Africa* is the most recent and holistic contribution to the history of the Union and the war, and while it touches upon opinions and experiences of South Africa's urban, wartime, populations, the city itself is not the focus.[29] P.S. Thompson's 'The Natal Homefront in the Great War (1914-1918),' and Goolam Vahed's '"Give Till it Hurts," Durban's Indians and the First World War,' begin to address the war within a local scope,[30] but both place identity politics as their primary focus. Other publications have specifically focused on, or integrated the 'national' story,[31] the military history of the war,[32] particular events,[33] specific troop or soldiers' histories,[34] propaganda and the war,[35] identity-

[26] Timothy Stapleton, *No Insignificant Part: The Rhodesian Native Regiment and the East African Campaign,* (Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006).
[27] Christian Koller, 'The Recruitment of Colonial Troops in Africa and Asia and their Deployment in Europe during the First World War,' *Immigrants & Minorities* 26:1-2 (2008), 111-133.
[28] Wilson points to other non-western examples, such as G. Xu, *Strangers on the Western Front: Chinese Workers in the Great War.* Cambridge University Press (Cambridge, 2011); D. Omissi, *Indian Voices of the Great War: Soldiers' Letters, 1914-1918.* Palgrave Macmillan (Basingstoke, 1999); R. Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers in the First World War: Race, Masculinity and the Development of National Consciousness.* Manchester University Press (Manchester, 2004).
[29] Bill Nasson, *World War One and the People of South Africa* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2014); Bill Nasson, 'War Opinion in South Africa, 1914,' *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 23:2 (1995), 248-276.
[30] P.S. Thompson, 'The Natal Homefront in the Great War (1914-1918),' *Historia,* 56:1 (2011), 101-137; Goolam Vahed, '"Give Till it Hurts," Durban's Indians and the First World War,' *Journal of Natal and Zulu History,* 19:1 (2001), 41-61.
[31] N.G Garson, 'South African and World War 1,' *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth Studies,* 8:1 (1979), 68-85; Bill Nasson, *World War One*; Anne Samson, 'South Africa mobilises: the first five months of the war,' *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies,* 44:1 (2016), 5-21.
[32] Ian van der Waag, *A Military History of Modern South Africa,* (Cape Town: Jonathan Ball, 2014); J. Collyer, *The Campaign in German South West Africa 1914-1915,* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1937). H. Paterson, 'First Allied Victory: the campaign in German South West Africa, 1914-1915,' *Journal of the South African Military History Society,* 13:2, (2004), 1-9; Anne Samson, *Britain, South Africa and the East African Campaign 1914-1918,* (London: Taurus, 2006); Ian Uys, *Delville Wood* (Uys, 1983).
[33] T. Dedering, '"Avenge the Lusitania:" The Anti-German Riots in South Africa in 1915,' *Immigrants & Minorities* 31:3 (2013), 256-288. Sandra Swart, '"A boer and his gun and his wife are three things always together:" republican masculinity and the 1914 rebellion,' *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 24: 4 (1998), 737-751. S. Swart, '"Desperate Men:" The 1914 Rebellion and the Polities of Poverty,' *South African Historical Journal*, 42:1 (2000), 161-175. S. Swart, '"The 'Five Shilling Rebellion:" Rural White Male Anxiety and the 1914 Boer Rebellion,' *South African Historical Journal,* 56:1 (2006), 88-102.
[34] Peter Digby, *Pyramids and Poppies: the 1st South African Infantry Brigade in Libya, France and Flanders 1915-1919* (Rivonia: Ashanti, 1993); Brian Willan, 'The South African Native Labour Contingent, 1916–1918,' *The Journal of African History,* 19:1 (1978), 61-86; Clothier, *Black valour;* Anri Delport, '"Boks and Bullets, Coffins and Crutches:" An exploration of the body, mind and places of 'Springbok' South African Soldiers in the First World War,' (PhD thesis, Stellenbosch, 2015).
[35] Anne Samson, 'South Africa and the First World War,' in T. Paddock (ed.), *World War I and Propaganda* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 113-136.

politics and the war[36] and its commemoration.[37] Apart from Nasson's *World War One, Cape Town in the Twentieth Century,* by Vivian Bickford-Smith, Elizabeth van Heyningen and Nigel Worden, offers the closest example of a wartime urban history, with a concise overview of some of the war's effects on the city.[38] The self-described 'illustrated social-history' includes the war's immediate reception in Cape Town, the introduction of defence measures, the treatment of Germans, the politics of raising a coloured corps, the role of relief funds and patriotic work, the introduction of women's patrols, the varying divisions between Afrikaner and British circles, and the development of the docks and industry. The book's main limitation with regard to its wartime discussion is its very succinctness - not surprising considering that its scope spans far beyond the war period. Accordingly, this thesis adds a significant contribution to the small body of research that has been done on South Africa and the First World War, and is the first to take a more in-depth and specifically urban-history-based approach. In doing so it also heeds Bickford-Smith's call for more urban histories of South Africa, as historical research which foregrounds the 'distinct urbanism,' or where the '"whole" history of individual cities takes centre stage,' is still uncommon.[39] Referring to the work of Paul Maylam, he thus refers to urban history as 'history of the city,' rather than simply 'history in the city.'[40]

Like South African urban histories, histories focusing on English South African identities remain rare, despite the fact that Britishness was 'the prime nationalism of South Africa, against which all subsequent ones, either Afrikaner or African, reacted.'[41] This is one of the driving tenets behind Bickford-Smith's recent work, *The Emergence of the South African*

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[36] John Lambert, '"Munition Factories… Turning Out a Constant Supply of Living Material:" White South African Elite Boys' Schools and the First World War,' *South African Historical Journal,* 51:1 (2004), 67-86; Albert Grundlingh, *War and Society, Participation and Remembrance: South African Coloured and Black Troops in the First World War* 1914-1918 (Stellenbosch: Sun 2014); Vahed, '"Give Till It Hurts:"; Richard Mendelsohn, 'The Boer War, the Great War and the Shaping of South African Jewish Loyalties,' in M. Shain and R. Mendelsohn (eds.), *Memories, realities and dreams: aspects of the South African Jewish experience* (Cape Town: Jonathan Ball, 2002), 50-59.

[37] Bill Nasson, 'Delville Wood and South African Great War Commemoration,' *The English Historical Review* 119: 480 (2004), 57-86; B. Nasson, 'World War I in South Africa's Memory,' *Materiaux pour histoire de notre temps,* 1 (2014), 156-160; Albert Grundlingh, 'Mutating Memories and the Making of a Myth: Remembering The SS Mendi Disaster, 1917–2007,' *South African Historical Journal,* 63:1 (2011), 20-37; A. Grundlingh, 'Pleading Patriots and Malleable Memories: The South African Cape Corps during the First World War (1914–1918) and Its Twentieth-Century Legacy.' *Wicazo Sa Review* 32:1 (2017), 29-47.

[38] Vivian Bickford-Smith, Elizabeth Van Heyningen, and Nigel Worden. *Cape Town in the twentieth century: an illustrated social history* (Cape Town: New Africa Books, 1999), 50-62.

[39] Bickford-Smith, E*mergence of the South African metropolis,* 4.

[40] Vivian Bickford-Smith, 'South African urban history, racial segregation and the unique case of Cape Town?' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 21:1(1995), 64.

[41] Robert Ross, *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony 1750-1870: A Tragedy of Manners* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 43.

Metropolis, which also contrasts this dearth with the comparative wealth of historical writing on twentieth century 'Afrikaner' and 'African' identities.'[42] Examining Cape Town during the war - a time when sentiments towards Britain and Empire were heightened - is particularly apt to explore notions of Britishness and loyalism.

Defining Britishness

Britishness here is understood according to the definition proposed by Andrew Thompson - not as 'an overzealous, gratuitous, almost pathological affirmation of imperialism amongst minorities and fringe groups,' but a 'broad church in which very different kinds of imperial "faith" could…coexist.'[43] Christopher Saunders similarly argues that Britishness applied not only to those English-speakers of direct British descent who settled or were born in South Africa, but to all who held an 'identification with Britain' and that the nature of that identification varied and changed according to context.[44] This was enabled, according to Bickford-Smith, by the fact that Britishness had been, since the eighteenth century, projected primarily as a 'civic rather than an ethnic national identity.'[45] As such it 'could be an acquired identity,' even if, from the late nineteenth century, white Anglophone South Africans increasingly looked down upon those who had adopted Britishness through acculturation (which was overtly evident when one's skin colour differed).[46]

Britishness in early twentieth century South Africa was increasingly characterised by an emerging South Africanism. This was reflected in the Union of 1910 when the formerly independent Dutch/Afrikaner republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State (which had been annexed by Britain at the end of the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902) united with the

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[42] Vivian, *Emergence of the South African Metropolis,* 7; Andrew Thompson, 'The Languages of Loyalism in Southern Africa, c 1870-1939', *The English Historical Review* CXVIII (2003), 617-50; Vivian Bickford-Smith, 'Writing about Englishness: South Africa's Forgotten Nationalism,' in Graham MacPhee and Prem Poddar (eds.) *Empire and After: Englishness in postcolonial perspective* (Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), 57-70; John Lambert, 'An identity threatened: White English-Speaking South Africans, Britishness and Dominion South Africanism, 1934-1939,' Kleio 37:1 (2005), 50-84.
[43] Thompson, *Languages of loyalism*, 620.
[44] Christopher Saunders, 'Britishness in South Africa: Some Reflections,' *Humanities Research* XII:1 (2006), 61.
[45] Bickford-Smith, *Emergence of the South African Metropolis,* 18-19.
[46] As Saunders notes, 'racial prejudice was too strong to allow proper solidarity based on Britishness across the colour line.' Saunders, 'Britishness in South Africa,' 67; Bickford-Smith, *The Emergence of the South African Metropolis,* 19. Robert Ross argues that 'respectability,' as 'the outward manifestation of a specific class ideology...on terms essentially established in Great Britain' was ultimately a form of 'cultural imperialism.' The fact that it became hegemonic in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century Cape Colony speaks to the success of this imperialism. Ross, *Status and Respectability,* 4.

British colonies of the Cape and Natal.[47] For a moderate Dutch elite, such as Prime Minister Louis Botha and Jan Smuts, who were integral to the forging of Union, the imperial connection was advantageous and empowering. They, like many Anglophone South Africans, envisioned the future of the country through the convergence of the two white races. Cape Town had celebrated the 1910 Union with a grand pageant, including a two day re-enactment of the Union's settler history - orchestrated by none other than Frank Lascelles (the Imperial 'Master of Pageantry'). It was designed to celebrate the new sense of (white) South Africanism that set aside past grievances between Brit and Boer.[48] Overall, what South Africanism meant - like Britishness - was fluid and contingent,[49] grounded in a sense of territorial identification or belonging and centred on 'the country's relation to the Empire.' [50]

The Anglocentric focus of this thesis reflects that, during the early twentieth century, Britishness (including a British-inspired South Africanism) was the hegemonic culture in Cape Town.[51] British traditions, even if marked by local inflections and 'additional inventions,'[52] were introduced to the city over the course of a century via 'migration, print and electronic media and the transnational circulation of British things, people and ideas.'[53] Britishness was infused into almost all elements of life, including education, language, architecture, social clubs, sports and legal institutions.[54] Moreover, the city's Dutch population, as early as the 1840s, had not only adapted to British rule, but had incorporated a British subjectivity into their identity.[55] On the playing fields of schools such as Rondebosch

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[47] After the Anglo-Boer War the two British colonies were granted self-governance. Jonathan Klaaren, *From Prohibited Immigrants to Citizens: The Origins of Citizenship and Nationality in South Africa* (Cape Town, UCT Press, 2017), 65-67.

[48] Bickford-Smith et al, *Twentieth Century South Africa*, 46-47; Hymen Picard, *Grand Parade: The Birth of Greater Cape Town: 1850-1913* (Cape Town: Struik, 1969), 148-149.

[49] Saul Dubow, *A Commonwealth of Knowledge: Science, Sensibility, and White South Africa 1820-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), vi.

[50] Ibid.

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[52] Processes of Anglicisation were dialectical. John Mackenzie details how Scots in the Cape played 'a key role in so-called Anglicisation.' Accordingly 'Anglicisation was made up of endless and complex negotiations, repeated stand-offs and rapprochements in which…memory and reconnections to a home culture played a significant role. Mackenzie, 'The British World and Complexities of Anglicisation: The Scots in Southern Africa in the Nineteenth Century,' in (eds.) Kate Darian-Smith, Patricia Grimshaw, and Stuart Macintyre. *Britishness abroad: Transnational movements and imperial cultures*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007, 111-112.

[53] Bickford-Smith, *Emergence of the South African Metropolis,* 44.

[54] For phases of Anglicisation at the Cape see Dubow, *A Commonwealth of Knowledge*, 21-64.

[55] Dubow, *A Commonwealth of Knowledge,* 22, 47; As Bickford-Smith notes, 'there must also have been a high rate of Anglicization among bourgeois Capetonians of Dutch descent.' 'Old Cape Dutch families' were "at least bilingual in English and Dutch, and some might have been wholly English speaking by the 1870s.' Bickford-Smith, *Ethnic pride and racial prejudice in Victorian Cape Town* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 61; Christopher Saunders, 'Britishness in South Africa.'

boys, Wynberg, 'Bishops' (Diocesan College School), SACS (South African College School), the elite black school, Zonnebloem college, or Trafalgar High for coloured children - games of cricket and rugby instilled ideas about team-work, duty and manliness. In the classrooms pupils learnt English history and literature.[56]

Britishness also fed into the city's legacy as the fairest, most liberal of the South African cities.[57] Slavery had been abolished under British law in 1834, and in 1840 the colonial government formed a Cape Town municipality in which there were no racial constraints stipulating who could take office or who could vote. Similarly when Representative Government was established in 1853, and Responsible Government in 1872, men of all races could participate, as long as they met the property and wage qualifications.[58] This legacy was particularly important for the city's coloured elite -'artisans, small retail traders, clerks, teachers and a few professionals,' most of whom had been brought up in, or assimilated to, a 'Western bourgeois culture'[59] - as it was both central to their identity and their future aspirations (Britishness was one of the only avenues along which to advance in the city). As Bickford-Smith notes, their sense of Britishness was not 'inauthentic' or 'mimicry,' but 'sincerely internalized.'[60] Dr Abdullah Abdurahman, for example, was viewed as a shining example of the success of the franchise. Educated in Scotland (where he met his first wife, Helen Potter), Abdurahman was a medical practitioner and the city's first non-white town councillor.[61] In 1914 he was also elected to the Cape Provisional Council. Beloved by many in District Six, he advocated the rights of coloured citizens and was the president of the African Political Organisation (APO). The latter, whilst framing itself as the voice of *all* coloured people in the Union, more accurately reflected the aspirations of the coloured elite.

It should be noted that segregation in Cape Town was an established, albeit inconsistent, feature of the city by the early twentieth century.[62] The liberal franchise had been subjected to increasing qualifications in the late nineteenth century. These were designed to qualify most

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[56] Bickford-Smith, *Emergence of the South African Metropolis,* 48-52.
[57] Bickford-Smith, 'Racial Segregation' 63.
[58] Bickford-Smith, *Emergence of the South African Metropolis,* 22-23.
[59] Mohamed Adhikari, 'Protest and Accommodation: Ambiguities in the Racial Politics of the APO, 1909—1923,' *Kronos* 20 (1993), 94-5.
[60] Bickford-Smith 'Writing about Englishness,'67.
[61] Bickford-Smith, *Emergence of the South African Metropolis,* 120. See also: Mohamed Adhikari (ed.), *Dr Abdurahman: A Bibliographical Memoir by J.H. Raynard* (Cape Town: Friends of the National Library in Association with District Six Museum, 2002).
[62] Bickford-Smith, 'Racial Segregation' 63.

white men for the vote, whilst excluding the majority of others, in order to maintain white hegemony.[63] By the eve of war, segregation had spread more perniciously into other spheres of life, and was found within both governmental and private institutions and amenities.[64] The formation of Union in 1910 was a disappointing blow to the aspirations of the APO as their hope that the Cape Franchise might be extended to the other territories, was dashed. Many of the black and coloured elite saw South African white officials to blame - officials and politicians who were betraying the very ideals and freedoms of Empire that they were meant to uphold.[65] Union in 1910, followed by the Natives' Land Act of 1913 (which allocated only 8% of Union land for black South Africans to own),[66] did much to confirm this view. In such a way, 'Britishness,' or a loyalism to the Crown, was also a 'form of anti-colonialism,' in which black South Africans could theoretically 'appeal to Britain against the white colonists.'[67] Loyalism, whilst increasingly battered, was thus not hurriedly abandoned. For the APO's older elite stratum, the war also came at a fortuitous time, when challenges from a younger generation,[68] frustrated with continued discrimination and the appeasing ways of their leaders, were growing in strength.[69] The war, by calling on the loyalties of the coloured community, bolstered the position of the leaders and reinvigorated the belief that British justice would soon wash away the fetid stench of civic inequality.

Identities

Social identities in the city, as argued by Bickford-Smith, are cultivated by 'senses of urban territoriality.' They are also informed by the dense concentration of people within cities, and the circulation of ideas, objects and people therein. Cities, as transnational hubs,

[63] Bickford-Smith, *Emergence of the South African Metropolis,* 22-23.
[64] Bickford-Smith, 'Racial Segregation' 67.
[65] Peter Limb, '"No People can be expected to be Loyal under Such Difficulties:" Ambiguities and Identities of Early African National Congress Leaders in South Africa,' *Social Dynamics* 29:1 (2003), 11.
[66] This was amended to 13%. The Act increased 'the processes of de-agrarianisation and proletarianisation' and was part of the 'destruction of African peasantry.' Nicoli Nattrass and Jeremy Seekings, 'The Economy and Poverty in Twentieth Century South Africa,' Centre for Social Science Research, Working Paper 276 (2010), 24, 48.
[67] Saunders, 'Britishness in South Africa, 67; Thompson, 'The Languages of Loyalism in Southern Africa,' 635; Limb ,' Ambiguities and Identities,' 3, 8-9; Shula Marks, 'Class, Culture and Consciousness in South Africa, 1880-1899,' in Robert Ross, Anne Mager, and Bill Nasson, (eds.) *The Cambridge History of South Africa: Volume 2, 1885–1994* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 153; Nigel Worden, *The Making of Modern South Africa: Conquest, apartheid, democracy* (Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, 2011), 90.
[68] This generation saw coloureds as too reliant on whites and asserted racial pride, drawing on the approach espoused by W.E.B du Bois. The older elites were more aligned with the approach of Booker T, Washington, supporting a "pragmatic strategy" of slowly improving the position of blacks over time. Adhikari, 'Protest and Accommodation,' 99- 102.
[69] Grundlingh, *War and Society,* 138.

also intermix 'different cultural traditions' and world views.[70] In Cape Town this was important as the history of the 'Mother City,' its geographical setting and physical topography, were vital to the way in which many Capetonians imagined themselves as a part of the Empire. This identification existed alongside the characterisation of different districts within the city. As shall be seen, Wells Square in District Six came under increasing scrutiny during the war years, with the middle-class imagination linking morality to disease, poverty and race along the lines of Alan Mayne's 'Imagined Slum'[71] and Maynard Swanson's 'Sanitation Syndrome.'[72]

This thesis also draws on the conceptualisation of wartime identities by Winter and Robert, in *Capital Cities at War,* as performative - 'expressed and reiterated in public and particular sites and times' and 'reaffirmed through the cultural performance of social bonds.'[73] War-inspired activities and events were important in bolstering senses of collective belonging. Parades, fetes, concerts, memorial services and rallies all explicitly invoked the symbols of Empire. Indeed, Anthony D. Smith argues that collective identities are reinforced and demonstrated through 'expressive ceremonies and symbols,' whereby 'every member of a community participates in the life, emotions and virtues of that community.'[74] These collective identities are important in that they often have the power to co-exist with, or challenge, other social identifications.[75] Britishness, for example, was a collective identity in Cape Town which cut across gender, class, race and ethnicity. Nevertheless those social markers did alter individual experiences of Britishness and loyalism. 'Intersectionality' is thus central to the conception of identity and loyalty in this thesis, and refers to the idea that multiple identities are in a state of interplay and negotiation, and that these combinations create unique experiences. This acknowledges the work of feminist geographers who emphasise 'the politics of knowledge

[70] Bickford-Smith, *Emergence of the South African Metropolis,* 6.
[71] Alan Mayne, *The Imagined Slum: Newspaper representations in three citie*s 1870-1914 (London: Leicester University Press, 1993).
[72] Maynard Swanson, 'The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1909,' *The Journal of African History* 18:3 (1977), 387-410. See also Elizabeth Van Heyningen, 'Public Health and Society in Cape Town, 1880-1910,' (PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 1989); Howard Phillips, *Black October: The Impact of the Spanish Influenza Epidemic of 1918 on South Africa* (Pretoria, Government Printer, 1990); Bickford-Smith, *Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice*, 91-125; Bickford-Smith, *Emergence of the South African Metropolis,* 121-137; Christopher Saunders, 'The Creation of Ndabeni: Urban Segregation and African Resistance in Cape Town,' *Studies in the History of Cape Town* 1 (1979), 165-193.
[73] Winter and Robert, *Capital Cities Vol.2,* 4.
[74] Anthony Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin, 1991), 77-78.
[75] Smith, *National Identity,* 4-6.

and the intersectionality of multiple oppressions and identities.'[76] Intersectionality is vital in understanding variations in loyalties and identifications in Cape Town during the war, as well as the differences in the wartime city experience.

Source Material

Looking beyond the beliefs and experiences of Anglophone Capetonians during the war is particularly challenging as the majority of source material from the period reflects the voices of the white, English-speaking middle-classes. Literacy levels of the time affected this distortion. In the city centre in 1911, 18.25% of whites could not read or write, versus 56.13% of coloured and black Capetonians.[77] As the city's elite, the opinions of the white Anglophone Capetonians were pervasive. They sat on the City Council, were powerful businessmen, owned the major newspapers *The Argus* and the *Cape Times.* They were doctors, school-teachers, judges and lawyers and advised on various boards and charities. Similarly it is the voices of the coloured elite which have survived through the largely English-based publications of the African Political Organisation (APO).

This thesis draws upon a variety of written sources - in part reflecting the nature of cities themselves. As Richard Dennis, in *Cities in Modernity: Representations and Productions of Metropolitan Space 1840-1930,*[78] demonstrates, new urban experiences were represented in a range of media, connecting to the rapid circulation of ideas within the city. Representations and opinions about urban life were debated and recorded in papers, magazines, novels, films, official city publications and government records. Newspapers - particularly the aforementioned *Argus* and *Cape Times* - form the base of this research, including articles, advertisements and opinion pieces. As Catriona Pennell points out, newspapers are significant in that they 'reflect opinion,' as well as 'record public behaviour.'[79] Of particular note here is Australia's national online archive, *Trove,* which has digitally archived old newspapers from all over the country. The service - which is freely available - contains letters written by

[76] For an overview of gender and intersectionality see, for example, L. Nelson and J. Seeger (eds.), *A Companion to Feminist Geography* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 4; Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).
[77] Cape Town, Mayor's Minutes, 1913: Appendix 8, Education of the People as enumerated in the 1911 Census.
[78] Richard Dennis, *Cities in modernity: representations and productions of metropolitan space, 1840-1930.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
[79] Pennell, *A Kingdom United,* 6.

Australian soldiers regarding their wartime travels. Cape Town was a key port of call for Anzac troops, particularly from 1916, and these letters reveal a plethora of sentiments and opinions about the city and its people.

Publicly available private records - such as the Molteno-Murray Family papers (housed at the University of Cape Town) - have been useful in offering intimate opinions and details of the time. Society records - such as those of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), also have been consulted. These, with their publication, *White Ribbon,* offer insight into middle-class ideas about morality and gender. The APO, too, is integral to looking beyond the opinions of white Capetonians as, in the early twentieth century, coloured voices were largely absent from the historical record.[80] UCT's First World War collection has provided booklets produced as a result of monthly citizen's meetings that took place during the war. The District Six Oral History Project, conducted in the late 1980s through the university's Centre of Popular Memory, has provided glimpses of first-hand testimony regarding the Spanish Flu of 1918 - testimony that would have been too late to collect today.

Other key bodies of materials used herein are the Mayors Minutes for the period as well as Cape Town's Magistrate records. The former outline the running of the city, the concerns and visions of the City Council, and provide reports from various heads of departments (including those from the Medical Officer of Health, the Chief Engineer, and the City's Orchestra Director). The latter include criminal record books, detailing arrests in the city, as well as a few surviving criminal court cases.

Government publications, including various commissions and reports (for instance, the Cost of Living Commissions, the Report on the Influenza Epidemic, the Report of the Department of Native Affairs), and the 1911 and 1921 censuses, have been important in suggesting statistics for Cape Town - from levels of literacy to housing and the size of the population. Nevertheless, changes between the two censuses, including racial categories ('Asiatics' were introduced as a separate racial group in 1921, they had previously been included under categories of 'Coloured,' 'Other' and 'non-European'), a redefinition of 'urban' and 'rural' areas, and a revised classification of occupations, make direct comparisons difficult.

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[80] Mohamed Adhikari (ed.), *Straatpraatjes: Language, politics and popular culture in Cape Town, 1909-1922* (Cape Town: Van Schaik, 1996).

For this thesis, the use of the terms 'white' or 'European,' 'coloured,' 'Malay,' and 'black' or 'non-European' reflect the social construction of racial categories in the Union in the early twentieth century. 'White' was often used interchangeably with 'European,' and at times 'non-Europeans' lumped together a variety of different people who were not considered 'white.' 'Black' in this context refers to 'African,' rather than those who identified, or were identified as, 'other than white.' 'Coloured,' has been both a self-description and imposed racial classification for people of 'mixed ancestry,' chiefly descended from slaves, whites, blacks and the indigenous Khoi groups of the Cape.[81] The terms 'Dutch' and 'Afrikaner' are often used interchangeably, pointing towards the fluidity of the two in this period, during which Afrikaans language and culture was increasingly defined. The word 'Boer,' meaning 'farmer' was often derogatorily used by English speakers ('Anglophones') to refer to non-Anglicised Afrikaners. 'Capetonian' is used to describe anyone living in Cape Town at the time, regardless of where they were born or how they identified. This is done to avoid the perpetuation of historic descriptions which largely defined black South Africans as outsiders in Cape Town.

Limitations of the study

This thesis is not exhaustive of the subject - particularly as it is the first to conduct an in-depth, specifically urban history of Cape Town during the war. In many ways part of its task is to establish the nature of the wartime city - and suggest areas requiring further examination. Each chapter has the potential to be expanded on and compared to other periods or regions. Although the transnational aspects of local identities and concerns are central to understanding responses to the outbreak of war in the city, this thesis is not primarily comparative. A larger project could entail a comparative history of the war across other South African cities (such as Durban, Pretoria, Bloemfontein, Johannesburg and Kimberley), as well as between other Dominions (including cities in Canada or Australia), or other colonial cities of the British Empire. Moreover, whilst this thesis points to the relevant preceding local history to the war, and the way in which the war has been remembered, it is mainly limited to the war years, 1914-1919 (1919 as demobilisation was still underway). This period represents the years during which the most intense effects of the war were felt in Cape Town, particularly considering its pervasiveness in daily life. This thesis could form a basis for a

[81] See, for example, M. Adhikari, *Not White enough, not Black enough: Racial identity in the South African Coloured community* (Cape Town: Double Storey, 2005).

longitudinal study that traces the disruptions and continuities over the 'war years' in the city - from the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902, the First World War, through to the Second World War.

Introducing Cape Town

Cape Town started as a refreshment station established by the Dutch East India Company in the mid-seventeenth century. The first well-to-do suburbs sprang up alongside the streams in the area around the original Dutch Company Gardens. By the time of the second British occupation of the Cape in 1806, wealthy families had pushed out towards the edges of the town, as far as Buitengracht Street in the West and Harrington Street in the East. The area (see 'Ward 3,' Table 2, below) above Buitengracht grew into a burgeoning 'Malay quarter,'[82] with its 'one or two storied flat roofed, white-washed houses' on the lower reaches of Lion's Head.

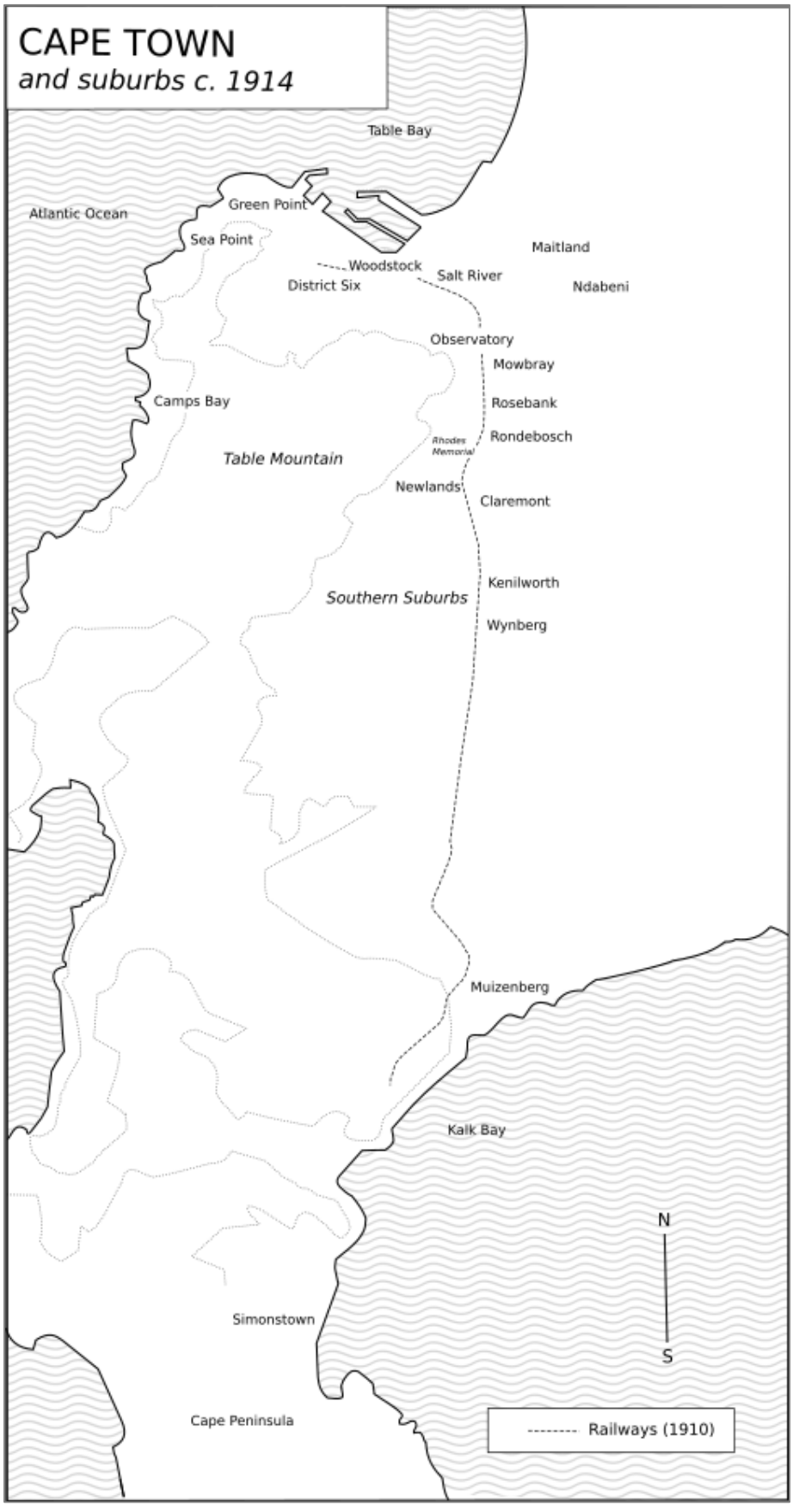
Table 2: *Racial Breakdown of City Centre per ward (1921)*

	Coloured & Asiatic		White		Black	
Ward	Number	Percentage (%)	Number	Percentage (%)	Number	Percentage (%)
Ward 3 (West Kloof)	3364	62,48	1845	34,27	175	3,25
Ward 4 (Kloof)	5654	37,26	9224	60,78	297	1,96
Ward 5 (Park)	2070	18,07	9198	80,3	186	1,62
Ward 6 (East Central)	12826	66,29	5938	30,69	584	3,02
Ward 7 (Castle)	10291	70,93	3882	26,76	316	2,18
Total	34205	54,93	30087	45,68	1558	2,37

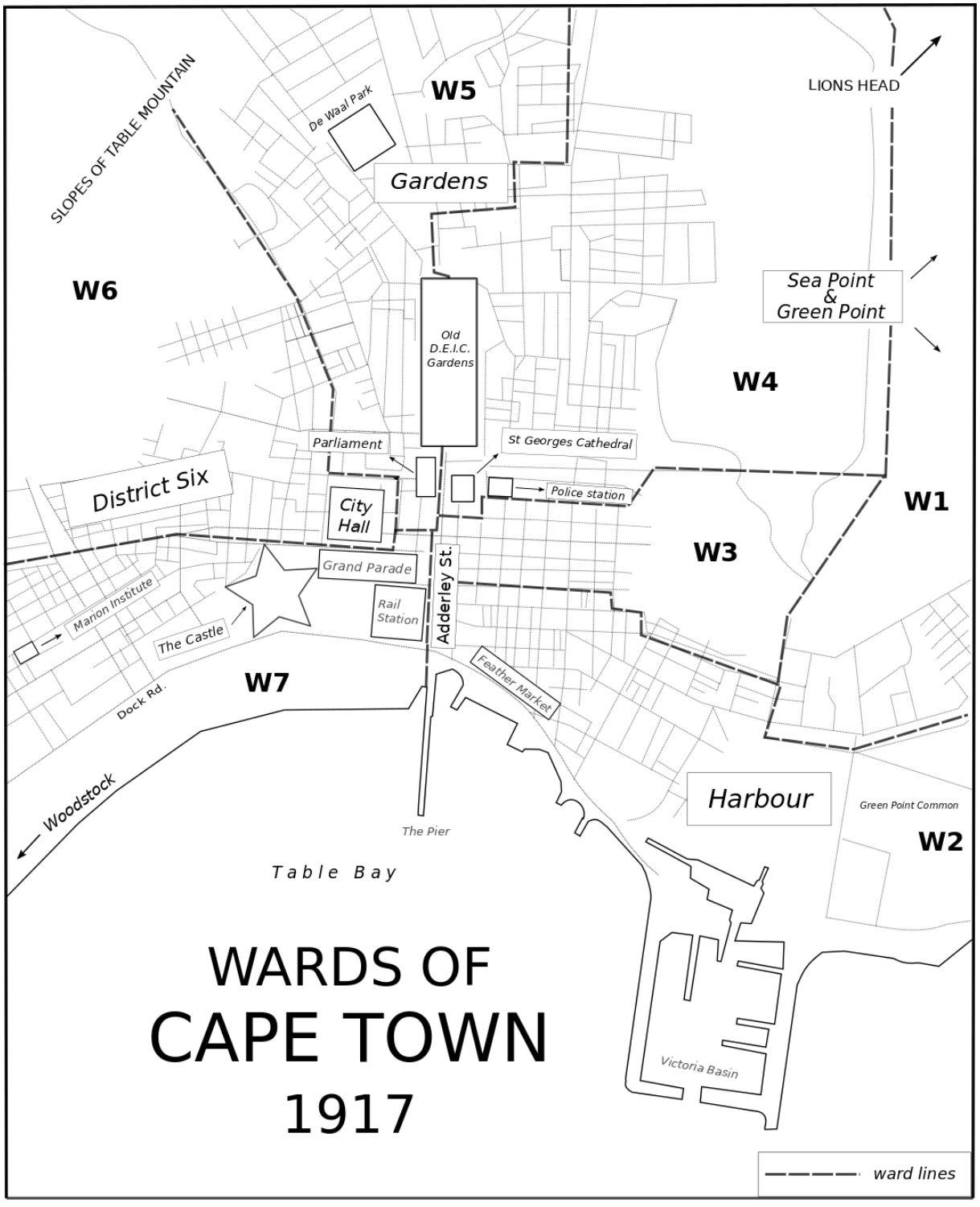
SOURCE: Union Government (UG) of South Africa, 37-'24*: General Report: Census of the Union of South Africa* (Pretoria Government Printing and Stationery Office, 1924), 315. The 1921 figures are used for the breakdown of the City Centre as, before Municipal Unification in 1913, it was not separated into wards.

[82] 'The Influence of Climate on Cape Town,' Verschoyle Papers, BC 1205, Special Collections, University of Cape Town; Bickford-Smith, 'Providing Local Color? "Cape Coloreds,""Cockneys," and Cape Town's Identity from the Late Nineteenth Century to the 1970s,' *Journal of urban history* 38:1 (2012), 136.

Map 1*: Showing the Cape Peninsula*



Map 2: Showing the wards of Cape Town, city centre



It was only in the 1860s that the area beyond Harrington Street developed into District Six, (‘Ward 6’ or ‘East Central,’ see Map 2, above, for central Cape Town’s wards). It was much larger than the Malay quarter and often depicted as a source of danger and immorality by the middle-class English-speaking media.[83] District Six, as a predominately working-class coloured area - interspersed with poor Afrikaners, Indians, Greeks, Germans and 'some immigrant Jews, Britons, and Italians,' who 'still lived cheek-by-jowl’ - reflected ‘a still-lingering cosmopolitanism, despite the strengthening pulse of urban segregation.’[84] In contrast, there were still pockets of largely ‘white’ areas in the city centre, which reflected the way in which access to wealth and education were skewed against coloured and black Capetonians (affluent Ward 5 or ‘Park,’ for example, which centred on the lower slopes of Table Mountain, above the old Dutch Company Gardens, was 80% white).

In the mid-nineteenth century residential suburbs, which formed municipalities, blossomed in numbers and size along the peninsula, as the middle-classes moved away from the city centre.[85] Cradling the west edge of the city centre, Signal Hill lay like a resting lion, the burgeoning and chiefly *white* suburbs of Green Point and Sea Point snaking around it, facing the cool Atlantic Ocean. To the East of the city, past District Six, the sharp lines of Devil’s Peak jutted out, overlooking the railway line as it wended its way from working-class Salt River and Woodstock to Observatory, Maitland and Mowbray and then to the ‘Southern Suburbs’ of Rosebank, Rondebosch, Newlands, Constantia and Wynberg. The fishing towns of Muizenberg, Kalk Bay and Simonstown (the latter a naval base) lay at the far end of the line, the last settlements before Cape Point (see Map 1, above).

Beneath the slopes of the Table Mountain range, these largely well-to-do suburbs were protected from the howling gales of the notorious South Easterly wind that whipped up clouds of dust and leaves within the city proper. Cooler in the summer, the ‘Southern Suburbs’ provided both quiet and privacy from what was perceived to be the noisy centre of bustling Cape Town. Not everyone who moved to the Southern Suburbs was of white, English-speaking origin, with areas of largely working-class coloured families, such as 'The Valley' in Mowbray, Black River in Rondebosch and Harfield Village in Claremont, tucked

[83] Bickford-Smith, ‘Local Colour,’ 135.
[84] Bill Nasson, *‘"*She preferred living in a cave with Harry the snake-catcher": towards an oral history of popular leisure and class expression in District Six, Cape Town, c 1920-1950s,' History Workshop, University of Witwatersrand (1987), 2.
[85] ‘The Influence of Climate,’ Verschoyle papers.

in-between the sprawling villas and lawns of the more well-to-do (see Photographs 4 and 5).[86]

Photograph 4: *An example of a 'villa' of the Southern Suburbs, Highwick, Tennant Road, Kenilworth, 1916.*

Source: WCARS, AG Collection, Beard Photographs, AG15461.

Photograph 5: *An example of a working-class, coloured family in Claremont, 1916*

Source: WCARS, AG Collection, Beard Photographs, AG15464.

[86] Bickford-Smith, *Emergence of the South African Metropolis,* 24.

Table 3 below, for example, provides insight into the demographic breakdown of each municipal ward in 1911 (before the Municipal Unification, see below), demonstrating the high degree to which areas were 'mixed.'

Table 3: *Racial breakdown for the different Wards of Cape Town (1911)*

Cape Town Municipality			Harbour			Green Point & Sea Point		
	1911	% of ward		1911	% of ward		1911	% of ward
Coloured:	36336	54,1	Coloured:	159	10,07	Coloured:	1536	16,31
White:	29863	44,47	White:	1416	89,68	White:	7819	83,03
Black:	960	1,43	Black:	4	0,25	Black:	62	0,66
Total:	67159	100	Total:	1579	100	Total:	9417	100

Woodstock & Salt River			Maitland			Mowbray		
	1911	% of ward		1911	% of ward		1911	% of ward
Coloured:	7669	29,85	Coloured:	3118	54,12	Coloured:	2511	27,08
White:	17957	69,9	White:	2582	44,82	White:	6729	75,57
Black:	64	0,25	Black:	61	1,06	Black:	32	0,35
Total:	25690	100	Total:	5761	100	Total:	9272	100

Rondebosch			Claremont			Wynberg		
	1911	% of ward		1911	% of ward		1911	% of ward
Coloured:	2337	41,55	Coloured:	7451	55,88	Coloured:	8594	53,66
White:	3234	57,49	White:	5850	43,87	White:	7348	45,88
Black:	54	0,96	Black:	34	0,25	Black:	73	0,46
Total:	5625	100	Total:	13335	100	Total:	16015	100

Kalk Bay & Muizenberg		
	1911	% of ward
Coloured:	1573	44,6
White:	1931	54,75
Black:	23	0,65
Total:	3527	100

Source: Union Government of South Africa (UG) 32-1912 J, Table XVLI Return of population of urban centres, Annexure 1 Population and Dwellings, *Census of the Union of South Africa 1911* (Pretoria Government Printing and Stationery Office, 1913), 86-87. Note that these figures are best treated as estimations.

Just beyond Salt River and Maitland lay Ndabeni, Cape Town's first black location. It was established in 1901 after an outbreak of Bubonic Plague, brought to Cape Town by incoming ships during the 1899-1902 Anglo-Boer War.[87] By early 1901 the first cases of plague were diagnosed among the mostly black and coloured dockworkers. Black workers were blamed as the main source of its spread and were forcibly removed from the docks and the inner city and quarantined in Uitvlugt, a pine plantation on the outskirts of Cape Town.[88] The targeting of black Capetonians stemmed from a discourse, dubbed 'Sanitation Syndrome' by historian Maynard Swanson, which linked race, poverty and disease and enabled racial segregation on the grounds of health.[89] The original buildings that had been set up by the Plague Administration were taken over and administered under the Cape Acts 40 of 1902 and 1905 whereby it was unlawful for black people living in Cape Town to reside anywhere but in the location, with the exception of live-in domestics, property owners and those people qualifying for the franchise.[90]

In August 1913 the previously independent municipalities of the Cape Peninsula[91] came together with the Cape Town municipality (with the exception of Wynberg) to form the municipality of Greater Cape Town.[92] The pre-1913 Cape Town Municipality with the City Hall (Photographs 6 and 7, below), the old Dutch military fort ('the Castle'), and Parliament, remained both the civic and business hub of Greater Cape Town. It also housed 67 125 people - 42% of Greater Cape Town's overall population of roughly 160 000.[93]

On the heels of Union (1910) and Municipal Unification (1913), 1914 opened with industrial unrest across the Union - centring on the gold mines on the Witwatersrand in the

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[87] Swanson, 'The Sanitation Syndrome.'
[88] Ibid, 393; Bickford-Smith, *Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice,* 158-9.
[89] Swanson, 'Sanitation Syndrome;' For Indians and the plague see Zohra Dawood, 'Making a community: Indians in Cape Town, circa 1900-1980s' (PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 1993), 83-85.
[90] Union Government of South Africa (henceforth 'UG') 7-1919, G68-IV Report of the Department of Native Affairs 1913 - 1918 (Pretoria: Government Printers, 1919), 17.
[91] These municipalities included Sea Point and Green Point, Harbour, Woodstock and Salt River, Mowbray, Maitland, Rondebosch, Claremont and Kalk Bay. As mentioned, the Municipality of Wynberg was the only municipality to remain independent after 1913. Under 1913 Unification, Woodstock and Salt River split into two wards, whilst the pre-Unification Cape Town municipality split into five wards: West Central (Ward 3), Kloof (Ward 4), Park (Ward 5), East Central (Ward 6) and Castle (Ward 7).
[92] The main reason for unification lay in the scarcity of water in the context of a growing urban population. Many of the smaller municipalities pre-unification were often reliant on purchasing water from the City municipality. Each pre-1913 municipality saw itself as unique in character, proudly independent of the city centre. Thus, despite the necessity of unification for better resource distribution, it was still a difficult pill for many to swallow. Only Wynberg, which had built its own dams in its immediate proximity, was able to remain independent. Verschoyle Papers, 'development of Cape Town;' Bickford-Smith et al, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century*, 46.
[93] UG-32, Census for 1911 (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1912).

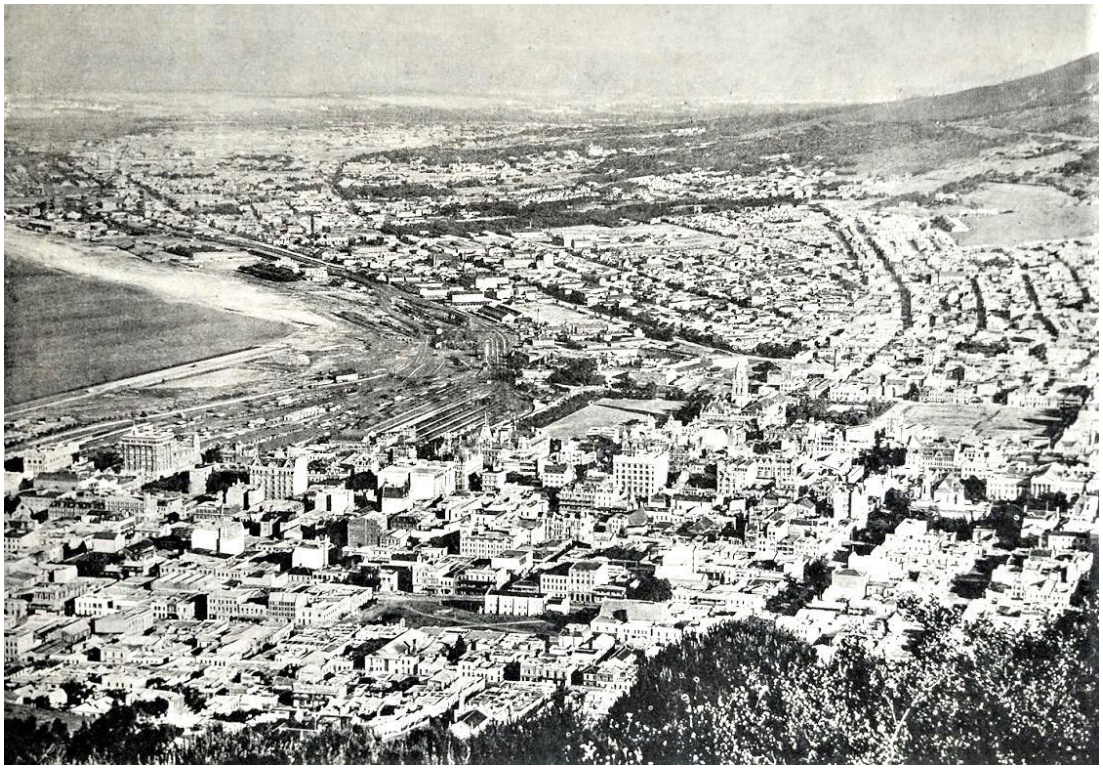
interior, where white mine workers struck around the issues of unionism, working hours and job protectionism, in the face of cheaper black migrant labour.[94] The strike quickly spread to other urban centres, including roughly 400 men of the Salt River Workshops and 50 dock workers in Cape Town. Most of Cape Town's railway men, however, were congratulated by the Mayor for remaining 'perfectly steadfast' during the unrest.[95]

Photograph 6: *Grand Parade and City Hall, 1918*

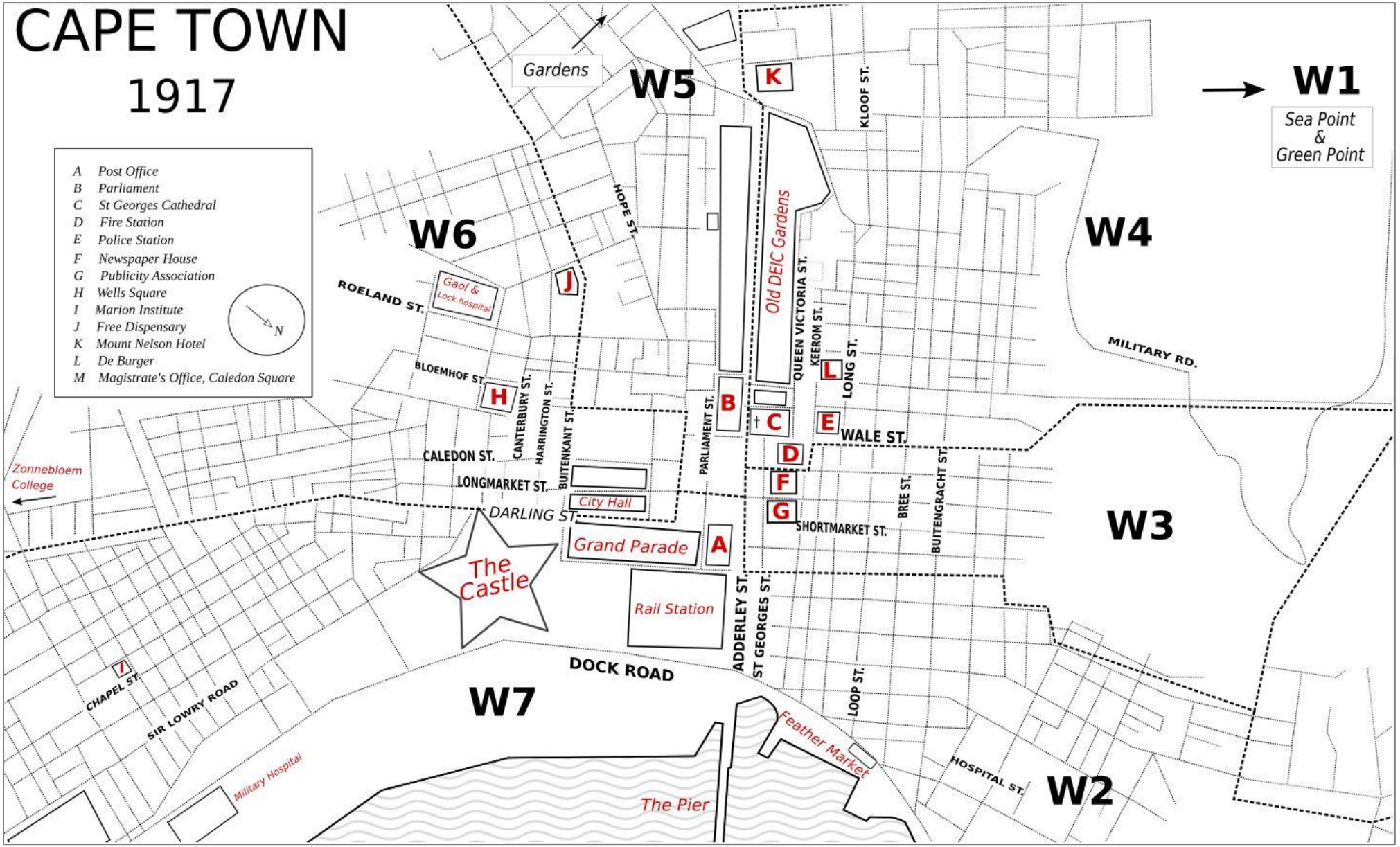
Source: Darren D. Smith (photographer), PRG 1312/3/95, *Photographs of troops travelling to and from Britain*, State Library of Australia. Available online: https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/PRG+1312/3/95. Accessed 01 August 2018. No restrictions.

[94] Harold Simons and Ray Simons, *Class and Colour in South Africa, 1850-1950* (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1983), 156.
[95] Mayor's Minute, 1914.

Photograph 7: *Central Cape Town from above, c.1914*



Source: *The Official Souvenir of the South African Industrial Exhibition* (South African Publishers: Cape Town, 1914).



Map 3: *Locating some of the key sites and streets in the city centre*

By August 1914, the one year anniversary of Cape Town's municipal unification was vastly overshadowed by the impending war. Britain had already warned the Union Government on the 29th July that the situation was critical. It was also acknowledged that if Britain went to war, the Union, as a Dominion of the British Empire, would, by definition, be at war too.[96] On Saturday 01 August the Cape Naval Station and Simonstown were put on alert[97] and General Smuts, as the Minister of Defence, placed severe restrictions on vessels entering Table Bay, with all boats forbidden to navigate it at night (at risk of being fired upon). The news quickly spread that the city's German Consul-General, Baron von Humboldt Dachroeden, had suddenly departed the Union with all his staff, on-board the Royal mail steamer 'Saxon,' bolstering the concern that nowhere in the Empire was safe from German attack.[98] Amid local developments, the newspaper offices in the city centre were 'open day and night,' as the unfolding of international events was followed 'with acutest interest.'[99]

As attention turned towards the coming conflict, one wonders whether Sir Frederic de Waal, the Cape Province's Administrator, recalled his words to visiting Australian troops at a grand estate in Rondebosch where, almost exactly a year before in August 1913, he 'breezily' declared

> if ever the day should come, and the old lion be attacked, the young lion clubs will not only have their hair stand on end, but that they will use their teeth to some effect; and we may rely that the Empire is one and indivisible, and that the Mother Country and the Dominions overseas will defend her interests and attack those who menace her shores.[100]

That day had come on the 04 August 1914, although Capetonians - two hours ahead of the United Kingdom and subject to censorship delays - had to wait until the early hours of the 5th August to receive news of Britain's declaration of war against Germany.[101]

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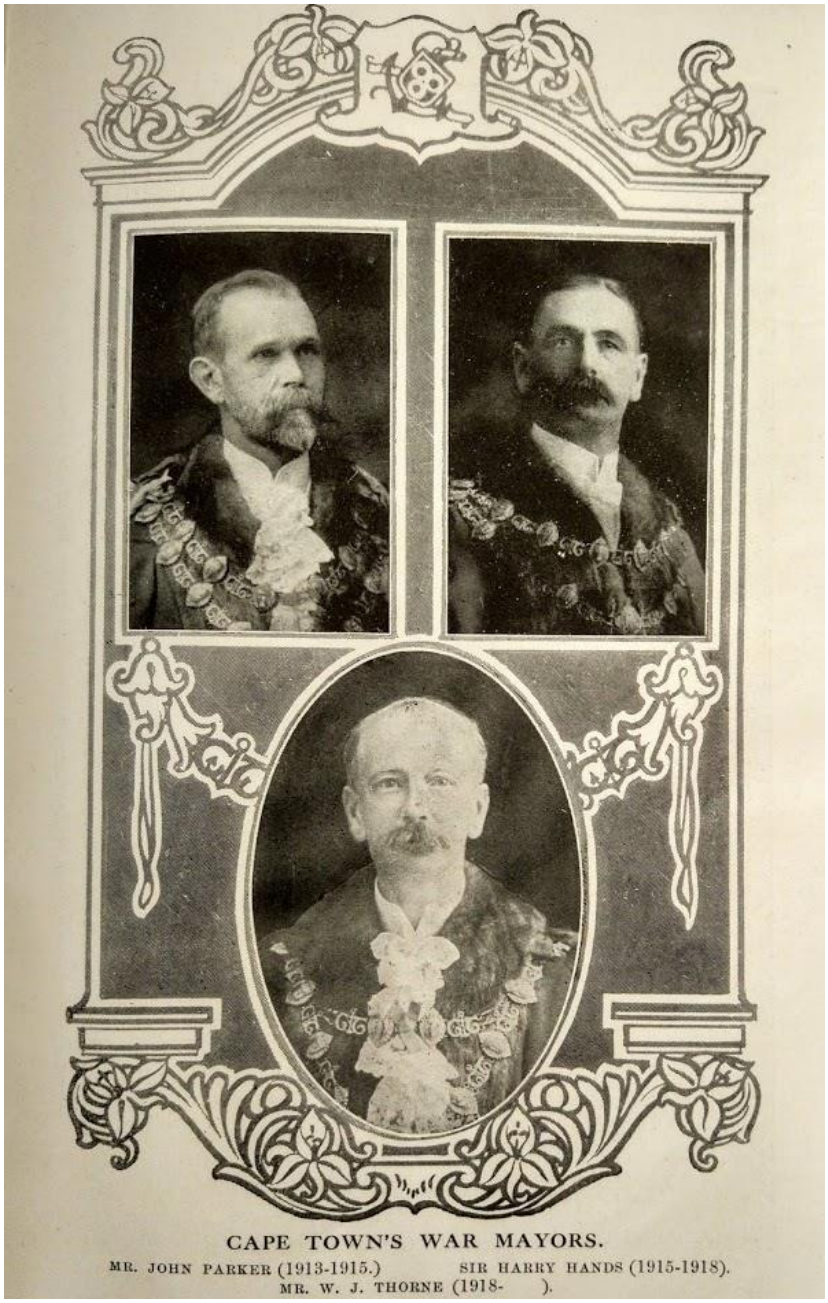
[96] S.B. Spies, 'The Outbreak of the First World War and the Botha Government,' *South African Historical Journal* 1:1 (1969), 47-8.
[97] *National Advocate* (Bathurst New South Wales), 01 August 1914. Available online at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/157932652.
[98] *The Ballarat Courier* (Victoria), 03 August 1914. Available online at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/73313226.
[99] *Daily Telegraph (Lanceston, Tasmania*), 03 August 1914. Available online at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/152723131.
[100] *Cape Times,* 23 August 1913.
[101] *Cape Times,* 05 August 1914.

Photograph 8: *Cape Town's wartime Mayors*



WCARS, *The Celebration of Peace: Official Programme and Souvenir Booklet'* (Cape Town Peace Celebrations Committee: Cape Town, 1919).

Structure of the thesis

This thesis is structured to mimic, in part, Bickford-Smith's distinction between the objective and subjective components of the city. Generally speaking, the objective components of the city are discussed first in order to establish the nature of the city before locating identities and wartime loyalties within it. This reflects an urban-history approach, which, as discussed earlier, emphasizes the history *of* a city, rather than simply the history that happens *in* a city.

Accordingly, the first four chapters largely focus on the nature of Cape Town itself (demographics, layout, recent developments) and the ways in which the war affected the city's material conditions. The subsequent chapters shift to look at perceptions of the city and identities within the city – both of which are regarded as subjective components of a city. Thus, although Chapter One touches on the issue of identity and loyalty in describing some of the initial responses that Capetonians had to the outbreak of the First World War, it swiftly makes way for a focus on the structural and material impact of the war on the city. This recognises the need to know more about the city itself, before returning to the themes of loyalty and identity.

Moreover, as this thesis is largely thematic in its approach, it has been difficult to follow a linear chronology. Nevertheless it starts with the outbreak of the war in August 1914 and ends with how the war has been remembered over time, up until today. Accordingly this introduction and Chapter One place more emphasis on the early years of the war. The former has painted the picture of the year leading up to the outbreak of war. The latter first teeters on the precipice of August 1914 before delving into how Capetonians initially responded to the war and how the war was woven into experiences of daily life. Chapters Two to Seven tend to span across the war years as they discuss their various themes (see the chapter outline below). Chapter 8, on wartime loyalisms, deliberately starts with Armistice celebrations in November 1918, before looking back at earlier events that were significant to engendering sentiments of, and debates around, loyalty. The Conclusion ends with a reflection on the politics of memorialisation, ending with the absence of the war's remembrance today.

Chapter Outline

Chapter One: City at War

This chapter charts some of the immediate reactions that Capetonians had to the outbreak of the First World War. It seeks to offer both a sense of the city, whilst outlining why the idea of the war mattered to Capetonians. It follows Maureen Healy's argument that the war was woven into everyday life both narratively and materially, becoming part of the multi-media world of the city and affecting both space and movement.[102] Many of these changes to the city, however, might be considered superficial, eventually receding after the end of the war.

Chapter Two: Infrastructure

Whereas the previous chapter focused on some of the superficial changes to the city during the war, Chapter Two discusses some of the deeper, infrastructural concerns and challenges that the war posed to Cape Town. This ranged, for instance, from a limited harbour capacity and an increasing demand for electricity, to severe water shortages and struggling sanitation services in the face of new developments, such as the growth of factories under wartime conditions. Key to the city's strained infrastructure was the demographic growth that Cape Town experienced during, and partially as a result of, the war. This chapter is important in demonstrating the fact that the war had tangible, material effects on the Cape Town and was a potent catalyst for demographic and infrastructural change. It also suggests that this impact was unequal, with poorer areas coming under the greatest strain during the war.

Chapter Three: Work

Work was one the arenas affected by the First World War. Chapter Three explores ways in which the war impacted on work for people in the city, linking this to key factors, namely the departure of (largely middle-class) men to war service and increased urbanisation. A variety

[102] Maureen Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Hapsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War One* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

of institutions had to adapt to a wartime loss of manpower, from businesses and banks, doctor's practices, schools, the Harbour and Rail Board, the Salt River Workshops to the police force and various City Departments. Some businesses coped by offering clerical positions to women, and whilst this seems to have been a temporary move for many women, it nevertheless opened up the idea of office work. Other wartime opportunities for women included patriotic and charity work, the expansion of nursing and factory work, the use of women's patrols and the introduction of legislation in 1918 that allowed women in the Cape Province to be town councillors for the first time. Yet the intersection of race, class and ethnicity largely determined which opportunities were available to different women, with the rise in prostitution pointing towards increased hardship for many during the war.

Chapter Four: Strikes

The First World War engendered changes to the material conditions of the city. It spurred on rapid industrialisation and saw an accordant rise in the number of industrial workers. Labour overall was in high demand and whilst this resulted in fuller employment, the perception of wartime financial strain was nevertheless widely held and fed into the motivations given by many strikers. The nature of work, similarly, was often cited as dissatisfactory. These factors fostered a period of intensified strike action during the war, including tramway men, bakers, printers, musicians, policemen, food, garment and dock workers. Chapter Four demonstrates that whilst these strikes were part of a larger context of strike action across the Union from 1907-1922, and one which largely reflected the demands of white workers for increased job protectionism, the war was integral to intensified strike action in city. Moreover it spurred on significant developments, including cross-racial worker solidarity and the formation of black and coloured labour organisations in Cape Town such as the International Workers of Africa (IWA) and the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU), as evidenced in the 1919 Dockworker strike. Both of these developments were influenced by socialist groups, whose ideas were boosted by the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, and aided by Cape Town's unique demographic and labour history.

Chapter Five: Slum City

Chapter Five addresses the way in which material changes to the city impacted on ideas about Cape Town and its people. It uses Wells Square - a small, but contentious area in District Six (East Central Ward) - to demonstrate how the presence of soldiers, caught visiting bars and brothels, heightened concerns about the moral and material health of the city. In the media, as well as in reports stemming from doctors, sanitation workers, ministers and charities, Wells Square was referred to as a 'slum,' largely reflecting the opinions and anxieties of the powerful Anglophone middle-classes. These discourses about the city's poorer areas were important in that they had the potential to shape policy and affect lives. However, cries against supposed 'slum' areas during the war were largely met with inaction, despite the ways in which these heterogeneous and 'unruly' areas challenged the vision of Cape Town as a modern and cultured city - a 'Europe in Africa.'[103] The City Council, historically slow to move in the direction of public housing and town planning, was also restricted by a general apathy of the city's tax-payers, who were resistant to spending money on such schemes deemed unnecessary or avoidable. It was only with the Spanish Flu in October 1918, that dreaded 'Black October,' that greater impetus was gained for social housing.[104] Nevertheless, the 'slums' themselves remained largely untouched.

Chapter Six: Sin City

In extending the idea that material conditions in the city impacted upon discourses about the city and its people, Chapter Six looks further into concerns about crime and morality in Cape Town. It starts by discussing the nature of crime in wartime Cape Town, which was largely opportunistic and often involved the increased presence of soldiers in the city. It then delves deeper into how the war accentuated concerns about morality and the way in which some Capetonians sought to counter this. In particular, it shows that females - and particularly the middle-classes - were positioned as the moral bastions of society. This role, which was

[103] Nicholas Coetzer, *Building Apartheid: On Architecture and Imperial Order in Cape Town* (Oxon: Routledge, 2016), 81.
[104] Coetzer, '*Building Apartheid,* 105-107; Howard Phillips, Plague, Pox and Pandemics (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2012), 90; Susan Parnell, 'Shaping a racially divided society: state housing policy in South Africa 1920-1950,' *Environment and Planning* 7 (1989), 261-272. Paul Maylam, 'The Rise and Decline of Urban Apartheid in South Africa,' *African Affairs,* 89:354 (1990), 57-84; Naomi Barnett,' 'Race, Housing and Town Planning in Cape Town, 1929-1940,' (Master's thesis, UCT, 1993), 151.

increasingly connected to ideas around female patriotic duty, necessitated both the guiding of men and an inward gaze towards different sections of females in Cape Town.

Chapter Seven: Destination City

In contrast to ideas of Cape Town as a 'slum city' or a 'sin city,' Chapter Seven charts the efforts of the Cape Peninsula Publicity Association in promoting the city as a travel destination. Schemes to encourage tourism did not stop because of the outbreak of war, and particular attention was paid to selling the city to South Africans from other parts of the Union to increase revenue as well as promote the idea of a united South Africa. The latter was particularly important in the face of increased tensions between the pro-nationalist and pro-republican Dutch, who were against the war (and felt increasingly alienated from the Botha administration) and the bulk of English-speakers who supported the war. Whilst the city's self-promotion influenced visitors' perceptions of Cape Town, it was not the only factor at play. Drawing upon the published accounts of Australian soldiers and visitors from other parts of the Union (both groups representing significant portions of the city's tourists during the war), Chapter Seven demonstrates how the local idioms and preconceived prejudices of visitors impacted on their ideas about Cape Town.

Chapter Eight: Loyalty and the City

Chapter Eight returns to explore the nature of pro-war loyalism in Cape Town. It argues that whilst the First World War was, overall, a time which heightened identifications with Britain and the Empire, pro-war loyalism was variable and far from absolute. This is demonstrated by discussing the nuances and variations of war loyalism of different classes, races and genders, whilst pointing towards those who identified themselves as anti-war or anti-British. Referring to Emmanuel Cronier's idea of wartime 'collective sociability,' this chapter also stresses the importance of moments and events during the war which encouraged a sense of belonging and fostered war-loyalism. These occasions included school assemblies, church services, fund-raising fetes and recruiting parades. They also resulted from events related to the war - such as its outbreak in 1914, the Union's victory in German South West Africa (GSWA) in July 1915, South Africa's heavy losses at Delville Wood in July 1916 and

Armistice celebrations in November 1918. Yet for those considered disloyal, some events were more akin to 'collective exclusion,' as demonstrated in some opinions toward Afrikaners after the Afrikaner Rebellion of late 1914, or the riots against Germans in the city in May 1915 after the *Lusitania* was torpedoed off the coast of Ireland. Nevertheless, even in these moments, the reactions of Capetonians affirmed the heterogeneous and varying nature of war-loyalism.

Conclusion: On Remembrance and Forgetting

In concluding 'Cape Town at War,' the war's memorialisation is briefly considered. The local politics of remembrance are positioned in relation to an Empire-wide need to commemorate the dead. In discussing how the war is remembered, it ties together ideas about space and identity in the city and performances of belonging and exclusion. Ultimately, in tracing the trajectory of the war's remembrance, it is shown that the war, as significant as it was for Cape Town and its residents at the time, was ultimately forgotten through the emergence of other socio-political concerns.

Chapter One: City at War

Introduction

It was Six O'clock on the evening of the 06 August 1914 and a crowd was gathering outside the *Cape Times* offices in St George's Street. There had been 'little excitement' in the city that day, as a lack of war news left Capetonians with little to respond to.[1] Hopeful enquirers had visited the offices at frequent intervals - a common practice since Britain had declared war on Germany two days prior - but it was only as evening was setting in that the word spread that the *Cape Times* had received further updates. Outside their offices, the latest headlines were shown on a hastily erected screen, and 'naval pictures and portraits and sketches of men of the moment were shown,' to a 'lustily cheering' crowd of over two thousand people.[2] The following day, John Parker, the Mayor of Cape Town, cabled Prime Minister Asquith of England expressing his 'desire on behalf of Capetown citizens' to 'assure you that they heartily and loyally support action of Government to fulfil our national obligation and to preserve the integrity of our Empire.'[3] The Prime Minister of the Union, Louis Botha, was similarly telegrammed that Cape Town would loyally support the Union government 'in all patriotic action.' (Britain had cabled Botha on the 7 August, and more urgently again on the 9th, requesting that the Union capture German South West Africa (GSWA). Botha gained the support of his cabinet on the 10th for the war effort, but it was only after a special parliamentary session was held on the 09-12 September that the GSWA campaign was accepted).[4]

This chapter first explores various immediate reactions that Capetonians had to the outbreak of the First World War and why the idea of the war mattered to them. Both anxiety and excitement coloured the city's atmosphere in the months that followed the declaration of war, with individuals and organisations coming forward to pledge their support and to assist where possible, or voice their uncertainties about the months to come. However, if

[1] *Cape Times,* 07 August 1914.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Mayor's Minutes, 1914.
[4] Spies, 'The Outbreak of the First World War,' 48-51.

considering the war years, Cape Town was not overcome with an unbridled and unchanging, war-enthused fervour. '"Enthusiasm," and "pacifism," writes Jay Winter, 'form a false antithesis, vastly oversimplifying the range of choices and responses to the war.'[5] This chapter concludes by considering ways in which the war was woven into daily life, both narratively and materially, and incorporated into the multi-media of the city, affecting both space and movement. Many of these changes, however, might be considered superficial, eventually receding after the war's end.

Outbreak: Capetonians respond

The 'lustily cheering crowd' outside the *Cape Times* on the evening of the 06 August suggested that, for certain Capetonians, at certain times, the war did engender feelings of excitement. Anxiety about the war and uncertainty about what was to come, similarly infused the fabric of the city. To be at war so soon again must have been a difficult idea for many. The Anglo-Boer War had ended just over a decade earlier, when the Cape was still a colony of Britain and the city was the Imperial Military base of operations. This 1899-1902 war had represented the height of Anglo-Dutch antagonism, and even Cape Town, which had a substantial Anglicised Dutch population, was not exempt from tensions. Despite the fact that the Union of 1910 was marked as a point of reconciliation between the 'two white races,' the First World War threw into question the stability of that Union. Ten years was not a long time to forgive and forget the Anglo-Boer War and the question remained, how would old Dutch Republicans and emergent Nationalists react to a new, Imperial call to arms?

The concern about an Imperial war further lay in the fact that many Capetonians identified as British and this applied not only to the 19% of the city's population who were born in the Mother Country, as displayed in Table 4 (roughly 35% of white Capetonians were born in Europe, the majority from the United Kingdom).

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[5] Jay Winter, 'Nationalism, the visual arts, and the myth of war enthusiasm in 1914,' *History of European Ideas,* 15:1-3 (1992), 357. This has similarly been argued for other cities and nations involved in the conflict. Adrian Gregory, *The last great war: British society and the first world war* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Dan Todman, *The Great War: myth and memory* (London: Bloomsbury, 2005), 7; Goebel and Keene, *Metropolitan History of Total War,* 12; Pennell, *A Kingdom United,* 3-5; A. Gregory, 'British "war enthusiasm"' in 1914, 71-3.

Table 4*: Breakdown of Cape Town's White population according to birthplace*

	Total White population in Cape Town and Suburbs	Born locally	Born in Europe (majority United Kingdom)
Number	85441	53955	29696
Percentage (%)	100	63,15	34,76

Source: *Union Government of South Africa UG 32F-1912J, Census for 1911, Part VII, Birthplaces of the People* (Pretoria Government Printer, 1912).

At the very least, the war sparked a flurry of activity across the city. Around the corner from the *Cape Times'* Offices, the Wesleyan Metropolitan Church in Greenmarket Square opened its doors to citizens wishing to seek comfort in the turbulent times through prayer, and advertised a daily service dedicated to the troops already engaged in war.[6] At the Anglican-run home, St Columba's, in District Six, Senator Walter Stanford reassured a gathering of black Capetonians and explained, in Xhosa, Germany's envy of 'Britain's large colonial possessions.'[7] At the Great Synagogue, adjacent to the Company Gardens, the Rabbi Bender prayed on the 07 August for divine strength 'in a day of trouble and disaster, a day of wasteness and gloominess, and day of clouds and thick darkness.'[8] Considering the 'thick darkness' of war, some organisations cancelled long-planned events - such was the fate of the Cape Peninsula Motor Cycle Club's annual ball as well as a concert organised by the Victoria League, which was meant to be held in Claremont on the evening of the 12th.[9]

In the afternoon of the 10th, a meeting for citizens interested in the Red Cross - which had been dormant since the 1899 war - was held in the City Hall's library,[10] whilst St John's Ambulance appealed to Capetonians with First Aid and nursing experience to place their services 'at the disposal of the military authorities for services in tending the sick.'[11] Women who were interested in nursing could walk down Adderley Street (see Photograph 9, below) to the corner of Hout Street, where they could apply at the St John's Ambulance offices.

[6] *Cape Times,* 06 August 1914.
[7] Bickford-Smith et al, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century*, 50.
[8] *Cape Times*, 07 August 1914.
[9] Ibid*,* 11 August 1914.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid*,* 06 August 1914.

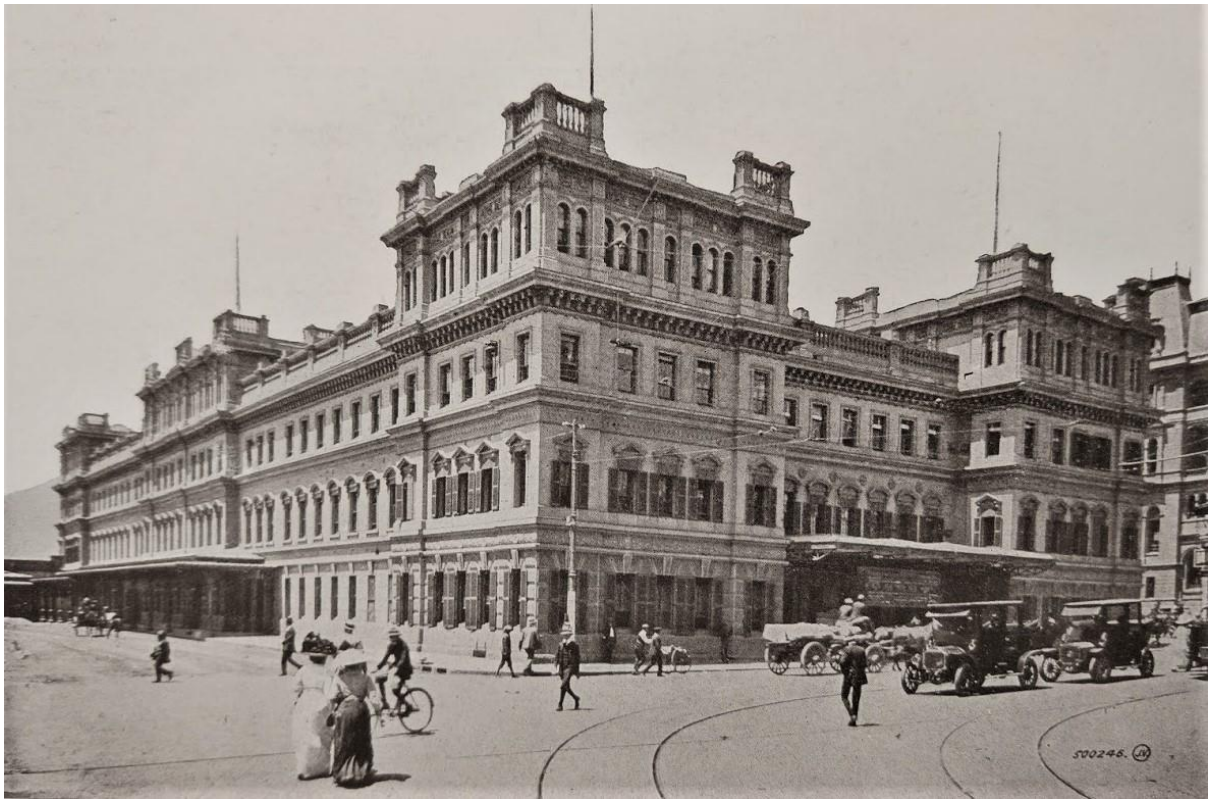
Photograph 9: *Adderley Street, Cape Town 1918*

Source: Darren D. Smith (photographer), PRG 1312/3/395, *Photographs of troops travelling to and from Britain,* State Library of Australia. Available online: https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/PRG+1312/3/395. Accessed 01 July 2019.) No restrictions.

A different walk was taken by German reservists living in Cape Town, who had to report themselves daily to the Magistrate's office after war was declared. 'Over twenty German reservists reported themselves yesterday morning at the Magistrate's Office in Caledon Square,' wrote the *Cape Times* on the 11 August, 'including businessmen, cooks and waiters.'[12] Orders were soon received from the Ministry of Defence that German and Austro-Hungarian reservists were to be entrained to the interior, where they would be kept in internment camps.[13] Believing that the war would be short-lived, these departures from Cape Town station (Photograph 10, below) were rather spirited, marked by licks of liquor and spasmodic outbursts of *Deutchland uber alles.*[14]

[12] *Cape Times,* 11 August 1914
[13] WCARS, Cape Magistrate Records, 1/CT, 15/8/10, Defence Ministry to Magistrates, 18 August 1914.
[14] *Cape Times,* 22 August 1914.

Photograph 10: *The Railway station, lower Adderley Street*



Source: Special Collections, UCT, 'Souvenir Album of 75 views of the Cape Peninsula' (Valentine and Sons: Cape Town, c.1914).

The war re-invigorated Cape Town's 'Citizen's Force' with a new-found interest in defence training. On any given day drills and parades could be witnessed, performed in open spaces across the city. The men from the *Cape Times* used the old Dutch Gardens and the United Tobacco company drilled in their own yard, but the most frequented drill ground in central Cape Town was the Grand Parade itself (Photograph 11, below).[15] This was located in front of the City Hall and adjacent to the South African Imperial Military Headquarters, known as 'the Castle' - a squat, five-sided Dutch fort, that harked back to the city's early days as a refreshment station for the Dutch East India Company (Photograph 12).

[15] Ibid,11 November 1914.

Photograph 11: *View of the Grand Parade in front of the City Hall*

Source: Special Collections, UCT, 'Souvenir Album of 75 views of the Cape Peninsula' (Valentine and Sons: Cape Town, c.1914).

Photograph 12: *The Castle Entrance, 1917*

H36439/186, *GD Flanagan Collection*, State Library of Victoria. Available online: http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/295927. Accessed 31 July 1917. No restrictions.

The suburbs saw a similar flurry of activity. Venues included the Sea Point Boys' High, the Claremont Town Hall, the Rondebosch Golf Club and the Western Province Cricket grounds.[16] Cape Town's men were congratulated on their efforts, but a reminder was given to those who were yet to join the Citizen's Force that, under the Defence Act of 1912, all men under the age of sixty could be called upon for national defence.[17] This was felt to be particularly pressing as the British Imperial Garrison[18] had been released from the Union after the outbreak of war, leaving South Africa responsible for its own defences for the first time.[19]

Letters poured into the daily papers, even before the news of Britain's declaration of war broke, from men offering to organise or be part of a (white) contingent for Europe. 'This is no time for polemical discussion of the Balkan question,' wrote BG Godlonton on the 04 August 1914, as 'the attitude of British subjects is and always has been "Our Country!"' Godlonton acknowledged that whilst 'the Defence Force, of course, cannot leave the country,' there were 'thousands of well-trained, experienced men who are able to get away and who only await the call.'[20] Those eager loyalists who could afford it - white and coloured - unwilling to wait for the Union's cue to mobilise, departed for London, and other imperially held territories in East and Central Africa, to enlist.[21]

The APO in August, had similarly written to Botha offering to raise an armed coloured regiment, having secured a potential funder for the enterprise.[22] By early September, the APO had 5000 signatures for its volunteer corps.[23] This offer to raise a coloured corps was politely and repeatedly rejected. Botha was concerned that any suggestion of arming 'non-Europeans' would likely cause consternation amongst many whites and vociferous objection from his

[16] Ibid.
[17] *Cape Times,* 29 November 1914.
[18] The British garrison remained in South Africa, even after Union in 1910. It was only in 1912 that the Defence Act introduced – on paper at least – a Union defence force. It was understood that South Africa was not in a strong position to defend its borders and until the First World War presented itself as a more pressing matter, it was in Britain's best interest to extend its military protection to its former colony.
[19] Ian van der Waag, '"All Splendid but Horrible," The Politics of South Africa's Second "Little Bit" and the War on the Western Front, 1915-1918,' *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies* 40:3 (2012), 76.
[20] *Cape Times,* 04 August 1914.
[21] Nasson, *World War One*, 28—30.
[22] *African Political Organisation* (henceforth '*APO*'), no 134, 22 August 1914 (Cape Town); Nasson, 'War Opinion,' ' 9 - 11.
[23] *APO*: 135, 05 September 1914.

opposition - the increasingly popular National Party. Indeed, the reason so many white South Africans feared arming 'non-Europeans' was because whites were far out-numbered in the Union, and an armed black uprising would destabilise white power. It had been accordingly ratified in the South African Defence Force Act 13 of 1912, Article 7, that only citizens of 'European descent' would be able to bear arms.[24] Provision was made, however, for 'non-Europeans' to take on a non-combatant role, and any challenge to this could only be made under war conditions. For the Cape Corps, their eagerness to serve was to be a waiting game - it was only in late September 1915, that approval was granted to form a coloured contingent.[25]

It was not just adults who wanted to aid the war effort. Young men and boys were swept up in the call of Empire and many from the Diocesan College ('Bishops'), Rondebosch, Wynberg and the South African College School ('SACS') attempted to enlist. Those boys too young to serve had to make do with the schools cadet corps or the local branch of the Boy Scouts (some of the schools' cadet corps had links with volunteer regiments - thus young lads from Bishops often moved on to the Cape Town Highlanders).[26] For Rondebosch boys, this meant guard duty in Simonstown on the weekends and school holidays.[27] Apart from sourcing recruits, a number of these local schools banded together to form the Boys' and Girls' League of South Africa, channelling funds raised by the student bodies towards the relief of distress. Over £400 was raised within the first two months of war.[28] Indeed, St Cyprian's Girls had already, on the 17th and 18th August, held a 'gymnastic display' in their hall in aid of the Red Cross.[29] Besides monetary donations, the girls of Rustenburg (the school nestled in Rondebosch) sent forth their 'needlework and clothing,' holding weekly sewing parties to meet the need.[30] Girl guides and boy scouts alike found increased purpose, performing a wide range of roles, including messengers and orderlies. Their training to defend the Empire and 'be prepared,' taken from the pages of Robert Baden-Powell's

[24] Grundlingh, *War and Society,* 139.
[25] *APO*: 16, 18 September 1915. Smuts was alarmed by the rate at which his white troops were falling prey to malaria in East Africa and felt that coloured troops could be called upon to assist. Moreover, the use of black 'askari' troops by Germany opened up the idea. Arguing in Parliament that armed coloured men had been effectively used in past colonial conflicts, Smuts' motion gained approval, but only if the Corps was funded by Britain. Van der Waag, 'A Military History,' 20.
[26] Lambert, 'Munition Factories,' 75.
[27] Neil Veitch, *Rondebosch High and Preparatory Schools 1897-1997,* (Cape Town: Rondebosch Boys' Centenary Committee,1996), 32.
[28] St Cyprian's School Magazine, October 1914: 63, 23.
[29] Ibid.
[30] *History of Rustenburg School 1894-1954* (Cape Town: Gavin and Sales Ltd, date unknown), 7.

Scouting for Boys and Agnes Baden-Powell's *How Girls can help to build up the Empire: The Handbook for Girl Guides,* suddenly resonated in a world at war.[31]

By the 2nd September 1914 the City Council had received so many offers from men willing to enlist that they opened the vestibule of the City Hall ('with a military spirit') as an unofficial, centralised enlistment base. Within the day 150 men, most with service history, had signed up for the Cape Mounted Rifles, and another 300 for the Legion of Frontiersmen.[32] It is possible that the Council's move to co-ordinate this was their response to the increasingly popular perception that they were not doing enough for the war effort. Indeed, for many Capetonians, declarations of loyalty from the Mayor were insufficient, with the *Cape Argus* reporting on the 26 August 1914 that 'the feeling is that thousands of people in Cape Town wish to give expression of sympathy…to people across the sea, and to be included amongst those to whom Lord Kitchener referred to as being prepared to make sacrifices on behalf of our position in the world.'[33] That day's editorial decried the 'Mother City' for its apparent apathy 'during this serious crisis.' 'In every other important centre of the Union,' it deplored, 'a relief fund has been started' and 'there is scarcely a township…where a public meeting has not been held.' [34] The Mayor, realising his blunder, called for a public meeting of citizens to be held on the 02 September at the City Hall. The meeting had an 'overflowing attendance' with 'many distinguished citizens' and was marked by 'scenes of unabated ardour.' Germany's barbarism was condemned and pledges of support were made in the form of 'self-sacrificing contributions to patriotic funds.'[35] Alongside a Union-wide Governor-General's Fund, which aimed at relieving distress caused directly by the war, Mayor Parker set up Cape Town's Mayor's Fund, intended for local cases of need. The Prince of Wales Fund looked further afield, and worked through a central London committee.[36] In response to the invasion of Belgium, a Belgian Widows and Orphan's Fund was set up by the Mayor and, as the war proceeded, funds specific to different troops were established.

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[31] Bickford-Smith, *Emergence of the South African Metropolis,* 56-57; Michelle Smith, 'Be(ing) Prepared: Girl Guides, Colonial Life and National Strength, *Limina: A Journal of Historical and Cultural Studies* 12 (2006), 1-11.
[32] *South African News*, 29 August 1914; *Cape Times,* 02 September 1914.
[33] *Cape Argus* (henceforth 'CA'), 26 August 1914.
[34] Ibid, 26 August 1914.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Mayor's minutes, 1914.

The Mayor's City Hall meeting on the 2nd September was not the first of its kind to be held after the declaration of war. The APO boasted in their September 1914 publication that they had already hosted a public demonstration of loyalty: 'Coloured people take the lead,' it declared, describing the City Hall on the evening of the 31 August as 'packed…with Coloured citizens of Cape Town,' who 'assembled to express their loyalty to King George and Government.'[37] There Abdurahman, whilst recognising the 'many grievances' of the 'coloured people,' called for 'all to be forgotten,' as 'if the Empire fell, South Africa would fall, Cape Town would fall, and Cape Town might be laid to ruins.'[38] One of the major concerns raised that evening was the rapidly rising prices of food in the city. No sooner had war been declared on the 4th August and the first Zeppelin shot down over France on the 5th August, than Capetonians had started to stockpile food supplies. Grocers and 'provision merchants' were 'inundated with orders' from all over Cape Town by 'apprehensive householders' and the prices of flour and meat continued to rise.[39] On the 6th, a meeting of Master Bakers resolved not to increase the price of bread as it was considered 'unpatriotic and against the public interest.'[40] A joint committee was thereafter formed by the Mayor with the task of publishing the daily prices of foodstuffs and investigating the need for price regulation. The APO urged that wartime price regulation be addressed to prevent 'the poor and unfortunately situated Coloured citizens being under any greater disability than that which present obtains.' It pointed out that 'the Cape Coloured section of the…Union' were 'the poorest portion of the inhabitants,' and that with the 'low standard of wages, our people have found it extremely difficult to live decently even under ordinary circumstances.'[41]

The APO's other major concern at the outbreak of war was the large number of coloured men working in GSWA - now an enemy territory - with anxious families enquiring about their safety.[42] After 450 of these men were forced to return to Cape Town during August, they were left destitute - paid in Reisbank with no avenue for monetary exchange (the banks were not prepared 'to advance against such notes').[43] When over a hundred of them 'assembled outside the offices of the German East African Line in Adderley Street,' hoping to exchange

[37] *APO*: 135, 5 September 1914.
[38] Ibid.
[39] *Cape Times,* 06 August 1917.
[40] Ibid*,* 11 August 1914
[41] *APO*: 134, 22 August 1914.
[42] *APO:* 133, 08 August 1914.
[43] *Cape Times,* 11 August 1914.

their earnings for 'British coin' in early September, the police, with the assistance of Abdurahman, convinced them to disperse.[44] They were never able to recover their pay.[45]

Accordingly, Cape Town's atmosphere during the first month of the war was a fluctuating mix of sentiments - excitement, anxiety, duty and - most probably - apathy (the latter, however, is difficult to assess under the weight of the pro-war rhetoric espoused in the city's main newspapers).

The fabric of the wartime city

The war was rapidly integrated into daily life, changing the experiences of the city. Maureen Healy refers to this as the 'refraction of the everyday,' whereby 'everyday matters' were 'refracted through…the lens of war, and, like a ray of light, came out "bent" on the other side.'[46] The nature of the city itself enabled this, through the concentration and movement of people and media. Newspapers, periodicals and magazines were the primary vehicles for news, opinions and advertisements. By September 1914, Heynes Mathew ('wholesale and pharmaceutical chemists and photographic dealer')[47] at 17-19 Adderley Street was advertising Kodak cameras to men 'off to the front' - 'just think of the many interesting pictures you can get on trek, in camps, groups of your comrades' - the *Cape Times* was selling 'war flags of sixteen nations,' whilst Cuthberts shoe retailers urged 'the Defenders of South Africa' to buy a pair of boots that were 'built for active service.'[48] Other businesses quickly caught on - the 'French hairdressing salon' at 139 Long Street, urged customers to 'be patriotic' by using their services;[49] The Star Assurance Society offered 'emergency protection' life insurance;[50] Commando Brandy 'for heroes' and 'conquerors,' was best to 'drink success to the troops,'[51] and, 'British to the backbone,' 'at times of crisis it must be Bovril.'[52] Posters (printed in both English and Dutch) in the streets attempted to sell the idea to passers-by that young men should enlist (Photograph 13).

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[44] Ibid, 01 September 1914.
[45] Bickford-Smith et al, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century,* 51.
[46] M. Healy, '*Vienna,'* 3. See also Karen Hunt, 'Gender and Everyday Life,' in S. Grayzel and T. Proctor (eds.) *Gender and the Great War* (Oxford, 2017), 149-168.
[47] Cape Town Street Directories (Juta Publishers: Cape Town, 1914-1920).
[48] *Cape Times,* 01 September 1914.
[49] Ibid, 02 December 1914.
[50] Ibid, 25 November 1914.
[51] Ibid, 09 September 1914.
[52] Ibid, 17 January 1916.

It was not only men who were targeted as the consumers of war-themed goods. In the display windows of Garlick's department stores, women's coats and skirts reflected military-inspired trends. 'German Kultur,' declared the *South African Domestic Monthly* in March 1915, could not destroy fashion, 'even at the very edge of the veld.'[53] Its pages, too, contained war-themed fiction - such was 'Rhodestar,' a tale of star-crossed lovers who are separated and are later reunited on the fields of France (he as a wounded soldier, she as his nurse).[54]

Photograph 13: *Two army recruiting officers talking to young civilian men in a street in Cape Town, South Africa, with enlistment poster on the left, approximately 1915.*

Source: PRG 280/1/27/187, *Searcy Collection,* State Library of South Australia. Available online: https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/PRG+280/1/27/187. Accessed 31 July 2019. No restrictions.

[53] *South African Domestic Monthly,* 20:3 (March 1915).
[54] Ibid, 20:6 (June 1915).

The war was also woven into the cinema and theatre.[55] By the first week of November 1914, the 'first public attempt to turn the war to dramatic uses' was available at the Tivoli theatre. The play, entitled 'War,' followed the story of wounded soldiers, who stop at a train station in France, on their way back to Britain.[56] The cinemas (or bioscopes as they were known in the Union), were also spaces in which ideas about the war, propaganda, and entertainment mingled, and not only in the way in which they jam-packed soldiers alongside local audiences (Photographs 14 and 15, below). Bioscope attendance soared in Cape Town during the war and, by mid-1916, there was an 'average nightly attendance of 16 000' (roughly 10% of the city's total population) - the City Council was quick to attach a 'penny tax' to every ticket.[57] Officials thus targeted bioscopes for recruiting purposes. In December 1915, at the Tivoli and Alahambra, Major Bass' call to arms were heralded by three trumpeters, with similar scenes across the city at Wolfram's, Fisher's Grand Theatre and the Opera House.[58]

Photograph 14: *Interior of The Picture Pavilion Palace with convalescent soldiers attending a show, Main Road, Claremont, Cape Town*

Source: *WCARS,* AG Collection, AG11665.

[55] For the content and reception of films during the war see Thelma Gutsche, 'The History and Social Significance of the Cinema in South Africa 1895-1940' (PhD thesis, University of Cape Town,1946), 190-224.
[56] *Cape Times,* 08 November 1914.
[57] Neil Parsons, *Black and White Bioscope: Making Movies in Africa 1899 to 1925* (Protea Book House: Pretoria, 2018), 42
[58] *Cape Times,* 01 December 1915.

Photograph 15: *Crowd of convalescent soldiers standing in front of The Picture Pavilion Palace, Claremont, Cape Town*

Source: WCARS, AG Collection, AG11666.

In terms of content, Santry's animated topicalities, produced by the African Film Trust in 1914 and 1915, satirised 'pro-German boers,' and mocked the Dutch General Christian de Wet after the 1914 Boer Rebellion.[59] The 'Chaplin craze' in 1915 onwards lifted war-weary public spirits (particularly as the realisation set in that there was no swift victory in sight), and with the disappearance of British and European films from the circuit, American thrillers and 'sordid' dramas led to cries for censorship.[60] Such was 'Enlighten Thy Daughter' (1917), which was designed to warn of the evils of pre-marital sex, but was chastised by many for informing the youth of inappropriate topics.[61] War-themed films were incredibly popular. Indeed, writing to his daughter in September 1918, Dr JK Murray, praised the spy drama, 'London's Enemies' (1916), in which there were 'mixed up villains, good men, pretty women, sailor men, real and false nursing sisters, dogs, torpedoes, burglars, and

[59] Parsons, *Black and White Bioscope,* 32-35.
[60] Gutsche, 'History and Social Signifcance,' 193-194.
[61] Ibid, 196-197.

submarines.'[62] Docu-dramas such as the very popular 'The Battle of the Somme,' also enraptured audiences. Such 'actuality films' were significant in imparting visual information about the war that was difficult to imagine, and particularly so for a geographically distant 'homefront.' Thelma Gutsche describes how tank warfare 'came as a complete revelation even to the best informed' as written descriptions failed to impart the 'shape, size and purpose' of the tanks themselves.[63]

Bioscopes were more than just places of entertainment - newsreels or 'topicals' could help home audiences feel connected to soldiers on active service, whilst instilling a common patriotism.[64] 'We went to the bioscope the other evening - just to be near you,' reflected the October 1916 Cape Town citizen's meeting booklet, addressing South African soldiers on active service. Watching '"With General Smuts in East Africa"…we felt quite cheered to see you all in such good form marching along those awful roads,' the review continued, even if it 'was quite obvious that some of you knew you were being filmed' as if to say 'to keep the home fires burning.'[65] Audiences were encouraged to sing 'God save the King' after screenings and, whilst this practice started before August 1914, the war prompted a 'slight improvement' in the levels of participation (suggestions were made that Cape Town might follow Canada's example and place the anthem before performances 'to ensure proper attention is being paid').[66]

Music and song were other avenues through which the war was woven into the sound-scape of the city. On the top reaches of District Six, the song 'Here's health unto his Majesty,' was sung at a November 1914 concert at Zonnebloem College,[67] the largely black school that was founded by the first Bishop of Cape Town in 1858 ('for the purpose of educating…the sons of Native chiefs and other members of the Bantu and mixed races in South Africa').[68] The song cheerily wished 'confusion' to the King's enemies and a 'traitor's death' for renegades. It is unclear, however, if all the students were entirely enthused.

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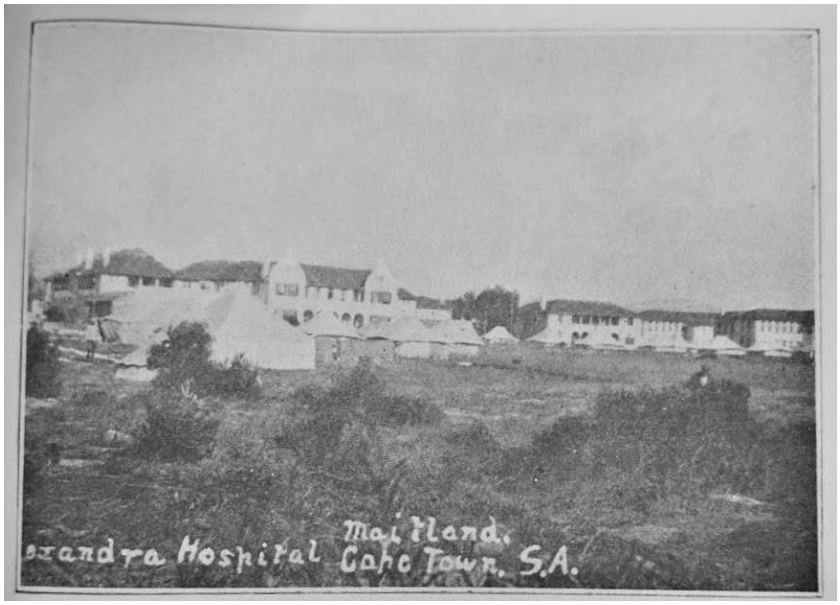
[62] Molteno Papers, BC 330: BOX 83, Dr Murray to Kathleen, 21 September 1918.
[63] Gutsche, 'History and Social Significance,' 203.
[64] For the *African Mirror* during the war and South Africanism, see Emma Sandon, 'African mirror: The life and times of the South African Newsreel from 1910 to 1948." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 39:3 (2013), 661-680.
[65] Cape Town Citizen's Meetings (henceforth *CTCM*): 13, 01 October 19163
[66] *Cape Times,* 01 February 1915.
[67] Zonnebloem Papers, F4.10 'Speech Day,' 23 November 1914.
[68] Ibid, F2.2, Prospectuses. For the history of the college, see Janet Hodgson, 'A history of Zonnebloem College, 1858-1870: a study of church and society ' (PhD thesis, UCT, 1975).

Patriotic songs were particularly common during war-related occasions. They peppered the programmes of the annual re-dedication ceremonies, held each year at the City Hall on the 04 August. At the 1916 ceremony, 'Keep the Home Fires Burning' was sung alongside 'Soldiers of the King,' 'It's a long way to Tipperary,' and 'Land of Hope and Glory.'[69] New works, dedicated to the war, were also composed. At the Municipal Orchestra's Commemoration War Concert, held that same month, the 'tender strains' of the 'Highland Lament' and 'the fire and the fury of Tchaikovsky's "1812" overture,' were followed by 'Jannie Smuts' Patrol' - a recent composition by the Director, Theo Wendt, in honour of the East African Expeditionary Force (it was received with such enthusiasm that it was immediately repeated).[70] The municipal orchestra played an increasingly prominent role during the war and, apart from their own concerts, they performed in other civic ceremonies (such as the reception of Botha after the July 1915 victory in GSWA) and fund-raising events.[71] They also gave 'regular monthly concerts' to convalescent troops at the Alexandra Military Hospital in Maitland (Photograph 16, below) from 1916 to 1918.

Photograph 16: Alexandra Military Hospital, Maitland, with extra tent accommodation



Source: *Cape Town Citizens' Meeting Booklet*, No 24: 02 September 1917.

[69] *Cape Times,* 05 August 1916.
[70] Ibid, 07 August 1916.
[71] Report of the Municipal Orchestra, Mayor's Minutes, 1918.

War-related tunes were also heard in the city's streets. 'You could not imagine a happier crowd on the march,' reflected Private Harold Howse, whilst on Garrison duty in Cape Town with the Prince Alfred's Guards.[72] Although his unit had to march in silence whilst in central Cape Town, the 'welcome command' of 'March Easy' as they left the inner city meant that 'the fun' could begin. 'There's a version of "Tipperary,"' continued Howse, 'and then we have our own regimental war-cry, "Umzintzani - Yah!" (one of the P.A.G.'s great fights in the Old Gcaleka War).'[73] Military bands, too, could be heard as they accompanied visiting troops. Private Kennedy, writing back home to Australia, described how, after lining up in platoons, they were taken from Dock Road along the shore, marching off 'to the tunes of the band.'[74]

With the war then, came an intensification of certain sights, sounds, and symbols in the city. During fund-raising fetes, recruiting drives, processions and parades, the streets and buildings were bedecked with festive bunting and the flags of Empire and beyond. Indeed, when 'Belgian Day' was first held on Saturday, 14 November 1914, the black, yellow and red colours of the Belgian flag were so abundant that one spectator remarked, 'we might be in Belgium today.'[75] Adderley Street was the 'chief line of attack,' where women, armed with donation boxes, rewarded patrons with miniature Belgian flags. The suburbs, too, were noted for their contributions, where 'zealous ladies' canvassed the various railway stations along the train line. Many Capetonians gathered in central Cape Town to donate, enjoy the novelty of the event, and to feel connected to a city and Empire-wide effort.

Accordingly, the war 'multiplied opportunities for collective sociability'[76] in Cape Town (for a further discussion on this see Chapter Eight). Apart from the annual re-dedication to the war cause held in the City Hall on the 04 August each year, the desire to unite as a community was particularly pronounced on the last Sunday of each month from October 1915 onwards, when citizens, nurses, and military men, came together in prayer. Booklets were produced from each meeting, filled with additional happenings in Cape Town, and sent

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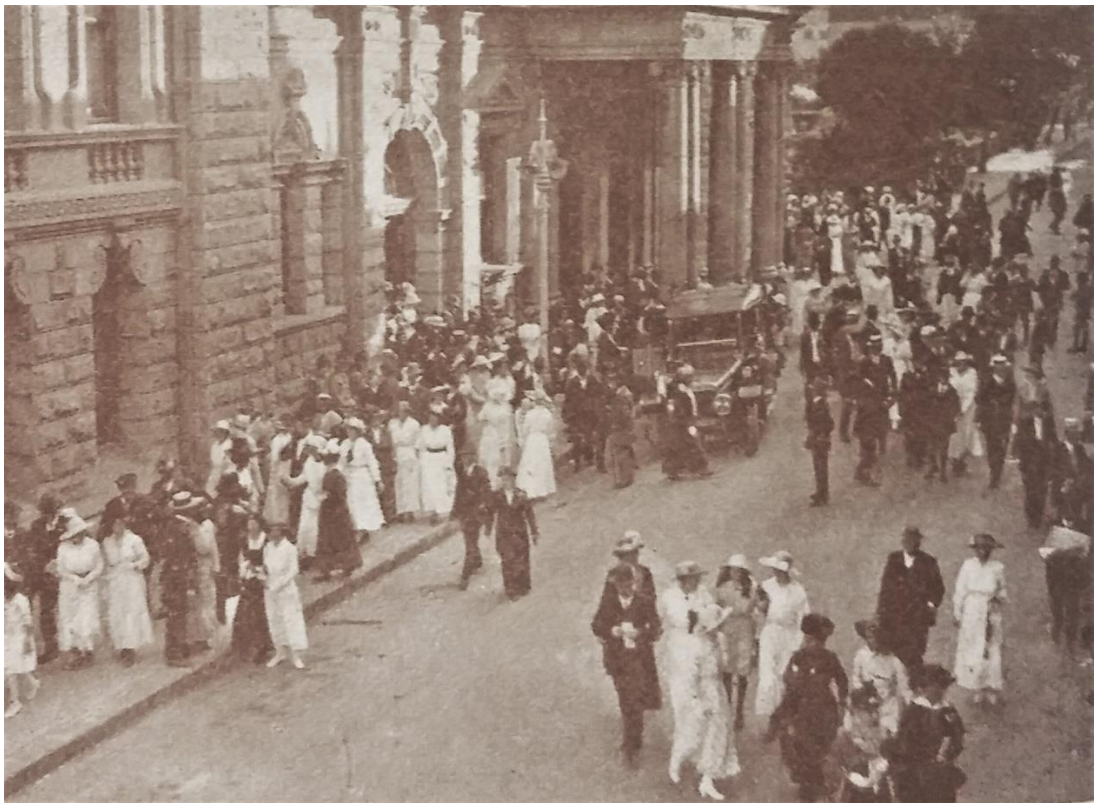
[72] The PAG was a reserve infantry unit from Port Elizabeth that was placed on wartime sentry duty. See Neil Orpen, *Prince Alfred's Guards 1856-1966* (Cape Town: Books of Africa, 1967).
[73] The battle at Umzintzani was on 02 December 1877 and was part of the Frontier Wars (1779-1879) in the Eastern Cape as colonists expanded into the Xhosa kingdom. See Robert Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa,* Cambridge University Press (Cape Town, 2008), 22-58.
[74] *The Pioneer* (Yorketown, South Australia), 17 February 1917. Available online at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/199101073?. Accessed 07 July 2019.
[75] *Cape Times,* 16 November 1914.
[76] Cronier, 'The Street,'73.

to South African troops abroad (particularly the Overseas Expeditionary Force in Europe), to let them know that they were 'not forgotten' (Photograph 17, below).[77]

Photograph 17: *People departing the City Hall after a Cape Town Citizens' Meeting, August 1917.*



Source: *Cape Town Citizens' Meeting Booklet*, No 24, 02 September, 1917.

Perhaps the most overt sign of the war's presence in the city was the presence of uniformed troops in the Peninsula. Uniforms were, alongside posters, flags and advertisements, an integral part of the visual reminders of the war. These included the blue overalls of soldiers in recovery, and the war-time badges handed out to boy scouts for war-related deeds. Civilians, too, adorned themselves with war-time signs of loyalty, such as donation badges or the flags handed out by various war funds. The streets, as public spaces, were thus the places 'where experience, symbolism and imagination met,' and were vital to the production of wartime identities.[78]

[77] *CTCM*: 21, 3 June 1917 .
[78] Cronier, 'The Street, 57-58.

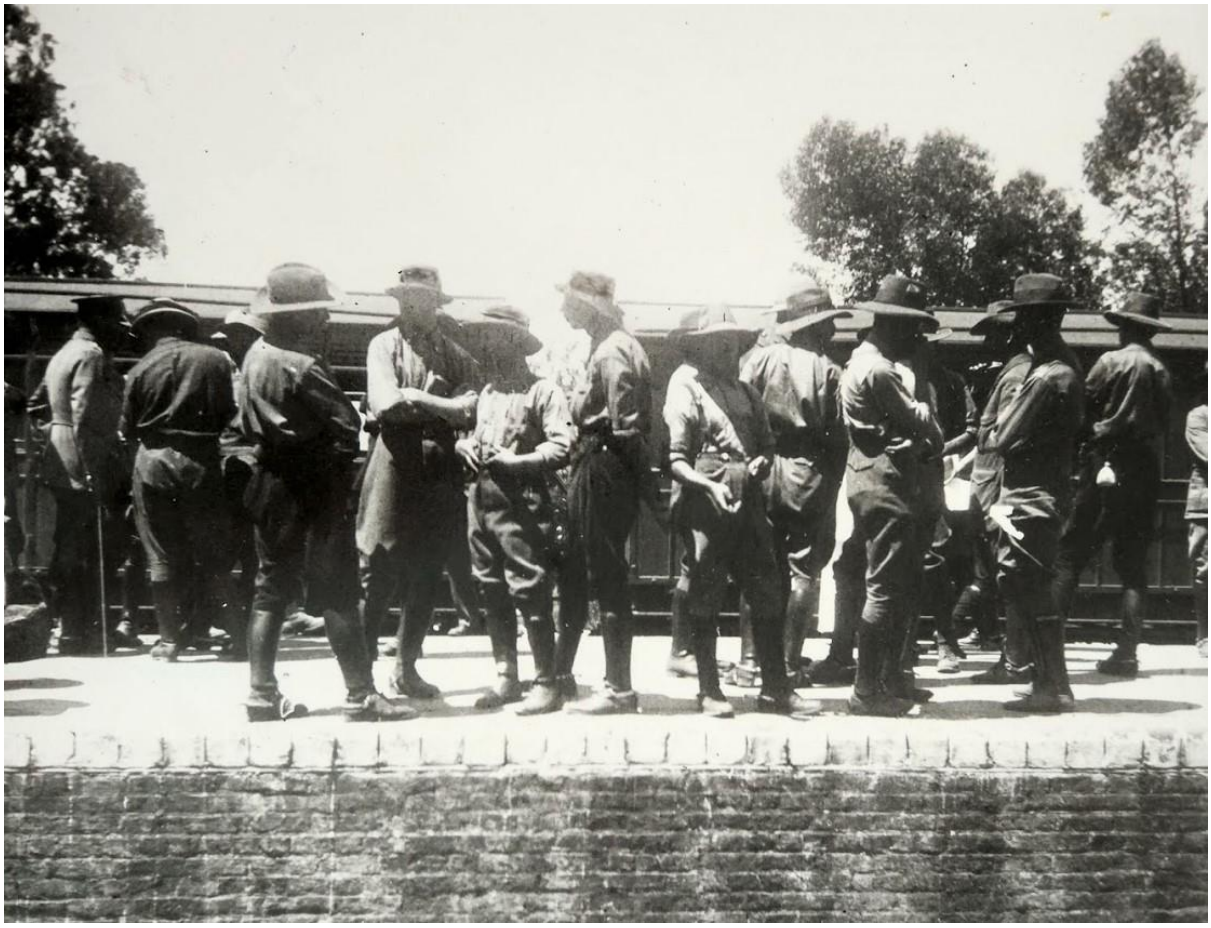
The great increase of soldiers around the Peninsula was one of the first features to noticeably mark Cape Town as a city 'at war.' The October 1914 edition of the Temperance Union's publication, *White Ribbon,* noted,

> There are times and places when and where the realities of this great conflict between nations are brought with special evidence before us…Into Capetown and the suburbs, are pouring men from all parts of the Union, with their equipments of horses, and military supplies. The docks are the scene of great activities, which are compared to the war time of 1899-1902...Today the Defence Force - lads from our colleges, farms, villages and towns, are arriving in large numbers... Camps are pitched in all directions, and trains arrive at all times, with hungry and thirsty men.[79]

The women of the *White Ribbon* did 'their part' by providing refreshments and, as they saw it, reminding incoming men to keep their moral sanctity intact (see Chapter Six).[80] When 'Burgher Commandos' passed through the city en-route to GSWA in January and February 1915, they were mostly encamped on the Rondebosch and Green Point commons. The latter was close to the docks and was particularly useful for handing out tea and cake to passing troops. Troops were primarily transported around the city via the railway. Cape Town Station connected the City Centre and the docks to the Southern Suburbs, and stations such as Maitland, Woodstock and Wynberg, where military hospitals and camps were based,[81] saw a constant flow of troop traffic (Photograph 18, below).

[79] *White Ribbon* XXV:1, October 1914. Women's Christian Temperance Union A1696/V295, WCARS.
[80] Ibid.
[81] 'Hospital Accommodation,' World War One Collection (WW1), DC 558, South African Defence Force Archives (SANDF).

Photograph 18: Boer Commando at Wynberg station beside train, 1915.



Source: WCARS, AG Collection, *First World War*, Beard Photographs, AG15469.

Coloured and black troops, specifically the Cape Corps and the South African Native Labour Corps, were also seen around town. The SANLC, destined for labour in France, was encamped at the Rosebank show-grounds after the unit was formed in 1916.[82] The Cape Corps was initially stationed at the Woltemade military base outside Simonstown. AJB Desmore of the 2nd Battalion, Cape Corps, described life at Woltemade as 'very monotonous' and troops, 'ignorant of military law, and unused to the restrictions of military discipline, practically carried on as they liked, when off parade and away from the stern eye of the Sergeant-Instructor.'[83] Camp-breaking was common, as well as the consumption of

[82] John Starling and Ivor Lee, *No Labour, No Battle: Military Labour during the First World War.* Gloucestershire: Spellmount (2009), 227-8. The SANLC scheme, a reflection of Britain's desperate need for more labour during the war, was highly controversial in the Union at the time. The National Party used it as a rallying point against Botha's government, arguing that it put the Union in danger by exposing black South Africans to 'foreign ideas' that challenged white superiority. Grundlingh, *Fighting their Own War,* 46-7.
[83] A.J.B. Desmore. *Thro' Central Africa* (Cape Town: Citadel Press, 1920), 15.

alcohol, neither of which were successfully curtailed, despite a significant increase in the number of provost staff and pickets around the camp. Desmore reflected that,

> the situation was rather aggravated by the effect of having the camp in close proximity to a large town, accessible almost as easily on foot as by rail.... Attracted by the alluring pleasures of a city like Cape Town, the men did not take kindly to confinement in camp. Only a percentage were given permission to leave camp at one time, and yet the town was always crowded with members of the regiment….[84]

Ultimately, in August 1917, it was recommended that the Cape Corps be removed from the Cape Peninsula and by December that year, it had relocated to a De Beers mining compound in Kimberley.[85]

Of all the passing troops, it was the Anzacs who left the largest impression on Cape Town, and particularly so after 1916, when the route past the Cape was increasingly used (during that year 'approximately 40 000 men were provided with refreshments, entertainments and other troops services').[86] The Australian troops travelled in convoys of four or five ships, each holding between 1500 and 2000 men.[87] The length of time they stayed varied from as a little as a day to over a week and not all troops were given leave to explore Cape Town (Photograph 19, below). Indeed, if the yellow flag of quarantine was raised (or 'bile coloured,' according to a frustrated Private ME Kennedy), the troops on board were limited to route marches around the city, if they were let ashore at all.[88] The Visiting Troops Entertainment Committee was established in 1916, and was charged with providing healthy leisure activities for troops in the city. Mr HP Manning, of the Australia YMCA, wrote in June 1917 that on some days refreshments were handed out to 'as many as 11 000 men,' including troops from 'German East Africa, England and the Commonwealth.'[89]

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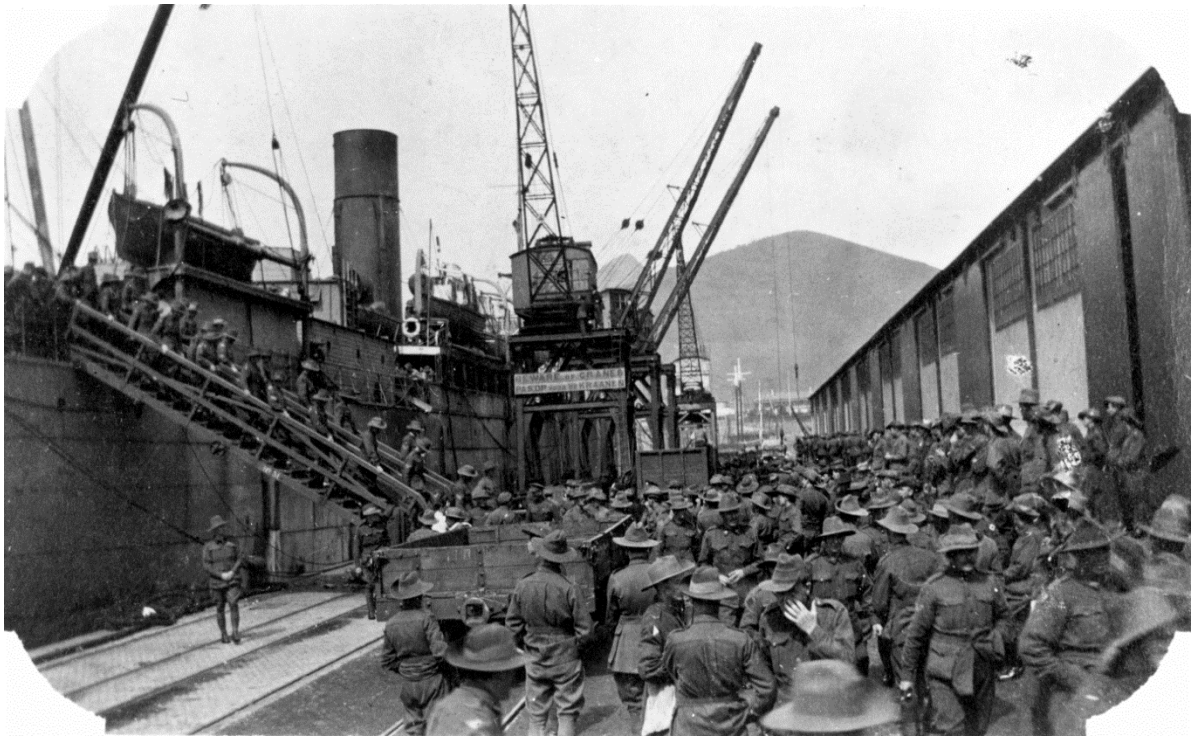
[84] Ibid.
[85] I.D Difford, *The Story of the 1st Battalion Cape Corps, 1915-1919* (Hortons, Cape Town, 1920), 17 ; Kyle Harmse, "The Cape Corps: South Africa's Coloured soldiers in the First World War' (PhD thesis, University of Johannesburg, 2017), 112.
[86] *The Advertiser* (Adelaide), 05 March 1917. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/5567195? Accessed 07 July 2019.
[87] *Geraldton Express* (WA), 09 March 1917. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/214195050?; *Rutherglen Sun* (Victoria), 15 August 1916. Available online at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/121013982? Accessed 07 July 2019.
[88] *The Pioneer,* 17 February 1917.
[89] *Great Southern Leader* (Pingelly), 01 June 1917. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/156967962? Accessed 07 July 2019.

Photograph 19: *Australian troops disembarking at Cape Town, South Africa, on their way home to Australia, ca. 1918*



Negative number: 146598 State Library of Queensland. Available online: https://hdl.handle.net/10462/deriv/103579. Accessed 31 July 2019. No restrictions.

Anzac troops were also seen on parade at Green Point Common, or on scenic route marches - of which there were several popular choices, many passing popular tourist sites (see Chapter Seven). Apart from touring the coast line, these marches also went up through the city centre to the upper reaches of Kloof, which provided scenic views from an elevated height. Route marches also took the troops towards the Southern Suburbs, with Private WE Babington describing his 'eight mile' march in June 1916 'to the Rhodes' estate.'[90]

Soldiers who did gain leave (Photograph 20, below) could be seen gathering at the Publicity Association's Bureau at 96 St George's Street, which provided maps and guide books as well as a 'comfortable reading lounge.'[91] Some men were invited into people's homes for dinner, whilst others were witnessed stumbling out of pubs in various states of inebriation. Anzac troops quickly gained a reputation for 'painting the town red.' Indeed, Corporal Will Stavely,

[90] *Gippsland Standard* (Victoria), 01 November 1916. Available online at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/121036284? Accessed 08 July 2019.
[91] *CTCM*: 33, 02 June 1918.

who visited in August 1916, recalled how the local boys were 'very cheeky.' 'They gave us a rough time,' he wrote, 'running beside us calling out, "Australians no good; too rough; too much beer." It seems that one lot of troops ran a bit wild here.'[92]

Photograph 20: *Two Australian troops at Cape Town, on their way to active service in Egypt and Gallipoli, 1915*

Source: Mervyn Douglas Graham (Photographer), PRG 1717/5/24, State Library of Australia. Available online: https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/PRG+1717/5/24. Accessed: 01 August 2019. No restrictions.

Although pubs and bars were initially open to visiting troops, by mid-1916 the city Magistrate invoked his powers to close them upon the arrival of troopships into the harbour. Nevertheless, the more determined and curious visiting troops were still able to find their way to illegal bars, many of which were hidden in the winding alleys of District Six - conveniently located close to the harbour and city centre (see Chapter Five).

[92] *Avoca Free Press* (Victoria), 25 November 1916. Available online at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/151687679? Accessed 08 July 2019.

To encourage leisure activities of a more *respectable* nature, a number of spaces were opened for soldiers' use in the city, where refreshments were either freely provided or sold at discounted prices. Many of these spaces offered lounges, billiard and writing rooms as well as dining halls. By 1918 these included Searle's Chambers in Adderley Street for military nurses; Soldier's Rooms at the foot of Adderley Street (below the railway station); the Drill Hall on Darling Street; the Feather Market in Dock Road; the YMCA in Long Street; the New Union Jack Club in the back of the Roman Catholic Church on the corner of St John Street; a Soldier's Room at the 'seaside resort' of Camps Bay; and, during the summer months, an open-air kiosk with refreshments which stood under the oak-lined Avenue in the old Dutch Gardens (Photograph 21, below).[93]

Photograph 21 *Old Dutch East India Company Gardens, 1918*

Source: Darren D. Smith (photographer),PRG 1312/3/393, *Photographs of troops travelling to and from Britain,* State Library of Australia. Available online: https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/PRG+1312/3/393. Accessed: 01 August 2019. No restrictions.

[93] *CTCM*:24, 03 June 1917; 29, 03 February 1918; 33, 02 June 1918.

The largest of these spaces in Cape Town (and the most celebrated) was the New Sailors' and Soldiers' Rest House on the corner of the Grand Parade which was funded by the South African Gifts and Comforts Committee and opened on 18 June 1917 by Governor-General Buxton (Photographs 22 and 23, below). It soon became popular amongst troops, and was often 'crowded from the early afternoon till late at night.'[94] It seems that a separate rest room for coloured troops was similarly opened, located on the corner of Buitenkant and Darling Streets, just off the Grand Parade.[95]

Photograph 22: *The Troops' Rest Room ('Europeans' only), c. June-August 1917*

Source: *Cape Town Citizens' Meetings Booklet,* No 24, 02 September 1917.

[94] *CTCM*: 23, 05 May 1917.
[95] Mayor's Minutes, 1917.

Photograph 23: *The dining hall inside the Troops' Rest Room, c. June-August 1917*

Source: *Cape Town Citizens' Meeting Booklet*, No 24, 02 September 1917.

The presence of troops in the city was thus one of the main ways in which the war was made visible in Cape Town. Linked to the war effort there was also a large number of 'horses and cattle…constantly passing through the city.' As the City Engineer put it, during the summer of 1915, 'considerable vigilance was required to keep the arteries in a tidy condition'[96] (particular considering a continuing drought during the years 1915-1918, rendering the city's drains and gullies 'offensive').[97] The war, combined with these environmental conditions, thus brought an intensification of sights, smells and sounds to the city's streets.

Militarisation of Cape Town

The war also changed the city by militarizing certain spaces and, in effect, altered where Capetonians were permitted to be. The Castle, as the South African Military Headquarters, quickly became a flurry of official activity, and an initial uncertainty about the safety of the city saw measures put in place for its protection. Sizable sections of Table Mountain were declared prohibited areas - much to the disappointment of avid hikers of the Cape Mountain

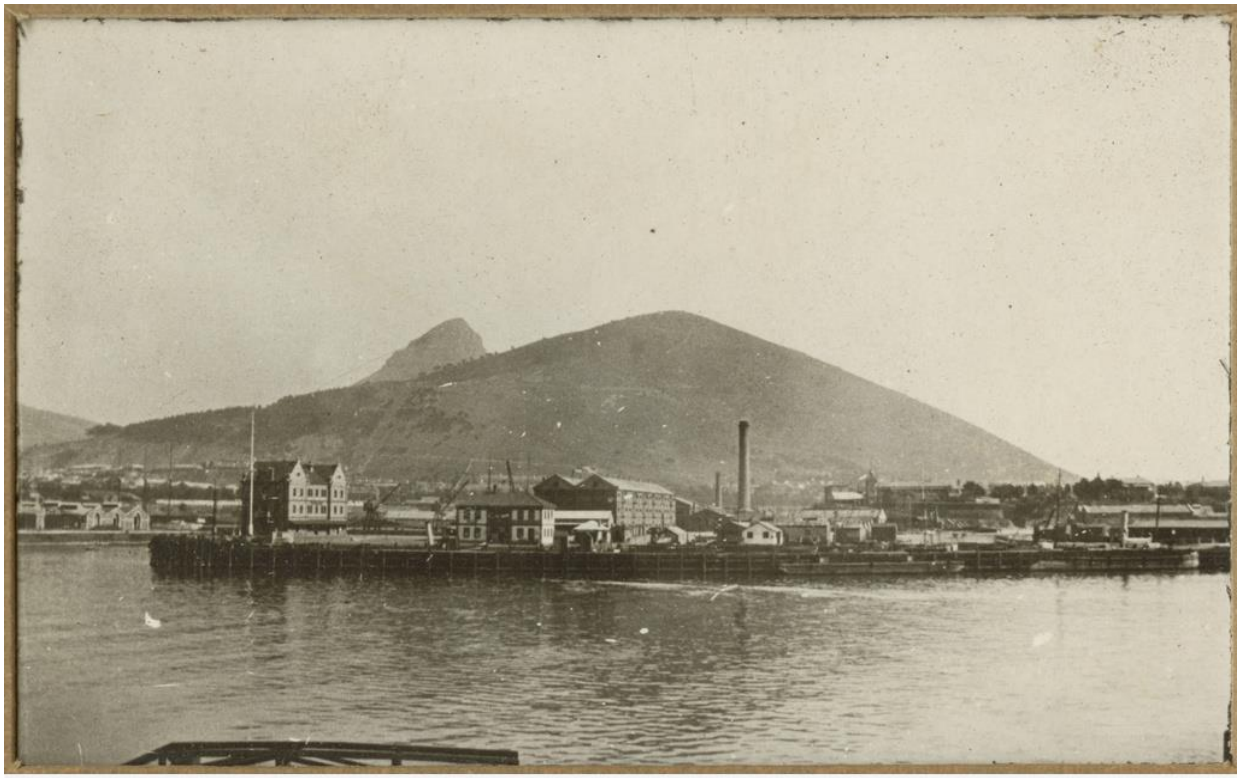
[96] Report of City Engineer, Mayor's Minutes, 1916.
[97] Mayor's Minutes, 1918.

Club - with the exception of the permit 'under the hand of the mayor.'[98] These areas included the whole top of the mountain, Devil's Peak and the Twelve Apostles, all water-catchment areas and springs above Oranjezicht, Newlands and Wynberg, as well as all pipelines. Mayor Hands wrote to General Cavendish, Officer Commanding SAMC, in January 1917 that all this had 'given rise to unlimited trouble and misunderstanding.'[99] A military guard was initially established to patrol the area, including the mountain's reservoirs (lest German spies sabotage the city's water supply), but it seems that it was subsequently withdrawn.

Similarly Lion's Head and Signal Hill (Photograph 24, below) - where 'guns are placed and manned, so that they are in readiness,' with 'trenches and a wireless station'[100] - were out of bounds. Table Bay was listed as off limits, as well as the 'whole area of Beach Road' in Green Point. More generally speaking, prohibited areas included 'all works of defence; all observation, signal, telegraph and wireless stations; all Naval and Military posts, barracks, quarters, offices, shops, slips, camps, stores and magazines; Cape Point Lighthouse, the Naval Dock Yard; and all Government land in connection therewith.'[101] It was also proclaimed that, between the hours of 20.30 and 06.00, 'no persons shall proceed by any motor-car, motor-lorry, motor-cycle, or by an conveyance drawn by mechanical power (other than a tram car)' in certain areas, including Constantia Neck, parts of Simonstown, and the section between the Camps Bay Tramway Powerhouse and Hout Bay. Exceptions were granted to 'His Majesty's Naval or Military Forces,' 'any of the Union Police force when on duty,' 'any registered medical practitioner when going to attend, or returning from attending upon any patient' and 'members of any hospital staff or fire brigade when on duty in connection with the removal of cases to or from hospital.'[102]

[98] Records of the Governor-General, 'Prohibited Areas,' GG 536 9/12/1. Mayor Hands to General Cavendish, 05 January 1917.
[99] Ibid.
[100] *Gippsland Standard,* 01 November 1916. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/121036284? Accessed 08 July 2019.
[101] GG 536 9/12/1, Hands to Cavendish, 05 January 1917.
[102] Ibid.

Photograph 24*: View of Signal Hill, 1918*



Source: Darren D. Smith (photographer), PRG 1312/3/103, *Photographs of troops travelling to and from Britain,* State Library of Australia. Available online: https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/PRG+1312/3/103. Accessed: 01 July 2019. No restrictions.

As a coastal city, prohibited areas extended off the land. With reports of 'two armed enemy raiders…operating in the Atlantic,' enemy submarines near Madeira; the sinking of both a transport and British steamship 'by mine or torpedo twenty miles from Cape Town,' and 'a strange vessel' disappearing along the West coast, General Cavendish was aghast that Cape Town, by 1917, still remained 'brilliantly lighted all night,' with the city hall clock 'an excellent aiming point.'[103] Apart from the difficulty in manning the city's twelve guns (six each at Simonstown and Cape Town), the extensive coastline of the Peninsula was such that effective patrolling was near impossible. The only reported incident, it seems, occurred sometime in early 1918, when a small Italian fishing boat, 'which took no warning' to move out of prohibited waters, was fired upon by a nervous sentry, wounding a Greek sailor on board. It was later admitted by one General Martyn that 'the feelings of the Greek were smoothed down by a little present of money.'[104]

[103] GG 572 9/32/18, 'Defence of the Peninsula,' General Cavendish to Governor-General Buxton, 08 Feb 1917.
[104] GG 536 9/12/1, Horsfall to Bourne,14 September 1918.

The war was also seen in the establishment of more medical centres to accommodate wounded or sick servicemen. Trovato House in Newlands was such a case. Originally designed by Sir Herbert Baker and owned by Carl Jeppe (the Consul-General for the Transvaal in Cape Town, a decade earlier), Trovato was loaned to the Government as a convalescent home in December 1914. 'One cannot imagine surroundings more fitting to coax one back to health,' wrote the *Cape Argus,* with its 'hill-slope in the midst of rich park land with a slope of silver trees…and well-wooded undulations rolling away in front.'[105] Similarly, early in December 1914, the *SS Ebani*, a former Elder-Dempster liner, was unveiled during a somewhat blustery day (the festive awning had been blown right off the deck) as a hospital ship under the auspices of the Red Cross.[106] On the other side of the Peninsula near Muizenberg, Belgarthen Convalescent Home at St James, was 'placed at the disposal' of the military authorities 'to provide accommodation for convalescent officers of the Union Defence Force for whom a period of rest at the seaside' was considered 'especially desirable.'[107]

Of Warp and Weft

In a myriad of ways, then, the First World War was woven into the fabric of Cape Town. As the war continued – far longer than anyone had anticipated - there were events and moments that Capetonians witnessed, experienced and responded to, that further enforced this reality. Some moments were marked by joy, relief and celebrations, others by shock, anxiety and anger:

1914-1915

[105] *Cape Argus,* 03 December 1914. Hospital accommodation was periodically insufficient, and tents were also used.; SANDF WW1 DC/558: Hospital Accommodation, Cape Town.
[106] *Cape Times,* 02 December 1914; 26 November 1914; MSB 534 Women's Hospital Ship Fund, Box 6.
[107] MSB 534, Administrative Papers, Box 1.

The first key moment shortly followed the declaration of war when, approximately 11 400 Afrikaners, most from the Transvaal and Northern Free State, rebelled against the Union Government. Many Capetonians were shocked by what felt like a clear betrayal of the Empire in its most dire time of need. Prominent leaders from the Old Boer Republics seized the outbreak of the war to re-assert their republican sentiments.[108] The Union's decision to invade GSWA (deemed proof of Botha's Imperial loyalties at the cost of his people) further informed the call to arms, as did rural destitution and desperation.[109] Yet the rebels were vastly lacking in resources and, by early 1915, Botha and Smuts had quelled the situation. This 'Afrikaner Rebellion,' as shall be further discussed in Chapter 8, caused great unease amongst Capetonians, with some even musing of German involvement. Nevertheless responses to it were mixed, even if the English press tended to amplify calls for condemnation.

In early May, 1915, the news of the sinking of the *Lusitania* alarmed many Capetonians. The ship, carrying civilians, was torpedoed by a German submarine off the coast of Ireland. Across the Empire outrage was expressed against the 'German atrocity.' Riots broke out in several cities, including Cape Town on the nights of the 12-13 May, where properties thought to be German-owned were targeted. The riots may have fostered a sense of shared purpose for those involved but, for their intended targets, local Germans, the war was brought home in a grim new reality.

In contrast to the somewhat tense first half of the year, July 1915 was marked by celebrations in response to Botha's victory in GSWA. These festivities were almost a 'premature armistice in miniature,' according to Bill Nasson.[110] Botha's return to the city prompted festive bunting and the British and Allied flags were hung in shop fronts. The Mayor and his wife met the Prime Minister at Loch Jetty and the procession proceeded to the City Hall along Dock Road, up Adderley Street and past Parliament.[111] The weather that day

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[108] Hermann Giliomee, *Afrikaners: Biography of a People* (Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press (2003), 380.

[109] One of the key figures in the rebellion was Lieutenant Colonel Manie Maritz. Maritz, who was leading one of the UDF forces along the GSWA border, attempted to side with Germany and boldly proclaimed the Transvaal Republic and Orange Free State independent from Britain. Swart, 'The "Five Shilling Rebellion" 92; Swart, 'A Boer and his Gun,' 737-751.

[110] Bill Nasson, 'Armistice 1915 and 1918: The South African Experience,' in P. Liddle and H. Cecil (eds.) *At the Eleventh Hour: Reflections, Hopes and Anxieties at the Close of the Great War, 1918* (Leo Cooper: London, 1998), 214.

[111] 'City's Welcome to General Botha,' Mayor's Minutes, 1915.

was miserable, but despite the 'drenching rain and driving wind,' men and women cheered from under their umbrellas as the procession of motor-cars and bicycles splashed its way along the route.[112] 'The enthusiasm with which Cape Town was bubbling over came to a head at the City Hall,' reported the *Cape Argus*, where approximately 2000 'excited faces' awaited the General's approach. The Mayor congratulated Botha on his 'splendid service,' and concluded that the way in which 'Dutch and British have marched and fought side by side' was a sign that [white] 'national unity is bound to be cemented.'[113]

1916-1918

The Union's early victory in GSWA may have encouraged some Capetonians to hope that the war might end sooner rather than later. In time this hope was dashed by the sluggish and protracted nature of the conflict. The grim reality of the human cost of the war was particularly felt in July 1916, as news filtered through to Capetonians of the severe (white) South African losses at the battle of Delville Wood in France. At the same time that this moment transformed the way many felt about war service (from enthusiasm to a solemn sense of duty), it was also used to reinvigorate lagging recruitment. For decades afterwards Delville Wood remained one of the key points of references for white South Africans in the First World War.

The continued loss of life prompted the need to commemorate the war dead. In May 1918, Mayor Harry Hands introduced a daily two-minute pause in remembrance of those who had lost their lives on active service (Hands had just lost his son, Reginald, in the war). Men and women across the Peninsula took part - even tramcars came to a halt.[114] This was a daily, deliberate choice to encourage Capetonians to reflect upon the war. Cape Town was, however, to experience death much closer to home, and on a far greater scale, just a few months later.

In October 1918 Cape Town was shut down as the Spanish Flu ravaged its way through the population. At its height - around the week of 10th October - the death toll reached over 400 a

[112] *Cape Argus,* 22 July 1915.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Mayor's Minutes, 1918.

day.[115] For Capetonians, 'Black October,' as it came to be known, was devastating. The city came to a complete standstill as it struggled to cope with the ill and a ballooning body count. Black October also formed a macabre contrast to Armistice, 11 November 1918, and the celebrations which swiftly followed. Relief, joy, grief and bewilderment – a plethora of wartime sentiments seem to have culminated within these two months.

These events – from the Rebellion, through to Black October and Armistice – helped form the warp and weft that made the First World War a part of the city itself during these years. Many of them, as shall be later discussed, related to questions of identity, loyalty and belonging in the city. They could reinforce or heighten a sense of collective purpose and just as easily exclude and alienate those either self-described or publically deemed as 'other.' For now loyalism is set aside – it is to the city itself that we first turn our attention.

Conclusion

Cape Town's atmosphere during the first few months of the war was a fluctuating mix of sentiments. Reports of excited crowds and dutiful pledges accompanied those revealing anxiety and uncertainty. It is likely, too, that other responses lay beneath the surface – apathy for a war that felt far away, and perhaps for some, a quiet resistance to the public displays of Imperial loyalism. Regardless of one's stance towards the situation, the war was woven into the fabric of the city, becoming both a point of imaginative reference and material experience for the years that followed August 1914.[116] The next few chapters delve deeper into exploring what these material effects were and how they shaped the lived experience of people in the city. Ultimately, despite moments of disruption and amidst sentiments of anxiety, apathy and enthusiasm, Capetonians adapted to their new reality as a City-at-War.

[115] Howard Phillips, 'Black October: The impact of the Spanish influenza epidemic of 1918 on South Africa' (PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 1984) 46.
[116] Cronier, 'The Street,' 58.

Chapter Two: Infrastructure

Introduction

The previous chapter discussed some of the ways in which the war became part of the imaginative and material world of the city. It was quickly woven into daily life in Cape Town both narratively (i.e. as a subject of everyday thought, however serious or fleeting) and materially (such as the sight of troops around the Peninsula, or the restriction of civilian movements through the militarisation of space). These wartime changes to Cape Town might, however, be considered superficial - the waves that washed over the city and largely subsided after the tide of war had faded. However, the war also exposed and exacerbated other, infrastructural concerns in Cape Town - including a limited harbour capacity, the supply of electricity, water shortages and sanitation services - in the face of new developments, such as the growth of factories. Central to this all was the demographic growth that the city experienced during, and partially as a result of, the war. What becomes clear is that the war had a tangible effect on the city and acted as a catalyst for demographic and infrastructural change.

Harbour capacity and electricity supply

Sometime mid-1916, Lieutenant Dunn (both newly-wed and promoted) of Australia's 35th Battalion entered Cape Town as part of a four ship convoy on its journey to England.[1] His letter home was printed in the local paper, the *Mudgee Guardian,* detailing his impressions of the city and how it compared to other ports along the way. One of his first thoughts about Cape Town was that its harbour ('like Colombo') was 'very inadequate.'[2] With only three docks, incoming vessels were forced to wait outside in Table Bay whilst others coaled or

[1] Bede Nairn, 'Dunn, William Fraser (1877–1951)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, 1981). Available at: http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/dunn-william-fraser-6052/text10351. Accessed online 30 October 2019.

[2] *Mudgee Guardian* (New South Wales), 31 August 1916. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/156893979; Accessed 09 July 2019.

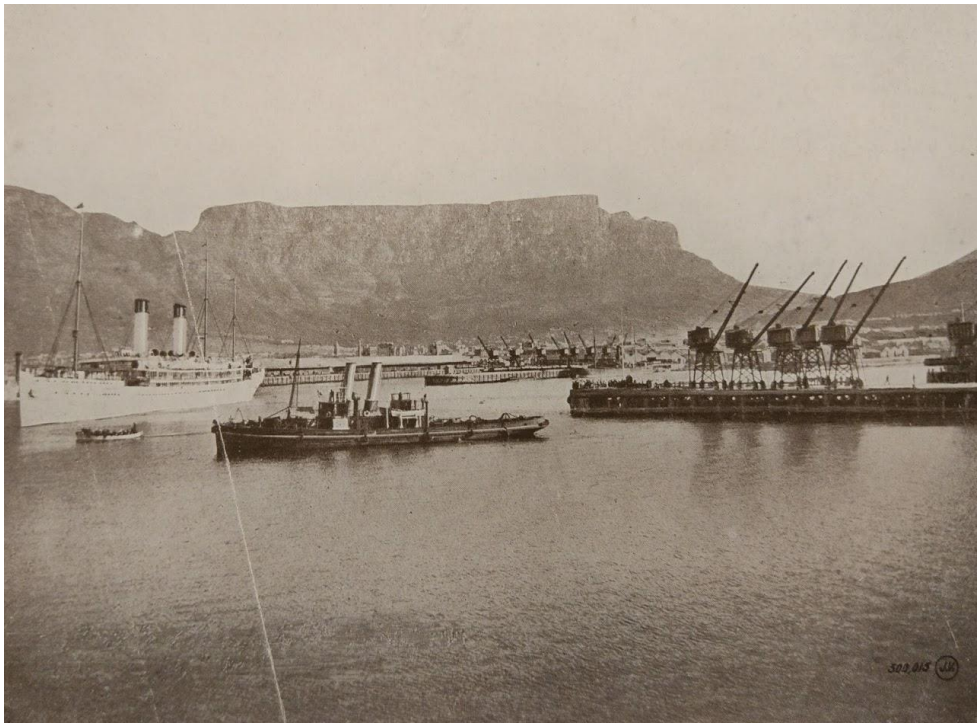
unloaded cargo. Perhaps this comment was not the most exciting of details provided by Dunn to readers back in Mudgee, but it did point towards some of the deeper infrastructural challenges that the First World War posed to Cape Town. Dunn's impressions reflected a real issue with harbour capacity during the war, and particularly so between 1915 and 1918, when many ships were being redirected from the Mediterranean (as a result of the disruption around the Suez Canal) to the Cape.[3] This represented a great increase in harbour traffic for Cape Town, with 1777 vessels visiting the port in 1916, versus a total of 1220 in 1915 (an increase of 45%). It was the opinion of the Cape Chamber of Commerce in 1917 that Cape Town's docks (Photograph 25 and 26) were 'comparatively inadequate' for the 'berthing and other facilities' needed for 'present demands,'[4] and that the immense 'activity in the Bay' had not been seen since 'the days of the South African War.'[5] It was impractical to make changes to the harbour during the war itself but, with the number of large vessels visiting the port continuing to increase after the war (such as the sister ships Windsor and Arundel Castles, used on the Union-Castle line) and the development of local exports, the harbour continued to struggle. It was only in the 1930s, however, that a new basin was developed.

Photograph 25: *View of the Harbour from above, c.1917*

Source: Special Collections, UCT, 'Souvenir Album of 75 views of the Cape Peninsula' (Valentine and Sons: Cape Town, c.1914).

[3] M. Marshall, 'The growth and development of Cape Town' (unknown thesis, University of Cape Town, 1940), 86.
[4] Journal of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce 3:35 (December, 1917), 12.
[5] R.F.M. Immelman, *Men of Good Hope,1804-1954* (Cape Town: Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, 1955), 291.

Photograph 26: *Ships in the Harbour*



Source: Special Collections, UCT, 'Souvenir Album of 75 views of the Cape Peninsula' (Valentine and Sons: Cape Town, c.1914).

The war also moderated the growth of electricity in Cape Town, preventing the expansion of the supply at a time when demand for the product was dramatically increasing. The first electric plant had been established in 1884 by the Harbour board, and largely supplied incandescent lighting to the harbour area, the nearby Somerset Hospital and the Railway Station (only the very wealthy in the city had access to private lighting at this time, generated by small steam engines installed in their homes).[6] By the eve of war, electricity was widely used for public lighting, businesses, factories, electric trams (Photograph 27, below) and increasingly in the home. Indeed, at the end of 1914 the city's Chief Electrical Engineer, Walter Long, reported that the number of electricity consumers had grown from 4780 in 1913 to 6623 in 1914 - an increase of roughly 39% (in comparison, there were 1319 consumers in 1904).[7] This did not necessarily reflect an even demand across Greater Cape Town, however, with the most notable increases occurring in the 'more recently developed areas, namely

[6] Verschoyle Papers, 'development of Cape Town;' for the history of electricity in Cape Town, see Jane Carruthers, 'G.H. Swingler and the Supply of Electricity to Cape Town,' in Vivian Bickford-Smith, E. Van Heyningen and H. Phillips (eds.) *Studies in the History of Cape Town* Vol. 5 (University of Cape Town, 1984), 214.

[7] Report of the Electrical Engineer, Mayor's Minutes, 1915; Verschoyle Papers, 'Urban development of the Cape.'

Woodstock and Sea Point.' Nevertheless this did confirm for Long 'the growing popularity of electricity both for lighting and power.' [8]

Photograph 27: *Trams outside Adderley Street rail station, circa 1920-1930*

Source: Linton brothers, accession no: H92.339/65, State Library of Victoria. Available online: http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/95305. Accessed: 31 July 2019.

The growing demand for electricity is also seen during these years outside the household, with the number of small manufacturers using it increasing from 7241 in 1914 to 7692 in 1915 (an increase of 6.3%). The City Council's consumption of electricity for street lighting similarly jumped from 744 054 units in 1914 to 800 111 units in 1915 (7.5%), whilst the number of units used by the docks and railways (likely linked to increased activities during the war) rose by 15.8% for the same period.[9] Yet at a time when the demand for electricity was clearly growing in the city, the war disrupted the further development of the city's electricity supply. In particular it was difficult to obtain parts from Britain (such as the larger feeder cables needed for the expansion of the network) 'on account of the war.'[10] The war

[8] Report of the Electrical Engineer, Mayor's Minutes 1915.
[9] Ibid, 1916.
[10] Ibid.

also was blamed for 'having seriously retarded the development of electrical, cooling and heating apparatus' for easier, safer and cheaper household use.[11]

By the end of 1919, it was reflected that the electricity supply over the preceding years 'had been running constantly up to the maximum load,' placing 'severe strain' on the generating plant.[12] Finally, in January 1919, the 3000kw alternator overheated, whilst the smaller 2000kw machine was 'out of commission owing to the non-arrival of spare parts.' Two large boilers were ordered to maintain and relieve the system, but strikes in England delayed the delivery. The Chief Electrical Engineer, now G.H. Swingler, concluded 1919 to be a 'disastrous year,' and that it was only accidental that portions of the city were not cut off from electricity entirely, as the main generator blew in a low-consumption, summer month.[13] Whilst this energy strain was partially solved after the end of the hostilities, between 1919 and 1921, when the Dock Road Power Station was completely updated and its generating capacity doubled,[14] war conditions, combined with an increasing demand for electricity in the city, almost broke down the system altogether.

Population Increase

The war also impacted on Cape Town's demographics. It was a catalyst for increased urbanisation to Cape Town, creating work opportunities in the city, and exacerbating rural hardship. According to the 1911 and 1921 censuses, the city's population increased from roughly 150 000 to 183 000 (or by 22%). It must be acknowledged that these figures do not specifically reflect the war years, and that increasing urbanisation during the given decade is likely to have been the trend regardless of the war - particularly considering factors such as the commercialisation of agriculture, persistent drought across large parts of the Union, and the incorporation of black South Africans into the Union's capitalist economy through trade, taxation and land-loss.[15]

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[11] Report of the Electrical Engineer, Mayor's Minutes, 1917.
[12] Ibid, 1919.
[13] Ibid, 1920.
[14] Carruthers, 'G.H. Swingler,' 222.
[15] William Beinart, *Twentieth Century South Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 20-27; William Beinart and Colin Bundy, *Hidden Struggle in Rural South Africa: Politics and Popular Movements in the Transkei and Eastern Cape* (Braamfontein: Ravan Press, 1987), 194.

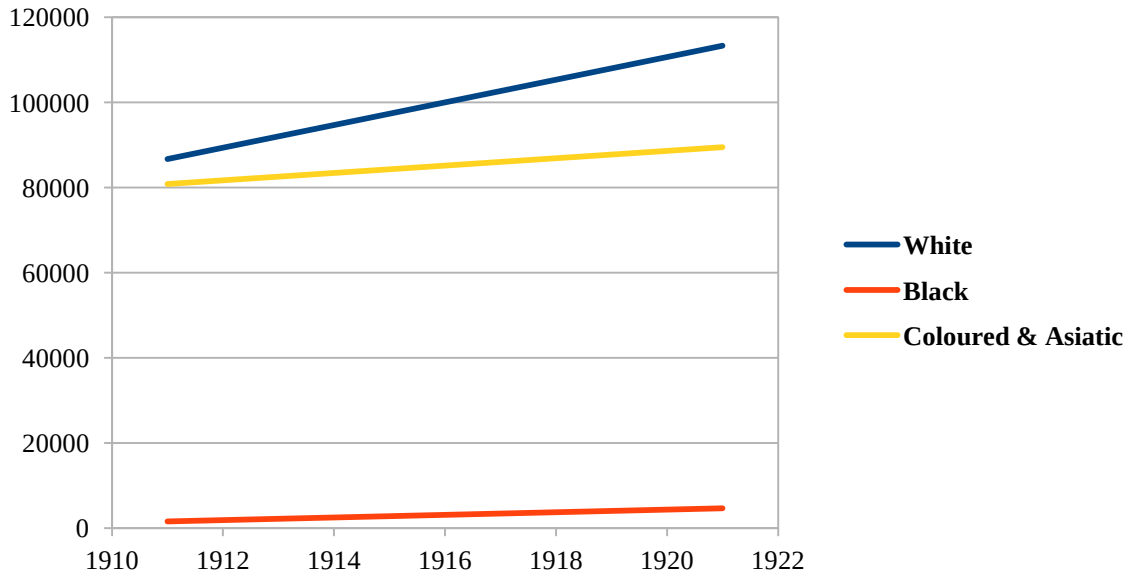
Whilst the city's white residents increased between 1911 and 1921 by 30.67%, there was a much lower increase of 10.67% of 'coloured and Asiatic' residents (see Table 5 and Graph 1, below). This latter figure, however, can be understood within the context of the disproportionate toll the Spanish Influenza took on the Cape's poorer residents in the latter months of 1918, as later discussed.[16] This means that the low percentage increase in the city's coloured residents might not reflect the true extent of coloured migration to Cape Town during the war, particularly considering soaring unemployment and surging wartime inflation in the surrounding countryside.

Table 5: *Population of Cape Town and Suburbs by race and gender and their subsequent increases between 1911 and 1921*

	'European'			'Black'			'Asiatic' & 'Coloured'			All races		
	1911	1921	% increase	1911	1921	% increase	1911	1921	% increase	1911	1921	% increase
Male	44 366	55 794	25,26	1250	3 985	218,8	37 801	42 404	12,18	83 417	101 183	21,3
Female	42 342	57 508	35,82	331	695	109,97	43 000	47 018	9,34	85 673	105 221	22,81
Total	86 708	113 302	30,67	1 581	4 680	196,02	80 801	89 422	10,67	169 090	207 404	22,66

Source: UG 15-'23, *'Population of the People,' 1921 Census* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1924), 62.

Graph 1: *Population Increase of Cape Town and Suburbs by race, 1911-1921*



Source: *UG 15-'23, 'Population of the People,' 1921 Census* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1924), 62.

[16] Phillips, 'Black October,' 30.

Various officials in the city, in the lieu of frequent statistical surveys, sought other signs to confirm the numerical increase in the city's population. The 1917 Report of the Medical Officer stated that 'in spite of the war, I consider that the population of Cape Town has increased to a much greater extent than that caused by natural increase (i.e. excess of births over deaths) because of the influx of people from the country districts having been much larger than exodus, due to the war,' the evidence being that 'nearly every house in the city is occupied.'[17] The City Engineer similarly linked the annual cleaning statistics of the city (see Table 6, below) to an increased population, arguing that the two were connected.[18]

Table 6: *Refuse and sanitary removals, 1916-1917*

	1916	1917	Approximated increase (percentage)
Total refuse removed (cubic yards)	260334	278256	7%
Sanitary removals (numbers of)	660474	673882	2%

Source*:* Report of the City Engineer, *Mayor's Minutes,* 1918.

The substantial increase in the city's white population in part reflected the number of poor, rural Afrikaners who retreated to the city during the war out of necessity. This linked to a wider and longer process of agrarian transformation, stemming back to the late nineteenth century.[19] Many 'bijwoners,' or Dutch subsistence farmers who farmed through tenancy, struggled to survive in an increasingly commercialised context and were swiftly forced off the land. Interestingly enough, this occurred far more rapidly than did the black dispossession of land according to William Beinart, as 'African communal tenure' made black communities initially more resilient to laws (such as the 1913 Land Act) encroaching on black land ownership.[20] On top of changes in agriculture, bijwoners had been severely affected by the years during and after the Anglo-Boer (1899-1902), including the post-war

[17] Report of the Medical Officer of Health, Mayor's Minutes, 1917.
[18] Report of the City Engineer, Mayor's Minutes, 1918.
[19] Beinart, *South Africa*, 20.
[20] Ibid. Beinart and Delius argue that 'the Act did not take land away from African people directly, and in the short term had a limited impact…the consequences were mixed and slow to materialise.' William Beinart & Peter Delius, 'The Historical Context and Legacy of the Natives Land Act of 1913,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 40:4 (2014), 668.

'long depression' from 1903-1909 and waves of drought and pestilence.[21] Whilst these factors had already triggered a movement of poor bijwoners into the city *before* the war, the war years themselves saw little reprieve. With the collapse of the Ostrich Feather Industry upon the outbreak of war, the resurgence of drought years in 1916-1917 and the substantial wartime rise in the cost of living (by 1915 food prices had risen by approximately 50% above the 1914 figures in rural areas),[22] urban resettlement was the only option for many.

Compared to increasing rural unemployment, Cape Town experienced a high demand for labour during the war. This, as shall be discussed in Chapter Four, enabled many families to weather the storm of wartime inflation through the full employment of their family members. The growth of factories in Cape Town, both during and as a result of the war, was significant in shaping the city's expanding labour needs. In fact, Cape Town's Treasurer concluded in 1919 that this was the 'chief cause' of the influx of people into the city.[23] Wartime conditions - including the disruption of trade and shipping difficulties - created a bubble of protectionism for the Union,[24] the country 'thrown to a very large extent on its own resources.'[25] Although Cape Town was not transformed into a mega-industrial complex during the war years, the fact that it had been (and continued to be) primarily a commercial capital meant that the baseline number of factories (apart from small workshops) was low, making the percentage increase of factory production comparatively significant. Factory production in the Cape Province as a whole had increased from 1915-1921 by 141%, a figure comparable to the increase in the other provinces (Natal 146%; Transvaal 143%; OFS 146%).[26] In particular, food that was produced and processed locally had previously struggled to compete with overseas imports. Local canneries thus expanded during the war as did the 'preparation, treatment and preserving of food, drink, condiments, and tobacco,' more generally.[27] Indeed, the Cape Peninsula, by 1920-1921, was responsible for 88.2% of the factory production of the province, and the largest concentration of industry lay in food production, at 26.4%. The war was thus a stimulus for industrial production and started, at

[21] Nasson, 'Messing with Coloured People,' 307; Sandra Swart, 'A boer and his gun,' 741.
[22] Bill Nasson, '"Messing with Coloured People:" The 1918 Police Strike in Cape Town, South Africa,' *The Journal of African History* 33:2 (1992), 307.
[23] Report of the City Treasurer, Mayor's Minutes, 1919.
[24] Adrian Sayers, 'Development, transformation and freedom: critical perspectives on development, transformation and freedom, with reference to a social and economic history of the state, markets and civil practices in the Western Cape of South Africa, c. 1910-1984,' (PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 2006), 88.
[25] Department of Mines and Industries, Industrial Development in South Africa 1924, (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1924), 1.
[26] Ibid, 20.
[27] Sayers, 'Development, transformation and Freedom,' 95.

least in the minds of the Secretary of Mines and Industries in 1922, 'the industrial chapter' of the Union's development.[28]

Considering rural hardship and the pull of employment in the city, it is unsurprising that Cape Town's black population similarly saw a substantial increase during the war years.[29] For example Ndabeni, the city's first black 'location,' increased by 132% between 1914 and 1918 (see Table 7, below). Interestingly, the 41.3% reported death toll of black Capetonians as a result of the Spanish Flu in October 1918[30] did not seem to hamper the overall growth of the city's black population between 1911 and 1921, which rose by 196% (see Table 5, above). This emphasizes the substantial and rising trend of black urbanisation during these years.

Table 7: *Population of Ndabeni, 1911- September 1918*

Year	Population
1911	719
1912	1022
1913	1284
1914	1536
1915	1855
1916	1645
1917	2365
1918	3309
September 1918	3561 (595 children, 2518 adult males, 448 adult females)

Source: UG 7-1919, *Report of the Department of Native Affairs 1913 – 1918* (Pretoria: Government Printers, 1919), 17.

Ndabeni, in particular, served the labour needs for the railway, docks, roadworks, 'municipal and all large concerns,'[31] and some residents also found employment in factories. Merchants and businessmen alike, both in Cape Town and Simonstown, called upon this labour reserve. Ndabeni's burgeoning population during the First World War was, according to the Department of Native Affairs, a result of the increased demand for 'native labour' during the

[28] Industrial Development in South Africa 1924, 1.
[29] Africans represented 14% of the labour force in the mid-1920s, whilst were only 4% in 1916. Barry Kinkead-Weekes, 'Africans in Cape Town: the origins and development of state policy and popular resistance to 1936' (PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 1985), 57.
30 UG 15-19, Report of the Influenza Epidemic Commission (Cape Town: Government Printer, 1919), 23.
[31] Ibid, 18.

war, which had caused many men to 'flock to the Cape.'[32] Although the demand was mostly for unskilled male labour (in September 1918 just under 71% of Ndabeni residents were male adults, versus 12.6% female adults and 16.7% children), there was also an increased interest in 'female servants,' whose 'demand…continued to be greater than supply.'[33]

Overall, the rise in the number of workers – of all races - in the city and the continued demand for labour meant that, when the cost of living soared, and work conditions were found wanting, urban workers were in a particularly strong position to strike (this is further explored in Chapter Four).

Housing

Clearly one of the wartime challenges posed to Cape Town was the growth of the city's population, placing Cape Town's housing system under enormous strain. Poorer areas like District Six were particularly affected, as they were the more affordable choice for newcomers to the city. They also provided 'networks of survival,' be it shopkeeper credit or 'clothing clubs.'[34] Woodstock and Salt River, too, experienced the pressure of a growing population, and cases of 'respectable' working-class and middle-class whites struggling to find housing were reported all over the Peninsula. It is likely that the hardships brought on by the war, and the strains placed on housing, meant that residential racial integration intensified during the period, certainly so in the more impoverished districts of the city. This inflamed the concern of the city's English elite that poor Dutch whites, living below the standards of living 'appropriate' for 'Europeans,' were at risk of interracial mingling.[35] The concern with miscegenation, as well as the 'evils of urban living' for those perceived as unequipped to handle it, meant that the drift of bijwoners into the cities was largely unwanted in many sectors. The fact that employers were willing to take on 'white unskilled labour,' for example, was deemed a danger by the Board of the South African Railways and Harbours, as it was 'causing poor whites to drift more into towns.'[36]

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[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Nasson, '"Messing with Coloured People,"' 309-310.
[35] Ibid.
[36] UG 13-'16, Report of the South African Railways and Harbours 1915 (Cape Town: Government Printers), 1916.

The Medical Officer of Health, reflecting on the 1916-1917 period, noted that 'hire houses - particularly domestic dwellings' continued to be in great demand, with the sales of residential properties 'more numerous,' and 'affected at increasing prices.'[37] Indeed, rising rents, linked to this shortage of housing, became a point of contention during the war, and many landlords were accused of rent-racketeering.[38] Overall, monthly rent in the Peninsula, as displayed in Table 8, below, had increased on average from £3 17 5 in 1913 to £4 16 8 by August 1918.

Table 8: *Average monthly rents across the Cape Peninsula, 1910 - August 1919, in Pounds (£), Shillings (s.) and Pence (d.)*

Year	Cape Town centre & Woodstock	Sea Point & Green Point	Other Suburbs, including Wynberg	Average Rent across Cape Peninsula
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1910	3 13 0	4 3 1	3 7 6	3 12 3
1913	3 19 0	4 7 6	3 11 5	3 17 5
1914	4 0 5	4 15 3	3 13 5	3 19 9
1915	4 3 4	5 3 5	3 17 3	4 3 6
1916	4 8 10	5 7 1	3 19 7	4 7 9
1917	4 10 11	5 9 5	4 3 7	4 10 5
August 1918	4 18 2	5 13 9	4 8 7	4 16 8
August 1919	4 19 7	5 19 7	4 6 3	4 17 4

Source: Social Statistics, no 4-1921, *Statistics of Wages and Industrial Matters and of Retail and Wholesale Prices, Rents and Cost of Living, 1895 to 1922* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1922), 98.

Rent-racketeering was viewed as taking advantage of the housing dearth at the expense of the city's citizens. In mid-1916, John X Merriman argued that whilst 'one might think that the place was full of money,' an 'underworld' existed in Cape Town, with property owners charging high rents for 'every inhabitable hole.' 'At the old Police Station in Woodstock,' he implored, 'one comes upon the real thing in the square old building with labyrinths of odd-shaped rooms, and innumerable excrescence in the way of outhouses, of stables and stall, former lock-up cells, cart-houses and tin sheds.'[39] The building of new homes was also unfavourable during the war as the building trade was hindered by the rising prices of raw materials.[40] In February 1916, a Tenant's Protection Association was formed in Woodstock. It argued that the 'complaint of increased rentals' was 'more than justified.'[41] Remedies to the situation were proposed, including a suggested maximum cost for all rentals 'until the

[37] Report of the Medical Officer of Health, Mayor's Minutes, 1917.
[38] *Cape Argus,* 10 July 1916.
[39] *Cape Times,* 15 June 1916.
[40] Report of the City Treasurer, Mayor's Minutes, 1917.
[41] *Cape Times,* Feb 4 1916.

termination of hostilities' and the barring of landlords from raising rent above the valuation of the building. The 1919 Cost of Living Commission's general report similarly recommended that under the Public Welfare and Moratorium Act 'fair rentals should be fixed by some public authority.'[42] It does not seem that such recommendations were adopted during the war by the City Council, which, despite acknowledging the housing situation, was notable for its *inaction.*

The Acts of 1902 and 1905, which prevented black men and women from residing outside of Ndabeni (barring exceptions), were increasingly over-looked as the location became overcrowded during the war (see Photograph 28, below).

Photograph 28: *Leisure time- black Capetonians gambling in Buitenkant Street, District Six*

Source: Accession no: H36439/172, *George D. Flanagan collection,* State Library of Victoria. Available online: *http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/295902*. Accessed: 31 July 2019. No restrictions.

[42] UG 55-18, General Report of the Cost of Living, Rents and Housing, Cost of Living Commission, (Cape Town: Government Printer, 1919), 3, 42.

Indeed, Ndabeni's population increase was 132% between 1914 and 1918. Yet, as substantial as this figure was, it likely did not reflect those residing in the city itself. As competition for affordable housing in the city worsened, more black residents were reported as living illegally outside of Ndabeni. In the war's early days many interlopers were relocated back to the location, but, by 1918, Ndabeni was so saturated that the Magistrates increasingly released contraveners.[43] The rising cost of living, compounded by worsening conditions in Ndabeni, added to a growing sense of dissatisfaction for its residents. Indeed, the 1919 report of the Department of Native Affairs had concluded that overcrowding in Ndabeni 'had become a serious matter and a grave menace to public health.'[44]

The war, rather than causing a housing crisis in the Peninsula, exacerbated an already struggling system. In a 1919 Report on Housing in the Peninsula it was admitted that Cape Town's housing supply had been under strain for the preceding 25 years. Efforts to address the concern were never considered as a whole and the City Council repeatedly sought to target 'artisans and labourers,' notably of their own employ in 1894, 1895 and later in 1901-1904 after the Anglo-Boer War, but 'without any material result.'[45] In effect, nothing had been built by the City Council (excluding Ndabeni) since a workman's barracks were constructed in Prestwich Street in 1897-8,[46] despite the city's growing population. Ultimately, by the war's end, Cape Town was experiencing one of the worst housing shortages in the Union. It required roughly 3500 houses for its 'poorer classes (both white and coloured),' which amounted to 30% of the overall housing shortfall for the Union's total urban areas.[47] Nevertheless, whilst Cape Town generally faced a housing shortage, the occupancy per room was roughly twice as high for coloured and black Capetonians (excluding Ndabeni and the Docks) in all wards across Cape Town, than it was for white residents.[48] This is reflected in the infant mortality rates, as discussed below. It was only after the ravages of the Spanish Flu, in the latter months of 1918, that the question of housing was given more serious attention, as is seen in Chapter Five, 'Slum City.'

[43] Kinkead-Weekes, 'Africans in Cape Town,' 84-86; Saunders, 'The Creation of Ndabeni,' 169.
[44] UG 13-'16, Railways and Harbours, 18.
[45] Cape Peninsula and Housing: Report of the Housing Committee, 1919,' UG 37-24, 1921 Census, 308-309.
[46] Barnett, 'Race, Housing and Town Planning,' 9.
[47] Ibid, 80.
[48] Report of the Housing Committee, 1919, 315.

Health and Sanitation

'Scavenging,' or the management of street and household sanitation, was a long-standing challenge to urban order in Cape Town, even before the war. Two men and a boy were employed (along with some trusted ferrets) in the management and extermination of the city's rats - although it is difficult to imagine how effective they were across the larger municipal area.[49] Household refuse was removed daily from central Cape Town (with the exception of Sundays) and every second day from the eight other wards in the municipality.[50] By 1918, Sundays had been incorporated into the clearing schedule in the city's 'thickly populated districts.' This was thought to have made a 'marked improvement' on their appearance.[51] Yet there was great criticism stemming from the fact that the City Council was not enforcing their own regulations with regards to the shapes and materials required for household bins.[52] Rather the popular use of oil tins without lids did not only smell foul, but attracted 'the house Hun.' This 'enemy,' the common fly, wrote one citizen in August 1915, drawing on wartime rhetoric, 'has countless reserves; and nothing daunts his morale…you can slay his battalion and another one fills the gap.'[53] As such the use of open-carts by the Municipality to collect refuse was regarded as equally unsanitary and outdated. Those Capetonians living in the poorer residential areas of the city were also looked upon with suspicion and were frequently blamed for untidy streets. As shall be seen in Chapter Five, 'Slum City,' this 'slum rhetoric' was a bourgeois discourse that linked poverty, disease and immorality together, and portrayed the city's poorer citizens as hindrances to modernity and respectability.[54] In addition to these pre-existing challenges to urban cleanliness came the burdens of war. Apart from an increase in the civilian population in the city, the large number of troops in the city between 1914 and 1919 added to the amount of refuse being produced and discarded.[55]

The city's sewerage system was also under development - and strain - during the war. Central Cape Town and Sea Point, as well as most of Kalk Bay (on the far side of the Peninsula), had already been updated with a water carriage system. This was in the process of being extended

[49] Mayor's Minutes, 1916.
[50] Ibid, 1917.
[51] Ibid,1918.
[52] *Cape Argus,*05 August 1915.
[53] Ibid, 04 August 1915.
[54] A. Mayne, 2-3.
[55] Phillips, 'Black October,' 31.

to Woodstock, Maitland, Mowbray, Rondebosch and Claremont.[56] These suburbs were still on the old pail system, where 'night soil' was collected weekly and buried in designated locations. It was reported that off Camp Ground Road in Rondebosch, 'a narrow lane runs at the back of a row of cottages,' where 'buckets of waste water are allowed to overflow and run into the road.'[57] The sight of the slop-carts in Salt River 'going about their daily rounds and spilling their contents as they go,' was also seemingly common.[58] An extended drought during the war years, however, exacerbated the matter, with the Chief Engineer in 1916 recording the worst rainfall for the summer season since 1897.[59] Apart from the implementation of water restrictions, the water-pipes were frequently shut off for extended periods each day to mitigate the shortage. The peak of these was in March to mid-April in 1917, where water was cut-off from 1pm to 6am daily.[60] The situation did not simply improve after the war, with cuts of up to 20 consecutive hours in 1919.[61] Overall, it is easy to imagine that Cape Town might have been distinctly un-respectable in its smell during this time.

The drought was exacerbated by the increasing demand for water in connection with the city's war effort. The Defence Force alone went from using 5 273 000 gallons of the city's water in 1914 to 17 712 000 in 1915.[62] The quantity of water supplied to the South African Railways and Shipping initially increased during the GSWA Campaign (which ended in July 1915) and with the establishment of Cape Town as a military base.[63] Yet figures for SA Rail and Harbours continued to increase during the war, going from 144 158 000 gallons in 1914, up to 172 228 000 in 1918 and 201 288 000 in 1920.[64] The city was quite quickly forced into problem-solving the water-shortage, particularly as the city's growth was unlikely to abate. A new dam scheme was proposed and, in 1917, Steenbras dam - which was to be built in a high catchment area, 65 kilometres outside of Cape Town - was decided upon.[65]
Where water stagnated in the city's drains, and the catch-pits of the storm-water sewers, flies and mosquitoes thrived. With water supplies running low in the summer of 1915-1916, the

[56] Mayor's Minutes, 1917.
[57] *Cape Times,* 18 September 1915.
[58] *Cape Argus,* 24 July 1916.
[59] Mayor's Minutes, 1916.
[60] Ibid, 1917.
[61] 'The Cape Town Water Undertaking,' Verschoyle Papers.
[62] Report of the City Engineer, Mayor's Minutes, 1916.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid, 1919.
[65] Ibid, 1917.

city resorted to cleaning the streets and drains, as well as flushing the sewers, with salt water, which was readily available. This proved a great mistake, making 'the gullies' 'offensive.'[66] Poor drainage, drought, and the increase of bodies in Cape Town thus made a congenial environment for the spread of infectious diseases. Dr Jasper Anderson, the Chief Medical Officer of Health, summarised 1915 as 'a most anxious year.'[67] Smallpox had broken out, but was 'fortunately suppressed.' Enteric fever (typhoid) was more tenacious and particularly prevalent in areas still using the pail system. 'Who that has watched the slop-carts going their daily round…does not fear for the little children?' the *Argus* asked a year later, in July 1916.[68] Wards seven and nine (Salt River and Castle) were 'chiefly affected,' the former being both low-lying and without proper drainage, so that 'dirty water from higher parts' would 'flow…over its surface whilst on the way to the sea.'[69] Enteric fever was also brought in by troops returning from GSWA as well as 'merchant vessels arriving in the port.'[70]

In this context new measures were introduced to prevent the spread of notifiable diseases. Female sanitary and district inspectors were tasked with investigating each notification of disease, both for more efficient treatment and for the statistical compilation of information on the spread of infections. Yet, as of 1915, there were only three female sanitary inspectors and sixteen district inspectors operating across the city.[71] People diagnosed with Scarlet Fever and Diphtheria were moved to the Infectious Diseases Hospital in Portswood Road if home quarantine was impractical (which was often the case in impoverished areas, where entire families resided in a single room). Yet the Hospital itself was too small for the task (holding only nine beds). Accordingly, in 1915, a 'pavilion with two wards' was constructed and two buildings temporarily commandeered, the latter to house tuberculosis patients. Excluding this interim set-up, the Infectious Diseases Hospital in 1915 had not been altered since its establishment in 1900, despite the population increase over the following decade.

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[66] Ibid, 1918.
[67] Report of the Medical Officer of Health, Mayor's Minutes, 1915.
[68] *Cape Argus,* 24 July 1916.
[69] Report of the Medical Officer of Health, Mayor's Minutes, 1915, 1918.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Mayor's Minutes, 1915; Each female inspector furthermore was in charge of an Infant Life Bureau. These were open on specific days and times and often utilised local town halls, including those of Claremont, Maitland and Mowbray, whilst the Salt River Bureau operated out of the Free Dispensary. All of these were open to both white and coloured women - it was only the town branch at 80 Corporation Street which kept separate opening times for coloured and white women. Mayor's Minutes, 1918.

So inadequate was the available accommodation, that many patients with infectious diseases had to be refused admittance in 1915, and particularly so in terms of diphtheria and enteric fever. This represented a 'weak link in the chain of armour in the defence against disease,' in the city according to Dr Anderson.[72] Unsurprisingly, the city's poor (the majority of which were coloured) were the most affected by the spread of disease. This meant that, in 1915 for example, coloured Capetonians were three times more likely to die from acute infectious diseases (referred to as 'Zymotic disease,' which included typhoid, typhus, measles, diphtheria, cholera, scarlet-fever and whooping-cough), than white Capetonians. Coloured Capetonians were also four times more likely to die from bronchitis and six times more likely to die from tuberculosis, as reported by Dr Anderson, for the same year.[73] The wartime worsening of material conditions in Cape Town, therefore, had a disproportionately high effect on poorer Capetonians.

The same trend is seen in the infant mortality rates for the war period, with the death rate of coloured babies frequently double that of white babies, across almost all the wards (see Table 9, below). The historical and contemporary systems which effectively restricted coloured and black Capetonians from easy access to education, wealth and health-care, clearly shows in these figures. The rapid spread of disease in the city's coloured population reflects the differential living conditions between white and coloured Capetonians. Generally, occupancy per room across most wards for coloured and black Capetonians was roughly double that for white Capetonians (see Graph 2, below). These conditions are also reflected in the fact that the death rate for black and coloured Capetonians, as a result of the Spanish Flu of October 1918 (see Chapter Five), was much higher than that for whites [74] even if the Flu was regarded as 'a social leveller, where the 'well-to-do and poor alike felt the smiting hand of the epidemic.'[75] Official estimates by the end of the Flu put the number of deaths between 7000 and 14 000, and at the height of the scourge, Cape Town was losing around 400 people daily.[76] Areas such as the Malay Quarter and District Six were particularly hard hit. The very first death recorded was 'John Smith, a 21 year old coloured brush-maker working for the Union Defence Force' living at number 18 Roger Street, District Six.[77]

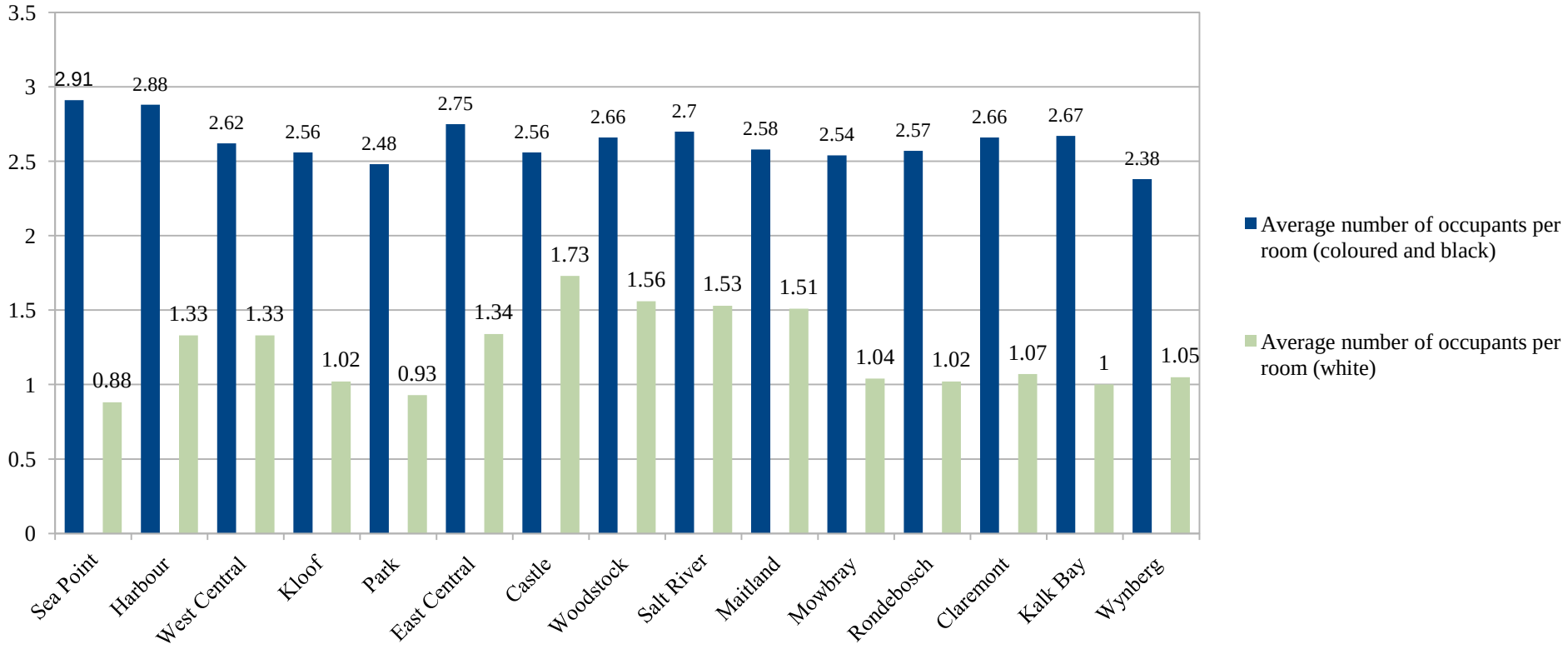
[72] Report of the Medical Officer of Health, 1915.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Howard Phillips, *Plague, Pox and Pandemics* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2012), 81.
[75] *CTCM*: 38, 02 November 1918.
[76] Phillips, 'Black October,' 60-65.
[77] Ibid, 31-2.

Table 9: *Infant mortality (per 1000 infants) per ward in Cape Town, as broken down by race, 1914-1919*

	1914			1915			1916			1917			1918			1919		
	Coloured	White	Average	C	W	Av	C	W	Av	C	W	Av	Coloured & Black	W	Av	C & B	W	Av
1.Green Point & Sea Point	87	73	80	167	71	119	111	64	88	161	27	94	211	47	129	286	71	179
2. Harbour	237	97	167	190	121	155,5	220	93	157	231	75	153	163	96	130	216	292	254
3.West Central				158	46	102	174	152	163	234	38	136	169	45	107	253	256	254
4. Kloof				163	69	116	155	46	101	204	61	133	109	54	82	257	82	170
5. Park				130	64	97	155	23	89	126	93	109,5	133	69	101	179	64	121,5
6.East Central				216	119	167,5	155	37	96	197	101	149	238	103	170	327	135	231
7. Castle				243	120	181,5	196,3*	96	146	222	136	179	201	51	126	347	258	303
8. Woodstock	303	116	209,5	193	123	158	196,3*	121	159	238	127	154	183	84	133	242	121	182
9. Salt River				267	105	186	226	102	164	221	123	172	211	88	150	244	103	174
10. Mowbray	307	197	252	231	104	167,5	130	59	94,5	342	72	207	184	73	128	398	125	261
11. Maitland				313	99	206	264	108	186	238	82	160	232	75	154	388	73	231
12. Rondebosch	257	141	199	248	115	181,5	210	86	152,5	220	74	147	221	71	146	325	102	213
13. Claremont	226	85	155	220	76	148	181	70	125	225	90	157	199	72	135	231	82	157
14.Kalk Bay	195	85	140	180	103	141,5	166	28	97	285	140	212	175	120	148	307	42	175
Average	**230**	**113**	**172**	**209**	**95**	**152**	**181**	**78**	**129,5**	**225**	**89**	**157**	**188**	**75**	**131,5**	**286**	**129**	**207.5**

Source: *Cape Town, Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health, Mayor's Minutes, 1914-1919. The following are of note: (1) The 1914 ward division subsumes wards 2-6 under 'Central.' (2) The highest figure under each category is underlined. (3) *The 1916 Mayor's Minute provides the same figure for coloured infant mortality for both Castle and Woodstock – it is unclear whether this is co-incidence or an accident in the records. (4) The Mayoral year runs until the 30th June each year, intersecting the calendar year. (5) 1919's overall high infant mortality rate reflects the effects of Spanish Flu in October 1918. (6) Black Capetonians were omitted in the Medical Officer of Health's reports for the years 1914-1917 and then included with Coloured and Asiatic Capetonians in 1918 and 1919.*

Graph 2*: Racial comparison of the number of occupants per room per ward in Cape Town, 1921*



Source: UG 37-24, General Report, *1921 Census* (Pretoria Government Printers, 1924), 315. Note that these figures reflect private dwellings of 1-19 rooms. Graph II demonstrates which wards on average had the highest number of occupants per room and, as with the 1921 census, breaks down occupancy according to race. Sea Point (0,88) followed by the Park ward (0,93), both affluent areas, had the lowest occupancy per room for white Capetonians, whereas the Castle and Woodstock wards held the highest, at 1.73 and 1.56 respectively. For coloured and black Capetonians (excluding those black residents living at the Docks and the Ndabeni location), Sea Point (2,91), followed closely by Harbour (2,88) and East Central (i.e. 'District Six'; 2.75) had the highest average occupancy per room. Wynberg (2.38) and Park (2.48) reflecting the wards with the lowest average occupancy per room for black and coloured persons.

Conclusion

The war, then, exacerbated infrastructural weaknesses in Cape Town and acted as a catalyst in the burgeoning of factories and increased urbanisation. It exposed the city's limited harbour supply, the rising demands for electricity, and strained sanitation services in the face of drought and overcrowding. These wartime material changes substantially shaped the experience of Cape Town for its residents, and at times, were a matter of life and death. Lastly, these changes point toward the unequal impact of the war on Capetonians, with poorer areas taking the greatest toll.

Chapter Three: Work

Introduction

'Kaiser Wilhelm is a wonderful magician….[He] put Ken into uniform, and brings me back to general practice?!' reflected Dr Charles Murray to his wife, Caroline, in September 1914.[1] Dr Murray had recently retired from his busy medical practice in Cape Town. His son, Kenah, had taken over the business, only to volunteer for the South African Medical Corps upon the outbreak of war, and Dr Charles Murray dutifully returned to work. Kenah was not the only doctor to volunteer and the city was faced with a shortage of medical professionals. It was not only the medical profession which struggled with a wartime loss of manpower. Nor was the latter the only work impacted by war. Indeed, war service, wartime organisational and patriotic work, the blossoming of factories under wartime conditions, and urbanisation were amongst the key factors shaping work in Cape Town between 1914 and 1919. Yet, as shall be seen, not all work opportunities were equally accessible to all - many were influenced by the intersection of other identifications such as race, class and ethnicity. Ultimately it becomes clear that the war was a catalyst for substantial shifts in Cape Town's work force, many of which did not reverse after the conclusion of war.

Work and wartime urbanisation

The city's burgeoning population during the war was, as discussed, a result of both factors external to the city (such as increasing rural poverty), and factors internal to the city (including wartime labour demands and the growth of the manufacturing sector under war-created protectionism). Ndabeni's growth was attributed to 'the increased demand for native labour during the war.'[2] Most of these men would have performed hard labour at the Cape Town or Simonstown docks, the railways, as well as for municipal concerns. It also appears that some black workers were also employed in factory work, such as Ohlsson's Brewery in

[1] Molteno Family Papers, Box 83, Dr Murray to Kathleen, 09 September 1914.
[2] UG 7-1919, 'Native Affairs,' 18.

Newlands, and some of the jam and food processing factories.[3] The majority did not come with their families (Ndabeni had a largely male population) and it is likely that many planned to work in the city temporarily. As will be seen in the next chapter on the cost of living and strikes, increased urbanisation and a burgeoning work force helped create the conditions for greater labour organisation.

Many poor whites coming into Cape Town hoped that temporary city employment would help them survive until the return of more fortunate years back home.[4] With little education, these 'poor whites' were not readily welcome into the lofty circles of Anglicized Cape Town, many turning to hard labour[5] or service as prison wardens, fire-fighters or lowly constables in the city's police force.[6] This was accelerated during the war years by an outflow of men from the police to war service. By 1916 the Chief Commissioner of the South African Police, Colonel T. Truter, was alarmed by the number of police leaving for service in East Africa and France, and was particularly concerned that it was the 'best type of man' that they were losing (he most likely meant 'respectable' Anglophone men).[7] One of the chief results of this was a police-force that was increasingly (although not exclusively) characterised by a stratum of low-paid, young, Afrikaner constables and a professional and largely Anglophone class of officers.[8] Many of the latter were suspicious of incoming Afrikaners who had connections to towns such as Upington or Carnarvon, known for their anti-British rebels during the Anglo-Boer War.[9] This attitude was likely to have extended to *all* rural Afrikaners, even if there were many 'loyalist-influenced' small, rural and predominately Afrikaner towns, such as Outdshoorn or Swellendam, who proclaimed their loyalty to the war cause after the outbreak of war in August 1914.[10]

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[3] Peter Wickens, 'General Labour Unions in Cape Town, 1918-1920,' *South African Journal of Economics* 40:3 (2006), 191-193; Van der Walt, 'The Revolutionary Traditions,' 155.
[4] Nasson, 'Messing with Coloured People,' 309; Swart, 'A Boer and his gun,' 742.
[5] One Nationalist Party Candidate in the 1915 elections claimed to have the support of 500 Dutch workmen in Salt River. Whilst O'Sullivan concludes that he may have been exaggerating and that 'the Afrikaner presence in the workshops' during those years was 'vague,' any Dutchmen working in the workshops were likely to have been labourers alongside coloured workers. Sean O'Sullivan, 'Workers with a Difference: Life and Labour in the Salt River Workshops 1900-1935' (BA Hons, University of Cape Town, 1984), 41-42.
[6] Nasson, 'Messing with Coloured People,' 308.
[7] Report of the Commissioner, South African Police, I9I6 (Pretoria, I9I7), 23, as cited in Nasson, 'Messing with Coloured People,' 306.
[8] Ibid, 307.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Bill Nasson, 'Springboks at the Somme: the making of Delville Wood, 1916,' Workshop paper, University of Witwatersrand (1996),15.

Furthermore, there were concerns that these young Afrikaners were in danger of both class and racial degradation.[11] As a result of insufficient accommodation for both single men (housed in the barracks) and those with families (by 1918, despite their being over 200 married men in the force, only two houses were available),[12] the majority of these policemen were 'forced' to live in poorer and primarily coloured neighbourhoods, such as District Six. The fact that 'bijwoners' and coloured Capetonians spoke a similar 'taal' (Afrikaans for 'language') enabled a degree of interaction that many frowned upon - particularly as the working-class neighbourhood was often associated with 'unsavoury' pastimes such drinking and gambling. Yet whilst many presumably did join in such activities, the concern regarding moral corruption was also voiced by a number of the Afrikaans constables themselves, who argued that their poor pay meant dipping below a 'respectable' standard of living for 'Europeans.'[13] Poor pay and housing concerns thus added to an increasingly stratified police force that was feeling the burden of wartime duties - pushing through double-shifts and rejected leave applications, whilst managing the flood of rumbustious troops that surged in and out of the peninsula.[14] Indeed, it could be argued that the concentration of young Afrikaners in the police force, sharing these experiences, helped inform a sense of a collective Afrikaner identity and solidarity. These factors, as shall be explored in the following chapter, coalesced in the Police Strike of 1918.

It was not just young bijwoners who moved into occupations left open by the departure of men to war-service. It also appears that a considerable number of work opportunities opened up for coloured men in Cape Town - and particularly so in terms of skilled labour.[15] The 1916 report from the Labour Office noted that '"there is little doubt that opportunities for employment of coloured artisans have greatly increased during the past two years as a direct consequence of the absence of so many Europeans on active services."'[16]

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[11] Some Anglophone detectives and patrolmen chose to live in 'decent' coloured areas. Nasson, 'Messing with Coloured People,' 310 - 311.
[12] David Lombaard, 'The Cape Town police strike of 1918' (PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 1982), 30.
[13] Nasson, 'Messing with Coloured People,' 310-311
[14] Ibid, 306.
[15] Pieter van Duin, 'Artisans and trade unions in the Cape Town building industry 1900-1924,' in James, Wilmot and Mary Simons (eds.) *The angry divide: social and economic history of the Western Cape* (Cape Town: New Africa Books, 1989), 103.
[16] As cited in van Duin, 'Artisans and trade unions,' 103.

Departure of men to war service

These accelerated shifts in Cape Town's artisan and police demographics during the war are examples of how the movement of Capetonian men to war-service worked in tandem with processes of urbanisation, changing the city's internal labour market. However, without the availability of exact figures it is difficult to say how many men from the city actually departed for war-service and what the overall magnitude of the shift in the workforce was**.** Historian Ian van der Waag suggests that 250 000 South Africans served in the various theatres of war, representing almost 10% percent of the total white population and some 20% of the male white population.'[17] Moreover, according to John Lambert, 25% of the Union's white, English-speaking community of approximately 300 000 people, fought for the Union or Imperial forces.[18] This translates into 45% of the Union's 160 000 white Anglophone men of military age.[19]

Table 10: *Men of Military Age (18-49 years) in Cape Town and Suburbs as enumerated in the 1911 Census*

Age (years)	'White'	'Other than white'
15-19	3857	3286
20-24	2718	3065
25-34	7839	6259
35-49	9367	5562
Total	23 781	18 172

Source: UG32-1912J, Part II 'Ages of the People,' *1911 Census* (Pretoria: Government Printers, 1913), 154-5. Note the total population of Cape Town and suburbs as enumerated here is 161 577, of which 76 137 people were classified as 'other than white,' and 55 440 as 'white.'

If these estimates are taken as guidelines for considering Cape Town, approximately 5000 men of the city's 24 000 white males, between the ages of 18-49 years, served in the war (see Table 10, above). At the very least there was a greater absence of white English-speaking men during the war in the city, and certain communities or institutions in Cape Town were

[17] Ian Van der Waag, 'The Union Defence Force Between the two World Wars, 1919-1940,' *Scientia Militaria-South African Journal of Military Studies* 30: 2 (2000), 184.
[18] Lambert, 'Munition Factories,' 69.
[19] John Lambert, 'Britishness, South Africanness and the First World War,' in Buckner, P.A. and Francis, R.D. (eds.), *Rediscovering the British world* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2005), 293.

disproportionately affected by war service. Lambert, for example, shows that Wynberg Boys High was left with only three matriculants in 1915.[20]

Overall it seems that white Anglophone Capetonian men were more likely to serve in Europe, either by joining the Imperial Army directly after the outbreak of war or by signing up for the South African Overseas Expeditionary Force when recruiting started mid-1915 (after victory in GSWA, see Cartoon 1 and Photograph 29, below). Two of the Overseas Expeditionary Force's four battalions were prevalent to Cape Town. The First Battalion, drawing in men from the Cape Province, included A Company, mostly men of the Duke of Edinburgh's Rifles (or Cape Town Rifles), and D Company, which recruited directly from the city. The Fourth South African Infantry, or the South African Scottish Regiment, represented men from the Cape Town Highlanders, the Transvaal Scottish and the various Caledonian Societies.[21] John Buchan, the original military historian for the Contingent, gives the occupations of the men from the Fourth Infantry: 234 men came from the mining sector, 69 from agriculture, 21 from the police or military, 145 from government service, 722 from business, whilst 91 were listed as stemming from 'various professions.'[22]

[20] Lambert, 'Munition Factories,' 78.
[21] Jonathan Hyslop, 'Cape Town Highlanders, Transvaal Scottish: Military 'Scottishness' and Social Power in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century South Africa,' *South African historical journal* 47:1 (2002), 96; John Buchan, *The history of the South African Forces in France* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1920), 17.
[22] Buchan, 'South African Forces,' 17.

Cartoon 1*: 1915 Recruiting for the Overseas Contingent.*

Source: *Cape Times, 11 August 1915. The captain reads: SOUTH AFRICA: 'Bless me! and I thought I had to lead him! (The recruiting for the Overseas Contingent in Cape Town has been met with a greater response than was anticipated).*

Nasson has thus called the Overseas Contingent 'remarkably homogeneous in its breezy middle class configuration.'[23] Only 15% of the original Contingent was Dutch, although this rose to 30% by the end of the war.[24] Indeed, Rondebosch Boys' School spoke proudly of the fact that on the list of old boys volunteering 'Afrikaans names occur again and again.'[25] Nevertheless, in comparison to the Anglophone preference for service in Europe, Afrikaners were more likely to serve in the African Campaigns (providing most of the men for GSWA), where Commanding Officers were generally Afrikaans as well.[26]

[23] Nasson, 'Springboks on the Somme,' 3.
[24] Buchan, 'South African Forces,' 15.
[25] *Cape Times,* 14 July 1915.
[26] Lambert, 'Britishness, South Africanness,' 290, 293.

Photograph 29*: Men recruited for Heavy Artillery, Overseas Expeditionary Force, August 1915*

Source: Arnold Kruger (photographer), *Cape Times*, 11 August 1915.

The toll that war service took, in particular, on Cape Town's British-born community might be reflected in the strikingly low population percentage increase of 'European-born' Capetonian men, between the years 1911 to 1921, when compared to the increases of other groups for the same period. As demonstrated in Table 11, below, the 0.4% population increase of 'European-born' Capetonians is far beneath the next lowest percentage increase (the 17% rise in coloured and black, 'locally born' females). It is important to bear in mind that other factors would have affected this number. For example, infants born between 1911 and 1921 to parents, themselves British-born, would swell the numbers of locally born Capetonians. Nevertheless the startling low percentage increase of 'European-born' males for these years indicates that something specific to this group occurred, and war service just might be the answer.

Table 11: Birthplaces for Capetonians 1911 and 1921, as enumerated in the 1921 Census according to race, gender and place

		Numerical Increases						Percentage Increases		
		Union Born		Europe Born		Other		Union Born	Europe Born	Other
		1911	1921	1911	1921	1911	1921	1911-1921	1911-1921	1911-1921
"Non-European"	Female	40133	47142	9	16	57	555	17%	78%	874%
	Male	33338	43135	16	38	2584	3216	29%	138%	24%
"European"	Female	29089	41931	11877	14069	780	1508	44%	18%	93%
	Male	24866	36284	17819	17888	1011	1622	46%	0.40%	60%

Source: *UG 37-24, 'Part H: Cape Town and Suburbs,' General Report, 1921 Census (Pretoria Government Printers, 1924), 341.*

The City Council took particular note of the men in their employ who left for service during the war. The 1916 Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health reflected that 'this year has been a trying one… every member of the staff…has been allowed to join one or other of the contingents and their places taken by men either over military age or unfit for military duty.'[27] By the time the Spanish Flu hit the city in October 1918, Cape Town's doctors and nurses were in short supply due to war service.[28] It is likely that other retirees, like Dr Murray mentioned above, helped to take up the slack.

Other Departments similarly felt the strain. 190 men from the city's Engineers Department served, with another 63 enlisting from the Electrical Department after obtaining permission to do so.[29] Already by 1915, the Board of Railways and Harbours was concerned with 'the large percentage of the staff being on active service without being replaced,'[30] whilst the Metropolitan Fire Brigade also faced dwindling numbers as men departed for various fronts.[31] The 'learned' men of the Cape Town Municipal Orchestra, on the other hand, became part of brief public debate about the importance of their societal role in relation to Imperial duty. Out of nineteen applications for active service in 1915, eight men had been

[27] Report of the Medical Officer of Health, Mayor's Minutes, 1916.
[28] Phillips, 'Black October,' 34.
[29] Report of the City Engineer, Mayor's Minutes, 1919.
[30] UG 13-'15, Railways and Harbours 1915.
[31] Reports of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade and Electrical Engineer, Mayor's Minutes, 1919.

declared medically fit and went on to serve.[32] The second violinist, Rowland Hill, was killed in action in France whilst the first cellist, Herbert Fellowes, later passed away in East Africa. The initial loss of orchestra members was overcome by replacements from England, but after 1915 this was impracticable and the Orchestra struggled to keep its full complement.

The South African College (which became the University of Cape Town in 1918) similarly reflected the toll of war service. It appears that roughly 25% of College students volunteered for Imperial service after the outbreak of war, with College numbers dropping from 404 students in the first term of 1914 to 323 by the fourth.[33] By 1915 the College felt compelled to introduce new measures to help maintain teaching as the number of staff leaving for the war also continued to increase. Accordingly staff had to acquire Senate approval for leave (with proof that they had passed the military medical assessment for service), and help find substitute teachers. In turn the College promised to keep their positions open until their return, whilst continuing to pay them a fifth of their College salary.[34] Overall there seems to have been little abate in the number of volunteers from the university over the years.

Whilst the city's white Anglophone middle-classes may have formed the majority of recruits, they were by no means the only ones (see Chapter Eight). For instance, a number of men from the Salt River Workshops - many of whom were British born - volunteered their services as well.[35] Within the first year 127 men had enlisted and, by 1916, eleven of those men had died.[36] It was not just Anglophone white men who signed up for war-related service in Cape Town, either. The Cape Corps, for example, was raised towards the end of 1915 for service in East Africa (overturning the resolution of August 1914 that coloured people would not be armed for service).[37] Although 8000 coloured men were recruited for the Corps, according to Albert Grundlingh, the majority did not come from Cape Town, but 'the countryside.'[38] Yet, even if the city did not provide the majority of recruits for the Corps, it did provide *some.* With the APO encouraging coloured recruitment in the city, it is likely that many of the coloured elite volunteered themselves (or family members) for service and

[32] Ingrid Gollom, 'The History of the Cape Town Orchestra: 1914-1997,' (PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 2001), 20-22.
[33] Ritchie, W., *The History of the South African College 1829-1918,* (Maskew Miller: Cape Town, 1918), 638.
[34] Ibid*,* 639.
[35] O' Sullivan, *Workers with a Difference,* 2, 20.
[36] Ibid*, 39.*
[37] Grundligh, *War and Society,* 140.
[38] Ibid, 143.

managed to convince a few men from the wider coloured population to do the same. Indeed, in its January 1915 edition, the APO proudly declared that a coloured surveyor from the city had 'joined the English.' 'News has been received,' the article read, 'that Mr Moorson, who recently left Cape Town for England to take his place in the firing line, has received a commission on one of the British regiments.'[39]

Men also departed Cape Town for non-combatant war service. The Cape Coloured Labour Regiment (established June 1916) sent roughly 1000 men to Europe in August 1916 and was apparently manned by recruits from the Cape Town docks and transport workers.[40] Similarly the Cape Auxiliary Transport Companies, which were raised at the end of 1917 (with difficulty, as recruiting for the Cape Corps was simultaneous), eventually employed 3482 'artificers and drivers.' According to Buchan, at least 500 of these men came from the Cape Town area.[41] Overall it seems that a considerable portion of men from both the city's white and coloured communities left Cape Town for war-related work and, whilst the latter may have represented a smaller percentage of the overall population, the departure of these men would nevertheless have had a significant effect on the communities from which they came.

Women, Work and the War

The First World War also opened up opportunities for women both in terms of paid and volunteer work. Indeed, wartime charity and organisational work enabled many middle-class women to further their administrative and business skills 'far beyond that of the ordinary housewife of the time.'[42] Women were integral to Cape Town's ability to fund, entertain and care for thousands of troops staying in the peninsula. Ms Margaret Lowe wrote of the monumental effort in July 1915:

> Now you can readily imagine what work the presence of all these thousands of troops encamped on the slopes of picturesque Table Mountain meant to the women of the Cape…Imagine what even the work of seeing to all the refreshments of these troops…comprised. It was stupendous, needing the most admirable organisation. And

[39] *APO*:145, 23 January 1915.
[40] Grundlingh, *War and Society,* 143.
[41] Buchan, *South African Forces,* 337.
[42] June McKinnon, 'Women's Christian Temperance Union: Aspects of Early Feminism in the Cape 1889-1930,' (Master's Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1995), 92.

> the women did it all! There were troop refreshment funds…literature funds, fresh fruit funds, and ever so many other useful things, all requiring committees and no end of time, energy and work expended on them. [43]

Prominent white Capetonian women sat on a number of committees and were vital in pulling together their resources (financial and social) in furthering their work (Photographs 30 to 32, below).[44] Private letters were delivered to personal acquaintances, whilst members reached out to sister organisations, such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU).[45] The connections between these various respectable women's organisations - both in terms of overlapping patronage, membership, friendships and goals - should not be underestimated. The Women's Hospital Ship and Convalescent Homes Equipment Fund, for example, was presided over by Viscountess Mildred Buxton,[46] wife of the Governor General. The organisation was chaired by Lady Jessie Innes, who - like Lady Buxton - was involved in a variety of women's organisations, including the Women's Enfranchisement League (WEL) and the National Council of Women (NCW).[47] Although politically disenfranchised, the city's elite women had substantial influence. Thus, when the opening of the Hospital Ship, the SS Ebani, in late 1914 was regaled with Cape Town's usual blustery summer wind, the South Easter, crowds nevertheless gathered 'anxious to make acquaintance' with the revered Lady Buxton.[48]

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[43] *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), 17 July 1915. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/15592904. Accessed 20 October 2019.
[44] Nasson, *World War One,* 140-141.
[45] MSB 534, Box 1. The WCTU had white, English, middle- class roots. McKinnon, 'WCTU,' 34-38, 69-70.
[46] Ibid.
[47] *The South African Woman's Who's Who,* (Biographies: Johannesburg, 1938), 325-6.
[48] *Cape Times*, 07 Jun. 1915; *CA*, 01 Dec. 1 1914; MSB 534, Box 6.

Photograph 30*: The Fairhaven Work Party was another wartime charity*

Source: Special Collections, UCT, Lomberg Collection, BC 511-512.

Photograph 31*: Lady Buxton c.1914*

Source: WCARS, Jeffrey's Collection, J2669.

Photograph 32: *Women manning the Red Cross stall for the October 1917 'Our Day' Fund-raiser*

Source: WCARS, AG Collection, Beard Photographs, AG 15506.

White Afrikaans women were also increasingly involved in organisational work during the war, and whilst many in Cape Town would have been part of the same organisations as their English 'sisters,' a few became powerful forces within Afrikaner-specific groups that grew in response to the war. For example, women were vital to the Afrikaans 'Helpmekaar

Beweging,'[49] which developed from the desire to help the destitute families of those men jailed in the 1914 Rebellion,[50] and, in 1916, a Cape Provincial branch was founded in Cape Town. Apart from its wartime charity-work, the Helpmekaar sought to promote an Afrikaner culture and uplift poor whites and along these lines it helped finance the ACVV (the Dutch version of the WCTU - the *Afrikaanse Christelike Vroue Vereeniging*).[51] The movement of poor whites into Cape Town further fuelled the ACVV's efforts to counter white poverty, driven by the belief that destitution did not befit a white person's 'natural' status in the world.[52] The Cape Town branch of the ACVV was noted as being 'the most vigorous of the urban branches,' and influential 'well beyond its actual numbers.'[53] This suggests a relatively small membership compared to other centres, likely reflecting Cape Town's Anglocentrism. Nevertheless, part of the historical significance of the Helpmekaar and the ACVV is the way in which these women's organisations made substantial contributions to cultivating the emerging Afrikaner nationalist discourse of the time.[54]

War-related organisational and patriotic work was not limited to white Capetonians. Genteel coloured women and girls stood alongside their white sisters handing out tea and cake to troops. The APO'S Women's Guild also organised events for raising war-time funds and, in August 1914, the City Hall's banqueting room was commandeered for a 'capital music programme.'[55] Two months later a 'Moslem Bazaar' was held at the City Hall to raise wartime funds, this time held by the South African Moslem Patriotic Society. It was entirely dependent on his complement of female-run stalls, with Miss Qaya Solomons at the bread stall, Miss Janap Badrodien manning cakes and sweets and Miss R. Ishmail at the flower stand, to name a few.[56]

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[49] The 'help each other movement.'
[50] A. Ehlers, 'The Helpmekaar: Rescuing the "volk" through reading, writing, and arithmetic c 1916-1965,' *Historia* 60:2 (2015), 129; Marijke Du Toit, 'Women, welfare and the nurturing of Afrikaner nationalism: A social history of the Afrikaanse Christelike Vroue Vereniging, c. 1870-1939,' (PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 1996), 88-91.
[51] Afrikaans Christian Women's Union. Du Toit, 'Women, welfare and the nurturing of Afrikaner nationalism,' 160.
[52] Louise Vincent, 'The Power Behind the Scenes: The Afrikaner Nationalist Women's Parties, 1915 to 1931,' *South African Historical Journal* 40:1 (1999), 55.
[53] Du Toit, 'Women, welfare and the nurturing of Afrikaner nationalism,' 160.
[54] Vincent, 'The Power Behind the Scenes, 55; Du Toit, The Domesticity of Afrikaner Nationalism: Volksmoeders and the ACVV, 1904-1929,' Journal of Southern African Studies, 29:1 (2003), 155-176; Lou-Marie Kruger, 'Gender, Community and Identity: Women and Afrikaner Nationalism in the Volksmoeder Discourse of Die Boerevrou, 1919-1931,' (Master's thesis, University of Cape Town, 1991).
[55] *APO*: 133, 08 August 1914.
[56] *Cape Times,* 06 Oct. 1914.

With the need for more nurses during the war, many Capetonian women turned to nursing and care-work (Photograph 33, below)**.**

Photograph 33: *Nursing staff, Alexandra Hospital, Maitland*

Source: Arnold Keyser (photographer), Cape Town Citizen's Meeting Booklet No 24: 02 September 1917.

A few nurses left independently for Imperial Service in Britain or GSWA after the outbreak of war, particularly as the South African Military Nursing Service (SAMNS), despite being established with the formation of Union in 1910 under the Section 121 of the Defence Act, only became truly operational in 1915.[57] For example, according to the April 1915 St Cyprian's magazine, old girl Blanche Clark went to GSWA where she nursed 'chiefly Indians' in Nairobi.[58] Similarly old girl Dolly Markus was reported in October 1915 to have joined the Voluntary Aid Detachment (VAD) in Brighton, England, where she worked at a Red Cross Hospital.[59] After it was operational, SAMNS sought to fill the gaps of the Imperial nurses who left for Britain after the outbreak of war, and to staff various hospitals and medical establishments across the Union (including the hospital ship, the *SS Ebani*, docked in

[57] Neville Gomm, 'Some notes on the South African Military Nursing Services,' *Military History Journal* 1:2 (June 1968), available online: http://samilitaryhistory.org/vol012gm.html. Accessed: 01 November 2019.
[58] St Cyprian's Magazine: 64, April 1915.
[59] Ibid: 65, October 1915.

Table Bay). Only fully trained nurses (about 174 of them) served in German East Africa, whilst nursing trainees were also amongst those who left for Britain in late September 1915.

Indeed, outside of the Union, the SAMNS operated at the No1 General Hospital in Abbeville, France, as well as the South African Hospital in Richmond, England.[60] Many had been recruited from the South African Red Cross Society and the St John Ambulance Brigade, which expanded its nursing courses after the outbreak of war. Such courses also allowed Capetonian women to assist in caring for the rapidly increasing number of invalids coming into the city (by the end of 1917, for example, Wynberg Military Hospital alone had admitted at least 28 000 casualties).[61] Thus, Alice Greene completed First Aid before taking on a Nursing course. She wrote to her brother, Eppy, in late 1914 of how 'all are trying to prepare themselves for the struggle that may await us even here.'[62] Gladys Bisset similarly attended nursing lectures and worked at Wynberg Hospital. Her brothers, Captain Ivor Difford and Archibald N Difford, both served in the war.[63] The St Cyprian's Magazine of May 1917 again proudly listed old girls working as nurses around the Peninsula and further afield: 'Alice Philpott, Lulu Wicht - nursing at the Alexandra Military Hospital, Maitland; Maud Currey at Wynberg; Betty Williams in German East Africa; Irene Browning, Nellie Wrench, Elaine Spandau and Daisy Clarke at Roberts Heights (Pretoria), Yvonne Donovan at Durban.'[64]

The departure of men to the war-front also opened up work opportunities for women outside of charity-work and nursing. In November 1915, along *patriotic* lines, a Women's National Register was formed which sought to match mostly middle-class white women with jobs that needing filling after men had 'joined the colours.'[65] The movement of some women into men's jobs, including offices,[66] was met with mixed reactions. The South African Patriotic League did not take kindly to the loyalist efforts of these women - arguing that women were unfairly 'supplanting men in banks and other institutions,' and that these 'foreboding facts' left them 'deeply perturbed.' Yet at the time of enquiry, in December 1916, as the National Register pointed out, only six women clerks were supplied to Cape Town's Treasury

[60] Gomm, 'South African Military Nursing Services.'
[61] Nasson, *World War One*, 142.
[62] Molteno Papers, Box 28, Alice to Eppy, (date missing, 1914).
[63] Ibid, *Chronicle of the Family* 3:2 (Dec 1914).
[64] St Cyprian's Magazine: 69, November 1917.
[65] Mayor's Minutes, 1916.
[66] SC4-1917, *Report of the Select Committee, the Regulation of Wages Bill*, Minutes of Evidence, Interview with Mr Harry Beynon (Cape Town: Houses of Assembly, 1918).

department, of which four were working voluntarily.[67] Other men were approached to do the work, but they were not prepared to do it on a lower salary.

Indeed, writing about the Union more broadly, Iris Berger demonstrates that whilst white women were 'newly employed in significant numbers' under wartime conditions, the state, as well as employers, still saw them as 'docile and dependent.'[68] Their wages reflected this, tending to average around 43.7% of that earned by men of the same occupational categories between 1910 and 1924.[69] A 1915 rise to 46.3% is perhaps evidence, as Berger suggests, of the wartime shortage of men in the workforce.[70] Unfortunately, the records of the Women's Register do not appear to exist anymore, so it is difficult to know how many women from Cape Town ultimately joined it. Moreover it is likely that the Register was not the only avenue for Capetonian women to fill clerical jobs during the war. Indeed, considering the preponderance of middle-class male recruits in Cape Town, the number of women moving into office work is mostly likely far greater than what is hinted at here.[71] The St Cyprian's Girl's School magazine, for example, which kept track of the activities of its 'old girls,' gives an idea of the movement of middle-class white women into these wartime openings. In its 1916 and 1917 editions, the magazine mentions seven past pupils (Letty Monsey, Marjorie Tucker, Gladys Mathieson, Gladys Stephen, Connie Nesbitt and Ivy and Sheila Cressey) who were 'taking the places of men in banks in Cape Town.'

This growth of employment opportunities for women in Cape Town during the war was significant as, across the Union in the early twentieth century, there were very few paying jobs for them beyond domestic service.[72] The development of factories in the city under wartime conditions was particularly important for working-class women. As discussed in Chapter Two, the wartime dislocation of trade between the Union and Britain enabled the growth of industry, creating new factory work.[73] This provided new jobs for women in the city and prompted coloured and poor Afrikaner women from rural towns to seek work in

[67] *Cape Times,* 19 Jan. 1916; 29 December 1915; 30 December 1915, 12 January 1916.
[68] Iris Berger, *Threads,* 34.
[69] Including 'manufacturing, clerical work and domestic work.' Iris Berger, *Threads of solidarity: Women in South African industry, 1900-1980* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 35.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid, 17.
[72] Ibid.
[73] M. Nicol, 'A history of garment and tailoring workers in Cape Town 1900-1938,' (PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 1984), 36-55.

Cape Town.[74] For example, the number of bakeries and biscuit factories grew from 71 to 120 between 1915 and 1919, with coloured female employees increasing by 320%.[75] By 1917 the Labour Registration Officer of the Department of Mines and Industries, Mr Harry Beynon, estimated that there were at least 5000 female factory workers, the majority of whom were coloured and under 19 years of age.[76] Factory work was reportedly 'unpopular with white girls' in the city who preferred to work as clerks, typists or in stores.[77] Comparatively, domestic service, although easily obtainable, was disliked by most women because of the 'restrictions imposed on them…by their mistresses.'[78] The war thus triggered the movement of women into factories, and their numbers only continued to increase after the war. Between 1917 and the mid-1920s, for example, the number of female factory workers nearly doubled.[79] By 1918 there was growing concern regarding how the movement of more women into factories would affect the welfare of young children. After being approached by the NCW, the City Council accordingly opened a municipal day nursery in early February 1918 'in the vicinity of Sir Lowry Road.'[80] With an affordable daily rate of four pence (or no charge for those unable to pay), it was a blessing for women working in workshops, factories and municipal wash-houses.[81] However, it was not made available to those employed in domestic work, which was the main source of women's employment in Cape Town.

Factory work, however, was not an ideal opportunity, as most young (and particularly coloured) girls were heavily exploited, often working long hours and in unsanitary conditions. Concern regarding the exploitation of women in factories fed directly into a 1917 Report on the Regulation of Wages Bill. It concluded that girls (sometimes as young as twelve years old) were underpaid, making a decent standard of living impossible. Many factory owners justified this by framing girls and women as dependents of male bread-winners.[82]

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[74] Nasson, *World War One,* 151; for the urbanisation of Afrikaner women see, du Toit, 'Women, welfare and the nurturing of Afrikaner nationalism.'
[75] SR-'24, *Report on Bakeries and Biscuit Factories, 1915-16 to 1922-23* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1925).
[76] SC4-1917, Interview with Mr Harry Beynon, 15. According to Nicol 3200 of 4500 women working in Cape Town in 1916-7 were coloured. Nicol, 'A history of garment workers,' 77.
[77] UG-SC4 1917, Interview with Mr Harry Beynon, 21.
[78] Ibid*;* Berger, *Threads of Solidarity*, 35.
[79] Berger, *Threads of Solidarity,* 30.
[80] Mayor's Minutes, 1918.
[81] Sandra Burman and Margaret Naude, 'Bearing a bastard: the social consequences of illegitimacy in Cape Town, 1896–1939,' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 17:3 (1991), 402.
[82] UG-SC4 1917, iv.

Yet many women were attempting to live independently or were responsible for supporting parents and siblings. The Reverend Caradoc Davies of Maitland reported that a widow with five children who started to work at a cardboard factory received only one shilling a day, whilst a girl at a sweet-factory earned between six and seven shillings a week, with which she supported 'her very poor mother.'[83] Across the city's factories most white apprentices were receiving £1-2 pounds per month whilst 'improvers' (mid-level workers) were paid between £2-3 per month. Skilled workers could be given as little as £2 8s per month, although their pay averaged around £5 per month. The Committee estimated that the lowest wage on which a 'grown-up girl' could live 'decently' was £5 a month, but it left no room for savings or luxuries.[84] Even then, these figures refer only to the wages of white women and do not reflect the fact that many factory-owners paid coloured women less, believing they did not require the same standard of living (see, for example, Table 12 below).[85]

Table 12*: Estimated cost of living for a single white woman according to the Commercial Employees Association, 1917*

Expenses	Estimates, in Pounds (£), Shillings (s) and Pence (d)
Rent	£1 - £1 10s ('very low for a furnished room') or £1 15s ('larger room shared between 2-3 of them')
Travel	10-15s
Food	£2-£3 or 1s 4d - 2s per day ('if she has to buy dinner in town, not less than 1s 6d')
Clothing	15s- £1
Incidentals	5s-10s
Total	£4 10s to £6 15s

Source: SC4-1917, *Report of the Select Committee for the Regulation of Wages Bill,* Minutes of Evidence, Commercial Employees Association (Cape Town, Houses of Assembly, 1918).

Factory work might have opened up more choice for women, but Iris Berger cautions the degree to which it represented an expansion of skills for them, as it was largely based upon

[83] UG-SC4 1917, interview with Rev. C. Davies, 73-74.
[84] UG-SC4 1917, 70.
[85] Nicol, 'A history of garment workers,' 54.

> services that women once provided exclusively in the home. In Cape Town, 1917, they were jam-makers, fruit and fish canners, tobacco workers, tailoresses, milliners, and upholsterers. They also manufactured soap, furniture, and sweets and were numerous among bookbinders, cardboard box makers, canister makers and solderers, match makers, dyers and cleaners, and printers' assistants.[86]

Garment and clothing factories were particularly prevalent during the war. The demand for military uniforms saw the construction of new facilities, but the competitive nature of those tenders, and the sub-letting of contracts within that, greatly exacerbated sweating conditions.[87] Dissatisfaction bubbled over into a peaceful strike in 1917, led by the short-lived Tailors and Tailoress' Union (TTU), which sought to increase wages by 30% to help counter the costs of wartime inflation.[88] The TTU strike (see Chapter Four) was notable for the number of young, coloured women and girls amongst its numbers, and also reflected the popular opinion that poorly paid women were forced to 'eke out their income by immoral means.'[89] This fear was also based on the significant wartime inflation of the cost of living (which rose by 74.7% between 1910 and 1919) in comparison with the stagnation and decrease in the value of real wages.[90]

The Assistant Medical Officer of Health for the Union, Dr Mitchell, estimated that in Cape Town there were roughly 50 European and 300 coloured prostitutes who were professional ('who lived solely on prostitution'), with a much larger, unknown number of women who were clandestine or occasional 'street-workers.'[91] The distinction between 'professional' and 'clandestine' (or 'occasional') prostitutes was important to the military authorities who believed that a wartime rise of clandestine prostitution was spreading venereal disease amongst troops (see Chapter Six).[92] Whilst prostitutes did target military camps (with the police devoting 'special attention' to the matter), troops could more readily engage them in the city centre, particularly in the warren of alleyways in areas such as District Six.[93]

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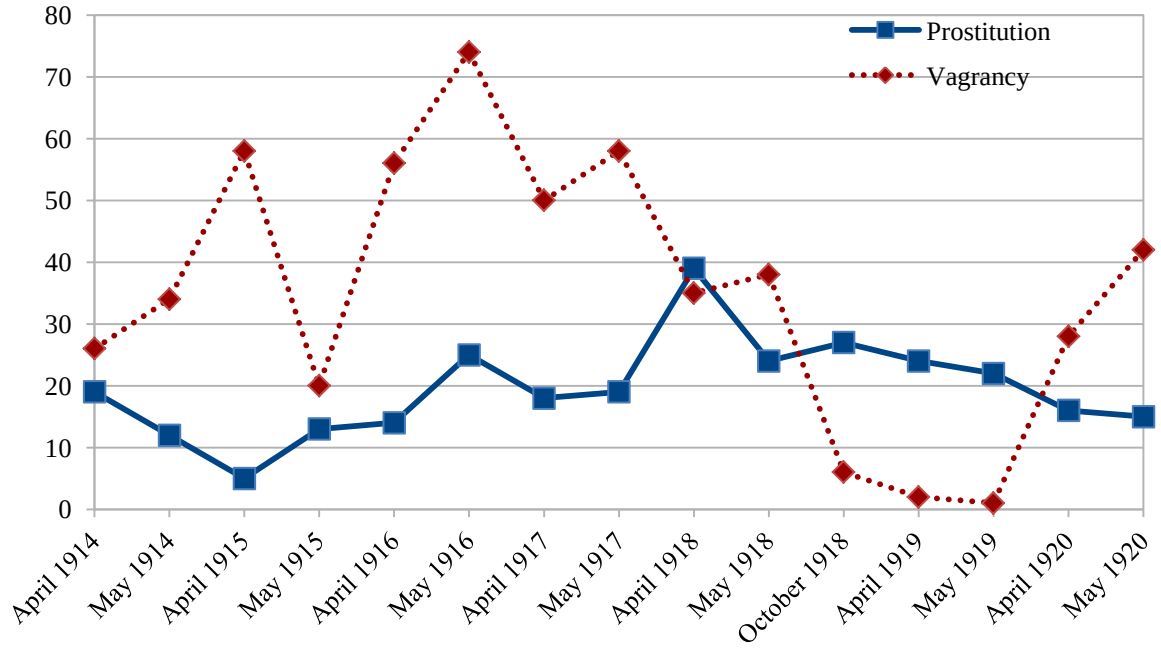
[86] Berger, *Threads of Solidarity,* 30.
[87] Ibid*,* 36-55.
[88] Ibid, 59.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Wickens, 'Labour unions in Cape Town,' 276.
[91] *Cape Times,* 09 June 1917.
[92] GG 684 9/107/1 'Health of the South African Forces,' General Thompson to Buxton, 16 October 1914.
[93] Ibid, Dr Mitchell to Director of Medical Services, 07 November 1914.

Indeed, most of the women arrested for prostitution were young (under the age of 21), coloured and seemingly part-time prostitutes. Eliza Miller and Sarah Petersen both were listed as 'fisherwomen,' whilst Helen Basson was a 'domestic,' Christina Johnson a 'servant,' and Emiline Steyn a 'washerwoman.'[94] Vagrancy arrests for the same period (1914-1920, as seen in Graph 3, below) furthermore reveal not only a high proportion of prostitutes, but a large number of coloured, young women more generally speaking.[95] Rosie Murphy, for example, in a case against her pimp, revealed to the Magistrate that she lived 'on the mountainside.'[96] These factors suggest that financial need was one of the driving factors behind women turning to prostitution. This is not, however, the only explanation. The significant increase in troop traffic meant that prostitution could also have been perceived by some women as a viable opportunity to increase income. Overall, as seen in Graph 3, there was an overall trend of increasing prostitution during the war years, despite a dip in April 1915 when only five women were arrested (although, as with all records, these numbers need to be taken with caution).[97] Thus, in April and May 1914 there were 31 arrests for prostitution, this number peaked during April and May 1918, with 63 arrests (103% over the 1914 value), and dropped again to 31 in April-May 1920. This arc correlates with the war and its conclusion, although nothing more definite can be stated.

[94] WCARS, Cape Magistrate Records (1/CT), Criminal Record Books 1914-1920.
[95] Ibid; van Heyningen refers to Cape Town's prostitutes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as a "highly mobile population." Elizabeth van Heyningen, 'The social evil in the Cape colony 1868–1902: Prostitution and the contagious diseases acts,' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 10:2 (1984), 180-1.
[96] WCARS/1/CT 6/429 Cape Town Criminal Cases 1914-1915, King Vs Christian Cloete.
[97] Indeed, arrests for prostitution might say more about police activity than prostitution itself. Nevertheless the arrest records remain one of the only sources on prostitution during the period. WCARS/1/CT Criminal Record Books, 1914-1920.

Graph 3*: Arrests for Prostitution and Vagrancy, Cape Town, for the months of April and May, 1914-1920, and October 1918*



Source: WCARS, Magistrate's Records (1/CT), *Criminal Record Books 1914-1920.* These figures should be treated as approximate.

Concerns that economic hardship was driving impoverished women to prostitution and that young soldiers might lead 'respectable' girls astray, added to a heightened fear that the city's morality was under threat (see Chapter Six). In response, a few middle-class women entered policing as morality patrols. This role was initially lobbied for by the NCW and the WCTU, who were impressed by the women patrols in Great Britain, Canada and the United States.[98] The wartime departure of policemen, and the strains experienced by the police force, meant that the WCTU and the NCW had greater leverage to push their case.[99] By April 1915 approval was granted by the head of the Cape Police Force, Colonel Gray, and Britain's National Union of Women Workers was approached to offer guidance (the British National Union was reported to have over 3000 patrols, working with ninety military camps across the United Kingdom).[100] One of the organisers of the British patrols, 'Miss Ban,' had previously resided in South Africa, and, because she was familiar with 'local conditions,' she was specifically invited to aid the endeavour. Within two months of her arrival, by September

[98] *Cape Times,* 24 October 1916; *White Ribbon* XXV: 2, Sept. 1915.
[99] McKinnon, 'WCTU,' 161,
[100] *White Ribbon* XXV:2, Sept. 1915.

1915, 'some fifty volunteers' had come forward.[101] Adorned with special badges, these volunteers were tasked with spotting recognised prostitutes, patrolling public spaces, and befriending 'any girl who needs it.'[102] Whilst these women are clearly spoken of as volunteers, it appears that a few were employed as police women too (receiving *L*10 a month each). Reflecting on the matter in 1918, the Mayor wrote that Colonel Grey had urged the City Council in 1916 'to appoint three additional police women,' who would be 'officially attached as officers of the Law Department…and would be controlled and supervised by Miss Stirling, Organizing Secretary of the Women Patrols.'[103] Ultimately the war represented the first time that women were employed as police officers in the city.

The war thus provided work opportunities for women through the blossoming of patriotic and wartime charitable organisations, through the expansion of nursing and caring, the movement of men out of clerical jobs to war service, and the development of the manufacturing industries under wartime conditions. It also appears to have led to a wartime increase in prostitution. It is evident that different work 'opportunities' were not open to all women equally, as class and education (which frequently correlated with race) largely determined which roles different women could take on. Indeed, for many German women living in Cape Town (the majority of whom were working-class),[104] the city became a place of increased hardship and uncertainty during the war. The internment of their husbands outside Cape Town left them struggling to support themselves and their children. Work opportunities were limited as many were shunned as 'the enemy' or for their poorly spoken English. Sophie Andriesson reportedly couldn't find work as 'the feeling at the present time is very bitter against them,[105] whilst Emma Ammerman was forced to care for her three young children, but had 'no trade.'[106]

Women, the War and the Vote

Lastly, despite the heightening of privileged women's voices during the war, and the movement of more women into offices, enfranchisement work was largely side-lined during

[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid; *Cape Times,* 24 October 1916.
[103] Mayor's Minutes, 1918.
[104] A. Mendelsohn, 'Germans in Cape Town during the First World War,' (Third year research essay: University of Cape Town, 2000), 14. This original research was provided to me by the author, to whom I am grateful.
[105] WCARS/1/CT 15/6 439/14, A. Lunow.
[106] Ibid.

the war.[107] In 1915, at the Women's Enfranchisement League's (WEL) annual conference in Cape Town, the committee decided to make their suffrage campaign secondary to war relief efforts.[108] (The war resolution was later withdrawn because of concern that it 'would alienate Afrikaner support').[109] It was hoped that their wartime charity-work would prove them 'efficient and capable,' demonstrating their 'special powers of administration and organisation' as 'part of a world-wide network of women who have responded to the war.'[110]

Although minimised, suffrage work did not completely stop during the war. The WEL and WCTU continued to try to garner the support of members of parliament, but successive attempts to introduce women's suffrage in 1913, 1917 and 1918 were all defeated.[111] Indeed, whilst suffrage work had been a 'minor but persistent issue in white politics' since 1892, successive governments did not consider it a priority, particularly with other events - the Boer War of 1899-1902, the formation of Union in 1910, the 1913 labour unrest, the outbreak of war, the 1914 Afrikaner Rebellion - taking centre stage on the political front.[112] Moreover Cape suffragists were fighting for women to receive the same rights as men. This would mean that in the Cape, if suffrage was granted, non-white women (like coloured and black men who qualified for the franchise) would also receive the vote. This was unpopular outside of Cape liberal circles and compounded resistance to the issue.[113] Thus, despite individual male sympathisers, most parties did not support the movement. Only the Labour Party - with four parliamentary seats in 1915 - officially backed women's suffrage.[114]

Despite parliamentary defeats on the women's question, the conclusion of war re-invigorated local women's suffrage efforts. When British women were given the vote in 1918, it proved that 'women's suffrage was no longer an outlandish phenomenon…it was now an established

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[107] Nasson, *World War One,* 144; For a detailed analysis of the women's suffrage movement in the Union, see C. Walker, 'The Women's Suffrage Movement,' *Women and Resistance in South Africa* (Cape Town: New Africa Books, 1991), 313-345.
[108] Walker, 'The Women's Suffrage Movement,' 330-333.
[109] Suffrage work was limited by divisions between English and Dutch women's groups. *Women's Outlook,* 31:3, April 1915; Walker, 'The Women's Suffrage Movement,' 331; D. Gaitskell, 'The Imperial Tie: Obstacle or Asset for South Africa's Women Suffragists before 1930?' *South African Historical Journal,* 47:1 (2002), 5, 13; Du Toit, 'Women, welfare and the nurturing of Afrikaner nationalism; L. Vincent 'The Power behind the scenes,' 51-73.
[110] *Women's Outlook,* 31:3, April 1915.
[111] Walker, 'The Women's Suffrage Movement,' 330-333.
[112] Ibid, 330.
[113] Gaitskell, 'The Imperial Tie,' 3.
[114] Walker, 'The Women's Suffrage Movement,' 330.

principle of the "civilized centre."'[115] The call was moreover strengthened by perceived wartime destitution (particularly with regards to children) and the ravages of the Spanish Flu. This was underpinned by the belief that women were particularly capable of guiding questions of child welfare, health and education. As such the vote was seen as 'an instrument of social reform,'[116] with the *White Ribbon* reflecting in March 1915 that 'a woman reformer without the vote is like a soldier without a gun, an army without ammunition.'[117] It was also on these grounds that the WEL and the WCTU campaigned for women to be made town councillors in the Cape Province.[118] Enabled by the 'absence of enlisted men,' this privilege was extended to women by the Cape Provincial Council in 1918.[119]

Conclusion

This chapter has explored some of the ways in which the war impacted on work in Cape Town for men and women. Indeed, the war period was characterised by the departure of (largely middle-class) men to war service and increased urbanisation. These factors saw, for example, Ndabeni stretched to its limits, poor Afrikaners move into the police service, and the predominance of coloured men in the artisan trades. These effects did not reverse after the conclusion of the war. A variety of businesses and institutions similarly had to adapt to a wartime loss of manpower, from businesses and banks, doctors' practices, schools and the South African College, the Harbour and Rail Board, the Salt River Workshops to various City Departments. Some businesses coped by offering clerical positions to women during the war, and whilst this seems to have been a temporary, patriotic move for many women, it nevertheless made the idea of office work more accessible. Whilst the war may not have revolutionised Cape Town's work-force, it was vital in accelerating many of the processes which would continue into the 1920s. Apart from clerical work this was also seen in the development of factory work for women under wartime conditions. The war also promoted opportunities for women in terms of patriotic and wartime charitable organisations, the expansion of nursing, the introduction of women's patrols and the development of legislation in 1918 that allowed women in the Cape Province to be town councillors for the first time.

[115] White women only received the vote in 1930: Ibid, 330-333.
[116] Gaitskell 'The Imperial Tie,' 2.
[117] *White Ribbon* XXV:6, March 1915.
[118] Ibid.
[119] McKinnon, 'Women's Christian Temperance Union,' 131.

Yet, class, race and ethnicity often determined which opportunities were accessible to different women, whilst the seeming rise in wartime prostitution hints towards increased hardship during the war for those women living on the city's fringes. The next chapter explores the rise in strike activity during the war, locating it within the Cape's specific history of labour relations, and outlining how war-related urbanisation, the demand for labour, and the reportedly poor conditions of this work, helped trigger the acceleration of labour organisation.

Chapter Four: Strikes

Introduction

'We have fought for 15 days, and we are going to fight to the end. I don't think we're very much down-hearted yet.' So said Mr Prince to a crowd of tramway men and their supporters gathered at the Oxford Picture Place near Salt River.[1] It was May 1916 and many of the conductors and drivers of the Cape Tramway Company's men were on strike. The strike did not last long - the small Tramway Union did not involve enough of its workers and the Tramway Company was able to keep services running with minimal disruption thanks to a war-time climate of 'business as usual.' The majority of the 100 men who took strike action were dismissed and the Tramway Union crumbled. Although not the largest or most notable of Cape Town's strikes during the war, it was one of the first in a period of intensified strike action in the city. From tramway men, painters, bakers, musicians and policemen to jam, beverage, garment and dock workers - increased labour organisation and action in Cape Town was a direct result of the material and ideological conditions brought about by the First World War.

Indeed, whilst wartime strike action was part of a larger context of strikes across the Union during the period 1907-1922 (mostly centring around white labour protectionism), war-time inflation caused both real and imagined financial hardships. Moreover, rapid wartime industrialisation resulted in more factory workers in the city than ever before. This, combined with difficult working conditions, was crucial to the number of strikes during the war period. Strike action is thus another useful lens to understand the socio-economic impact of the war on Cape Town. Lastly, this period proved important for the development of black and coloured labour organisation in the city, such as the International Workers of Africa (IWA) and the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU), culminating in the 1919 Dockworkers' Strike. Apart from urbanisation and the wartime demand for labour in the city, the development of black labour organisation is also linked to the influence of socialist groups in Cape Town, boosted by the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, and aided by the city's particular class and race relations.

[1] *Cape Times,* 10 May 1916.

Context and the nature of labour organisation in Cape Town

The intensification of strike activity in Cape Town during the war was part of a wider period of strike activity across the Union that had started before the events of August 1914. The second half of 1913 was characterised by intensified labour unrest on the Rand after white mine workers went on strike. This was triggered at first on the New Kleinfontein mine in May 1913 around the question of working hours and the desire for union recognition.[2] The issue of labour protectionism for white workers bubbled under the surface of the strike, with white workers becoming increasingly militant against the idea of being replaced by cheaper Asian and African labour.[3] This issue would again come to a head in the infamous 1922 Rand Strike, which Smuts mercilessly crushed with the full power of the military. The 1913 Rand strike quickly developed into a Union-wide strike by January 1914 (called on by the Transvaal Federation of Trades), including 400 men of the Salt River Workshops and 50 dock workers in Cape Town.[4] Whilst the strikes on the Rand were met with swift repression (rekindling the anarchist elements and radicalising sections of labour)[5] and British-born strike leaders were deported in early 1914, the situation at the Cape fizzled out.[6]

Overall, the Cape politician John X. Merriman felt that the city had seemed 'quite apathetic' about these 'recent events.'[7] Merriman's estimation of the situation might have risen out of the comparative militancy of white labour on the Rand. Unlike the Rand, where white labour collectively pushed for job protectionism, Cape Town's lack of clear racial segregation among the working classes meant that labour organisation was less robust.[8] Most working-class districts such as District Six, Woodstock and Salt River were also multi-racial to various

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[2] Simons and Simons, *Class and Colour,* 156.
[3] Jonathan Hyslop, 'The imperial working class makes itself 'white': white labourism in Britain, Australia, and South Africa before the First World War,' *Journal of Historical Sociology* 12:4 (1999), 5. 398-421. Cheaper indentured Chinese labour was introduced in 1904 to the mines while the introduction of new rock-drill technology in 1907 decreased the need for skilled-workers. The Chinese mineworkers were repatriated by 1910. Peter Richardson, 'The Recruiting of Chinese Indentured Labour for the South African Gold-Mines, 1903-1908,' *The Journal of African History* 18:1 (1977), 99-100. G. Kynoch, 'Your Petitioners Are in Mortal Terror': The Violent World of Chinese Mineworkers in South Africa, 1904-1910,' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 31:3 (2005), 531-546.
[4] Wilfred Harrison, *Memoirs of a Socialist in South Africa* 1903-1947 (Cape Town: Stewart Printing, 1947), 40.
[5] Lucien van der Walt, 'Anarchism and syndicalism in an African port city: the revolutionary traditions of Cape Town's multiracial working class, 1904–1931,' *Labour History* 52:2 (2011), 149.
[6] Van der Waag, *A Military History,* 84.
[7] John X Merriman, *Selections from the Correspondences of John X Merriman* 1905-1924, (ed.) Phyllis Lewsen (Cape Town: van Riebeeck Society, 1969), 235.
[8] Nicol, 'A History of Garment Workers,' 1; van der Walt,' Anarchism and Syndicalism,' 143; Simons and Simons, *Class and Colour,* 73.

degrees. Simons and Simons have thus argued that the white and coloured working-classes 'had much the same standard of living,'[9] although this might not be entirely true if considering certain wealth markers such as housing or wages. Specifically, as discussed in Chapter Two, the number of coloured Capetonians per room was roughly double that of white Capetonians living in the same area. Moreover, as stated in the 1924 report on the Union's Industrial Development, 'Cape skilled coloured workers in most cases are paid slightly lower rates than skilled Europeans for the same class of work,' whilst for those employed 'as operators in factories, on the mines and railways, or unskilled work, the wages paid are very low when compared to Europeans.'[10] Despite these indicators that working-classes of different races did not necessarily have the same access to wealth in Cape Town, it is nevertheless true that the city displayed a far higher degree of racial integration within these classes than did the Rand, for example.

This did not mean that some organisations did not attempt racial exclusivity in the city. White artisans in Cape Town in the early twentieth century had frequently tried to freeze out their coloured counterparts from craft unions. For instance, the Stonemason's Society had been uncompromising in their racial exclusion of coloured stonemasons during the early period. The Operative Plasterers, too, had attempted a racially exclusive policy, but this was re-evaluated during the depression of 1908, when many British artisans departed the city and the Society's membership took a dramatic dive.[11] Abdullah Abdurahman of the APO had urged coloured artisans to form their own exclusive unions - but from this emerged only the South African Teachers League in 1912-1913, which represented the 'intellectual leadership' of coloured Cape Town.[12] Outside of Abdurahman's efforts, the Coloured Operative Bricklayers' and Plasterers' Trade Union of the Cape Province was formed in June 1914.[13] In part they were motivated by a history of exclusion from white unions, and they continued to operate at a lower rate than their white counterparts to keep a competitive edge.[14] Ultimately coloured competition in artisanal Cape Town was an irrefutable reality by 1910 and white unions increasingly acknowledged that they needed to be inclusive to survive.[15]

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[9] Simons and Simons, *Class and Colour*, 73.
[10] Industrial Development in South Africa, 1924, 22-23.
[11] Van Duin, 'Artisans and trade unions,' 99-100.
[12] Simons and Simons, *Class and Colour*, 122.
[13] Van Duin, 'Artisans and trade unions,' 104.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid, 99, 103.

Accordingly, in 1913, the Cape Federation of Labour Unions (CFLU) was formed and was significant for the integration of coloured artisans into Cape Town's trade union movement.[16] Many of the CFLU's affiliated Unions in the following years were mostly coloured - including members from the 'printing, furniture, baking and building' industries.[17] The CFLU cross-racial policy differed from the South African Federation of Trade Unions (previously the Transvaal Federation) which maintained its white labour agenda. Ultimately, Cape Town's labour organisation by the outbreak of the First World War expressed a much higher degree of racial integration than was found anywhere else in the Union.[18] This was important in enabling the spread of socialist ideas in the city, and for the development of cross-racial strikes towards the end of the war period.

Strikes: the Cost of Living, Perceptions of Hardship and the benefits of Full Employment

Both perceptions of wartime financial hardship and real experiences thereof provided impetus for increased labour organisation and strike activity. It has already been established that concerns over the cost of living were apparent from the start of the war. Appealing to the Christian good-will of the city's local businessmen and shopkeepers, the Mayor, John Parker, at a public meeting in August 1914, urged that the cost of necessities should not be unreasonably raised. Calling on Scripture he declared, '"he that withholdeth corn, the people shall curse him."'[19] The newspapers brimmed with letters complaining that grocers and merchants were taking 'undue advantage' of the war circumstances by 'increasing the everyday necessities of life.'[20] The APO were concerned that the city's coloured residents, as the 'poorest portion' of the population, would suffer even more under crippling inflation. (they were also particularly troubled by the plight of coloureds in the surrounding countryside). The Coloured People's War Relief Fund, inaugurated at the APO's offices in Loop Street in September 1914, was a direct result of this concern. In support of the initiative, and as part of a patriotic demonstration held at the City Hall, one speaker - Mr NR

[16] Ibid, 105.
[17] Simons and Simons, *Class and Colour*, 187.
[18] van der Walt, 'Anarchism and Syndicalism,' 143.
[19] Mayor's Minutes, 1914.
[20] Ibid; *APO*: 133, 08 August 1914.

Veldsman - suggested that in the 'spirit of the war,' people should 'spend less on bioscopes and trivialities.'[21] Unfortunately a coloured-specific charity was necessary. In December 1915, eleven white families were being assisted by the Mayor's Relief Fund, in comparison to only two coloured families. The Governor-General's Fund similarly showed that only 15 coloured families were granted assistance, compared to 159 'European families.'[22] Whilst the APO credited coloured citizens for living 'without resorting to charity,' it was hoped that 'the smallness of the number' was 'not due to the fact that many genuine and deserving cases are not given relief because of their colour.'[23]

By 1917, prices of soft goods and food were 40% higher than their 1910 levels.[24] For a family of five in Cape Town, the monthly expenditure was estimated to have increased from £13 11s 4d pre -war to £18 16s by November 1917.[25] The Union's 1919 Commission on the cost of living admitted that some merchants, businessmen, and shopkeepers had, indeed, used the unique position of the war to raise prices and make further profit. By this time the Government had stepped in, fixing the maximum prices for sugar, rice, matches, paraffin and petrol.[26] The Commission further recommended further fixing wheat, bread and flour (the latter's price having increased in Cape Town from 2s 9d per 25lb in 1913 to 7s 8d per 25lb in 1918).[27] In contrast, it was noted that, 'taking the Union as a whole, the cases where wages have been increased in proportion to the cost of living' were 'rare exceptions.'[28] Cape Town, in fact, had the lowest effective wages in the Union from 1914 (with Durban close behind) and was the only city which actually saw effective wages drop below their pre-war standard and only rise again mid-1920.[29]

It was not just the price of foodstuffs that dramatically increased. As previously discussed in Chapter Two, rent too became more costly during the war, with the city's increasing

[21] *APO*:135, 05 September 1914
[22] *Cape Times*, 03 May 1916.
[23] *APO* :140, 14 November 1914.
[24] Nicol, 'A History of Garment Workers,' 51.
[25] UG 55-18, Cost of Living, 33.
[26] UG 55-18, Cost of Living, 8.
[27] Social Statistics, 1-1919, Retail and Wholesale Prices, Rents and Cost of Living, 1895 to 1919 (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1919), 82-83.
[28] UG 55-18, Cost of Living, 20.
[29] Effective wages are understood here to mean the value of wages adjusted for inflation. A nominal wage – the amount of money earned per hour – does not reflect purchasing power or changes in prices. During the war nominal wages sky-rocketed in Cape Town, but the stagnation (and, in 1915, a drop) in effective wages indicates that there were financial constraints on what or how much Capetonains could purchase. This potentially affected standards of living. Social Statistics, no 4-1921, 6.

population and the constriction of the housing market. The Union Government, in early 1916, decided to pay a temporary war bonus to civil servants earning below a certain threshold to help meet the rising cost of living, and encouraged employers to make similar gestures. From November 1916, the Provincial Administrator of the Cape further extended the payment to 'whole-time officials and employees of school boards as well as to white, coloured, native or other teachers serving in schools receiving Government support.'[30] There were, of course, conditions which had to be met, including a maximum income of £240 per annum, and the qualification that the bonus would only be granted to married officers or employees 'actually maintaining a wife or a family.' The flat rate of 25s per month (but adjusted according to wages and earnings), was similarly granted to married white labourers, but not to labourers of any other race.[31] This discriminatory practice once again displayed increasing concerns for alleviating and preventing poor whiteism at the cost of the Union's black majority.

Despite perceptions of increased wartime financial strain, the significant rise in the cost of living (including the wartime housing squeeze), did not necessarily result in increased hardship for everyone. According to Cape Town's Treasurer in 1916, 'the prosperity of the City has continued and shows no signs of diminution.'[32] In part, he believed, this was due to 'the fact that large bodies of troops have visited the City,' but the growth of industry itself was another significant factor.

As Jerry White demonstrates with working-class Londoners during the First World War, the increased demand for wartime labour meant that many families benefitted from the 'full employment' of working-age family members. In other words, collectively, these family networks were bringing in more money than before the war.[33] In terms of Cape Town, Bill Nasson argues that, at least during the war, 'fuller employment…raised the horizons of various groups of urban workers, including those who were not unionised.'[34] Indeed, in 1918, the Deputy Commissioner of the South African Police for the Western Cape Division reflected that 'reports from all districts show that there is no unemployment – but on the

[30] Mayor's Minutes, 1916.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] White, *Zeppelin Nights,* 226.
[34] Nasson, *World War One,* 174-175.

contrary a great shortage of labour.'[35] This shortage, in particular, put strikers in a strong position during the war to negotiate their various demands.

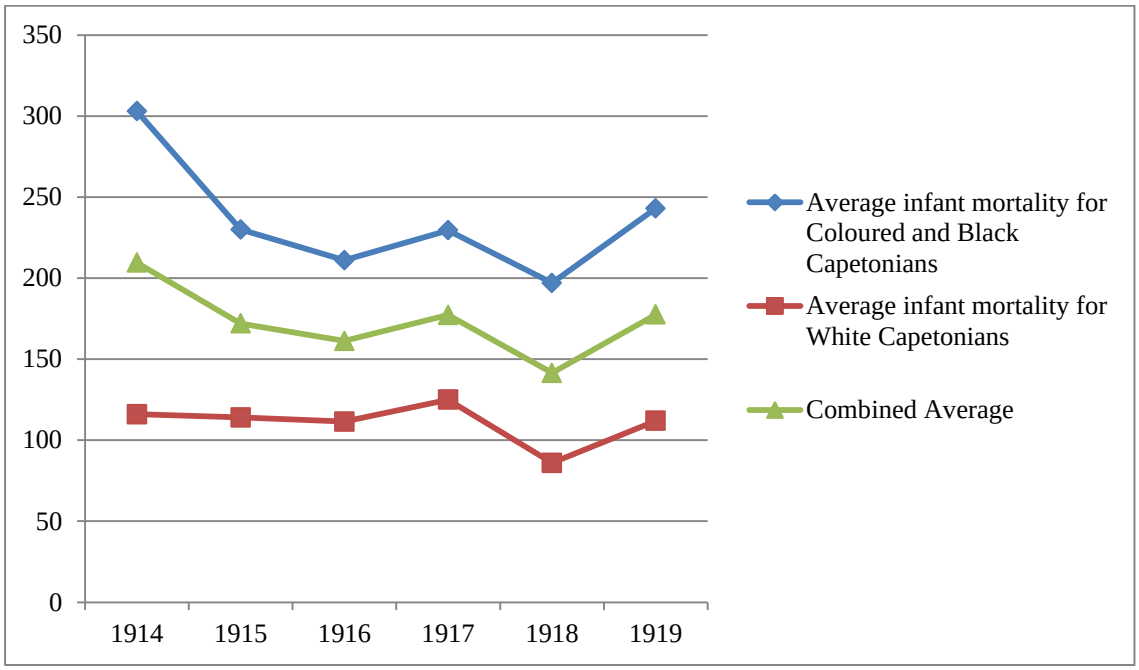
It is possible, however, that the benefits of full employment did not aid all Capetonians equally. As demonstrated in Chapter Three, coloured artisans benefitted from increased work opportunities as a result of white artisans volunteering for the war and other working-classes men and women found employment in the burgeoning light production sector. Nevertheless, outside of these industries, the prevalence of full employment is less clear. Nasson proposes that for the 'poorest parts' of the urban working-classes, including unskilled workers, casual labourers and rural migrants, the rise in wartime inflation was heavily felt. Perhaps, then, the benefits of full employment were dependent on the existence of, or access to, stable support or kinship networks.

A brief look into infant mortality rates for the war period[36] underlines that wartime hardship was prevalent, but far from uniform. As seen in Graph 4 below, the wartime decrease in infant mortality in Woodstock (Ward 8) and Salt River (Ward 9) is likely the reflection of the financial benefits of fuller employment for the artisan classes (many of whom lived in these two wards). A similar trajectory is seen with the suburbs of Maitland (Ward 11) and Rondebosch (Ward 12), as seen in Graphs 5 and 6 respectively. In comparison, East Central (Ward 6) and Castle (Ward 7), both considered to house the poorest of the poor of central Cape Town, after an initial decrease in the infant mortality rate between 1915 and 1916, saw a significant rise from 1916 onwards (even before the unusually high rate of 1919, which reflects the Spanish Flu of October 1918). This is displayed in Graph 7, below.

[35] UG 2-1920, Report of the Deputy Commissioner Commanding the South African Police, Western Division, Cape, for the year ending 31 December 1918 (Cape Town: Government Printer, 1920), 31.

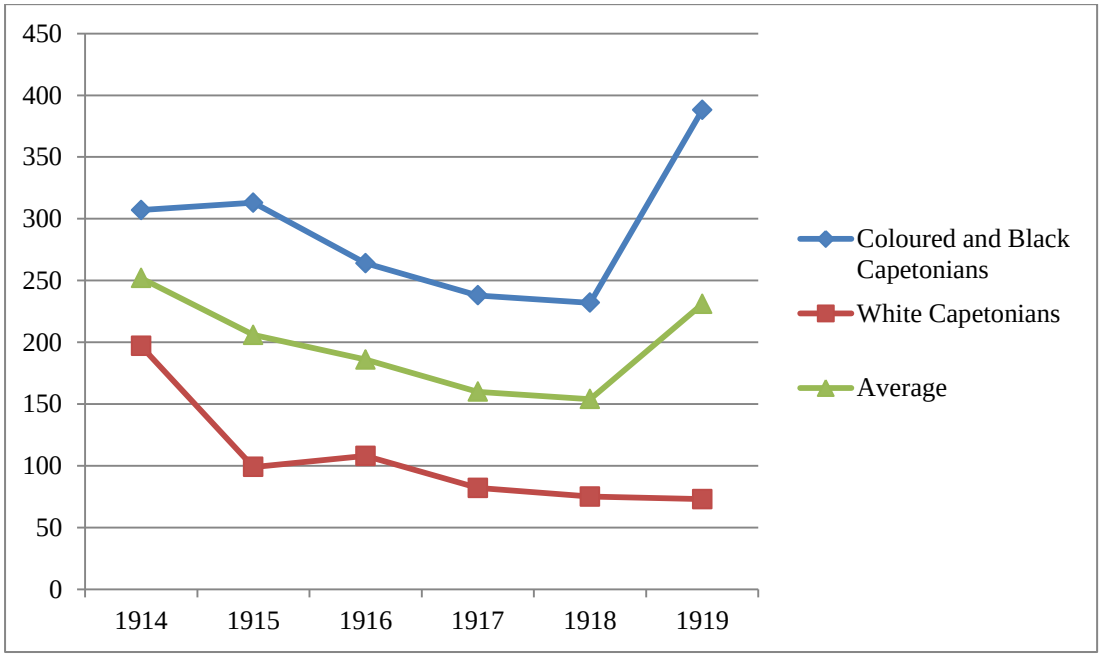
[36] This follows the approach taken by both Jerry White and Jay Winter. Winter, in examining the effects of the First World War on Londoners, concludes that 'infant mortality in this period provides dramatic and clear-cut refutation' of the idea that the war automatically resulted in hardship. Jay Winter, *The Great War and the British People* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1986), 105; Jay Winter, Jon Lawrence and Jackie Ariouat, 'The impact of the Great War on Infant Mortality in London,' *Annales de demographie historique* (1993), 329-353; White, *Zeppelin Nights,* 233-235.

Graph 4: *Average Infant Mortality for Woodstock (Ward 8) and Salt River (Ward 9) broken down by race, 1914-1919*



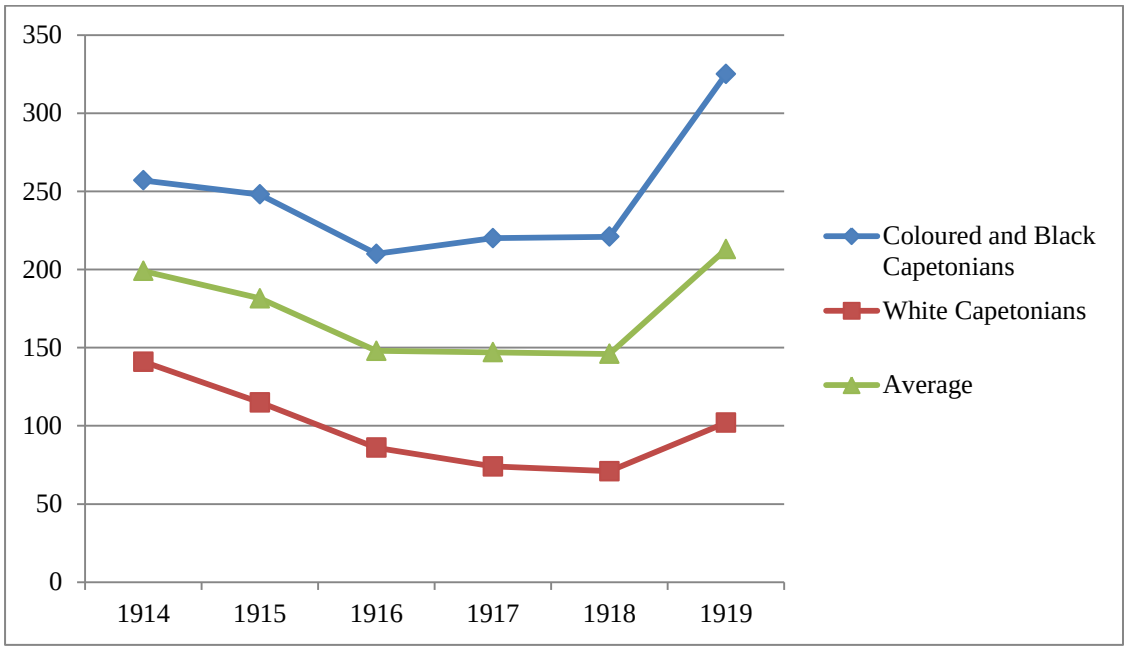
Source*: Cape Town, Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health, Mayor's Minutes, 1914-1919.*

Graph 5: *Average Infant Mortality for Maitland (Ward 11) broken down by race, 1914-1919*



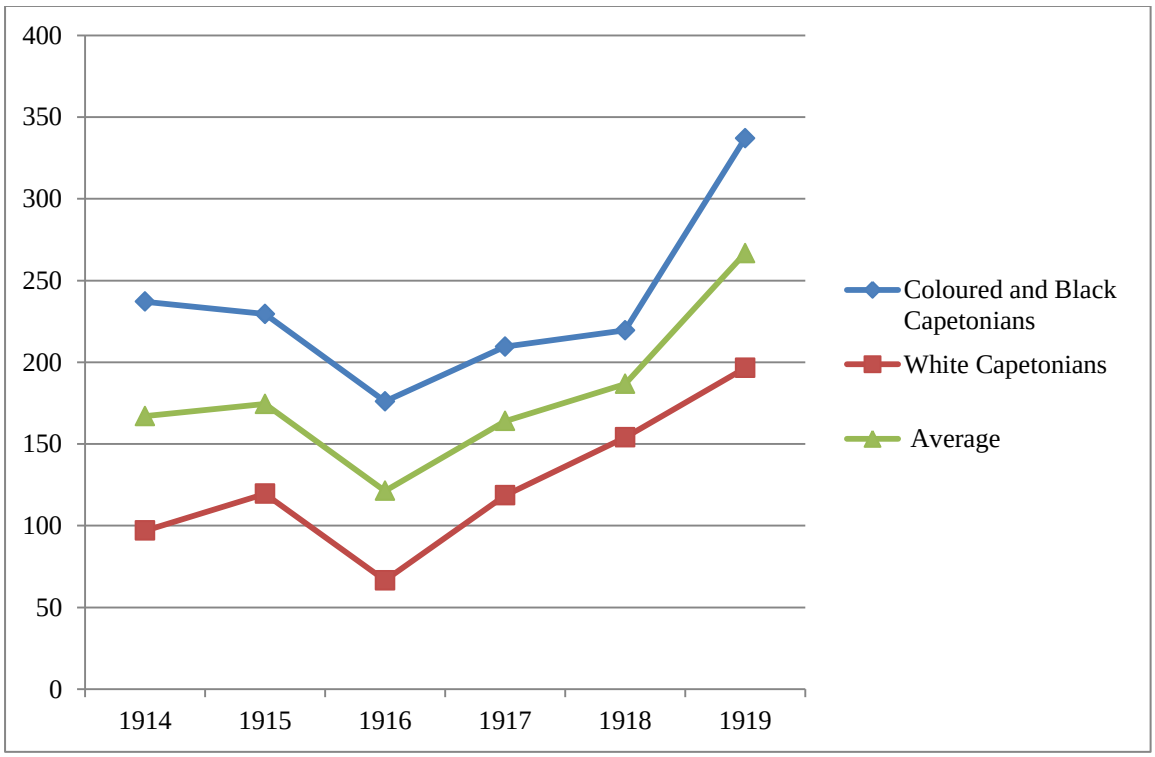
Source: *Cape Town, Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health, Mayor's Minutes, 1914-1919.*

Graph 6: *Average Infant Mortality for Rondebosch (Ward 12) broken down by race, 1914-1919*



Source: *Cape Town, Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health, Mayor's Minutes, 1914-1919.*

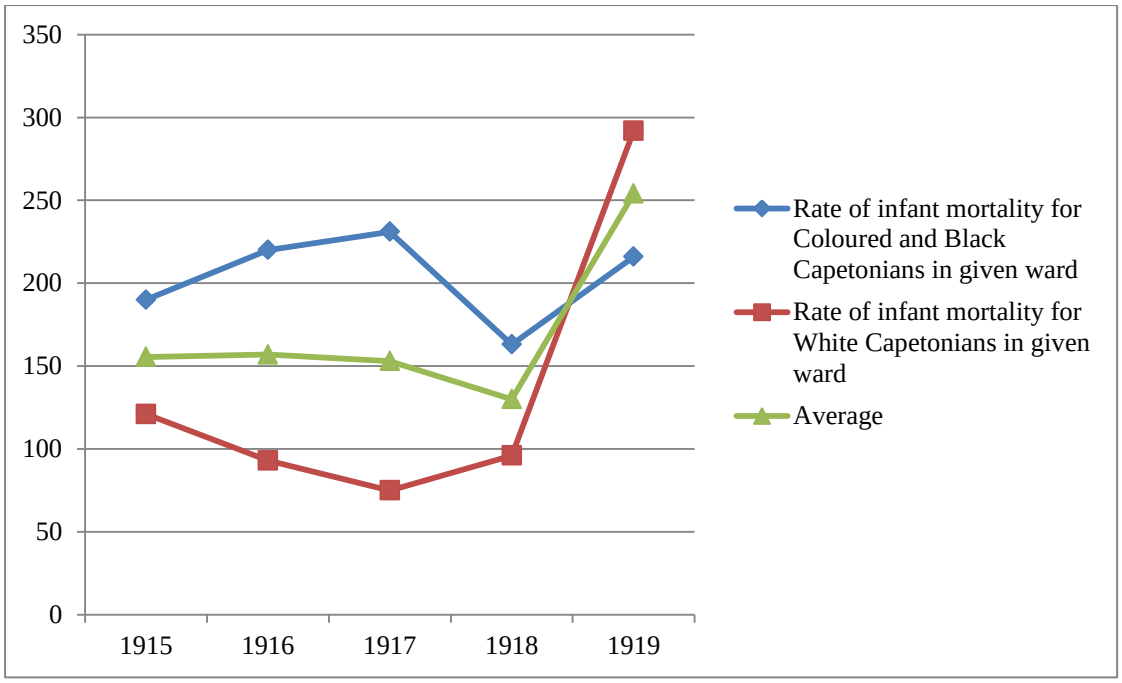
Graph 7: *Average Infant Mortality for East Central (Ward 9) and Castle (Ward 10) broken down by race, 1914-1919*



Source: *Cape Town, Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health, Mayor's Minutes, 1914-1919.*

Both Park (Ward 5) and Harbour (Ward 2, see Graph 8 below) displayed a decrease in white infant mortality and an increase in coloured and black infant mortality for the years 1915-1917, suggesting that even within the same locale, the financial effects of the war could vary.

Graph 8: *Average Infant Mortality for Harbour (Ward 2) broken down by race, 1914-1919*

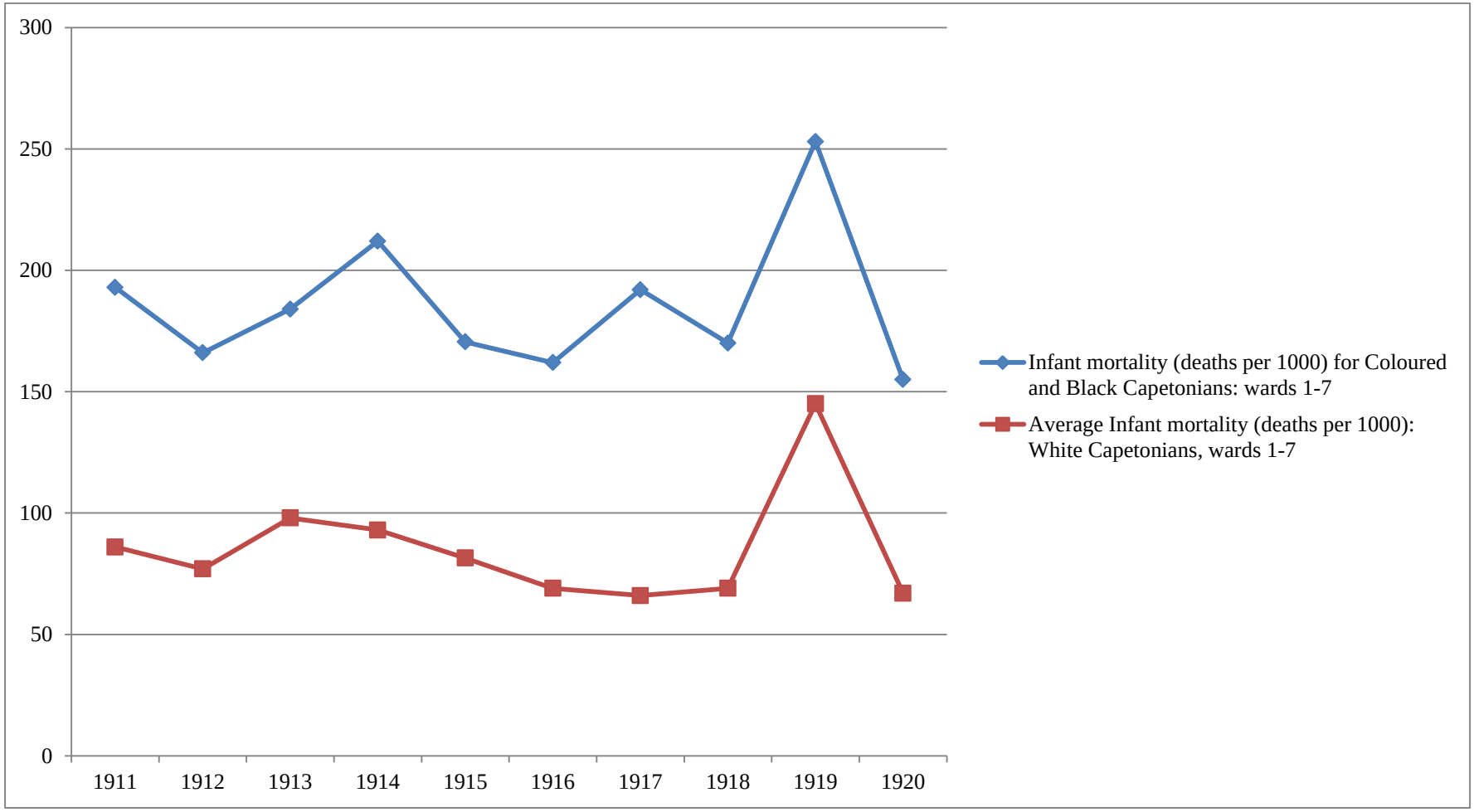


Source: *Cape Town, Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health, Mayor's Minutes, 1914-1919.*

A look at the average infant mortality rate for Wards 2-7[37] from 1911 to 1920 (Graph 9, below) shows relative stability in the infant mortality rate over this longer period – excluding, again, the dramatic spike as a result of the October 1918 Spanish Flu. Thus it is possible that full employment softened the financial blow of substantial wartime inflation, decreasing infant mortality across the city centre, and particularly so for white Capetonians.

[37] Green Point and Sea Point, Harbour, West Central, Kloof, Park, East Central and Castle

Graph 9: *Average Infant Mortality for Wards 2-7, broken down by race, 1911-1920*



Source: *Cape Town, Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health, Mayor's Minutes, 1911-1920. White infant mortality in the city centre from 1911-1920 was roughly half that of coloured and black infant mortality and was characterised by a smooth line in a slightly downward trend. This contrasts with the spikes in deaths for coloured and black infants. The latter possibly reflects the historic and contemporary barriers that coloured and black Capetonians experienced in accessing education and capital, increasing their vulnerability to financial and environmental changes.*

The acceleration of labour organisation and strike activity

The above examination of infant mortality rates across Cape Town's different wards clearly counters the claim that the significant wartime inflation 'naturally' resulted in economic hardship. The demand for labour and full employment seems to have financially boosted some families during the war, enabling them to avoid the worst effects of a rapidly rising cost of living. Yet, as with increase in the infant mortality in the Castle and East Central wards, this was not the case for everyone. Nevertheless and regardless of the degree to which the cost of living did – or did not – negatively impact Capetonians, it was still widely perceived that wartime inflation was causing financial strain. This idea fed into some of the motivating factors provided by various strikers for downing tools during the war, as shall be demonstrated. Lastly full employment – or specifically the shortage of labour – put strikers in a strong position to negotiate their demands.

The Tramway Strike of April-May 1916, briefed at the start of the chapter, was one of the first in a period of the intensified strike activity in Cape Town that related to the war. The Tramway Union's main issue was that of poor working conditions and low pay in the face of wartime inflation**.** The hundred or so 'motormen' (drivers and conductors - all white) who struck were unable to bring any single tram route to a close. The Tramway Union's other motive for the strike involved a rival union. In terms of the strike the latter divided support and allowed tram services to continue.[1] Moreover, because the men of the 'sheds' (largely coloured workers who operated the power station and running sheds) were excluded from the protest, operations were not disrupted. Accordingly the Tramway Company hired extra hands in the form of ex-employees, whilst a few middle-class women volunteered their services as conductors (including the wife of General Manager Long).[2] Some letters of sympathy for the strikers reached the local papers, whilst the Baker's Union went on strike in support as well, but ultimately the two week strike ended with the dismissal of the men and the Tramway Union fell apart.[3]

Garment workers also took strike action for better wages in 1917, as mentioned in Chapter Three. The burgeoning of garment factories during the war, the substantial movement of

[1] Chris Giffard, 'A History of the Tramway Union in Cape Town 1918-1945' (Master's thesis, University of the Western Cape, 1992), 37-39.
[2] Ibid, 40.
[3] Ibid, 42, 45.

women into the sector, the poor conditions of this work, and the continued demand for their labour, were all significant factors for creating the conditions for strike action. On the evening of the 22 October, a mass meeting for garment workers and the public was held on the Grand Parade. It was organised by the Tailor and Tailoress' Union (TTU). There the decision was made to strike for a wage increase of 30% to counter wartime inflation.[4] The TTU was established in 1917 with Muhammad Arshad Gamiet of the South African Malay Association (f. 1909) at its helm and with the help of the CFLU.[5] It was notable in that garment workers were largely female and coloured - making this strike the only one at this time to predominantly involve women.[6]

Although the strike initially involved only two hundred workers (mostly from the factories of Hogsett, Stephen's and Bishop and Mendelsohn's), support quickly spread to almost all 'second class' clothing workers in the city.[7] It culminated just after midday on the 30th October 1917, when roughly 800 workers, mostly women, as well as a '"number of Malay boys and girls [presumably strikers] who looked of school-going age,'"[8] met on the Parade. From there they marched down Darling and Adderley Streets, and along to Dock Road, singing '*Britons never be slaves.*'[9] Both the route of the strike-procession and the choice of the song were highly symbolic, particularly in the wartime context. By singing the song and following the same route marched by thousands of soldiers, the TTU was calling upon notions of loyalty, Britishness, respectability and fair play that were prevalent during the war. Ultimately, with the insistence of the Mayor (Harry Hands at the time), the TTU won their cause and agreed to return to work (without victimisation) on the conditions of an acceptable wage increase.

1918 continued the trend of increased labour organisation and strike activity in Cape Town. This reflected the continued wartime demand for labour in the city, the rise in the cost of living (and the accordant perceived and real hardships), the momentum gained in strike activity over the previous few years and - for some unions, as shall be later explored - the spread of socialist ideas. New Year's Eve of 1917-1918 set the mood for the year to come

[4] Nicol, 'A History of Garment Workers,' 57.
[5] Ibid, 55. Resulting specifically out of wartime conditions, including the burgeoning of garment factories, the TTU lasted less than a year after obtaining its demands.
[6] Ibid, 5.
[7] Ibid, 59.
[8] *CA*, 30 October 1917, as cited by Nicol, 'A History of Garment Workers,' 60.
[9] Ibid.

when one fifth of the city's police went on strike. The strike lasted two weeks and police stations across the city were affected - including those at the Docks, Wale Street, Woodstock and Wynberg.[10] The strike was deliberately timed to occur on a festive occasion where police would usually be busy curtailing disturbances in the streets.[11] Adderley Street was brimming with festivities that night - painting a 'remarkable scene…untouched by the memories of a year of disappointed hopes…'.[12] With 'confetti, rattlers, squeakers and trumpets,' Capetonians of all backgrounds competed with the South Easter as it fiercely kicked up dust as the night wore on. Indeed, the absence of the striking policemen might have been more keenly felt if it were not for the fact that these conditions sent even 'the most determined of the revellers' home earlier than usual.[13]

The strike in part also related to the changing demographics of the police workforce, accelerated by the war, as seen in the previous chapter. Most of the strikers were young Afrikaners who had recently entered the police force. All of the strikers were single - a deliberate choice to protect married constables from risking their income - and white. Indeed, this was not a fight representing the minority of coloured policemen on the force, but rather linked to the idea of 'respectable' living standards for white men and their families.[14] Capetonian constables were disgruntled by the higher wages paid to policemen in the interior, as well as the additional local allowance that the latter received.[15] The escalating cost of living in Cape Town during the war emphasised, in the minds of the city's constables, the unfair advantage given to the Johannesburg policemen.

Aside from their insubstantial wages, housing conditions for young constables were considered particularly dire. Moreover, accommodation for policemen was entirely insufficient, with many men feeling aggrieved that they had no choice but to live below 'respectable European' standards, in the racially-mixed and impoverished areas of the city, such as District Six.[16] These factors were exacerbated by difficult working conditions as, in the wartime city, police-work also meant facing boisterous and difficult troops, double-shifts, and 'special war duties' that often took up their weekends. Thus, when the Police Authorities

[10] Lombaard, 'The Police Strike of 1918,' 41.
[11] Ibid, 41.
[12] *Cape Times,* 01 January 1918.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Nasson, 'Messing with Coloured People,' 314.
[15] Ibid, 304-307.
[16] Ibid, 311.

decided to halt the movement of men leaving the police to enlist for the war, by enforcing the renewal of all police contracts (which previously came to an end after two years, or through the practise of paying off their discharge), young constables suddenly found themselves stuck, with poor pay, and without any way to resolve the matter. This particularly smarted for many of the young, rural, Afrikaner constables, who did not plan to remain in the city.[17]

Indeed, the war, in opening up more vacancies in the police force, accelerated the force's 'Afrikanerisation.' As such the strike might be regarded as the result of an emerging collective Afrikaner identity, kindled by the (dissatisfactory) shared experiences of wartime policework and the cramped conditions of the wartime city. A sense of collective Afrikaner identity was certainly found in the mines of the Witwatersrand, where there was a similar incoming of poor, Afrikaners as many Anglophone men left for war service. This wartime 'labour substitution' represented a substantial change in the social make-up of white labour on the mines and was particularly significant to the 1922 white miner's strike (which centred on the issue of racialised job protectionism).[18] It is not too difficult to imagine, then, an emerging Afrikaans collective identity in relation to Cape Town's 1918 police strike. Accordingly the latter's significance, in part, lies in the glimpse it offers into an emerging (non-British) identity – one which is generally difficult to locate in the contemporary records, and particularly so in contrast to the dominance of Anglophone voices during the war.

The strike was not the first choice to settle these grievances, but petitions and unfruitful negotiations spanning several years had yielded frustratingly few results.[19] Ultimately the striking policemen were arrested but treated with great leniency. Their cause had gained public sympathy and respect amongst the labour movement. Police Authorities, in turn, offered a small temporary allowance, and reverted to the old system of renewing optional contract renewal every two years.[20]

The Police Strike was the first of many in Cape Town in 1918, underlining the substantial socio-economic changes to the city engendered by the war. Strike activity, it seems, had become a popular strategy to improve pay and working conditions across a number of trades

[17] Ibid, 307-309.
[18] Nasson, *World War One,* 170.
[19] Lombard, 'The Police Strike of 1918,' 21.
[20] Ibid, 53-55.

and sectors. Later in January many of the city's Hawker's went on strike,[21] whilst a newly non-racialized Painter's Union also 'downed their tools' for higher wages. The previously white-only Painter's Union had struggled to maintain membership, falling out of existence twice before its non-racial reconfiguration in 1917 with the help of the CFLU.[22] Indeed, whilst white painters acknowledged that a non-racial basis was the only way for them to survive, coloured painters had come to recognise the importance of union organisation in a costly wartime climate.[23] This was one of the first times coloured and white workers had united in strike action (gaining a minimal increase) and it signified a new moment in labour organisation in Cape Town.[24]

Thus far this chapter has established the nature of labour organisation in Cape Town, and many of the causes for increased strike activity during the war. In describing some of the key strikes during this period, it has been demonstrated how both perceived and real hardships (as a result of rampant wartime inflation and the city's wartime housing shortage) fed into the discourses around many of the strikes. So, too, did ideas regarding wartime duty and British freedoms. The momentum gained in labour organisation during the war is also understood in terms of the movement of some Capetonian men to war service and the rapid growth of factories in Cape Town, as discussed in Chapter Three. In terms of the latter, the creation of wartime jobs and the sizeable increase in the number of factory workers was significant to increased labour organisation. The conditions of that labour, and the close proximity of factory work, enabled workers to discuss their various grievances. The demand for wartime workers strengthened their position to negotiate their terms. Most of the strikes thus far explored were independent of the socialist ideas that were boosted during the war. Nevertheless, socialism, as shall be seen, was another stream feeding into increased strike activity, and particularly so during the latter years of the war.

The role of Socialism in labour organisation and the unionisation of coloured and black workers

[21] Fidelis Ebot Tabe, 'Street trading in the central business district of Cape Town 1864-2012: a study of state policies' (PhD thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2014), 50-57.
[22] Van Duin, 'Artisans and trade unions,' 105.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.

In part the increased labour organisation in 1918 related to the work of local socialists, whose ideas were boosted by the Bolshevik Revolution of November 1917. Cape Town's socialists were largely represented by the Social Democratic Federation (SDF), which had been founded on May Day in 1904, with Wilfred H. Harrison at the helm. Harrison was an English carpenter, and an ex- Coldstream guard with the British Army, who had come to Cape Town in 1903.[25] The SDF emerged as part of an international movement which rejected politics and capitalism, and urged workers, irrespective of race or creed, to unite through strike action.[26] The Cape, unlike the Rand, was far more conducive to this cross-racial approach.[27] Harrison spoke on Sundays to crowds at the foot of the van Riebeeck statue in Adderley Street. In efforts to increase coloured and black support, he was able to negotiate with the prominent coloured leader, John Tobin, to speak at 'the Stone,' located in the upper reaches of District Six. Stone meetings, due to their location, drew upon the heart of the city's coloured residents, and talks were given in Dutch/Afrikaans, English and even Xhosa.[28] Although the SDF had initially proclaimed neutrality towards the war, a pro-war faction later split-off, allowing Harrison to pursue his more militant anti-capitalist (and anti-war) rhetoric.[29]

It was not just the SDF who suffered a split - the war proved a contentious issue for Labour across the Union. At first the South African Labour Party, driven primarily by the ideals of its majority members - skilled immigrants, most originating from the United Kingdom itself - had aligned with the Second Socialist International and its anti-war mandate.[30] Yet it was their identification with Britain which challenged the anti-militarism of the organisation upon the outbreak of the First World War. The divisions within the SALP first saw the formation of 'War on War League' within the party but, in September 1915, the League splintered off from the SALP to establish the International Socialist League in Johannesburg.[31] The ISL struggled to gain any real traction in the face of the majority of white labour which supported

[25] Harrison, 'Memoirs of a Socialist,' 1.
[26] Lucien van der Walt, 'Bakunin's heirs in South Africa: race and revolutionary syndicalism from the IWW to the International Socialist League, 1910–21,' *Politikon* 31:1 (2004), 72.
[27] Van der Walt, 'Anarchism and Syndicalism,' 146.
[28] Ibid,145.
[29] Ibid, 144-148; Allison Drew, *Discordant Comrades: Identities and Loyalties in the South African Left* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), Hyslop, Jonathan Hyslop, 'The War on War League: A South African Pacifist Movement, 1914-1915,' *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies* 44:1 (2016), 22-30.
[30] Nasson, *World War One,* 55; Lucien van der Walt, 'The First Globalisation and Transnational Labour Activism in Southern Africa: White Labourism, the IWW, and the ICU, 1904-1934,' *African Studies* 66:2-3 (2007), 225. For socialism in South Africa in the first half of the twentieth century, see Alison Drew, *South Africa's Radical Tradition: A Documentary History V1 1907-1950,* University of Cape Town Press: Cape Town (1996); Although most white workers were from British, there were also Australians, Americans and Europeans.
[31] van der Walt, 'White Labourism,' 233-235; 'Bakunin's heirs,' 77.

the war.[32] Both in Johannesburg and in Cape Town, it was the minority of white workers and middle-class intellectuals who embraced a socialist stance.[33] In Cape Town, for example, there was no strike activity at the Salt River Workshops (where the majority of skilled men were white and British) after the outbreak of war, despite increasingly difficult working conditions. In 1914 the Workshops were taken over by the military and men worked 'double and treble shifts' to keep up with the war-time workload which included mounting artillery and producing shell fuses and rifle racks.[34] Those workmen of a lower-grade struggled with the inflation of prices in the city, despite the adjustment of wages, and some were reportedly forced to make ends meet by sourcing vegetables from the Salt River Market in order to make soup to sell to their co-workers.[35] Nevertheless, the only sign of voiced discontent occurred when a few artisans refused to work overtime in 1918.[36]

Despite their relatively small memberships, the ISL (based in Johannesburg), and the SDF were important to the spread of socialist ideas in Cape Town and the encouragement of non-racial labour organisation during the war. This was aided by international developments, such as the November 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. The ISL and the SDF largely drew upon the views of the International Workers of the World (IWW) more so they did Lenin's Bolshevism. Accordingly, they did not believe that politics was the path to revolution (instead they viewed mass worker action as the vehicle of change). Regardless, the Russian Revolution encouraged the idea that capitalism's time was ending and that socialism was achievable.[37] The moment was less enthusiastically received outside of the city's small socialist circles, with Harrison reflecting that 'Bolshevism was painted as an anathema to every Allied supporter.'[38] The Revolution also prompted widening schisms within the SDF,[39] which experienced yet another split in May 1918.[40] A small group of syndicalists, led by AZ Berman and Jo Pick, felt that the SDF had become 'too academic,' and rejected party politics

[32] Simons and Simons, *Class and Colour,* 187.
[33] Van der Walt, 'Bakunin's heirs,' 72.
[34] O'Sullivan, 'Workers with a Difference,' 39.
[35] Ibid, 43.
[36] Ibid.
[37] WP Visser, 'The Star in the East: South African Socialist Expectations and Responses to the Outbreak of the Russian Revolution,' *South African Historical Journal* 44:1 (2001), 44-45; Drew, *Discordant Comrades,* 46.
[38] Harrison, *Memoirs,* 65.
[39] Alison Drew, *Discordant Comrades,* 47; W.P Visser, 'The Star in the East,' 50.
[40] Allison Drew, Discordant Comrades, 47.

altogether.[41] Together they formed the Industrial Socialist League which, although small in size, played a remarkably active role over the proceeding two years.

In May 1919 to May 1920 alone, the League was involved in roughly 135 outdoor meetings; it organised classes on history, economics and socialism; stocked a small library and even launched a youth programme.[42] In an attempt to more effectively embrace its multiracial cause, the League first set up its office in Ayre Street, District Six. In January 1919 it moved back to the city centre, with a 'socialist hall' in Plein Street - it is unclear whether this was due to needing 'better offices,' or, as (a disgruntled) Harrison suggests, because they failed to attract enough interest in District Six.[43] Nonetheless, the League played a role in the burgeoning of coloured and black labour organisation in the city (although this was gaining momentum on its own), and, in September 1918, it helped form a syndicalist union with coloured and black workers at jam and other food processing factories.[44] In June 1918 the Industrial Workers Union had also been formed (a loose confederation of smaller unions, including workers from the Simonstown dockyard and Ohlsson's Brewery in Newlands), whilst in July the South African Co-operative Union was established.[45] Indeed, these months represent the beginning of accelerated black and coloured organisation in the city - which involved, for the first time, un-skilled and semi-skilled workers in large numbers.[46]

There are three crucial points that need to be made in relation to coloured and black strike activities in Cape Town during the First World War. The first is that the Industrial Socialist League was not the only body in Cape Town encouraging labour organisation amongst coloured and black workers. Secondly, accelerated urbanisation during the war, driven by the demand for labour, was integral to informing the context for increased labour organisation. Thirdly, cramped conditions in the city, including in the location, Ndabeni, exacerbated worker frustrations. Socialist ideas thus fell on fertile ground. The most notable strike of the period, the Dock Workers Strike of December 1919, was led largely by the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) and Industrial Workers of Africa (IWA). It also had the support of the Cape Native Congress (CNC), which was a branch of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC). In January 1919 the ICU was formed, organising chiefly

[41] Harrison, *Memoirs,* 64.
[42] Van der Walt, 'Anarchism and Syndicalism,' 155-156.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Wickens, 'General Labour Unions,' 191,193.
[46] Ibid.

coloured workers. It was headed by Clements Kadalie with the support of the Democratic Labour Party.[47]

The IWA of Cape Town was similarly formed in early 1919 under Rueben Cetiwe and Hamilton Kraai, and had its roots in the wartime socialist activities of the ISL in Johannesburg. Both Cetiwe and Kraai had been members of Johannesburg's IWA, which was established in 1917 with the encouragement of the ISL. Both men lost their jobs due to their involvement in the 1918 Johannesburg 'Bucket Strike' (where black sanitary workers demanded fairer wages) and moved down to Cape Town shortly thereafter, where they found an already fermenting dissatisfaction.[48] Ndabeni, as discussed in Chapter Two, had been under increasing strain as the war continued, with more African men and women coming into the city in search for work. In 1916 it had a population of 1600, in 1917 this figure rose to 2753, and by February 1918 it totalled 3300.[49] In March 1918 a mass-meeting was held in Ndabeni, organised by the CNC to protest the draft of the Native Urban Areas bill of 1918. The bill, eventually passed in 1923, handed the control of black residents over to municipal authorities in urban areas, largely resulting in the creation of further locations. It ultimately aimed at controlling the number of black people living in the cities[50] - an important building block for further segregation later in the century.

In May 1918 another protest was held when the principal of the United Missionary School at the location was dismissed without warning, causing distress among Ndabeni's permanent residents that their children's futures were being challenged.[51] In mid-1918, Reverend ZR Mahabane of the CNC also organised a protest at the location to show solidarity with the 'bucket strikers' in Johannesburg.[52] The CNC, whilst bourgeois and professing loyalty to Empire throughout the war, was one of the only avenues open to voice black labour issues before the growth of black unions in Cape Town. As such in 1918, and to the tune of increasing socialist propaganda, the CNC sent a delegation to the Mayor to request that a

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[47] Sylvia Neame, 'The ICU and British Imperialism,' *Institute of Commonwealth Studies* 1(1970),' 138; P. Wickens, 'General Labour Unions,' 192.
[48] Van der Walt, 'Anarchism and syndicalism,' 151; Peter Limb,'" I-Kongilesi Lilizwi ezindi ezindlwini (Congress' Name is Household):" politics and class in the Cape Province during the 1920s,' *Historia* 51:1 (2006), 57.
[49] Kinkead-Weekes, 'Africans in Cape Town,' 89-92. In September 1918 the population was 3561, consisting of 2518 men, 448 women and 595 children. UG 7-1919, 17-18.
[50] Bickford-Smith et al, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century,* 87.
[51] Kinkead-Weekes, 'Africans in Cape Town,' 201.
[52] Limb, "'I-Kongilesi Lilizwi ezindi ezindlwini,"' 56.

minimum wage for black workers be set.[53] It is in this bubbling context that the IWA gained ground.

The IWA were essential to the Dock Strike of December 1919, by organising black workers from Ndabeni and the Docks location. As such they represented 'the largest syndicalist body in Cape Town.'[54] Once again, the wartime demand for labour and accordant urbanisation, were significant in shaping labour organisation. In December 1919 a joint rally was held at Ndabeni with the IWA, CNC and the ICU, to discuss ongoing dock worker grievances. Kraai wrote to the City Council demanding that unskilled workers be granted a wage of 10 shillings a day.[55] With the support of the CNC, the CFLU and the largely white union, the National Union of Railway and Harbour Servants (NUHRAS), the IWA and ICU (with roughly 3000 men between them) went on strike on the 17 December. NUHRAS, in particular, was involved because of its grievance with the continued export of soft goods (notably meat and wheat) from South Africa at a time during which the cost of living was still soaring - which is why the first act of the strike was a refusal to load the *Norman Castle* with jam and fruit, which was to be sold in the United Kingdom.[56] The strike lasted two weeks, during which there was major disruption to Cape Town's shipping industry. Ships avoided Cape Town altogether, whilst coal - which was still being delivered as per usual - was quickly mounting at the port.[57] Dock workers gathered daily on the Grand Parade for mass meetings, whilst the strike committee assembled in the evenings at the SDF's Plein Street headquarters.[58]

The strike represented the city's first cross-racial industrial action of a serious magnitude, and to a large degree resulted from the socio-economic conditions brought about by the war. NUHRAS, however, withdrew from the strike after the government acceded to amend its exports, and white workers scabbed.[59] The ICU and IWA continued with determination. It was only after the military was sent in, clearing out men living at the docks location that the strike broke. Although the strike did not present with an initial victory, it did pave the way for future wage negotiations and - with the memory of the 1919 debacle fresh on their minds

[53] Ibid, 54-56.
[54] Van der Walt, 'Anarchism and Syndicalism,' 151.
[55] Ibid 152.
[56] Budlender, Deborah, 'A History of Stevedores in the Cape Town Docks,'(BA Hons thesis, University of Cape Town, 1976), 19.
[57] Ibid, 21.
[58] Van der Walt, 'Anarchism and Syndicalism,' 152-3.
[59] Ibid.

- private stevedore companies agreed to wage increases in 1920.[60] The IWA, soon after the strike, merged with the ICU, which quickly spread to other port cities across South Africa. The ICU, which resulted out of wartime conditions, grew to become the most significant non-racial trade union in South Africa in the 1920s.[61]

An Armistice Mood

Finally, whilst the signing of armistice in 1918 (see Cartoon 2, below) did not halt the gathering momentum of strike action that had been building over the war years, it did change the way in which some strikes were received. The closure of the bioscopes during the Spanish Flu epidemic of 1918 had severely hurt the musicians who performed live accompaniment to films. The African Theatres Trust, which had formed a monopoly in 1913 (in terms of the bioscopes themselves as well as film distribution), had a strict 'no play, no pay' policy which the musicians challenged by demanding compensation for the time lost over the epidemic (three weeks), a 20% increase in wages, as well as the employment strictly of Musician's Union men.[62] When theatres re-opened on the 30 October, the musicians refused to return to work until their demands were met - the ATT rejected these conditions and the strike commenced. Ultimately the strike ended on the 27 November without much success - most demands were ignored or abandoned and the musicians received payment for only one and a half weeks.[63] Nevertheless the 'victory mood' of Armistice was harnessed by the Musician's Union, who held parades and film screenings to garner the support of the public. Like the garment strike of 1917, the musicians deliberately marched down Adderley Street to the tunes of 'Britons shall never be slaves' and 'Tipperary,' flying banners declaring 'Fight for Right' and 'Support the Musicians.'[64]

[60] Budlender, 'History of Stevedores,' 21.
[61] Wickens, 'General Labour Unions,' 201.
[62] Evangelos Mantzaris, 'Another Victory for trade unionism: The 1918 Cape Town Musician's strike,' in C. Saunders and H. Phillips (eds.), *Studies in the History of Cape Town* 3 (1984), 114-130.
[63] Mantzaris, 'Another Victory,' 125-127.
[64] Ibid, 123.

Cartoon 2: *The Unveiling of Armistice*

Source: *Cape Times*, 01 January 1919.

Similarly the second tramway strike, held in July 1919, also was boosted by the post-war climate. Almost a year prior, in September 1918, tramway men had gathered at the Globe bioscope in Woodstock and, with the help of the CFLU, they resolved to form a new union.[65] By 1919 it had expanded outside of Cape Town and included, unlike the failed strike of 1916, coloured workers from the running sheds and power stations.[66] On 19 July 1919 over 300 men from the Union went on a two and a half week strike, demanding better wages and working conditions. The new Union, with a far greater body of supporters and a united front, brought the tram service to a standstill in Cape Town. With the help of self-organised boxing tournaments, musical concerts and a black retriever with a donation box attached to its collar, the strikers were able to raise substantial funds from the public.[67] Activities and entertainment aside, unlike the previous strike, the public readily supported the Tramway Union's cause. It is possible that the post-war climate meant that the wartime mentality of 'doing one's bit' was not as prevalent. No longer was loyalty linked to getting on with work despite poor pay and difficult working conditions. Neither did Capetonians feel that they had to put up any longer

[65] Giffard, 'A history of the tramway Union,' 47.
[66] Ibid, 48.
[67] Ibid, 55.

with the Tramway Company's bad service and decrepit tram cars, which were long out of date and constantly overcrowded.[68] Ultimately the demands of the Union were met, and news of the victory was received with much gaiety.

Conclusion

There are a number of points that can be re-iterated here. Clearly strike action in Cape Town was part of a larger, Union-wide period of worker organisation and one which peaked during the 1922 Rand Revolts which were brutally suppressed by Smuts. Nevertheless, Cape Town's unique racial composition and varying degrees of cross-racial organisation shaped the nature of strike action in the city. White artisans increasingly opened up unions to their coloured brethren, realising it was their only realistic way to survive.

The socio-economic conditions engendered by the war (including the movement of men to war service, the growth of factories, the demand for labour, urbanisation, a shortage of housing and both real and perceived financial hardships) were vital to enabling increased labour organisation, as did the reportedly difficult nature of wartime work.

Spatial relations in Cape Town, too, played a role in this - both in terms of attempts by groups such as the SDF to garner more coloured and black support by strategically moving to areas such as District Six - but also in fostering the growth of the ICU and the IWA. The fact that black workers, for example, were confined largely to the Ndabeni and Docks locations facilitated conversations about working and living conditions and allowed emerging union leaders to easily organise mass meetings.[69]

The use of public spaces located at the heart of the city, such as Adderley Street and the Grand Parade, were also vital to acts of protest. Grievances voiced in these spaces gained greater public attention, and sometimes encouraged public acts of support. The war was also vital to strike action by impacting material conditions in the city. In pushing up the cost of living, contracting the housing market and often negatively impacting working conditions, it kindled increasing dissatisfaction and prompted group action. Labour organisation, too, was encouraged by heightened socialist voices in Cape Town during the war. Lastly, the immediate post-war mood had a positive impact on the way in which some strikes were

[68] Ibid, 56.
[69] Budlender, 'History of Stevedores,' 18.

received. All in all, the First World War was significant for strike activity in Cape Town by fuelling labour activities, cultivating the conditions for semi- and unskilled workers to organise en-masse for the first time, and for moments of increased cross-racial worker support.

Chapter Five: Slum City

Introduction

In October 1916 a petition was signed by 256 people from the neighbourhoods surrounding Wells Square, District Six, calling attention to its 'disgraceful state of affairs.' The complaint argued that Wells Square was becoming 'uninhabitable for decent people…brothels are numerous, and that what takes place in the streets, alleyways and doorways at night cannot be mentioned.'[1] In the newspapers it was referred to as a 'slum,' a 'scourge,' and a 'hotbed of infection.' Wells Square, however, was not unique in its dilapidation, rather its location and proximity to the city centre and the docks brought it more attention during the First World War as complaints about soldiers, stumbling out of brothels and bars, heightened its notoriety.

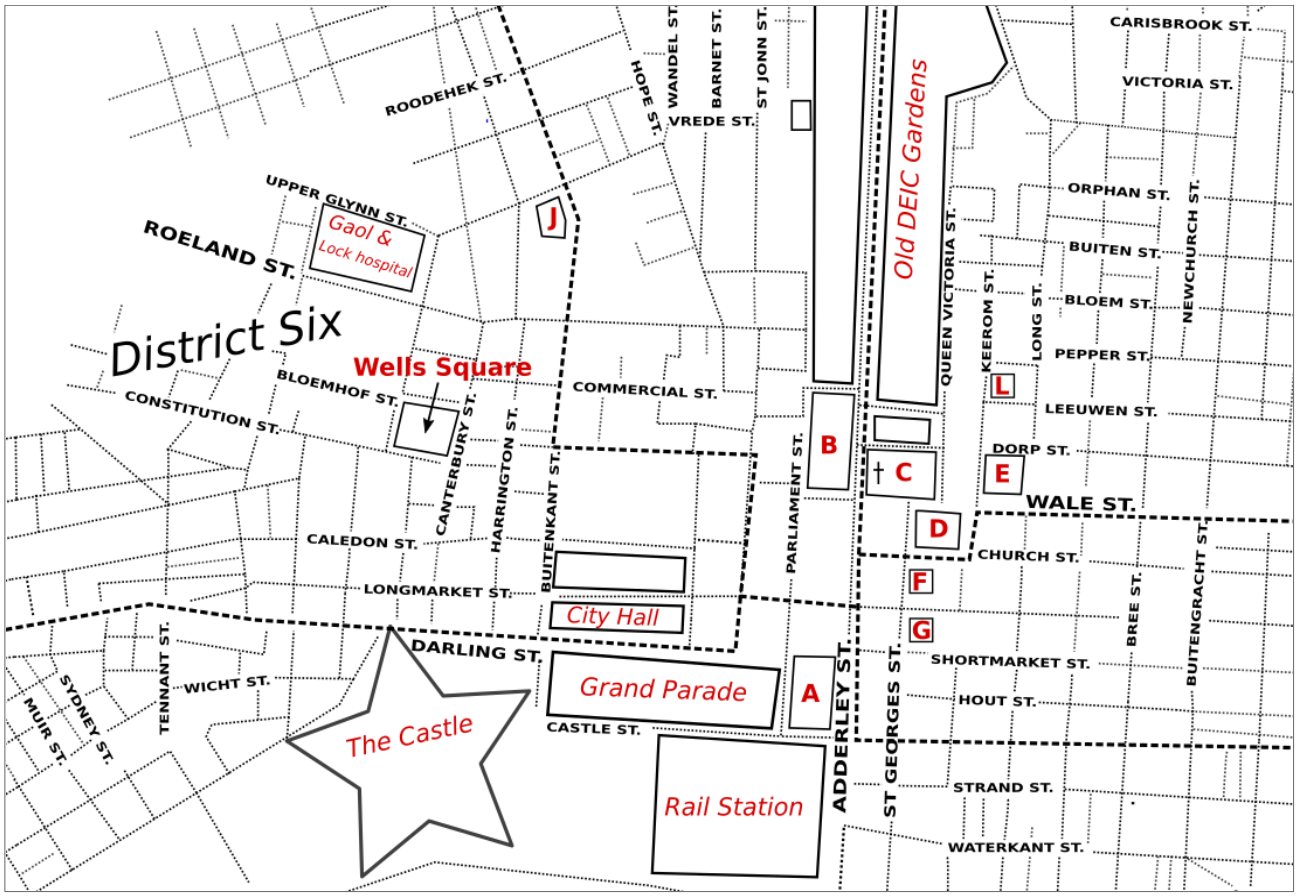
Whereas the previous chapters have explored some of the material effects of the First World War on Cape Town, including the rising cost of living, a burgeoning population, the contraction of the housing market, the challenges to health and sanitation, and the war's effects on the city's work-force, this chapter begins to address how these wartime changes helped shape perceptions of the city and its people. These ideas and discourses, particularly those stemming from the dominant Anglophone middle-classes (as reflected in media reports or the opinions of doctors, sanitation inspectors, church ministers, City Council officials and charities) were important in that they had the potential to shape policy and affect the lives of Capetonians. However, cries against 'slum' areas during the war were largely met with inaction, despite the ways in which these heterogeneous, 'unruly' areas challenged the vision of Cape Town as a modern and ordered city - a 'Europe in Africa.'[2] The City Council, historically slow to pursue public housing, was also restricted by a general apathy of the city's tax-payers and the latter's resistance to spending money on schemes deemed unnecessary or avoidable. It was only with the Spanish Flu in October 1918, that dreaded

[1] *Cape Times,* Oct 28 1916
[2] Coetzer, *Building Apartheid,* 81.

'Black October,' that greater impetus was gained for social housing. Ultimately, however, the 'slums' remained largely untouched.

Wells Square

Map 4*: Locating Wells Square*



For the full legend, see Map 3

Despite the scrutiny Wells Square received during the war, there was nothing remarkable about it, not at least according to the Juta street directories of 1913-1919. The prevalence of stables, bakers and general dealers was part of the everyday rhythm of its residents. Those who called the 'four-sided block of property bounded by Canterbury Street, Constitution Street, Drury Lane and Bloemhof Street,'[3] 'home' were listed mostly as 'Malay and Coloured.' Nevertheless, like the rest of Cape Town's East Central Ward - or 'District Six' (in

[3] *Cape Times,* June 04 1917

1867 it was named the Sixth District in the city)[4] - Wells Square was peppered with 'whites' of a variety of European descents, as the result of waves of European immigration that took place over the preceding twenty years, and the increasing urbanisation of Afrikaans 'bywoners.' It is possible that black residents, unable to squeeze into Ndabeni, were also increasingly present. Poverty and opportunity for a new life often went hand in hand in such places. As previously discussed, the war brought conditions which pressed the city's poorer inhabitants even closer together, including: urbanisation, a slower building trade, a considerable housing shortage and, for some, the pressures of an increased cost of living. This contrasted with the affluent middle and upper classes, living on the slopes of Table Mountain in the area known as 'Gardens,' or in the 'villas' of the Southern Suburbs. These Capetonians were relatively well equipped to contend with the greater expense of food and soft goods. They were also more likely to own their own homes (this applied to 33% of white Capetonians, versus roughly 10% of coloured and black Capetonians) and were less affected by the wartime rent-hike.[5]

The odour of the stables in Wells Square, that earthy and unmistakably *animal* scent of the horses, mingled in the early mornings with the sour smells from the make-shift trash-cans awaiting collection, and the aroma of freshly baked bread from Tocker and Lanzkovski's bakery. Smells and sounds - such as the clinking and clanking of the local farrier and blacksmith, Max Ellis - joined the humdrum of the movement of people as they navigated their daily lives. No doubt the screams of babies were accompanied by the laughter of children, the coughing of the sick, the shouting of the angered, the sighing of lovers and all the variety of sounds expressing the spectrum of human emotions and experiences. At times, middle-class circles suggested that their poorer brethren, a stone's throw away from the orderly and spatially generous residences of the more affluent areas of the city, were inherently prone to the 'baser' of the emotions - it was prejudice that blinded them to the humanity of their neighbours.

For daily provisions one did not need to wander from the Square - at number four, Mr Getz owned a dairy, further up the street you could choose between a handful of general dealers, Shamsoodien's on Bloemhof Street, or Mr Cassim at number 83 Canterbury, Mr Hoosen at number 85 in the King's Buildings, or that run by Mrs Ellis. Next door to her, Mr Abramowitz

[4] Bickford-Smith, *Emergence of the South African metropolis,* 24.
[5] UG 37-'24, 1921 Census, Part IX Dwellings, 19.

made harnesses, whilst Mr Miller was a cobbler. Amongst the permanent residents listed during the period 1913-1919, there seemed to be a considerable transient population, the names listed in the directories changing from one year to the next. Thus in 1913, M. Segal occupied numbers five and seven Bloemhof, succeeded by Mr Katzef in 1914. Their next door neighbour at number 13 also changed, 'an Afrikander' moved in after the German, Frederick Angel, left. From 1915-1919 these same addresses simply detail 'coloured and Malay.'

Despite the seeming 'normalcy' inferred from the Juta directories, this particular locale gained significant notoriety, particularly during the war years. The October 1916 petition, signed by 256 inhabitants of the greater area, demanded that the Square be placed under stricter control. It was directed at the Minister of Justice as the signatories had come to the conclusion that the City Council was 'quite incapable of dealing with the matter.'[6] Indeed, the 1916 petition was not the first time the matter had been raised - a smaller petition was submitted to the City of Cape Town in 1915, but on both occasions the Medical Officer of Health, upon visitation, had deemed the area to be 'fairly sanitary.'[7] After receiving the 1916 petition the Minister of Justice acknowledged that Wells Square was a 'known slum quarter' that had been giving a 'considerable amount of trouble to the police.' His belief was that additional policing could not 'alter the nature of the quarter, nor of the people who occupy it…the only effective remedy is to get the municipality to abolish the slum.'[8] The city was prompted into action and shortly thereafter notified the public that the issue of the 'plague spot' was being dealt with by a Special Committee. Accordingly, one Dr Higgins reported that

> the houses of Wells Square are in general old and worn out, in a bad state of repair, and overcrowded. They have insufficient yard space. Throughout they are verminous and rat-infested. The status of the tenants…varies, but a considerable number of them are of a very low class. Certain of the houses are used for immoral purposes and for illicit liquor selling. The general condition is made worse by the stables and stores

[6] *Cape Times,* 28 October 1916.
[7] Coetzer, *Building Apartheid,* 163-5.
[8] Ibid.

> which are in too close proximity to the houses…Wells Square is an unhealthy area which can only be dealt with satisfactorily by demolition and reconstruction.[9]

Thus, by November 1916, two proposals had been submitted by the City Engineer in the event that the Square be remodelled.[10]

Wells Square: not unique

Yet, despite cries that the 'plague spot' was the epitome of poverty and corruption, Wells Square and its adjoining streets, *reportedly* totalling around 700 people,[11] was not necessarily 'worse' off than many of the other impoverished areas around the Peninsula, particularly in the face of increased wartime urbanisation. In fact most Districts included impoverished quarters to a lesser or greater degree. The Child Life Protection Society's investigative committee in 1915 reported the 'dirty and overcrowded tenements' where 'flies breed in the millions,' and noted that although 'Districts Two, Three and Six' were notorious for overcrowding and poor sanitation, 'some reports from Woodstock, Salt River and Rondebosch are almost as disquieting.'[12] It was similarly noted that 'the cases quoted…represent but a small fraction of the abominable conditions existing in our fair peninsula,' describing 'some more cases of misery,' one of which included 'a small house of three rooms and kitchen occupied by six families, two in each room, and comprising Malays, Cape Coloured and Kafirs.'[13]

Although the City Council's Health and Building Regulation Committee noted that the buildings in the Square were 'in a bad state,' the Square itself was listed as having in total 320 rooms with roughly 663 occupants, giving an average of 2.07 people per room. This made the occupancy per room in Wells Square one of the lowest for the coloured and black population across greater Cape Town during the war, with areas such as Sea Point (District 1) and the Harbour District (District 2) peaking at 2.91 and 2.88 people per room respectively, according to the 1921 census report on housing and sanitation (see Graph 2, Chapter Two).[14]

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[9] *Cape Times*, 04 June 1917.
[10] Coetzer, *Building Apartheid,* 185.
[11] *Cape Times,* 04 June 1917.
[12] Ibid, 18 Sept 1915.
[13] This term is pejorative, and here reflects its prevalence. *CT,* 01 October 1915 .
[14] UG 37-24, 1921 Census, 315.

It must be cautioned, however, that the official figures provided for the city's poorer quarters are probably unreliable. Despite its notoriety, then, Wells Square was not evidently unique in terms of its housing conditions. Rather, as shall be seen, the war transformed Wells Square into a focal point for public grievances, a way for the more well-to-do citizens to express concerns regarding health and morality in the city.

Although previously marked as problematic, the war brought more attention to the Square as reports trickled in of soldiers 'constantly' visiting it. Anecdotal evidence flamed the fires of moral outcry - each news article, rumour and sighting of soldiers in the district solidified the sentiment that Wells Square was a danger. 'Only on Thursday last,' one writer bemoaned,

> two soldiers came out of the Square and sat at the entrance of a stable drinking two bottles of wine - this is at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. On another occasion…no fewer than four men in hospital blue drove up in a taxi. After a stay of about an hour they left in an intoxicated state. It is not only a case of illicit drinking...again, only on Sunday two… sailors were brought from this place and laid on the pavement in front of the bakery, in spite of the fact that scores of women and children were standing around as spectators….[15]

The sailors were evidently then removed by the police.[16] During the war the city tried to curb the potential indecent behaviour of troops.[17] By mid-1916, when Anzac troopships were regularly stopping in the harbour, the city's chief magistrate frequently gave the order to close all alcohol-serving premises. Troops seeking a 'night out' were forced to find alternative sources of entertainment. Conveniently close to Adderley Street, the Castle and the Harbour, troops did not need to wander far to visit the illicit bars and brothels of the district.

Understanding the public outcry

Cape Town's elite were embroiled in an ethos of modernity, steeped in a history of British middle and upper-class values and norms. The formation of Union in 1910 reflected this, brought about by a shared desire for scientific progress, and the advancement of the white

[15] *Cape Times,* 22 May 1917.
[16] Ibid.
[17] GG 572, 9 32/18A, Cavendish to Buxton, 20 September 1916.

races.[18] These discourses reflected concerns about health, race and nation-building in the Union, and envisioned the creation of 'modern,' 'civilised' cities through the structural reformation of urban systems, addressing, amongst other things, the water-carriage system, the expansion of electricity, modern communications and transport.[19] The public outcry against Wells Square can be understood in relation to this middle-class, largely white (and chiefly Anglophone) discourse which tied together concepts of modernity, respectability, culture and civilisation.

Slum discourse, and the accompanying rhetoric of intervention or abolition, was far from unique to Cape Town, yet alone the Union. Rather it reflected the wider concerns of urban order and control in response to the industrialisation and modernisation of towns and cities, particularly in the more 'industrialised North.' Indeed, as Alan Mayne has argued, the confidence and pride projected by the idea of the 'modern city' was a way to establish a sense of order in a 'discontinuous and kaleidoscopic' urban experience.[20] Slums - uncontrollable, unhygienic, uncivilised and aesthetically displeasing - were a threat to the vision of the modern city (even if they were a product of modernity itself).[21] The projection of these middle-class values, amplified in the media - from newspapers, church sermons, short-stories, tourist pamphlets to official city reports - reinforced the image of the 'slum' as a place of corruption, danger and indecency.[22] This discourse depicted the residents of Wells Square, and other poor areas, as homogeneous, marginal, 'outsiders' in their own city, problems to be solved, hindrances to the ideal of Cape Town as a modern and 'civilised' city.[23]

A driving motivation behind slum discourse was a deep-rooted concern regarding health, sanitation and the spread of disease. Tucked away in the pages of recent memory, 'plague' and 'epidemic' were words that stimulated fear in the citizens of the Cape. When Plague broke out in 1901-1902, Ndabeni was the swift result, when 6000 Africans were blamed for its rapid spread and removed to the outskirts of the city. This 'Sanitation Syndrome,'[24] or 'Epidemic expediency'[25] was a 'societal metaphor...[which]...powerfully interacted with ...

[18] Dubow, *A Commonwealth of Knowledge,* 73.
[19] Mayne, *The Imagined Slum,* 20.
[20] Ibid, 25.
[21] Ibid, 10-12; Phillips, *Plague, Pox and Pandemics,* 46-52; Coetzer, *Building Apartheid,* 114-119; 141.
[22] Mayne, *The Imagined Slum,* 151-183; Bickford-Smith, *Emergence of the South African Metropolis,* 82.
[23] Mayne, *The Imagined Slum,* 2-3.
[24] Swanson, 'Sanitation Syndrome,' 387-410.
[25] Phillips, *Plague, Pox and Pandemics,* 50-1.

racial attitudes to influence the policies and shape the institutions of segregation.'[26] The outbreak of plague had confirmed for many white, middle-class Capetonians the fear of the diseased 'Other' and gave impetus to increased segregation in the city.

Dirt and smell were associated with notions of disease. Linked to the lingering Victorian notion that 'ill vapours' were signs of sickness, the obsessive reporting of the *smells* of the slums of Cape Town fed into 'sanitation syndrome.'[27] In an article entitled 'The Holocaust of Babies,' published in the *Argus* in July 1916, the author described the 'fetid atmosphere of slum tenements, overcrowded by reason of rack-renting,' 'poisoning the lungs by germ-laden air.'[28] 'The evening bioscope in poorer quarters,' it stated, was a 'hot-bed of atmospheric impurity and infection.'[29] One writer, visiting the 'crowded dwellings' of the inner city in September 1917, spoke of the 'evil smells that rose from the drains,' 'rooms filled with 'dark vapours' that 'made the eyes smart' and 'foul atmospheres' that 'left one nauseated with temples throbbing from the unbearable stench.'[30]

Bad odours also had moral implications for middle-class sensibilities, connecting to the Christian notion that 'cleanliness is next to Godliness.' Dirty environs meant not only dirty inhabitants, but morally corrupt ones. For some 'civilised' Capetonians, the slum environment was corrupting, for others it was the uncivilised who did the damage to the environs. The latter idea spurred on the image of a slumland leaking out of its borders, infecting the material and moral integrity of the surrounding neighbourhoods. In a letter to the *Cape Times*, dated 01 November 1915, the author complained about the 'low standard of cleanliness imposed by the less civilised portions of the community on the whole population,' and that,

> This portion of the inhabitants has never been made to conform to the standard which every progressive municipality seeks to set before the public. The streets of Cape Town are littered…the pavements and railway platforms are defiled by

[26] Swanson, 'Sanitation Syndrome,' 387.
[27] Mayne, *The Imagined Slum,* 175; Vivian Bickford-Smith, 'A "special tradition of multi-racialism?" Segregation in Cape Town in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,' in James, Wilmot and Mary Simons (eds.) *The angry divide: social and economic history of the Western Cape*. Cape Town: New Africa Books, 1989' 55.
[28] *Cape Argus,* 10 July 1916.
[29] Ibid, 17 July 1916.
[30] *Cape Times,* 19 September 1917.

> expectoration...The trams, in addition to carrying passengers, carry dirty bundles of washing, the smaller ones being actually taken inside the tram by the Malay passengers. This low standard of a section of the community reacts upon the sanitary condition of the whole. The portions of the city in which they chiefly congregate become centres of infection....Epidemics take firm hold in the slums and are carried thence to the most favoured residential spots of the borough.....the moral effect of these conditions is no less striking than the material.[31]

This extract demonstrates the middle-class, Anglophone discourse which readily linked together sanitation, morality and race, and which framed cramped and impoverished living as 'endemic to the Native.'[32] Indeed, part of the anxiety around the overcrowded quarters of the slums lay in the idea that in such conditions the separation of the races and sexes was impossible. This reinforced fears that miscegenation was enabled by overcrowded conditions. District Six, a historical melting-pot of all races - was thus a challenge to white hegemony. The October 1915 edition of the St Cyprians' Girls' School magazine prompted readers to:

> Walk slowly down Plein Street one Saturday afternoon and count the different types of brown faces you encounter, and consider the differences of race, training, intelligence and the degrees of civilisation they represent. [33]

Such racial variety, the magazine continued, confounded proper relations. One 'instance,' it offered, was a woman living in Ndabeni who had two sons. Her mother was from Mozambique and her grandfather was an African American, but she was married to a 'town kaffir,' who spoke fluent English and adopted an English surname. 'What rules are we to take for our guidance in dealing with her boys,' it was asked, 'what national characteristics are we to consider?'[34] Yet it was not only concerned well-to-do whites that voiced fears of miscegenation, the APO also was troubled by the mixing of black and coloured residents.[35] Such interaction would challenge the already restricted position of coloureds even further, particularly as the APO stressed kinship with 'Europeans.' Thus part of the objection surrounding Wells Square drew upon the idea of hidden activities. In particular, the layout of

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[31] *Cape Times,* 01 November 1915.
[32] Coetzer, *Building Apartheid,* 115.
[33] St Cyprians' Magazine: 65, October 1915.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Coetzer, *Building Apartheid,* 121.

the Square meant that it revealed little of its affairs (imagined as intimate, immoral or criminal) from the outside.[36]

It is likely that the increased rate of urbanisation during the war further drove anxieties about poor whites, miscegenation and the corrupting influences of racially mixed slums. The 1921 Report on Housing and Sanitation, for example, consistently emphasised the racial breakdown of the city reflecting the growing (white) anxiety about the living conditions of poor white Capetonians and their proximity to the 'underclasses' of the other races. In the report it was found 'deplorable' that in the Castle Ward there was the 'unenviable distinction' of 1.6 occupants per room, with half of the whites living there having an average of over 2 persons per room. Woodstock was declared for whites 'nearly as bad' but ultimately the report concluded that 'no area can challenge the position of the Cape Town Castle in point of adverse conditions of housing the European population.'[37] Overall, however, it concluded that the 'presence here of a large Coloured Population housed under conditions without parallel in any of the overcrowded cities of England and Scotland' was deemed 'a danger to health and society.'[38]

Concerns about poor whites and racial degeneration in Cape Town's slums were also reflected in the discourses about the 'protection of child life.' Speaking at the opening ceremony of 'Children's Week' in April 1916, inaugurated by Lady Buxton through the Child Life Protection Society (CLPS), the Chief Justice of the Union, Sir James Rose-Innes, urged that,

> Of all the tragic aspects of the great struggle which is going on, the most tragic is the profuse expenditure of young life. The flower of the Empire's manhood…is on the battlefield today and that should press upon as the desirability that the young children which are growing up shall be made as efficient as possible to take their place in the struggle in the future.[39]

Rose-Innes continued, stating that there was 'no portion of the British Empire' in which 'the child is such a valuable asset as South Africa.' His argument positioned white South Africans

[36] Ibid, 127-8.
[37] UG 37-24, 1921 Census,315.
[38] Ibid.
[39] *Cape Times,* 04 April 1916.

as the 'trustees of civilisation' in Africa and as such, he warned against the dangers of seeing 'civilised children, white or black, flung into the sea of barbarism and ignorance.'[40] In a book entitled *Children of South Africa in the Time of the Great War,* Thomas Henry Lewis similarly framed children as 'the citizens of tomorrow - the shapers of the destiny of the nation.'[41] The city's medical profession supported these views and, in 1916, the Cape British Medical Association published the *Training of our Girls,* which proposed motherhood as key to securing racial and national wellbeing as 'healthy mothers' meant 'healthy children.'[42] It drew upon a larger, international eugenics movement which framed mothers as integral to 'improving the racial stock' of the Empire.[43]

The idea that large swathes of the white population - generally poor Afrikaners - were moving into impoverished urban areas and 'degenerating to the socio-economic condition of blacks,' threatened white hegemony, and 'civilisation' itself.[44] The upliftment of poor mothers and their children was perceived as essential to oppose the 'tide of barbarism' and to uphold the Empire, both during the war and beyond. Lady Buxton's 'Children's Week' was accordingly designed to raise money for children's homes in the Peninsula as well as to 'bring to the attention of the public, the waste of child life.' Linking child welfare to the wartime context, she proposed that ensuring the wellbeing of the city and the Union's children was 'one of the most practical ways' in which patriotism could be shown. The CLPS also noted that the 'staggering shock of war' in terms of material hardship had chiefly affected the poor. Tinned milk, it was revealed 'has now got beyond the reach of the purses of slum mothers…Cow's milk was always so; but now there is no alternative, not even the inferior one of condensed milk.'[45] Female Sanitary Inspectors were employed to help locate particularly desperate cases, to enable the timely registration of births,[46] to report infant deaths, and to provide mothers with instruction and advice. Yet, by May 1917, they only numbered five.[47] The opening of the City Council's day nursery in 1918, as seen in Chapter

[40] Ibid.
[41] Thos. H. Lewis (ed.), *Children of South Africa in the Time of the Great War* (Ernest T.M. Nortcutt: Cape Town 1918).
[42] Susanne Klausen, '"For the sake of the race:" eugenic discourses of feeblemindedness and motherhood in the South African medical record, 1903–1926,' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 23:1 (1997), 45.
[43] Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood,' 98.
[44] This was compounded by the idea that 'degenerates' might 'outbreed' more respectable, healthy whites. Jennifer Muirhead and Sandra Swart, 'The Whites of the Child?: Race and Class in the Politics of Child Welfare in Cape Town, c. 1900-1924,' *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth,* 8:2 (2015), 236-237.
[45] *Cape Times,* 01 September 1917.
[46] Ibid, 04 April 1916.
[47] Report of the Medical Office of Health, Mayor's Minutes, 1917.

4, can also be understood then, within the context of heightened anxiety around the quality of children's lives (and white children in particular).

Alternative slum discourses

Apart from fear and distaste of slums like Wells Square, there were also currents of pity and paternalism that sought to protect the 'uneducated poor' from the corruption of slum life. This fed into the white, middle-class idea that black South Africans inherently were ill-suited to urban life. Indeed, this was a major debate of the time, and eventually resulted in the 1923 Native (Urban Areas) Act, as discussed below. Compared to some imagined, idyllic rural existence, for example, the October 1915 edition of the St Cyprians school magazine found it problematic that women and children living in Ndabeni, bought 'their food in small quantities at high prices in a Jew store, instead of living on their own milk and grain. They mix with the most degraded people in our slums.' It concluded that urban life 'does not tend to raise the native from the Territories.'[48]

Slums, like Wells Square, displayed not only residential overcrowding, but an intimate proximity with stables and workshops, thus facilitating, in the minds of the elite, the spread of disease. The thought of poor washerwomen tending to the garments of their affluent patrons was horrifying for the well-to-do, particularly after exposés on impoverished areas were published. One 'investigator' reported how,

> One day, when visiting these people, I found a number of delicate ladies' undergarments laid out on the bed while the patient had a violent bout of coughing,

[48] St Cyprians' Magazine: 65, October 1915. This off-handed antisemitism was not uncommon in Cape Town during the war which, as shall be discussed in Chapter 8, put into question the loyalties of the Jewish community. This comment also reflected older stereotypes associating Jews with money and deviousness. This, in part, was due to the fracture within Cape Town's Jewish population along ethnic lines. A minority of Jews were Anglo-German in origin and had, since the nineteenth century, assimilated into Cape Town's British community. By the turn of the century this Anglicised community were far outnumbered by Eastern-European Jews, fleeing the pogroms of the 1890s. As Milton Shain explains, two main stereotypes had evolved: 'the gentleman characterised by sobriety, enterprise and loyalty - and the knave, characterised by dishonesty and cunning.' The influx of poor (and largely artisan) refugee Jews particularly influenced the growth of the latter stereotype and, by 1914, 'favourable perceptions of the Jew…had eroded substantially…Even those who separated the acculturated and urban Jew from the Eastern European newcomer exaggerated Jewish power and influence. Herein lay the convergence between the philosemitic and antisemitic view.' Milton Shain, 'The Foundations of Antisemitism in South Africa: Images of the Jew c.1870-1930,' (PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 1990), ii-iii.

> and…thoroughly sprayed the garments with infectious matter. Steam arising from the washing pail and lack of ventilation, together with the odour of stinking fish, was far from pleasant. On enquiry, I found that the washing on the bed was the property of a lady living in Gardens.[49]

One of the less dominant narratives framed the corrupting effects of the slum as a condition of environment, rather than an inherent predisposition of the poorer classes. Some writers pitied 'respectable and quiet Coloured people,' who, 'owing to high rents are forced to huddle together with brutal and disgusting housemates.'[50] Education was also posed as a potential antidote to ignorance and corruption, and particularly so for those 'respectable' poor. 'Many of the women,' it was argued, 'are quite amenable to reason, and willing to accept instruction, and endeavour to carry into effect advice tendered to them.'[51]

Similarly, Canon Lavis of St Pauls in Bree Street preached that 'drink…was not the cause but the effect of…bad surroundings and, until they struck home and provided a better condition no permanent improvement would take place.' Pinpointing the real source of the matter, Lavis condemned the inadequate wages provided to the city's working classes, 'wages…too low to pay for a decent house.'[52] This was reflected in the fact that 90% of coloured Capetonians rented, rather than owned, their own homes.[53] FZS Peregrino similarly pointed to the systematic perpetuation of poverty, which limited the rights of 'non-Europeans' and paid them lower wages. Recent reports into poverty, Peregrino chided, named 'the denizens of these plague spots…with few exceptions' as 'coloured people. Ah the ubiquitous bete noir! Whether from choice or through force of circumstances, this should not be permitted.' It was the 'cancer in the body politic' which was the problem for Peregrino, not the poor.[54]

Very few reports on poverty in Cape Town reflected on the ways in which impoverished dwellings were homes - spaces which people attempted to make safe and comforting, despite their financial limitations. 'Squalor does not mean that there is no aspiration,' one gentleman

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[49] *Cape Times*, 01 October 1915.
[50] *Cape Times,* 01 October 1915. See also Bickford-Smith, 'Providing Local Colour?' 135.
[51] Ibid.
[52] *Cape Times,* 07 Sept 1917.
[53] UG 37-24, 1921 Census, 315.
[54] *Cape Argus*, 20 September 1915.

wrote. Speaking about 'coloured women' who made 'pathetic attempts to make the house bright and pretty,' he described how

> Crudely coloured prints hang upon the wall - sometimes it is a portrait of the King or Queen or cheap reproduction of some well-known picture. A cluster of paper flowers gives colour to a dark corner, or it may be that a living nosegay strikes a note of hope and cheer. Treasured bits of china, or little crochet mats, or a neat muslin curtain speak of a pride in the home and the irrepressible desire to rise above what is ugly and mean.[55]

Indeed, the humanising of the poor was a minor narrative that at times appeared under the waves of fear and horror.

Overall then, the call for the city to abolish Wells Square reflected the typical contemporary response for 'intervention in the urban environment,' which came not only from authorities, but from concerned welfare groups, health professionals, temperance societies, religious bodies and the Cape's elite more generally. The discourses around slums reflected a plethora of interconnected moral, political and social anxieties, inextricably intertwined with hegemonic 'common sense' and bourgeois values.[56] These values had real-world effect in terms of policy, legislation and the actual lives of the people living in areas deemed as slums. Slum discourse accordingly created particular constructs and myths about the city's poor that obscured diversity in wealth, occupation, race, ethnicity, religion, background and 'household arrangements,' whilst denying any other form of respectability other than that defined by the well-to-do.[57]

Results of the outcry

Despite the outcry and petitions against Wells Square, very little was done by the end of the war. Although the Minister of Justice urged that the area be abolished, the City Council

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[55] *Cape Times,* 19 September 1917.
[56] Jennifer Robinson, 'Power, space and the city: historical reflections on apartheid and post-apartheid urban orders' in D.M. Smith (ed.) *The Apartheid City and Beyond: Urbanization and Social Change in South Africa* (London: Routledge,1992), 295.
[57] Mayne, *The Imagined Slum,* 2.

proposed that the City Engineer first develop a plan which would 'open up' the Square. This followed the idea that ''if the area were opened out, the evil would disappear.''[58] The idea of dismantling the Square still had appeal, but it required the Council to purchase the properties on the relevant streets. In order to do so, the Council approached the city's ratepayers to fund the project. Whilst some ratepayers supported the proposal, others were less enamoured with the responsibility of covering the costs, believing that better policing would solve the situation more economically. Moreover, it was pointed out that as no suggestion had been made regarding the fate of the dispossessed families, the plan had been poorly thought-through. In January 1918, a small majority of ratepayers voted against abolishing the Square. However, out of roughly 30 000 enrolled voters, less than 10% voted.[59] The Mayor expressed his deep disappointment of the 'disgraceful apathy shown by the ratepayers,' and the 'meagre poll failing to give real distinction of the views held by the enrolled voters generally.'[60] It was, however, admitted that 'in view of the overcrowding at present,' it was not the most suitable time to demolish the Square. In lieu of total abolishment, the properties at nos. 79, 81 and 83 Canterbury Street were acquired, as well as the nearby Eagle Tavern, and, by the end of 1918, a police sub-station had been established in the area. This, the city felt, had led to a 'considerable improvement' in Wells Square.[61]

Slums, housing and the Spanish Flu

If the action taken in addressing the Wells Square issue was somewhat underwhelming, so too was the overall effort taken by the city to address the rising pressures of overcrowding more generally, as exacerbated by the war. As it had previously done, the City Council instead focused on housing its municipal workers. The Garden City Movement was identified as an aesthetically pleasing scheme, and one which was thought to instil the morality and culture reflected through middle-class (British) values. Idealising a romantic rural England, the resultant Maitland Garden Village with the design of orderly and 'scientifically calculated'[62] cottages, was meant to be the antithesis of the mixed, disorderly, 'un-English' sectors of Cape Town, like Wells Square.[63] The Village was slow to take-off, with only 26 applications for the

[58] Councillor I.J. Honikom as cited in Barnett, 'Race Housing and Town Planning,' 59.
[59] Mayor's Minutes, 1918.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Coetzer, *Building Apartheid*, 168.
[63] Ibid, 140-141.

70 available cottages in 1919.[64] Simultaneously, the Housing and Estates Committee, as well as the City Council's Overcrowding Committee were inspecting sites for further housing developments. The top of Roeland Street had been proposed as well as the extension of the Maitland site. The Cape's municipal voters wholeheartedly supported the scheme, approving the required £250 000 loan. Their willingness to participate in the matter greatly contrasted with the apathy shown in the January 1918 poll, held with the aim of abolishing Wells Square. This change can be understood in the context of the Spanish Flu of October 1918. As Nicholas Coetzer argues, 'death…was a stronger motivator than fiduciary prudence.'[65] The Spanish Flu made it difficult for the upper echelons of society to ignore the housing crisis as, although the coloured population (as the majority poor) were the most hard-hit by the epidemic, the flu made no exemptions for the wealthy. 'Not one of us anticipated that we were then on the eve of one of the greatest trials the citizens of Capetown have ever yet had to face,' reflected the November 1918 Citizens' Meeting booklet. 'Death was stalking along taking toll wherever he pleased.'[66]

It was the scale and scope of the war, combined with modern transport - both ship and rail - that spread the flu so spectacularly. The flu's origin in the city was traced back to infected members of the Cape Corps and SANLC who had arrived in Table Bay on the *Jaroslav* on 13 September 1918.[67] At first the flu was not regarded as serious, and many of the men who appeared uninfected were released from quarantine.[68] Many of those who departed to return home outside of Cape Town later developed symptoms. The docks' location was particularly hard hit, due to its overcrowded housing as well as its proximity to the Jaroslav.[69] Belated notification of the infected (the superintendent of the Docks' location was himself ill) saw the death toll rapidly rise before the location was cleared out - the healthy men were disinfected and moved to temporary tents on the nearby Green Point common.[70]

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[64] Apart from initial difficulties with regards to buying into the scheme (which related to the set salary requirements that needed to be met to qualify for a loan), rent in Maitland was considered too high, whilst the location was for many too far from work in the city centre. Barnett, 'Race, Housing and Town Planning,' 10.
[65] Coetzer, *Building Apartheid*, 168.
[66] *CTCM*: 38, 02 November 1918.
[67] UG 15-19, Report of the Influenza Epidemic Commission (Cape Town: Government Printer, 1919), 8.
[68] Phillips, 'Black October, 25, 29.
[69] Ibid, 42.
[70] Ibid.

Over the six weeks that Spanish flu raged across the country over 300 000 South Africans died - a death rate of about 6% of the population only exceeded, according to Howard Phillips, by India (6.2%) and Western Samoa (25%).[71] In Cape Town, according to the Commission reporting on the epidemic, there were 122 729 known cases of the flu, of which 6342 people died (5.2%). However, this statistic - which is believed to be short of the true death toll - masks the uneven impact of the flu on the city's different communities.[72] As mentioned in Chapter Two, it was estimated at the time that between 7000 and 14000 Capetonians lost their lives, with the first death originating in District Six.[73] Overcrowding and compromised immune systems offered the city's impoverished citizens little protection during that 'Black October.' Whereas 2.9% of Cape Town's 'European' population died, 5.7% of the city's coloured population and a massive 41.3% of its black population succumbed to the flu.[74]

So severely were black Capetonians affected by the flu, that Ndabeni's tensions were temporarily abated (see Chapter Four). An open-air demonstration led by Rev Mahabane, expressed gratitude for the help provided by the Municipality during the crisis.[75] Moreover, with black labour now in short supply, a deputation of men from the location were able to negotiate with the Mayor, the Department of Railways and Harbour and the Chamber of Commerce, for a higher minimum wage (of four shillings per day).[76]

Memories of the flu are reflected in the oral history interviews with residents who had lived in District Six before the forced removals of the 1960s. Mrs Margaret Abrahams, who lost one of her children in the epidemic, revealed how 'I always used to say…God must never give us a sickness like that again.'[77] Mrs Tiefa Adams, whose father was a tailor in the District, recalled that those who fell ill reported feeling 'vuurwarm soos dit in die desert is' (as hot as the desert). Her mother turned to her knowledge of 'al die Dutch goeders nog' (all the Dutch stuff), soos kruie, en boegoe en sulke goeders' (like herbs, buchu and such things)

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[71] Phillips, *Plague, Pox and Pandemics,* 80. Philip's collective work on the Spanish Flu gives the most extensive coverage of the epidemic and its effects on the Union's cities.
[72] Phillips, 'Black October,' 61.
[73] Ibid, 60-65.
[74] UG 15-19, Report of the Influenza Epidemic Commission (Cape Town: Government Printer, 1919), 23.
[75] Kinkead-Weekes, 'Africans in Cape Town,' 204.
[76] Ibid, 205.
[77] Oral History Interviews, District Six (D6), Box 3, BC 1223 (Cape Town: Centre for Popular Memory), Interview with Mrs Margaret Abrahams, conducted by Portia Maurice (date unknown).

to try to stave off the flu.[78] Mrs Zobeida Booley, who was a girl of fifteen years when the Spanish Flu hit, recounted:

> First we heard that…many had died and that burials were at night because people couldn't cope with the onslaught of the disease…Breadwinners either were dying or had died or were ill and so care had to be taken of the rest of the family. Neighbours were helping each other…whether you were Christian or whether you were a Muslim…they all went to each others' aid…Schools were closed…there were shortages because life wasn't normal (bakeries, butchers, shop owners all stricken)…[79]

Zobeida's father lost his niece to the epidemic and brought up her baby of three months. Mrs Nettie Daniels was living in Greatmore Street, Woodstock, during the flu and described how soup kitchens were set up to aid struggling families.[80] Johanna Clarke, whose father died of the flu, similarly recalled how 'the ladies came from Rondebosch and they came to dish out soup for all there…for all races.' Her school in Athlone 'was stacked up with coffins.'[81] Both Beatrice Jaftha and Blanche Hammond spoke of how 'everyone just fell dead in the street,' 'they just dropped down and died.'[82] Aisha Pitt remembered her own mother's passing, saying how 'I just saw something yellow come out of my mother's mouth, and my father said, "that's the end."'[83] Mrs Anne Zurne, whose parents ran the Union and Empire bioscopes, wore a camphor bag around her neck in the hope that it would ward off the illness. She spent her days of confinement staring out of the window of her parent's house in Eaton place, where she would observe 'the horse-drawn carts with two or three coffins on them passing by…I used to count them during the day and said oh, what a lot of coffins went by.'[84]

Many flu victims were not fortunate enough to receive a coffin burial. The escalating number of deaths cause a shortage of coffins and bodies were piled onto waggons ('en dan is die mense netso bo-op gepak' - and then the people were just piled on)[85] and taken away. Indeed,

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[78] Ibid, Interview with Mrs Tiefa Adams, conducted by (unknown); updated 01 March 1990.
[79] Ibid, Interview with Mrs Zobeida Booley, conducted by Ashoek Adhikari; updated 01 March 1990.
[80] Ibid, Interview with Johanna Clarke; interviewer and date unknown.
[81] Ibid, Interview with Nettie Daniels, conducted by (unknown); 05 March 1990.
[82] Ibid, Interview with Beatrice Jaftha, conducted by W. Naidoo, 21 November 1985.
[83] Ibid, Interview with Aisha Pitt, conducted by Bill Nasson, 16 September 1987.
[84] Ibid, Interview with Anne Zurne, conducted by V. Malherbe, April 1980.
[85] Ibid, Interview with Nettie Daniels, 05 March 1990.

at the height of the great scourge up to 400 deaths were recorded daily. Cape Town was used to managing a number closer to ten.[86] A temporary morgue was established at the old Woodstock stables to help keep up with the intake.[87] The cemeteries were unable to cope with the number of dead and some of the Nigerian regiment which had arrived from 'Mesopotamia,' on board the *Shuja* on the 23 September, were called in to aid with the grave digging.[88] With too many bodies arriving each day, large trenches were dug for mass burials.[89] To expedite the whole process special powers were given to both the police and clergy to officially sign death certificates.[90] Emergency hospitals similarly sprang up around the Peninsula. Marquees to accommodate extra patients were placed alongside the City Hospital in Portswood Road and Newlands House (usually for invalid soldiers) in the suburbs. The original infectious diseases hospital - Rentzkies Farm - was enlarged and tents erected to accommodate flu cases. The Salvation Home in Bree Street 'for coloured females,' took in patients. Ellerslie, a high school in Sea Point, opened up to the sick (but only 'for Europeans') with the help of the Red Cross and funds from private citizens - it was not the only school to do so.[91]

Overall Cape Town experienced first a rush of chaos, followed by a civic standstill. The report of the General Manager of the South African Railways and Harbour reflected that the Salt River workshops were quickly closed.[92] A soup kitchen was set up at the Workshops, which provided for 1000 people, whilst volunteers took aid to sick co-workers at home. In the surrounding neighbourhood, "'people walked the streets crying, and one could hardly pass a house in Salt River without hearing the same sounds of distress.'"[93] Municipal functions were forced to run with minimal staff, whilst volunteers aided sanitation services and the police force. [94] Electricity was maintained by workers enduring 16-24 hour shifts and most trams and trains did not run. Boy scouts helped with the delivery of telegrams, whist the Council gave permission to shops to be open at all hours (even if most did not have the

[86] Howard Phillips, *Plague, Pox and Pandemics,* 70.
[87] Mayor's Minutes, 1919.
[88] UG 15-19, Influenza Epidemic Commission, 8; Mayor's Minutes, 1919.
[89] Mayor's Minutes, 1919.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.
[92] O'Sullivan, 'Workers with a difference,' 43.
[93] JH Morrison as cited by O'Sullivan, 'Workers with a difference,' 44.
[94] Phillips, 'Black October,' 47; for example 75% of the scavenging department were sick. Report of the Medical Officer of Health, Mayor's Minutes, 1919.

capacity to do so). Schools were shut, churches cancelled services, social events were abandoned and, by the 17 October, all the bioscopes were closed.[95]

It seems that residents across Cape Town responded to the epidemic with vigour and determination. According to the November 1918 citizen's meeting booklet, 'the City Hall became the nerve centre of the city,' whilst 'motor cars, delivery vans, helpers, boy scouts, girl guides, merchants, professors, all flocked to the municipal buildings to be at the disposal of the [flu] committee.'[96] More so than even the war-cause, the epidemic united the city in a concerted effort, with commentators reflecting on numerous instances of aid across class and racial boundaries. Middle-class sensibilities were again challenged when volunteers visited the 'poorer quarters' of the city, making it difficult to ignore the distressing circumstances in which many Capetonians lived. 'We are all to blame,' reflected the Citizens' Meeting, for the 'hovels' of the 'less-favoured classes.'[97] Moreover, it was the war-time mind-set of 'doing one's bit,' that encouraged the city-wide effort against the flu. 'Never in the history of Cape Town,' it was reported, 'have so many people…been ready and willing to do personal and unselfish service as there have been in this crisis.'[98]

Yet, despite such self-congratulations, not all were open to the idea of 'good fellowship.' Certain prejudices were difficult to shake-off for some well-to-do Capetonians. A few white women, for example, did not want to treat black and coloured sufferers. Other Capetonians showed a lack of sympathy: many landlords still demanded timely rent, whilst a number of unscrupulous men stole the money from the huts of Ndabeni residents who were afflicted by the flu.[99] Rumours regarding the origin of the flu similarly reflected fracture lines in the city's social cohesion. Germans formed an easy war-time target. The *Women's Outlook* in November reported that 'some scientific men,' believed that the origin of the 'mysterious disease,' 'now being freely referred to as pneumonic plague…could be traced to the inventive faculties of the enemy scientists who succeeded in making poisonous gasses and shells of deadly microbes.'[100] Many whites accused black residents (as they did with the outbreak of

[95] Phillips, 'Black October, 47-49.
[96] *CTCM*: 38, 02 November 1918.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Phillips, 'Black October, 44.
[100] *The Women's Outlook: Organ of the Women's Enfranchisement Association of the Union of South Africa*, 74:7 (November 1918).

bubonic plague in 1901) for the origin and spread of the epidemic,[101] whilst others blamed the poor more generally.[102] Initial calls for action against slum areas were driven by a desperate fear of another outbreak, mixed with some legitimate concern for the lives of the impoverished.[103] The result was the disinfection of houses in which the flu had been present, the appointment of additional sanitary inspectors in 'lower class' areas, and a reinvigorated scheme to remove refuse from the streets, yards and alleys.[104]

Any impetus for immediate action with regards to slum areas was, however, short-lived. Indeed, instead of addressing the slums themselves after the Spanish Flu, the City Council first focused on housing its own municipal employees. The Flu in this regard had helped garner public support.[105] The severity of the epidemic confirmed middle and upper class fears about the danger of overcrowding and the need for modern, ordered cities. This was echoed on a national scale, the flu having proved how inefficient and altogether lacking the public health system was. The Union's plans for a proper national health system had been disrupted due to the outbreak of war, but after the Flu were swiftly translated into the Public Health Act of 1919 and Housing Act of 1920. For the City Council, the latter would facilitate the construction of houses, particularly for poor whites.[106]

The Garden City Movement, reflecting both the desire for a modern housing system, as well as nostalgia for an idyllic, rural landscape plucked straight out of the rolling hills of Mother England, would play an increasing role in town planning.[107] Maitland Garden Village (as earlier discussed), and later the establishment of Pinelands (although a privately funded scheme) both reflected this. The APO similarly established its own 'Mutual Building Society,' and, by the end of the 1920s, had assisted members in the building of roughly 200 homes.[108] For members of the Cape Publicity Association and the Cape Institute of Architects, the advent of town planning was the realisation of a decade long vision of a more picturesque, modern city that reflected, in particular, English middle-class values.[109]

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[101] Phillips, *Plague, Pox and Pandemics,* 71.
[102] Phillips, 'Black October,' 66.
[103] Ibid, 66-68.
[104] Ibid, 68-9.
[105] Barnett, 'Race, Housing and Town Planning, 9; Coetzer, *Building Apartheid,* 142-159.
[106] Phillips, *Plague, Pox and Pandemics,* 90; Parnell, 'Shaping a racially divided society.'
[107] Coetzer, *Planning Apartheid,* 139-141.
[108] Phillips, 'Black October,' 74.
[109] Coetzer, *Planning Apartheid,* 105-107.

For the elite, the Spanish flu demonstrated the dangers that 'non-Europeans' posed to the well-being of white society and consolidated the growing calls for segregation. This 'Sanitation Syndrome,' which linked race to ideas about civilisation and sanitation, was articulated in the establishment of Langa. By the early 1920s, Ndabeni's infrastructure was failing and with the development of white suburbs, such as Pinelands, in its immediate proximity, there was considerable anxiety about where Cape Town's black population should be housed.[110] As with the Public Health and Housing Acts, black urban housing and the control of migrant labour was a national concern and the 1923 Native (Urban Areas) Act sought to address this.[111] City councils thus became responsible for housing their black residents. After Cape Town took over the care of Ndabeni, it was decided that the best remedy was to abolish it altogether and establish another location, further afield from the city centre. Langa, as the new 'township' was called, was established by 1927 and was the result of the forced removals of black Capetonians from Ndabeni.[112]

This inaction against slums in the immediate post-war period did not mean that concerns around Wells Square disappeared. By 1926, the City Council had purchased four of the houses in Wells Square, two of which were demolished. Unabated urbanisation after the war meant that the issue around slums and housing remained central to public debate. Urban municipalities across the country felt the housing situation critical, and particularly after South Africa's economic crash in the late 1920s and early 1930s.[113] As a result the Union government enacted the Slums Act of 1934, providing city health authorities with the power to declare slums and take over these areas if they deemed valuable for the construction of new housing.[114] During the 1930s Wells Square was razed, brick by brick and replaced by council-approved flats.[115] The first calls for its abolishment in 1915, were finally fulfilled.

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[110] Nicholas Coetzer, 'Langa Township in the 1920s-an (extra) ordinary Garden Suburb,' *South African Journal of Art History* 24:1 (2009), 5.
[111] Maylam, 'Rise and Decline of Urban Apartheid,' 57-84.
[112] Kinkead-Weekes, 'Africans in Cape Town,' 129-138; Christopher Saunders, 'From Ndabeni to Langa,' in C. Saunders (ed.) *Studies in the History of Cape Town* 1 (Cape Town: 1984), 166-194; Muchaparara Musemwa, 'The quest for direct municipal representation in a South African township: the case of Langa, Cape Town,' *Kleio* 29:1 (1997), 95.
[113] André van Graan, 'The influences on the two inner city housing projects of the Bo Kaap and District Six in Cape Town that were built between 1938 and 1944.' MPhil Thesis, University of Cape Town, 2004.
[114] Coetzer, *Planning Apartheid,* 99; van Graan, 'The influences on the two inner city housing projects,' 2.
[115] Nic Coetzer, 'Exploring 'place-making,' city squares & other places: Cape Town's pre-apartheid spatial politics,' *South African Journal of Art History* 23:1 (2008), 152.

Conclusion

Wells Square came into the public eye during the First World War as a 'slum' through the pronounced presence of soldiers and sailors visiting the area for 'untoward purposes.' Yet, despite the (largely white elite) 'public' outcry against the Square, in terms of its housing, it was seemingly no worse off than many of the other impoverished areas around the Peninsula. Conditions brought on by the war - particularly the influx of population and the rising costs of rent - put great strain on many of the city's poorer areas. Accordingly the public outcry against slums, in general, during the war might best be understood as a manifestation of 'sanitation syndrome,' or the linking of race and poverty to questions of material and moral wellbeing, based on middle-class sensibilities. The movement of poor whites into impoverished and racially mixed areas of Cape Town, such as District Six, heightened concerns about miscegenation and the degeneration of the white races. These anxieties were further aggravated by the loss of 'the Empire's (white) manhood' during the war, which threatened its ability to uphold and expand its 'civilising mission.' For South Africa this was acutely felt - particularly as the desire to maintain white order was the chief unifying factor holding the political body of the Union together. However, the real-life consequences of 'sanitation syndrome' in the case of Wells Square were slow-acting, with more bark than bite. It took the shock of the Spanish Flu of October 1918 to crystallise public opinion against slums and spur the City Council into considering town planning and housing more seriously, even if this did not translate into immediate action against the slums themselves. Indeed, the issue continued to simmer until the 1930s and, with the passing of the 1934 Slums Act, Wells Square was finally erased from the city map. Both locally and nationally speaking, the 1919 Public Health Act, the 1920 Housing Act and the 1923 Native (Urban Areas) Act, which resulted from this period, were part of the foundational basis that enabled an increasing spatial and legal racial segregation in the Union's cities.

Chapter Six: Sin City

Introduction

'Evil,' warned the November 1915 edition of the Women's Christian Temperance Union's magazine, the *White Ribbon*, 'is never more active nor more openly aggressive than in times of war, when the passions of men and women alike are roused; when the spirit of hatred and cruelty is set free, and when many of the ordinary restraints of convention and public opinion are slackened.'[1] The First World War pushed groups like the WCTU, but also other 'respectable' citizens more generally, to view Cape Town as a place of increased moral corruption. Certain spaces were deemed more nefarious than others. The dark and hidden alleys of District Six, as discussed in the previous chapter, were singled out as a source of material, moral and racial decay. This chapter delves further into wartime concerns surrounding crime and morality in the city. It firstly discusses the nature of crime in wartime Cape Town, largely involving crimes of opportunity and the presence of soldiers in the city. It then explores ways in which the war aggravated moral concerns, and some attempts to counter this. In particular females were framed as the upholders of moral sanctity and, in the context of the war; this responsibility was often linked to notions of patriotic duty. Indeed, the St Cyprians' Girls' School Magazine, only a month after the outbreak of war, suggested that 'perhaps many of those poor lads who have laid down their lives on the battlefield have wished that they had been more faithful. Very likely if their wives and mothers and sweethearts had been more earnest, they would have been so too.'[2]

Crime in wartime Cape Town

The majority of crimes committed in wartime Cape Town, as reflected in the criminal records of the City Magistrate,[3] related to heightened passions in the city, the presence of soldiers and wartime crimes of opportunity. Drunken soldiers were particularly prone to bouts of

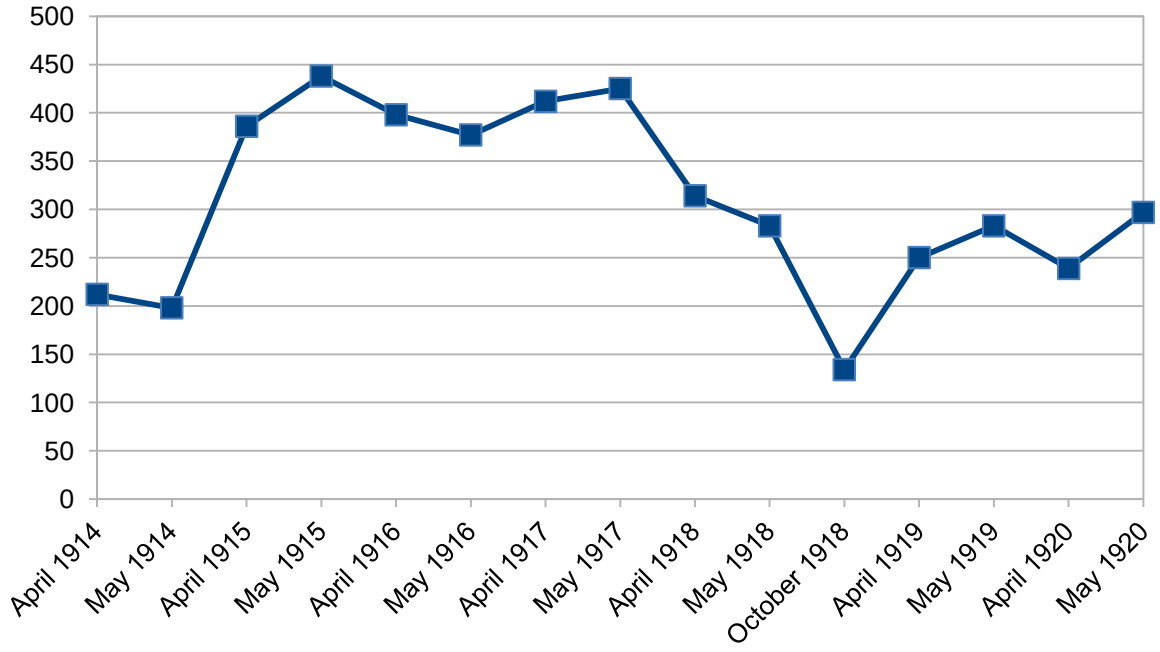
[1] *White Ribbon,* XXV:14, November 1915.
[2] St Cyprian's Magazine: 63, October 1914.
[3] WCARS/1/CT, Criminal Cases 1914-1920. It is likely that a number of crimes, however, went unreported.

violence. Lieutenant Dunn, an Anzac soldier who was in the city in July 1916, spoke of tension between locals and Australian troops. 'Nothing hurts an Australian's feeling or pride more than people not wanting to talk to them and naturally,' he wrote, 'lots of fellows openly resented it and got into arguments and in many cases into scraps.'[4] Private Willan, of Australia's 3rd Battalion as they passed through Cape Town in December 1917, wrote to his wife in Australia that he had been placed on picket duty 'to prevent any Australians going down to a certain portion of the town' (he most likely meant District Six) as 'they once caused a row and set fire to a house.'[5] Anzac troops were not the only ones arrested for drunkenness and riotous behaviour, with 'European soldiers' making their mark on the criminal books more generally speaking.

Overall it appears that arrest rates for drunkenness and riotous behaviour, when taken together, increased during the war for soldiers and civilians alike. As seen in Graph 5 below, there was a dramatic increase between May 1914 and May 1915 in arrests for drunkenness and riotous behaviour, which then showed a general decline towards the end of the war (severely dipping in October 1918 during the Spanish Flu).[6] Reporting in January 1916, the *Cape Times* showed that the number of overall criminal cases dealt with in 1915 had increased by 42% as compared to 1914 (from 8688 to 12 340 cases). Although this is an example of correlation rather than causation, it might suggest some of the potential consequences for a city with a burgeoning civilian population, increasing financial strains, and a significant soldier presence.

[4] *Mudgee Guardian* (NSW), 31 August 1916. Available at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/156893979. Accessed 20 October 2019.
[5] *Daily Examiner* (Grafton), 19 January 1917. Available at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/195769950? Accessed 20 October 2019.
[6] WCARS/1/CT Criminal Books. April and May for the years 1914 -1918, as well as October 1918.

Graph 10*: Arrests for drunkenness and riotous behaviour, 1914-1920*



Source: WCARS, 1/CT Cape Magistrate Records, *Criminal Books for April-May 1914-1920, as well as October 1918.*

Drunken soldiers were particularly easy targets for opportunistic theft. In August 1915 two locals, Andries Jacobs and David Makriel, were charged with assaulting and robbing Private William Irving of the Aviation Corps stationed in Cape Town.[7] According to Irving, he 'met the accused and we had some drinks together. Later they offered to take me on the mountain slopes to get a woman there,' where after,

> Makriel caught hold of me round my neck and threw me to the ground. The other accused caught hold of me by my right arm and held me down. They then went through my pockets…After rifling through my pockets the men ran away in different directions.[8]

The hero of the day was fifteen year old William Peter Darvall - a school cadet who lived in the area, who witnessed the attack and alerted the Lions Head Battery. Soldiers were dispatched and caught the thieves in question.

[7] WCARS/1/CT 6/429, Criminal Cases 1914-1915, King vs Andries Jacobs and David Makriel.
[8] Ibid.

Soldiers, although often victims of their own actions, were also perpetrators of crime in the city. Staff Sergeant Cornelius Petrus Loots was charged with indecent assault after 'indecently and lasciviously' attacking Vivien Stanley ('a housewife residing at Green Point'), inappropriately touching her on a tram in September 1918. According to Mrs Stanley,

> Accused pushed right up against me, and put his hand over my leg and tried to pick up my clothes, and his hand was near my private parts. It was a deliberate act. He felt my leg through my skirt. I looked across at my husband and was very shocked, and he spoke to me. Accused then…turned around and fled off the car whilst it was in motion and ran down Strand Street, and I lost sight of him.[9]

Loots testified that he had no memory of the incident. He only recalled drinking 'three or four lagers' over a period of two or so hours, and that he was 'quite sober' but 'felt a bit dizzy.' Detective Penley Powell was of the opinion that Loots pretended to be drunk to excuse his behaviour. Whilst this might have been true, the case was complicated after Loots' mental condition came into question (he was reported by his superior as having always worn a bandage around his head, and often suffering from 'lapses' or bouts of confusion). Nevertheless, similar assaults were likely to have occurred both in public and private spaces. Certainly the increased presence of soldiers in the city meant greater chances of harassment for women, even if it was often viewed as 'friendly banter.' Private Harold Howse, whilst on Garrison duty in Cape Town with the Prince Alfred's Guards in September 1914, recalled how his regiment one day walked past a house,[10]

> on the stoep[11] of which was a rather good-looking auburn-haired girl. In a trice the whole regiment was singing "Ginger, you're balmy!" I am afraid one at least would shock the 'unco guid'[12] but as the evil lies on in the tie there isn't any harm done.[13]

[9] WCARS/1/CT 6/431, Criminal Cases 1918 King vs P.C.P. Loots.
[10] Howse does not specify where.
[11] 'Porch'
[12] 'rigidly righteous'
[13] H. E Howse, *A South African Student and Soldier* 1894-1917, ed. W.M. MacMillan (Maskew Miller: Cape Town, 1919), 24.

This was not the only incident of this nature as 'should a young lady be rash enough to walk out on the pavement,' explained Howse, 'we have something for her: 'There's a nice little girl over there. Over where? Over there! And we'd all like to be over there.'[14]

The movement of war supplies presented further opportunities for criminal activity. One Cape Town merchant, George Turner, attempted to bribe Peter Leo Lovelace (an officer of the Defence Forces stationed at the Castle) in October 1914 with £10 in order to be awarded the contract to supply butter to parts of the Defence Force.[15] Similarly, Detective Powell testified against Frederick William Baxter, a subcontractor to Maitland Military camp, who was caught attempting to sell camp supplies (58 bales of mule harnesses).[16] Baxter had been in cahoots with two other men in the camp itself - Bertram Tebb, the quartermaster responsible for camp stores, and Richard William Fairclough, who was the camp's head conductor. The suspicions of the buyer whom Baxter had contacted were raised upon arriving at Maitland Camp. He consulted the police who requested that he go ahead with the deal. Baxter arranged that they meet in front of the Tivoli bar and a small road of Harrington Street was decided upon as the point of delivery. Baxter and his co-conspirators were ultimately arrested.[17]

The wartime presence of troops in Cape Town and the spirit of supporting the Empire's fighting men also opened up opportunities for fraud. One man, Sidney Kirby Waite ('an ex-accountant from Durban'), illegally donned a military uniform whilst visiting a number of stores in December 1915, including the ostrich feather merchants Sieradzski and Co, and Garlick's department store. He told attending clerks that he was from the Natal Light Horse and that all items were to be billed to the regimental account. Although he was quickly discovered (the accounts were rejected by the Natal Light Horse), he nevertheless successfully capitalised on the public's trust of a uniform.

Some crimes might have related to the intensified financial strain during the war. Arrests for prostitution and 'loitering for the purposes of prostitution,' as discussed in Chapter Three, appear to have increased during the period. Some people also took advantage of those who had financially greater aspirations. Hendrik Isaacs, for example, was a serial-rapist who

[14] Ibid.
[15] 1/CT 6/429, King vs Turner.
[16] Ibid, King vs Baxter, Tebb and Fairclough.
[17] Ibid.

preyed on working-class women who desired better paid work.[18] Hendrik lured women up past Buitenkant Street on the premise that he had a kind and generous mistress looking for a new helper. Sophy le Roux, who worked at Buchanan's sweet factory, was heartened by the idea of earning better wages. She initially did not report the attack as she was 'upset, engaged to be married,' and did not want her 'young man to hear about this.' Susan Ross, 'reputed wife of Edward Ross,' (away on active service with the Cape Corps) was walking down Hanover Street one Tuesday afternoon in March 1915 with her friend Martha Isaacs. The accused approached the pair with the same offer of work, and Susan arranged to meet up with him. After leading her to some secluded bushes, Hendrik raped Susan. She was too ashamed to report the matter and only came forward after she heard of Hendrik's arrest in 1916. Francis Meyer (a cook employed in Rondebosch), Christina Solomon (a flower seller) Annie Ambrose (a domestic servant), Effie Smith (a housewife in Maitland), Ruth Halkett (a housewife in Observatory), Mary Bastian and Amy Finlayson of Woodstock, all survived Hendrik's attacks. Whilst Hendrik's crime was by no means particular to the war, it is possible that for many of some of the city's working-class women, the burden of war-time inflation made the offer of better-paid work difficult to dismiss.

The wickedness of the wartime city

Whilst illegal activities affronted the moral sensibilities of Cape Town's 'respectable' citizens, and challenged the image of the city as safe, civilised and orderly, 'immoral' activities were equally threatening. As seen in the previous chapter, certain city spaces - such as the impoverished and cramped quarters of District Six - were particularly prone to depictions of disease and depravity. Specifically, the increased urbanisation of poor Afrikaners and black South Africans into the city heightened middle-class concerns about moral corruption and racial degradation in Cape Town's poorer locales. This related to anxiety around the future stability of white hegemony in the Union, and the wider context of the death of the Empire's (white) men during the war. The movement of thousands of young soldiers through the city further inflamed worries about the moral sanctity of Capetonians, as well as the Empire's men more generally. 'If our nation ever comes to an end,' argued the *White Ribbon* in April 1915, 'it will not be by war with another nation…Our danger lies from

[18] Ibid, King vs Hendrik Isaacs.

within, from vice and evil…'.[19] This discourse wove together patriotism and moral purity and, at the centre of it all, women were framed as the bastions of civilisation and Empire. This idea that women's virtues could uphold 'civilisation' was far from new, and was particularly significant to ideas about the Empire's future (white) generations and the sustainability of the British colonial project.[20]

Replicating the call for young men to volunteer, the *White Ribbon* appealed to young girls along these lines:

> Your country needs you!...Some of our girls wish they could fight, or, at the least be Red Cross Nurses; little thinking that while wishing to do something impossible, numberless opportunities are waiting for them and them only. In the battles to be fought, and which women can share and take part in, all are needed and the delicate, refined, gentle girl can take up her place beside her stronger comrade. Boys and men go out from their homes with the influences of mother and sister around them. It is the girls they meet everywhere that must help them to maintain right ideals of womenhood.[21]

Groups such as the WCTU thus strongly believed that these interim guests in the Peninsula would be best looked after by steering them away from the morally distasteful distractions of games, booze and bodies, and that the warm smiles of respectable women accompanied by tea and cake would be a pleasing way to welcome troops into the city.[22] The Mowbray WCTU branch, for example, entertained 33 young men from the HMS Goliath in early 1915. After being served refreshments 'in the shape of melons, buns and lemonade under the shade of trees in the *Avond Rust* garden,' the boys were accompanied to Rhodes Memorial and the zoo.[23] Apart from day trips around the Peninsula assisted by the Royal Automobile Club, outings to the bioscope, Rhodes Memorial and other sight-seeing activities, many families also opened up their homes as an avenue of respectable entertainment.[24] 'Pleasant evenings

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[19] *White Ribbon,* XXV: 7, April 1915.
[20] Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood,' 87-91; Duff, 'Babies of Empire,' 61-62; Levine and Grayzel, *Gender, Labour, War and Empire,'* 2-3; Stoler, 'Making Empire Respectable,' 344-373; Pickles, *Female Imperialism and national identity,* 9-10, 39-42; Smith, 'Be(ing) Prepared,' 4-8; Muirhead, ' "The children of today.'"
[21] *White Ribbon,* XXV: 7, April 1915.
[22] Ibid, XXVI: 12, September 1916.
[23] Ibid, XXV: 6, March 1915.
[24] *Cape Times,* 19 February 1916.

in the way of concerts and socials' were far less dangerous than the bars and brothels of the inner city and District Six.[25] Despite the WCTU and other local groups entertaining thousands of men on Greenpoint Common or at the Feather Market in Dock Road (Photograph 34, below), the head of the Cape Town YMCA, Mr Townstead, criticised the City Council for 'shirking its responsibility.'[26] Indeed, the rooms of the Cape Town Publicity Association were stretched to their capacity with visiting troops, with reportedly over 10 000 letters having been sent from there by August 1916.[27] Better troop entertainment was needed, it was further argued, to avoid 'regrettable incidents' (Anzac troops, as discussed earlier, were often 'highly spirited' when intoxicated). In response, the City Council set up the Troops Entertainment Committee in 1916, and placed the first floor of the Feather Market at their disposal.[28]

Photograph 34: *Women serving refreshments at the Feather Market, Dock Road c.1918*

Source: *Cape Town Citizens' Meetings Booklet,* No 32, 05 May 1918.

[25] June McKinnon, 'Women's Christian Temperance Union*',* 93-4, 131.
[26] *Cape Times,* 09 August 1916.
[27] Ibid.
[28] *Cape Argus*, 11 August 1916.

Although the desire to make Cape Town a warm and welcoming city was a driving factor in the formation of the Committee, the need to maintain public order was evident. Accordingly, in 1917, the Entertainment Committee established two troops' rest rooms in close proximity to the City Hall, adjacent to the Castle and the Grand Parade - one each for 'European' and 'non-European' soldiers.[29] As described in Chapter One, these were amongst a number of spaces that opened up around the city for visiting troops.

The stories of soldiers stumbling out of bars and brothels during the war affirmed for groups such as the WCTU that abstinence was key to maintaining moral sanctity. 'We, in this part of the country,' alerted the *White Ribbon* in November 1914, 'are seeing the evil effects upon many of the young men in our Defence Force,' as 'while liquor is not sold in the Defence Force camps, there is no law against men in uniform being served in public bars...'.[30] Inspired by Lord Kitchener's call for a teetotal war in 1914, and more pointedly the King's own pledge to abstain from alcohol, the WCTU initiated their wartime temperance campaign in May 1915. Many ladies spent their weekends providing tea and handing out white temperance badges to troops visiting the Feather Market[31] at the bottom of Dock Road and, by 1917, they boasted between 600 and 700 pledges. Some even took the effort of writing to the family members of pledged troops, notifying them that their sons and husbands were morally intact. [32] Yet not everyone agreed that abstinence was the best thing for the Empire's men. According to the May 1918 edition of the *White Ribbon,*

> a mother who had recently lost her son in the war, when asked to sign a petition for the restriction of liquor traffic, replied that she would not sign because she did not believe in depriving our boys at the front of one of their greatest comforts.[33]

Yet temperance was not just about encouraging respectable troop behaviour. After Anzac soldiers became regular visitors to Cape Town, particularly from 1916, city and military authorities debated the effectiveness of closing the city's pubs and bars as a measure of urban order. As discussed in Chapter One, Anzac troops acquired a rowdy reputation. This led to the decision, by late 1916, that liquor-selling establishments were to close after being informed

[29] *CTCM*: 21, 03 June 1917.
[30] *White Ribbon,* XXV:2, November 1914.
[31] Ibid, XXV: 8, May 1915; XXVIII:2, November 1917.
[32] Ibid, XXVIII: 2, November 1917. See also McKinnon, 'Women's Christian Temperance Union,' 89-90.
[33] *White Ribbon,* XXVIII:8, May 1918 .

of an incoming Anzac troopship.[34] Yet not all agreed that this course of action was effective in reducing alcohol consumption. In March 1919, with the arrival of the Australian Troopship - the *Anchises*, hosting 1500 men - it was decided to keep the city's hotels and bars open, 'giving police the authority to apply the closing order at any time.'[35] This 'experiment' to decrease troop drunkenness was a point of contention between the Acting Deputy Commissioner of the South African Police in the Western Cape, Captain Trew, and Officer Commanding SAMC Colonel Fowle. Fowle believed that leaving bars open,

> not only causes avoidable disgrace to the troops' uniform, but also exposes Peninsula property to risk of danger and South African citizens, male and female, to needless moral pain and often also to bodily discomfort. [36]

Reporting to Buxton, Fowle spoke of scenes of debauchery on Cape Town's streets after the Anchises' arrival: 'on the 21st…at about 7pm in front of the City Hall I saw two Australian soldiers prostrate,' whilst on the 22nd around 3pm Fowle witnessed 'in Darling Street…a soldier absolutely unable to stand, nor could his companions drag him along.' That same night outside the Commercial Hotel in Parliament Street, 'a party of Australian soldiers' were 'openly drinking and passing a liquor bottle around.' The manager of the Long Street Baths, too, was assaulted by an Australian soldier and several fights broke out in Adderley Street. Nevertheless the Australian Officer Commanding of the Anchises, Colonel Denton, thought that keeping the bars open was a 'great success,' as did Capt. Trew. Trew was convinced that this approach gave authorities greater control of where their men went and what they drank. One of the Police Divisional Inspectors, JH Kirkpatrick, reported that,

> As you are aware during prohibition large quantities of liquor found their way into the various shebeens[37] a few days prior to the arrival of the troops, and by means of touts and pimps the soldiers are then conducted to the lower quarters of the town, where they obtain a bad class of liquor frequently doped...opening bars was a success from our point of view.[38]

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[34] Daily Telegraph (Tasmania), 28 November 1916. Available at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/152747149 Accessed: 20 October 2019.
[35] GG 572 9/32/18A, 'Defence of the Peninsula,' Fowle to Buxton, 10 April 1919.
[36] Ibid.
[37] An unlicensed establishment.
[38] GG 572 9/32/18A, H.J. Kikpatrick to Trew, 28 March 1919.

It is unclear if the 'experiment' was attempted again - certainly by 1919 incoming troops were on the wane as the war wound down.

Whilst much of the efforts of temperance societies was aimed at limiting troop access to alcohol, Cape Town itself was also targeted as its 'moral atmosphere was hardly one to be satisfied with.'[39] The Licensing Courts were branded as ineffective as they were not 'responsible to the public for their decisions and acts' and it was bemoaned that 'the magistrate is not responsible even to the Government' (war-time legislation under the Public Welfare Moratorium Act gave the Resident Magistrate the power to change the opening hours at will).[40] Following the call of international temperance movements to limit the hours of sale in licensed premises, the Cape Town Temperance movement forged ahead in its petitioning. In March 1915 temperance supporters (including the WCTU and the NCW) gathered in central Cape Town with a petition signed by 888 Capetonians. The petition argued that there was a disproportionately high number of alcohol licences to citizens in the city, and particularly in poorer quarters such as District Six. Moreover, out of the city centre's population of 67 130 there were 184 'licensed homes,' which meant 'one licence for every 165 males over 14 years of age.'[41] Lady Phillips, wife of mining magnate Sir Lionel Phillips, lambasted the Courts for being unpatriotic and placing the country in jeopardy.[42] Considering the frequency with which such petitions were rejected,[43] the fact that the Licensing Courts decided to curtail trading hours of 'hotels and licensed houses' by one hour (with exceptions), was a victory. Unfortunately for temperance groups such decisions were often short-lived, particularly as they were countered by a network of powerful and wealthy liquor producers and retailers in the Cape.[44]

One of the more successful attempts at prohibition, however, was aimed specifically at women. By 1918 wartime legislation had been introduced by the Acting Magistrate of Cape

[39] *Cape Times,* 07 September 1917.
[40] *White Ribbon,* XXV: 7, April 1915.
[41] Ibid.
[42] McKinnon, 'Women's Christian Temperance Union*',* 130.
[43] That same month a similar petition to the Wynberg Licensing Court was refused. *White Ribbon,* XXV:7, April 1915.
[44] WCARS/1/CT 15/9 General Correspondence, Peninsula Licensed Victuallers Association to Magistrate, 17 May 1915; *White Ribbon,* XXVII:1, October 1917.

Town whereby bars and hotels were banned from selling liquor to women.[45] This stirred up 'a great deal of feeling,' within women's groups, and both the NCW and the WCTU felt that the ban was sexist, particularly as men formed the majority of arrests in Cape Town for drunkenness.[46] Nonetheless they conceded that, 'the prohibition of the sale of liquor to women is an emergency measure demanded by the special circumstances of the war,' and that they wished to express their approval 'of the steps taken…to safeguard many women who are exposed to great temptations.'[47] This mirrored public discourse in Britain which also targeted working-class women as the site of increasing moral corruption.[48] Mrs K van der Blerk, writing in August 1918, noted that 'a great deal has been written of late about the wicked misuse to which girls at Home, who are earning big wages in munition factories, are putting their money. It is said they are wasting it on foolish luxuries, and often spending it on drink.'[49]

Nevertheless a commonly held concern was that poor pay drove women into prostitution, as discussed in Chapter Three. This wartime moral crusade, then, championed by middle-class campaigners and their patrons, targeted 'vulnerable' young women, particularly 'uneducated,' lower-class women who were viewed as more prone to the vices of the city. General Thompson, writing in October 1914 about the potential spread of venereal disease in the city, had quickly voiced his opinion that '9/10ths of the women here are infected, and the trouble is that they are not merchant women (i.e. prostitutes), but rather they run after the men from animal instinct.'[50] Whilst the General clearly believed that working-class women were inherently unable to resist 'temptation,' others viewed moral corruption as a result of environment as, with overcrowded housing, poor girls were forced to play and socialise on the streets - a slippery-slope, in the middle-class mind, to temptation and crime.

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[45] Public Welfare and Moratorium Act of 1914 and 1915, E, section 2: 'the sale or supply of alcohol to female persons is prohibited on all licensed premises except between 8am and 12 noon, and no female person shall be permitted to loiter or to be in any bar or room set apart for the consumption…'. WCARS/1/CT 15/9 *Union Gazette Extraordinary,* 03 May 1915.

[46] As evidenced in: WCARS/1/CT Criminal Books 1914-1919; McKinnon, 'Women's Christian Temperance Union,' 131.

[47] *White Ribbon,* XXVIII:12, September 1918.

[48] J. White, 'A War on Purity,' *Zeppelin Nights: London in the First World War* (Kindle Edition, 2014); Philippa Levine, '"Walking the Streets in a Way No Decent Woman Should": Women Police in World War I,' *The Journal of Modern History* 66:1 (1994), 54.

[49] *White Ribbon,* XXVII:11, August 1918.

[50] GG 684, 'Health of the South African Forces,' General Thompson to Buxton, 16 October 1914.

A seeming result of this increased wartime anxiety around the moral fortitude of the city's poor females was the establishment in 1915 of the Stakesby-Lewis Hostel for coloured women in Loop Street,[51] with the help of a visiting Scottish WCTU member, Miss Lochhead[52] (who came 'to revive…and awaken fresh enthusiasm' in the local WCTU).[53] The Hostel also represented the formation of the Cape Town branch of the Coloured WCTU, and was headed by sister 'Nannie Tempo,' who had been involved in temperance work since the mid-1880s.[54] It sought to help poor, uneducated coloured girls become 'respectable ladies,' by instilling in them the virtues of Christianity and Temperance and as such encapsulated the aspirations of the coloured petty-bourgeoisie.[55] Although the Coloured WCTU's membership was small, starting with 30 in 1915, it showed modest growth and, by 1916, included 15 girls of the 'Dorothy Coloured Y's' at Rondebosch.'[56] At the Union's first annual meeting parents were addressed by Mrs Earp in Afrikaans (the first-language of the majority of the coloured community) who advised them to 'keep their children from associating with European men,' whilst emphasising that 'if their daughters went astray, it was the fault of the mothers.'[57] The Hostel was not the only one of its kind to be established during the war. The Marion Institute of District Six, driven by Mrs Carter (the Archbishop's wife), opened its doors in 1917, and was also aimed at coloured girls (or 'wayfarers'). There, night schooling taught basic literacy and numeracy, complemented by 'music, singing classes, and even English Morris dancing.'[58]

Working-class women may have been the chief target of behavioural reform, but, because it was deemed the duty of middle-class ladies to uphold the morals of men, they were equally scrutinised for their moral integrity. Thus it was not only working-class girls who were perceived as being at risk of being swept up in wartime passions, or 'Khaki fever.'[59] It was seen as imperative that respectable young women be resilient to wartime temptations (particularly flattery from soldiers) if they were to uphold the virtue of nation and Empire.

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[51] McKinnon, 'Women's Christian Temperance Union,' 70.
[52] *White Ribbon* June 1915 XXVI, 9.
[53] McKinnon, 'Women's Christian Temperance Union,' 70.
[54] Ibid, 37, 70.
[55] F. Cleophas, 'Physical education and physical culture in the coloured community of the Western Cape, 1837-1966' (PhD thesis, Stellenbosch University, 2015), 1.
[56] *White Ribbon,* XXVII: 11, August 1917.
[57] Ibid, XXVI: 10, July 1916.
[58] Nasson, *World War One,* 152.
[59] L. Lammasniemi, 'Regulation 40D: punishing promiscuity on the home front during the First World War, *Women's History Review*, 26:4 (2017), 585. See also A. Woollacott, 'Khaki Fever and its Control: Gender, Class, Age and Sexual Morality on the British Homefront in the First World War,' *Journal of Contemporary History* 29:2 (1994), 325-347.

Sergeant Norman Kennedy of Australia's 36th Battalion, attending a welcome concert at the City Hall mid-1916, was certainly delighted to find himself surrounded by 'the ladies of the city (young ladies, the first we had come into contact with for four long weeks)…'.[60]

Yet even without the presence of soldiers in the Peninsula, the 'modern' city was perceived as a difficult space to raise virtuous young women. Viscountess Buxton warned that 'the girl of today has a life of great freedom and is familiar with the sight and sound of things which, to girls twenty or thirty years ago, were sealed.' These perils were noted as particularly modern - 'the modern style of dress, the modern dance' - exposing girls to a 'fiery furnace' of temptation. The multimedia nature of the city meant that there were more avenues through which the youth could be corrupted. They had to 'pass evil plays, evil books, evil films at the bioscope, suggestive articles in magazines and newspapers.'[61] The war, then, added to these perceived pre-existing challenges. Accordingly, as seen in Chapter Five, Dr Lillian Robinson encouraged 'purity' to be taught as a form of patriotism, as 'the nation wanted hardy, self-reliant women for its future mothers.'[62] This was echoed by the WCTU and sister societies, such as the 'League of Honour,' set up through the NCW,[63] and the Child Life Protection Society.[64]

The involvement of women and young girls in wartime charity work also elicited tensions around what kind of behaviour was appropriate for females (of different ages) in public spaces. Madeline Murray, a young girl in Sea Point during the war, remembered 'Mom's never-ending street collections, when I always had to spend Saturday morning in Adderley Street, at some corner or other…'.[65] However, objections from the public prompted the City Council to pass regulations banning young girls under the age of 16 from participating. Indeed, the Mayor, as early as October 1914, had protested 'against the practice of sending children to collect promiscuously for patriotic and charitable funds,' because of the 'temptations to which children are exposed, and the evil effect upon their minds…'. (His other concern was that these children could also become 'unmitigated nuisances,' bothering

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[60] *Ulladalla and Milton Time*s (NSW), 04 November 1916. Available at https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/161275749? Accessed 20 October 2019.
[61] *White Ribbon,* XXVII: 10, July 1917.
[62] *CT,* 07 September 1917.
[63] *White Ribbon,* XXV:8, May 1915; Nasson, *World War One,* 150-151.
[64] This concern with child welfare was seen in similar movements throughout the British world, as with the Babies of the Empire Society founded, 1917, in London. Susanne Klausen, 'For the sake of the race,' 43-45; Duff, 'Babies of the Empire,' 59-73.
[65] Murray Family Papers, BC 1126/1, University of Cape Town, File 1.

those already in possession of a badge of donation).[66] Girl Guides, similarly, were instructed on appropriate public behaviour. As part of the war effort they acted as orderlies and messengers in hospitals, made clothes and held public rallies[67] but they were strictly forbidden from participating in street collections as it was deemed 'against the spirit of the Movement' that 'guides should march about the streets, attract notice, or make themselves conspicuous.'[68]

The introduction of women's patrols by September 1915, as seen in Chapter Three, was another way in which respectable Capetonian women sought to maintain the proper rules of feminine conduct, particularly by countering '"excessively familiar talk with soldiers of uncertain character."'[69] Yet, being by oneself as a female on the street was not always enough to induce thoughts of moral decay - both location and time were also important factors. Accordingly, many of the women's patrols were active at night to deter unscrupulous activities more effectively hidden by the dark. When the Government informed the City Council at the beginning of 1918 that they would no longer fund the patrols, Cape Town's Finance Committee were similarly only prepared to provide expenditure until the end of June 1918. In objection to what appeared to be the imminent closure of the scheme, 'a large and influential deputation' representing 17 various societies (including the NCW, WCTU, the CLPS, the Women's Enfranchisement League and a number of church councils), convinced the City Council to extend funding by a further six months.[70]

It is difficult to gauge, however, how well the patrols were accepted and how effective they were in preventing vice. As Alison Woodeson has pointed out, in terms of the British patrols, 'it takes very little imagination to see that these middle-class ladies may well have been regarded more as interfering busybodies than genuine allies.'[71] This was hinted at in the *White Ribbon,* with Miss Bertha Mason commenting that 'in some quarters and by some people the idea of policewomen is still regarded with amusement.'[72] Mrs Morris Alexander, speaking in September 1915 at the Young Women's Christian Association hall in Long Street,

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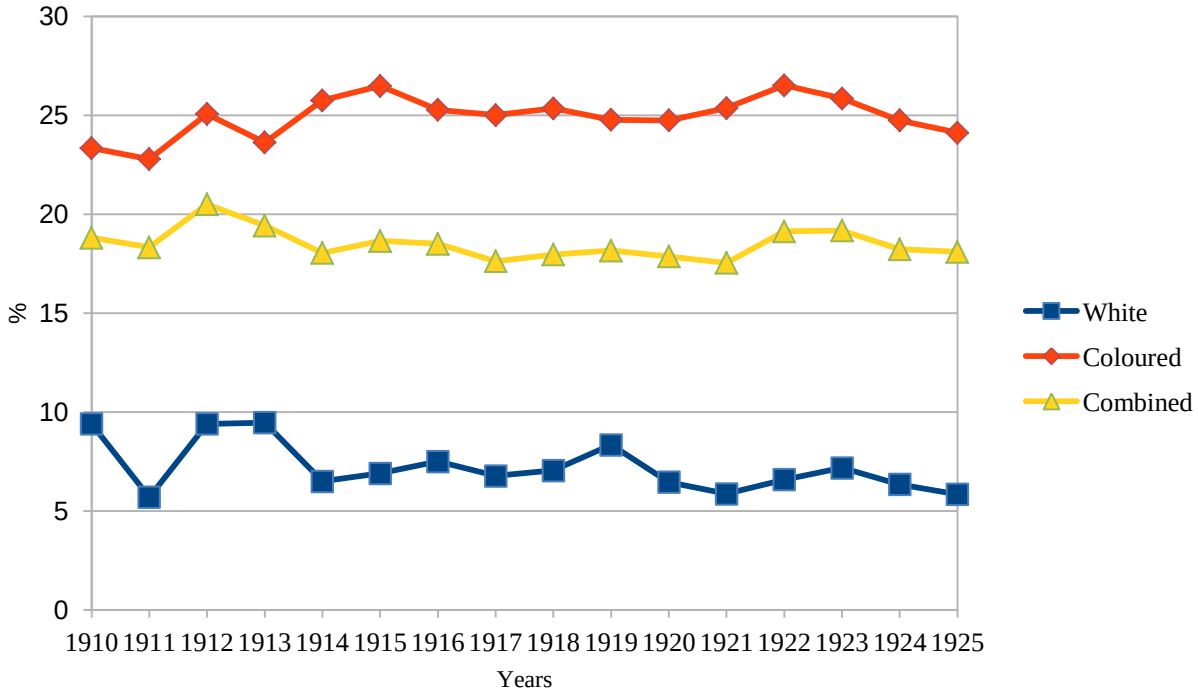
[66] *Cape Argus,* 15 Jun. 1916.
[67] *CTCM*:21, 03 June 1917.
[68] 'The Girl Scout Movement,' in Thos H. Lewis (ed.) *Children of South Africa.*
[69] Nasson, *World War One,* 151.
[70] Mayor's Minutes, 1918.
[71] A. Woodeson, 'The first women police: a force for equality or infringement?,' *Women's History Review*, 2:2 (1993), 228.
[72] *White Ribbon,* XXV:7, April 1915.

called patrol-work difficult, tiring and unpleasant and that 'it took a considerable amount of screwing up of one's moral being to put on the badge and to be stared at, and perhaps laughed at.'[73] Philippa Levine, too, refers to British cases where soldiers, in particular, had '"told them to go to hell,"' and it is likely Capetonian patrols received similar sentiments.[74]

Despite concerns that women were being led astray, the illegitimate birth ratios in Cape Town (representing the percentage of illegitimate births to total births) were seemingly stable during the war years, as displayed in Graph 11, below.[75] The highest yearly average for illegitimate babies born to white Capetonians was actually in 1912 and 1913, whilst there was only a slight rise in the number of illegitimate coloured babies during the war.

Graph 11*: Graph Illegitimate Birth Ratios in Cape Town 1910-1925 (percentage of illegitimate births to total births)*



Source: Figures taken from Sandra Burman and Margaret Naude, 'Bearing a Bastard: the social consequences of illegitimacy in Cape Town, 1896-1939,' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 17:3 (1991), 377.

[73] *Cape Times,* 07 September 1915.
[74] Philippa Levine, '" Walking the streets in a way no decent woman should": women police in World War I,' *The Journal of Modern History* 66:1 (1994), 34-78.' 68-69.
[75] Figures taken from Sandra Burman and Margaret Naude, 'Bearing a Bastard: the social consequences of illegitimacy in Cape Town, 1896-1939,' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 17:3 (1991), 377 (373-413).

Lastly, the heightened anxiety around morality in Cape Town during the war also reinvigorated a long-standing Social Purity Campaign, in which the Contagious Diseases Acts (CDA) of 1884 and 1889 were the centre of a debate with regards to their effectiveness against the spread of venereal diseases as well as the degree to which they discouraged immoral behaviour.[76] The Acts, based on British legislation whilst the Cape was still a colony, had been designed in response to concerns that Imperial troops in the colonies were contracting venereal diseases at alarming rates.[77] Whilst Britain's own CDA were withdrawn in 1886, the many of the versions introduced in the various colonies persisted. The CDA were, in fact, still under operation in the Cape during the First World War as, during the formation of Union in 1910, the diverging health legislations of each province had not been addressed.[78] The CDA consisted of two main sections. Under Part One,

> women who can be proved to be practising prostitutes may be brought before a magistrate who, after medical examination, may order that they be placed on the Contagious Diseases List and subjected to periodical examination…Women who are found to be diseased on such examination are detained in the Lock Hospital, Cape Town, until recovered.[79]

Part Two offered free treatment to 'voluntary patients of either sex' and was considered ineffective as the social stigma attached to venereal disease prevented people from coming forward. 'People will not go to even the most scientific or humane of lock hospitals,' reflected the *White Ribbon* in June 1917, 'because they know that to go will brand them as moral sinners.'[80] A Social Purity Campaign to repeal the CDA had existed in various forms since the 1890s, but became a topic of debate again during the Anglo-Boer War and then the First World War.[81] Groups affiliated with the Campaign - such as the WCTU, the Association of Moral and Social Hygiene and the South African branch of the International Federation for

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[76] For extensive coverage of the CDA, see: Karen Jochelson, *The Colour of Disease: Syphilis and Racism in South Africa 1880-1950* (Palgrave: Basingstoke, 2001), 34; E. van Heyningen, 'The social evil in the Cape Colony,' 172-3; P. Levine, *Prostitution, race and politics: policing venereal disease in the British Empire* (Routledge: London and New York, 2013).

[77] McKinnon, 137-146; K. Jochelson, *The Colour of Disease: Syphilis and Racism in South Africa 1880-1950,* 34; Elizabeth van Heyningen, 'The Social Evil in the Cape Colony 1868-1902: Prostitution and the Contagious Diseases Acts,' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 10:2 (1984), 172-3.

[78] Jochelson, *Colour of Disease,* 77.

[79] GG 684 9/107/3 'Health of the South African Forces, Major Mitchell to the Director of Medical Services, 30 October 1914.

[80] *White Ribbon*, XXVII: 9, June 1917.

[81] van Heyningen, 'The Social Evil in the Cape Colony' (1984), 174.

the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice - objected to Part One as it was thought to penalise women whilst ignoring the accountability of men in the spread of venereal disease - showing 'an indulgent attitude towards the male.'[82] It was further criticised for enabling prostitution and adultery, and placing innocent wives and children at risk. Indeed, 'the problem with the CDA,' announced Sir Patrick Duncan at a Social Purity meeting in the City Hall in April 1917, was that it 'acknowledged slavery,' where 'one man is made less than a human being - what is a woman under the... Contagious Diseases Act but a machine…for the gratification of the lusts of those unable to control them?'[83] Previous calls for legislation that countered prostitution had resulted in the 'Betting houses, Gaming houses and Brothels Suppression Act 36 of 1902' (the 'Morality Act'),' but it was more effective against pimps, brothels and human trafficking for the purposes of prostitution, than it was for preventing prostitution itself.[84]

At Cape Town's military camps troops were lectured on the dangers of venereal disease. Authorities, however, still emphasised the CDA as the main deterrent to infection. Nonetheless, Major General Thompson, Officer Commanding of the Imperial Troops in the Peninsula, thought that Part One of the CDA was difficult to apply to 'clandestine' or 'occasional prostitutes,' who he blamed for spreading venereal disease.[85] In contrast he deemed professional prostitutes - 'usually older and "salted"' - to be more cautious against infections.[86] It appears that some of the diagnosed troops were 'a very great deal of trouble.' Attempts to keep them contained at the camps in Woltemade and Maitland were 'impossible,' as they would 'break out, get drink and consort with women…thereby retarding their cure and infecting women.' It seems that these trouble-makers were subsequently sent to Wynberg Military Hospital, where greater physical deterrents were introduced. Indeed, in July 1917, General Cavendish, Officer Commanding SAMC, reported that the '34 white troops and 40 coloured troops' admitted for infection to Wynberg were detained by putting 'barbed wire round the two wards and the latrine they use' and deploying a special guard.[87]

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[82] *Cape Times,* 30 April 1917.
[83] Ibid.
[84] The 'Morality Act' sought to oppose miscegenation, as it was 'unlawful for any white women to voluntarily have illicit sexual intercourse for the purpose of gain with any aboriginal native.' Robin Hallet, 'Policemen, Pimps and Prostitutes: Public Morality and Police Corruption 1902-1904,' *Studies in the History of Cape Town* 1 (1984), 8.
[85] GG 684, 9/107/1, Thompson to Buxton, 16 October 1914.
[86] Ibid.
[87] GG 684, 9/107/1, Cavendish to Buxton, 25 July 1917. In September 1917 it was decided to move the Imperial rest camp at Woodstock Hospital so that a separate wing for 'European' cases of venereal disease could be

In March 1918 Governor General Buxton received notification from Britain that regulation 40D of the Defence of the Realm Act (DORA) had come into effect. It stated that it was

> a summary offence for any women suffering from venereal disease in a communicable form to have sexual intercourse with any of His Majesty's Forces, or to solicit or invite any member of His Majesty's Forces to have sexual intercourse with her in the hope that the enactment of this regulation will do much to check the prevalence and spread of venereal disease amongst all members of His Majesty's Forces.[88]

Regulation 40D, introduced after Britain was pressurised by Dominion powers (particularly Canada) to protect Imperial troops from the spread of venereal diseases whilst on service, was reminiscent of the early CDA.[89] As Philippa Levine argues, under 40D 'infected women were liable for punishment, but not infected soldiers and sailors.'[90] By December 1918 40D had been withdrawn. Public pressure in Britain to repeal it argued against the unfair treatment of the sexes ('every woman who has venereal disease has got it from some man'),[91] and that because any accusation was enough to subject a woman to enforced inspection, 40D enabled the pursuit of petty vendettas.[92] The fact that the Cape's CDA were still in operation meant that Regulation 40D had very little impact on the way in which venereal diseases were handled in Cape Town during the war. However, the repeal of 40D at the end of 1918 gave local Social Purity Groups the necessary validation to pursue the matter when the Public Health Act was being revised in 1918 and 1919. Towards the end of 1918, Mrs Julia Solly (of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, the National Council of Women and the International Federation for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice) joined six other

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established, and another 'for sick natives of the SANLC from overseas.' GG 684, 9/107/1, Buxton to Cavendish, 24 September 1917.

[88] GG 684, 9/107/3, Secretary of State to Buxton, 27 March 1918.

[89] Lammasniemi, 'Regulation 40D,' 585; Judith Smart, 'Sex, the state and the 'scarlet scourge': gender, citizenship and venereal diseases regulation in Australia during the great war, *Women's History Review,* 7:1 (1998), 5-36; Mark Harrison, 'The British Army and the problem of venereal disease in France and Egypt during the First World War,' *Medical History,* 39, pp 133-158; Edward Beardsley, 'Allied against sin: American and British responses to venereal disease in World War I,' *Medical history* 20:2 (1976), 189-202.

[90] Philippa Levine, 'Battle Colours: Race, Sex, and Colonial Soldiery in World War I,' *Journal of Women's History* 9:4 (1998), 108, 118.

[91] House of Commons Debate Vol 107, cc 444-473, Defence of the Realm, 19 June 1918. Available online at: https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1918/jun/19/defence-of-realm-regulations-venereal. Accessed 10 December 2019.

[92] Lammasniemi, 'Regulation 40D,' 585.

women in Bloemfontein to lead the discussion around the CDA and the upcoming Public Health Act. Accordingly, under Act 36 of 1919, it was amended that men were equally compelled to report themselves if infected with a venereal disease and equally subject to medical inspections and treatment.[93] Moreover infected women were, for the first time, allowed to ask to be examined specifically by a female medical practitioner. Overall this new legislation was hailed as a milestone in the Social Purity movement.[94]

Conclusion:

This chapter has firstly looked at the way in which the First World War affected crime in Cape Town. The majority of war-related crimes were those of opportunity, many linking to the presence of soldiers in the Peninsula - from fraud, theft and fights to sexual misconduct. Secondly, this chapter has described some of the ways in which the material and infrastructural changes caused by the war - including a burgeoning population, the increased cost of living, the movement of women into factories, the public presence of women's charity work, and the presence of troops in the city - heightened anxiety around health and morality in Cape Town and spurred on a multi-pronged moral crusade against vice. Indeed, it was the opinion of the *Cape Argus* in July 1916, that 'people should not remain ignorant: owing to Cape Town being a cosmopolitan town with a mixed population, with its overcrowding and housing problems, and the facilities with which liquor could be obtained, it was hardly to be wondered at that there was a great deal of immorality in our midst.'[95] Although this crusade was aimed at both sexes, females (and particularly the middle-classes) were framed as chiefly responsible for upholding the integrity of the city, the nation, and the Empire. In so doing, this discourse wove together notions of 'respectable' feminine behaviour, purity and patriotism. This necessitated an in-ward gaze - middle-class ladies had to be resilient to the temptations of the wartime city, whilst working-class women and girls became the target of social reform. The latter included the establishment of the Stakesby-Lewis Hostel and Marion Institute, the formation of the CC WCTU, and legislation prohibiting Capetonian women from purchasing alcohol. Most other attempts to restrict the sale of liquor in the city were countered by the influence of the powerful wine-industry in the Cape. Lastly, whilst the

[93] McKinnon, 'Women's Christian Temperance Union,' 164.
[94] Ibid.
[95] *Cape Argus*, 29 July 1916.

re-invigorated Social Purity Movement was unable to enact change during the war itself with regards to the CDA, they nevertheless celebrated a victory in the form of Act 36 of 1919.

Chapter Seven: Destination City

Introduction

Wartime Cape Town was 'hearkening of the throb of the busy city's life - man's creation,' filled with 'the unearthly and disturbing shriek of the engine,' and clattered with noise 'from the 'phone, the post and the war.' Cape Town had become, in the minds of many of its inhabitants, a modern city bringing with it 'the absurdity of city life.'[1] Absurdity was not, however, the image of Cape Town that the City Council wished to promote. This thesis has so far established some of the material changes and challenges to Cape Town, brought about by the First World War. The previous two chapters develop this idea, highlighting the way in which these material challenges exacerbated perceptions of the city as a place of physical and moral corruption. As such they countered the image of the city as respectable, modern and orderly. In contrast to these increased infrastructural burdens and moral outcries, the potential tourist would never suspect that Cape Town was a city at war. Indeed, the brochures of the Cape Town Publicity Association continued to advertise Cape Town as a desirable destination throughout the war period in order to encourage inter-provincial and (albeit with more difficulty) international travel. Drawing on natural tropes and historical legacies, such brochures also sought to lure visitors by emphasising Cape Town as a modern, ordered, and civilised city.

This chapter thus explores Cape Town as a tourist destination, detailing the way in which authorities promoted the city and how the city, in turn, was perceived by local and international tourists alike. In particular it draws on the accounts of Anzac troops visiting Cape Town as well as reports from other South African visitors from the Interior - both groups representing some of the city's main tourists during the war. Ultimately their reflections on the city were not only informed by the City Council's promotional material, but also by their own local idioms, prejudices and preconceptions.

[1] *CTCM*: 25, 07 October 1917.

Promoting Cape Town

The fact that the First World War exacerbated many of Cape Town's pre-existing infrastructural challenges did not deter the Cape Peninsula Publicity Association (CPPA) from promoting the city as a desirable destination. Established in 1908, the CPPA grew out of the Municipality's aim to entice more tourists to the city through a Grand Gala Season. It was most likely influenced by a similar place-selling movement as it spread across towns in the United Kingdom.[2] The modern transport revolution had also been vital in enabling the emergence of a substantial tourist industry, with the expansion of the region's rail network in the late 19th century.[3] Simultaneously, improvements in shipping led to increased international traffic and, by the 1890s, the Union and Castle Line had a contract with Cape Town, boasting a journey time of only 15 days.[4] Working with local newspapers, such as the *Cape Argus* and *Cape Times,* the CPPA published articles on the wonders of the Peninsula. Brochures and pamphlets also espoused the natural beauties of the Cape, and its historical legacy as the first ('Mother') city,[5] whilst Table Mountain ('a great asset to the Peninsula…its majestic grandeur frames the entire setting of the seascape')[6] had long become a symbol for the *Cape of Storms,* boasting of the city's natural diversity (Photograph 35, below).

Film was also used to promote the city. Towards the end of 1915, *The Beautiful Cape Peninsula* (depicting 'its natural and other beauties') was put on exhibition in Durban both to *sell* the city to fellow South Africans as well as to prove the 'advantages of advertising the various health and holiday resorts in the Union on the cinema.' Over 2000 feet had been assembled by the African Films Trust and the exhibition was to move from town to town, and to be thereafter sent to Europe.[7] The film was made in conjunction with South African Harbour and Rail, which sought to encourage inter-provincial tourism and increase revenue.[8] If received as intended, these promotions - whilst, in this case, highlighting the unique aspects of Cape Town - were also designed to encourage a sense of geographical unity in the newly forged Union.

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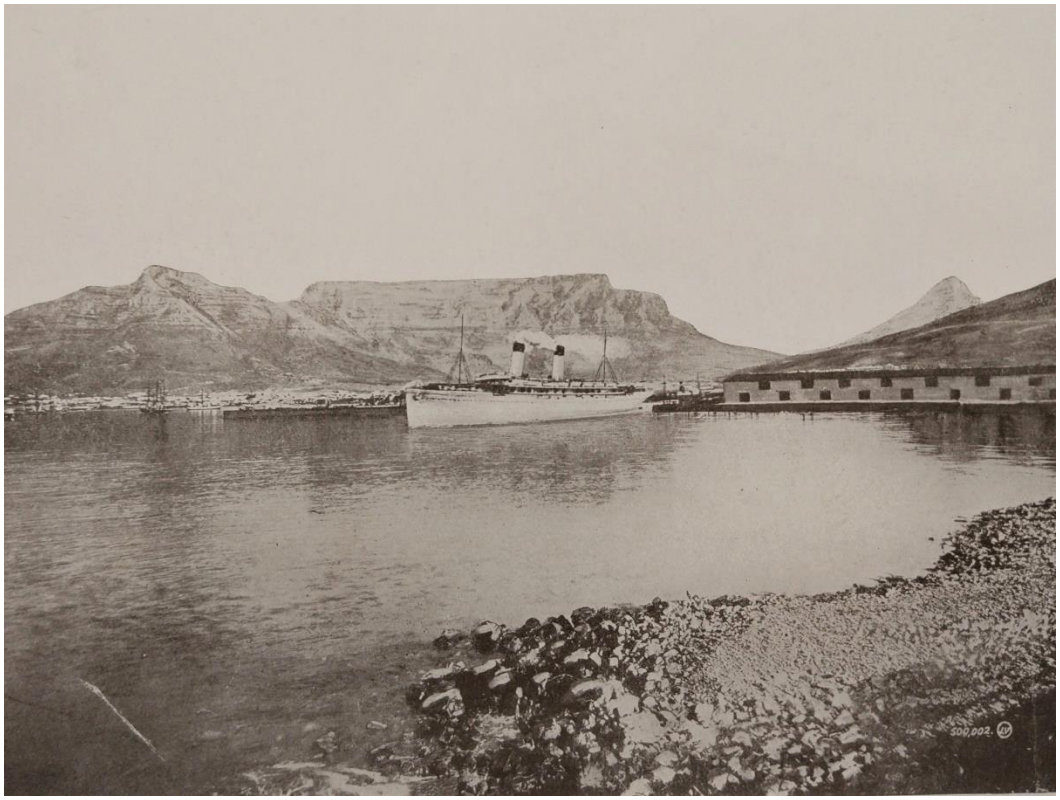
[2] Vivian Bickford-Smith, 'Creating a city of the tourist imagination: The case of Cape Town, "The fairest Cape of them all,"' *Urban Studies* 46:9 (2009), 1769.
[3] James Wolf, 'A Grand Tour: South Africa and American Tourists Between the Wars,' *Journal of Popular Culture* 25:2 (1991), 100.
[4] Bickford-Smith,'Creating a city,' 1767.
[5] Ibid,1769.
[6] *Cape Argus,* 11 November 1915.
[7] *Cape Times,* 02 October 1915.
[8] Bickford-Smith, 'Creating a city,' 1769.

Photograph 35: *A view of Devils Peak, Table Mountain and Lion's Head*



Source: Special Collections, UCT, 'Souvenir Album of 75 views of the Cape Peninsula' (Valentine and Sons: Cape Town, c.1914).

Indeed, the combined efforts of the Mayor, the Department of Harbour and Rail, and the CPPA to woo cross-country visitors during the war peaked around the annual conference of the South African Press Union in October, strategically held just before the summer holidays. The *East Rand Express* in October 1914 advertised Cape Town as 'a holiday maker's paradise,' with notable features such as the docks, Adderley Street, the promenade and pier; Muizenburg was referred to as 'the Brighton of South Africa,' and the Camps Bay tram ride 'the most famous in the world' (Photograph 36, below). The article thanked a South African Rail's writer for a portion of the above including, no doubt, references to the 'luxuriously appointed dining cars and comfortable coaches' that whisked one from the Rand to the Cape.[9] In November 1915 the *Diamond Fields Advertiser* (of Kimberley) wrote that the 'Peninsula is essentially a health resort,' it concluded, 'here there is everything to tempt the holiday maker.'[10] When, in October 1916, the South African Press Union met for their annual

[9] *The East Rand Express,* 17 October 1914.
[10] *Diamond Fields Advertiser* as reprinted in *Cape Argus,* 11 November 1915.

congress in Cape Town (where they were 'entertained by a luncheon given by the Mayor… on the municipal pier'), the Mayor commended the city for 'its climate, cleanliness, beauty and general comfort, and called Cape Town both 'progressive and prosperous.'[11]

Photograph 36: *The scenic Camps Bay coastline, 1917*

Source: Special Collections, UCT, 'Souvenir Album of 75 views of the Cape Peninsula' (Valentine and Sons: Cape Town, c.1914).

The CPPA may have been relatively new, but many of the tropes - and particularly that of a health resort - used to promote the city were older, and related to the establishment of colonies and a colonial identity. According to Harriet Deacon, Cape Town had been linked to the idea of health and refreshment as early as the 1600s when the Dutch East India Company used the Peninsula to replenish their supplies along the East Indian trade route.[12] In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries discourses around 'climate' and 'health' were increasingly linked in a form of 'medical topography,' which informed the idea that the Cape

[11] *The Marico Chronicle,* 12 October 1916.
[12] Harriet Deacon, 'The place and space of illness: Climate and garden as metaphors in the Robben Island medical institutions,' *Institute of Historical Studies, E-Seminars in History* (1997), 2. Available online at: https://sas-space.sas.ac.uk/4632/1/The_Place_and_Space_of_Illness__Climate_and_Garden_as_Metaphors_in_the_Robben_Island_Medical_Institutions_by_Harriet_Deacon___Institute_of_Historical_Research.pdf Accessed: 12 November 2019.

possessed a 'healthy and temperate climate.' This, in turn, was important for both tourism and emigration efforts in the British Empire in the nineteenth century.[13]

Britishness, Modernity and the City

A major part of the colonial project was the establishment of 'civilised' society - a re-production of Europe, *outside* of Europe.[14] This involved a spiritual project in the reforming of 'native' society, and a physical project in the taming of the natural environment. It was not just a temperate climate that promoted health, but an ordered and clean environment. The Anglicisation of Cape Town in the nineteenth century was thus tied to the very ideas of Britishness, modernity and progress. Bickford-Smith describes that 'modernising for white Anglophone elites in South Africa,' meant not only the 'continued sense of belonging' to a British world, 'but also the taming of threats of urban order.'[15] It was on this basis that Cape Town was also judged. From the nineteenth century, argues Saul Dubow, the region's reputation 'as a healthy colony could be seen as a metaphorical expression of the extent to which social, moral and institutional order had been secured.'[16]

Many British visitors and emigrants in Cape Town in the mid- to late-nineteenth century criticised the city for its lack of infrastructure, calling for the development of the water supply, improvement of street lighting, the extension of drains and sewer systems and the paving of streets and sidewalks.[17] The poor condition of these features marked the city as *un*-British despite the on-going Anglicisation of the city, which included the re-naming of certain street names (Hereengracht became Adderley Street, for example), the establishment of distinctly British institutions (the Masonic lodges, gentlemen's clubs, the commercial exchange) and symbols.[18] Between the 1870s and 1890s, the English language newspapers (namely the *Cape Argus* and *Cape Times*) deliberately turned public opinion against the Town Council which, at this time, was still predominantly governed by 'Dutch or Afrikaans-speaking property owners,' many of whom had ties to the Afrikaner Bond. This latter organisation was an 'ethno-national movement' which guarded the interests of the Cape

[13] Ibid, 2.
[14] Ibid, 3.
[15] Bickford-Smith, *Emergence of the South African Metropolis,* 136.
[16] Dubow, *A Commonwealth of Knowledge,* 90.
[17] Bickford-Smith, *Emergence of the South African Metropolis,* 62-63.
[18] Ibid, 62-65.

Dutch within the British colony and was regarded as being in opposition to an emerging British-South African colonial identity.[19] A press war waged against the Dutch Town Council, nicknamed 'The Dirty Party,' and promoted, instead 'the Clean Party' - mostly British merchants and businessmen who sought to reform Cape Town.[20]

'Clean rule,' according to Bickford-Smith, pulled upon the transnational networks of Empire and sought to develop the city centre 'along British metropolitan lines.' Aided by increasing British immigration to the Cape (particularly after the discovery of gold on the Rand in the late 1880s), 'the Clean Party' secured the majority of the seats in the Council and continued to hold it well into the twentieth century. A slew of symbolic, institutional and infrastructural changes further spurred on the city's Anglicisation. Expertise from Britain was used to address questions of city improvements - from parks and recreational spaces to sanitation and street surfaces.[21] Earlier architecture was amended or removed; such was the case with the Cape Dutch stoeps and gables.[22] Symbols of the Crown graced the oak-lined avenues and open squares of the city centre, including a statue of Queen Victoria in front of the Cape Parliament in 1890, or that of Edward VII on the Grand Parade (Photograph 37, below).[23] By the twentieth century the City Council had even adopted the pomp and regalia of British municipalities.[24]

[19] Ibid, 64.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Dubow, *A Commonwealth of Knowledge,* 26.
[22] Bickford-Smith, *Emergence of the South African Metropolis,* 65-66.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.

Photograph 37: *Statue of King Edward VII, Cape Town*

Source: Accession no H36439/177, *George D. Flanagan collection,* State Library of Victoria. Available online: *http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/295901*. Accessed: 31 July 2019. No restrictions.

The historical legacies of the city's infrastructure, however, made the City Council's modernising agenda a long-term project. Percival R. Waddy, for example, spent a month 'in the Cape Metropolis' in 1901.[25] He declared that the city bore 'abundant traces of being a very old city,' with many dilapidated buildings 'more than 160 years of age.' The city's streets were 'frightfully dusty in fine weather' and 'fearfully muddy after the rain.' Transport was also found wanting, as trams were 'clumsy old-fashioned double-deckers' that frequently derailed themselves. Nevertheless, in 1910, one James Watt noticed 'marked improvements' with Cape Town's transport facilities,[26] whilst another visitor during the same year deemed the city 'presentable - good, clean streets, fine buildings, bank-shops etc. with a magnificent town hall.'[27]

[25] *The Maitland Daily Mercury* (NSW), 21 October 1901. Available at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/122852060. Accessed: 21 October 2019.
[26] *Molong Express and Western District Advertiser* (NSW), 11 June 1910. Available at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/139394376/16138399. Accessed: 21 October 2019.
[27] *Kerang New Times* (Victoria), 24 June 1910. Available at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/222459840. Accessed 21 October 2019.

Order and respectability (as defined by British middle-class values) were thus the marks of a *good modern* city, complete with *modern* infrastructure. According to the Mayor in 1914,

> The municipality…makes roads and drains; it lays on water and light, it constructs tramways...by rules and regulations…it safeguards the public health; it maintains parks and garden...promotes the well-being of the people. In short, the corporate body exists for the common good - for the physical, mental and moral welfare of the community…The modern municipality is no longer content to think only of roads and drains. There appears to be no limit to the services it may perform for the common good, that being interpreted as the economic, intellectual, physical and moral betterment of the whole community.[28]

Many of Cape Town's advertised sites during the war were called upon to create the image of the city as progressive and modern. Kirstenbosch, for example, was established as a national botanical garden in 1913, and it represented a curated display of the region's extensive flora.[29] Kirstenbosch in this sense was a physical manifestation of the way in which the city 'tamed the threats of urban order.'[30] The Cape Town Pier, completed in 1913, was another municipal project which lauded the city's dominance over nature, where respectable Capetonians could stroll out into the sea itself and listen to the strains of the City Orchestra as it competed with gull, sea-spray and wind alike. These 'modern' features thus did not detract from the city's natural beauty but were promoted as enhancing visitors' experiences of it.

The development of the city's roads and transport system was also a major part of establishing urban order, whilst offering novel ways for sight-seeing nature. The Publicity Association declared it the motorist's paradise of South Africa, with its picturesque drive around Table Mountain.[31] The City Council embraced the motor vehicle as the future of public transport (three motor ambulances were introduced in 1915 to cope with the increased number of invalided soldiers in the city)[32] and was improving roads accordingly. By mid-1916 the widening of Victoria Road in Woodstock was almost complete, whilst a new road

[28] Mayor's Minutes, 1914.
[29] Dubow, *A Commonwealth of Knowledge*, 184.
[30] Bickford-Smith, *Emergence of the South African Metropolis,* 136.
[31] *Diamond Fields Advertiser* as reprinted in *Cape Argus,* 11 November 1915.
[32] Women's Hospital Ship Fund MSB 534, Summary of work for year ending 25 January 1915.

was also built above Roeland Street which made motor transport between the city and suburbs more efficient.[33] Cars were also increasingly incorporated into recruiting parades and processions ('behind stood the figure of Britannia, burnished helmet and trident, fine lion's head mounted in front of the car'),[34] and used to entertain visiting troops on tours around the Peninsula.[35] Indeed, 'Lady Peggy' (her real name was Sanni Meterlerkamp, the Union's first woman parliamentary reporter)[36] wrote of the assistance given by the Cape Peninsula Motor Car and Cycle Club in transporting recovering soldiers to the sea side ('bright sunshine and a speckless sky, a cool breeze from the sea bringing life and freshness').[37]

South Africanism and the Modern City

The pursuit of a modern and progressive city during this period increasingly related to the promotion of a (white) South Africanism. According to Dubow, it drew upon the 'neutral' ideas of science and progress and sought to unite Dutch and English whites by emphasising 'common bonds of patriotism.'[38] The proponents of this particular South Africanism, such as Smuts and Botha, argued that the Union's future as a modern power was best secured through the networks of Empire (it was not an idea that all bought into, as reflected by the 1914 Afrikaner rebellion). Much of Cape Town's wartime promotional material aimed at local tourists thus stressed both the progressiveness of the city as well as its white heritage. In November 1914, for example, the *Cape Times* published 'A Randite in the Cape,' which lauded the legacies and traditions of the city - both British and Dutch:

> The Randite learns to appreciate the fact that the real social orders of the Cape are of ancient standing. He soon perceives that they are legacies, not only of British civilisation, but of Dutch and French as well…the visiting Randite observes many little changes that are coming about at the Cape, and most of these can be ascribed to the spirit of Union, which has a stronger hold upon us daily...[39]

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[33] Zonnebloem Papers, F1.21: Zonnebloem College Magazine 32 (Easter 1914).
[34] Recruitment Rally July 1917, *Cape Argus,* 17 July 1917.
[35] *Cape Argus*, 04 December 1916.
[36] *The Natal Daily News: Union Jubilee Supplement,* 30 May 1960. Available online at: http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventories/inv_pdfo/A1132/A1132-Ee1-002-jpeg.pdf. Accessed 15 November 2019
[37] Ibid.
[38] Dubow, *A Commonwealth of Knowledge*, vi.
[39] *Cape Times,* 06 November 1914.

Kirstenbosch (along with other examples celebrating the Union's 'white' history, such as the opening of the 18th century Koopmans de Wet Huys as a museum in 1914), 'proudly proclaimed South African nationhood,' whilst celebrating 'a more restricted and specific sense of Capeness.'[40] The desire to promote Cape Town's common white heritage, and the 'European nature of amenities' may have contributed to the de-emphasising of the city's cultural diversity during this period.[41] Despite past use of 'local colour' (i.e. Cape Town's so-called 'exotic races,' such as the 'Cape Malays') to promote the city, this apparently abated in the early twentieth century until the late 1940s.[42]

Impressions: local visitors

The CPPA might have influenced the way in which different tourists perceived Cape Town, but more often than not these perceptions were also shaped by tourists' own local idioms, prejudices and experiences. Visitors from other parts of South Africa gave mixed reviews of the city. In a 1916 letter to the Cape Times, A.E. Ross from Bloemfontein spoke of Cape Town as a 'port of Mecca for tired up-country folk,' who 'loved the Pier, the bioscopes, the band, and the trams.'[43] Whilst it likely that Mr Ross' opinions connected to the SA Press Union's drive to promote the city, the fact that local tourists still piled into Cape Town during the warm summer months meant that there must have been some appeal. Indeed, the city's wartime motto - 'business as usual,' seemed to reflect the Cape summer season, and in October 1917 the *Cape Times* printed in astonishment that 'many of the hotels are booked up for this month.'[44] The Railway Department facilitated this process by offering a promotional deal - a 'single fare for the double fare, with the return within three months.'[45] Not all of the Cape's features were welcome. One 'diamond digger' (perhaps from Kimberley), in early 1917 described Cape Town as boring - 'you folk are like a lot of tame mice running around in a cage…Cape Town might be peopled by the dead.'[46] Indeed, this

[40] Dubow, *A Commonwealth of Knowledge*, 184.
[41] Bickford-Smith, 'Creating a city,' 1771.
[42] Ibid, 1771, 1768.
[43] Letter to Editor *Cape Times,* 09 Monday 1916.
[44] *Cape Times,* 12 October 1917.
[45] Ibid.
[46] *Cape Argus,* 04 January 1917.

perception of *Kaapstad* (Cape Town) as *Slaapstad* (Sleepy Town) emerged after the rapid expansion of the mining cities such as Kimberley and Johannesburg.

Many tourists from the Interior complained about the multi-racial nature of Cape Town. In a 1916 letter to the *Cape Times,* it was written that some 'old Free Staters… did not like the black and coffee-coloured people who jostled you and sat next to you in trams; they thought the Government should keep them in their places.'[47] Other visitors' complaints similarly reflected that tram cars were 'always packed,' whilst the carriages at the Sea Point Railway were 'dirty…with coloured couples in every second compartment.'[48] The Cape's relative liberalism did not sit well with those used to the more segregationist policies of the Interior. In a letter from Alice Greene to her partner, Betty Molteno, dated April 1915, Alice told of an encounter she had with 'a most important looking Khaki officer from the Transvaal' whilst on a train travelling from Rondebosch to Salt River. They were both sharing the same carriage when 'two Malay women' entered, carrying their bundles:

> They explained in Dutch that there was no room for them in the second and third class and 'my officer' sat very erect, turned very red and said, 'I object.'…The two women went out but presently in came around a dozen Malays, men and women, bag and baggage. My Khaki man said nothing, but looked volumes at being squeezed up….[49]

A train guard 'beckoned' Alice and 'her soldier' out to another carriage in which sat a young bank clerk ('very spruce') and his 'lady friend.' He turned toward them and 'exploded,' '"I wish I had all these niggers in German South West for a bit! Where on earth do these d——d niggers come from?" Alice ended the anecdote by commenting that 'luckily there was no one to pay much attention to him and his High Mightiness had to subside into sleep.'[50] These negative receptions to Cape Town proved just how difficult a united South Africanism was to sell.

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[47] *Cape Times,* 09 Monday 1916.
[48] Letter to editor, *Cape Times,* 27 December 1916.
[49] Molteno Family Papers, Box 28, Alice Greene to Betty Molteno, 06 April 1915.
[50] Ibid.

Impressions: Anzac Troops

Many visiting soldiers experienced the city through tourist-eyes. As Private Puddicombe told home audiences in Australia, whilst in Cape Town in March 1917, he received three pamphlets. 'One,' he wrote,

> was headed 'Welcome to Cape Town' and extends an invitation from the V.T.E.C. (Visiting Troop Entertainment Committee) to tea, and on the reverse side is a map of a portion of the city, clearly indicating leading buildings, open air cafes, swimming baths, etc., all free to troops. Another three-folder is issued by the South African Gifts and Comforts Committee and also has a map showing the open air buffet, where all articles, tea, aerated waters, cake, etc., are sold to boys in blue and khaki at 1d. each, and the reading, writing and recreation rooms provided for troops, where all are free, including billiard and bagatelle tables, etc. The third is a more pretentious three-folder, specially printed for Australian and New Zealand troops and sets out how to go to Camps Bay, a 14 miles tram trip at a cost of 1/-. This is described as 'The finest tram ride in the world.'[51]

Route marches were a form of sight-seeing - one went through the 'principal streets of the city,'[52] and another took the men past the Company Gardens to Kloof Nek in the upper reaches of the Cape Town.[53] One of the more ambitious routes had troops march from the city centre to Rhodes Memorial (roughly 13 km away, see Photograph 38, below).[54] Even for ships that were quarantined, troops were still often taken along a route that went from Dock Road to Green Point Common.[55]

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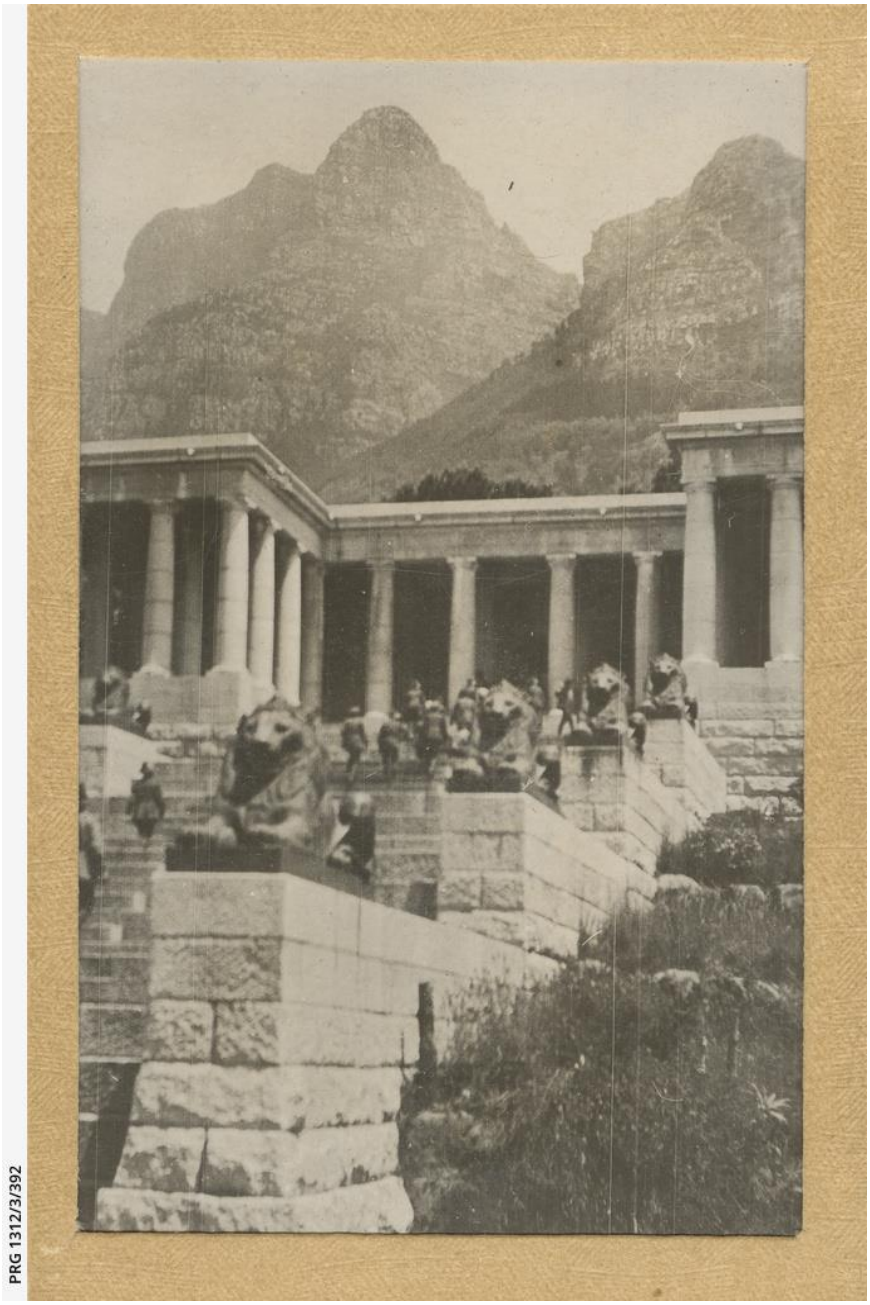
[51] *The Grafton Argus* (NSW), 13 April 1917. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/235740527? Accessed: 30 October 2019.
[52] *Daily Telegraph* (Tasmania), 28 November 1916. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/152747149 Accessed: 30 October 2019.
[53] *The Pioneer* (Yorketown), 17 February 1917. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/199101073? Accessed: 30 October 2019.
[54] *Gippsland Standard* (Victoria), 01 November 1916. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/121036284? Accessed: 07 July 2019.
[55] *The Pioneer* (Yorketown) ,17 February 1917.

Photograph 38: *Rhodes Memorial, 1918*



Source*:* Darren D. Smith (photographer), PRG 1312/3/392, *Photographs of troops travelling to and from Britain.* Available online: https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/PRG+1312/3/392. Accessed: 01 August 2019. No restrictions.

Some of the Anzac impressions of Cape Town were viewed through the lens of the war. For one soldier, Table Mountain held a symbolic significance in this regard:

> …Table Mountain, with its companions, again filled our vision. The shades of evening coming on apace, the lights of the city show out across the water like myriads of fairy lights… A cloud rested on the top of the mountain. It seemed as if on the spread table a cloth had been thrown, covering the dainties, because someone had died. And then the cloud became the war cloud of Europe. At one end it was thin, indicating the commencement of the war already fading from our minds. Thick, tremendous and high at its centre, the cloud indicated the immensity of the operations; the vastness that had grown out of a small beginning. I looked to see if the war had an ending, and of what character. The far end of the mountain was clear. At the centre was the zenith, and it tapered away, so I judged that the fullness of the war had passed, the tapering time had commenced, and presently the clear end would come.[56]

Some soldiers remarked on the city's 'modern' features. Sergeant E.H.T, part of an Anzac convoy in 1916, felt compelled to write of 'the thousands of lights' both 'right before us and up the sides of the mountain.'[57] The use of 'large electric lamps' on the pier, as noted by Private G.W. Watt in June 1917, also enabled 'many hundreds of people' to stroll along its length at night.[58] The newly constructed pier was advertised to passing soldiers 'as one of the finest in the world.'[59] Some of them agreed with this assessment, including Private P. Sowter, who described the 'splendid pier…built of reinforced concrete' in great detail to home audiences.[60] Private W. Middleton's letter home similarly showed approval of the tram line that wended its way around the scenic coastal route to Camps Bay, saying that he did not 'think they are far out in calling it the 'finest in the world.'[61] Indeed, Private C.T. Harris, reporting on the ride, thought that 'the scenery was beyond description, and quite surpassed anything I have yet seen.'[62] Lieutenant Dunn, in August 1916, thought 'the streets and many

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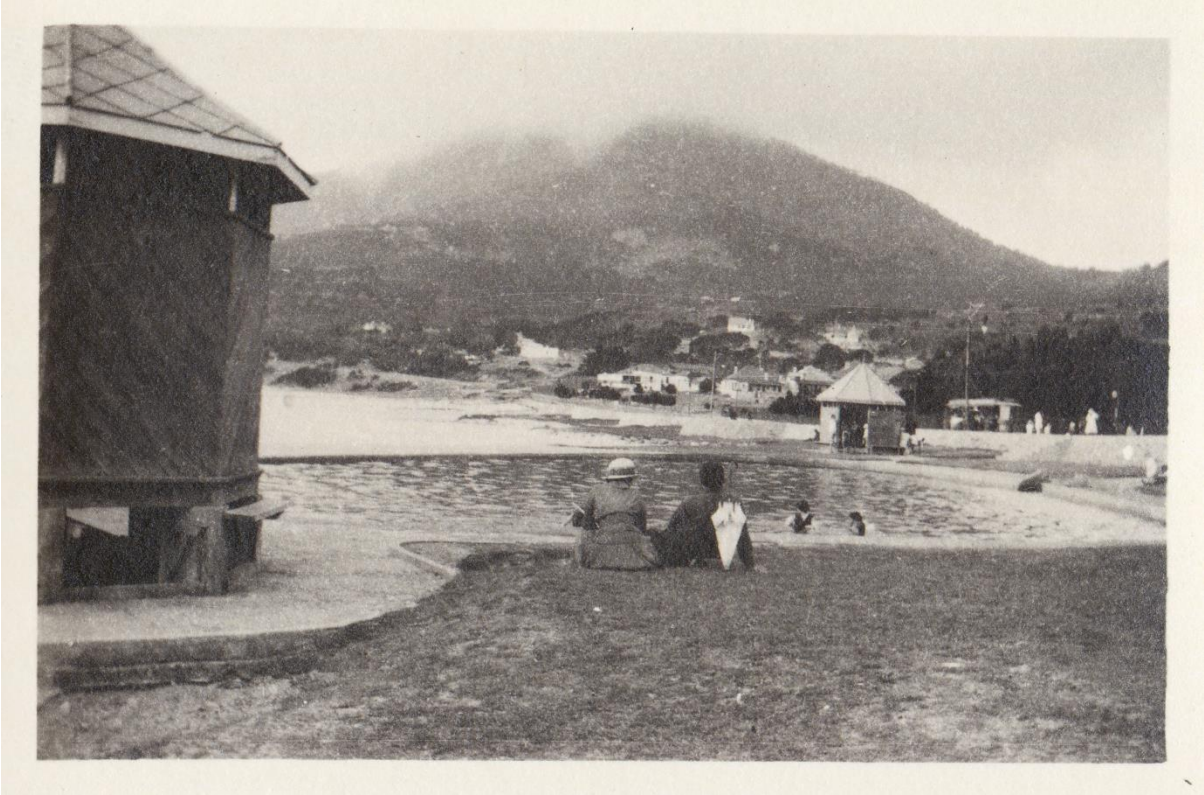
[56] *Nagambie Times* (Victoria), 5 January 1917. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/131434343. Accessed: 30 October 2019.
[57] *Northern Argus* (Clare), 24 November 1916. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/97358389 Accessed: 29 October 2019.
[58] *Dungog Chronicle* (NSW), 22 June 1917. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/136009978 Accessed: 29 October 2019.
[59] *The Forbes Advocate* (NSW), 19 January 1917. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/100282505. Accessed: 29 November 2019.
[60] *The Dubbo Literal and Macquarie* (NSW), 13 July 1917. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/75559466. Accessed 30 October 2019.
[61] *The South-Western News* (Busselton), 01 December 1916. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/14766783. Accessed 29 October 2019.
[62] *Evelyn Observer* (Victoria), 26 January 1917. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/60666251 Accessed 30 October 2019.

buildings' 'creditable indeed,' with 'the Union Parliament - Senate and Assembly - being very fine specimens of modern architecture.'[63] Gunner Dave Johns too praised Adderley Street for being 'very clean' with 'a few very fine buildings.'[64] Not all felt this way, however. Private R. Prince was little impressed when visiting Cape Town in 1916. He thought the city centre's streets 'narrow and crooked' and that 'the place looked dirty.'[65] Corporal Ostrom similarly declared, 'the Australian is not impressed with the civic side of Cape Town. Adderley Street…is, if anything, narrower than Elizabeth Street, Melbourne, and the pavements are much narrower.'[66]

Photograph 39: *Camps Bay, two soldiers sitting, approximately 1917*



H36439/169, *George D Flanagan Collection*, State Library Victoria. Available online: http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/295919. Accessed: 31 July 2019. No restrictions.

[63] *Mudgee Guardian* (NSW), 31 August 1916. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/156893979 Accessed: 29 October 2019.
[64] *Dungog Chronicle* (NSW), 09 January 1917. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/136016036. Accessed: 29 October 2019.
[65] *Swan Hill Guardian* (Victoria), 02 October 1916. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/92122281. Accessed 01 November 2019.
[66] *The Riverine Herald* (Victoria), 07 December 1917. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/89297519 . Accessed: 30 October 2019.

The impressions of some Australian soldiers reflected a longing for home. Corporal Ostrom, despite his low opinions of Adderley Street, was 'forcefully reminded of Australia by the number of eucalyps growing in the streets near the pier.' 'Many an Australian,' he revealed, 'was seen to pluck a few of the leaves.'[67] Another soldier remarked that, 'to those who had spent some time in England there is something about Cape Town that reminds them of Australia. In some respects the vegetation is similar, and the grass has not the very deep colour which makes the 'keep off the grass' lawns of the Mother Country so fine.' [68] Coming across 'a forest of Australian gums' while on a route march, 'Enlisted' similarly reflected that 'you could almost imagine you were in the Australian bush…'.[69]

Some of the negative Anzac impressions during the war seem connected to the way they felt they were received by the city's residents. 'They seem very cold,' Private Prince wrote of Capetonians in 1916,[70] whilst Gunner Breakwill of the 7th F.A.B thought that the 'town people had no time at all for us…we got scowls etc and we were shunned like Germans.' As such he declared Cape Town and its 'narrow streets' a 'rotten place.'[71] Indeed, the city's attempts to control troop behaviour no doubt played a part in their feeling less than welcome. 'Capetown wasn't much of a place; the people being very nasty,' wrote Mr H.C. Holstein of the Machine Gun Company in October 1916, as 'they didn't want us to get off the boat but we managed it somehow for a couple of hours.'[72] Gunner Breakwill in July 1916 similarly revealed that although they 'were nearly not allowed onshore,'

> when we did we were in small parties in charge of a NCO. Needless to say, it was only a farce, but the idea was to keep some sort of hold on the fellows…we were soon left to ourselves to do as we like…we just had as good a time as possible. If we did

[67] Ibid.
[68] *Daily Herald* (Adelaide), 07 June 1916. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/124881689 Accessed: 30 October 2019.
[69] *Nagambie Times* (Victoria), 5 January 1917. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/131434343. Accessed: 30 October 2019.
[70] *Swan Hill Guardian* (Victoria), 02 October 1916.
[71] *Daily Examiner* (Grafton), 13 July 1916. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/194813212 Accessed 29 October 2019.
[72] *The Gloucester Advocate* (NSW), 03 January 1917. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/158603148. Accessed: 02 November 2019.

> not favourably impress the people, we at least showed them that Australians have good appetites.[73]

Corporal Barker admitted that he and two of his mates snuck-off during a route march. Their escape was quite successful and the three were promptly invited to dinner by a local couple, the Barton-Smiths. Barker later returned to the Parade ground just in time to find 'officers forming a piquet to hunt up wandering soldiers in the city,' and to his delight was picked to go with them (see, for example Photograph 40).[74]

Photograph 40: *Piquet duty Buitenkant Street. Six Australian soldiers, whole-length, full face, standing in front of an unidentified building, three children, one a toddler, standing with them, 1917*

H36439/178, *G. D. Flanagan Collection*, State Library Victoria. Available online: http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/295953. Accessed 31 July 2019. No restrictions.

[73] *Daily Examiner* (Grafton), 13 July 1916.
[74] *The Riverine Herald* (Victoria), 24 October 1916. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/89386144. Accessed 30 October 2019.

A song was even devised by one troopship after they were barred from visiting the city:

> Anymore ! Anymore !
> For we're isolated here,
> And can't get any beer;
> So we won't go back to Cape Town
> Anymore.[75]

A few Australians felt that the city was distinctly un-British. Sergeant-Major Brownhill wrote in 1917 that Durban was 'British to the core, while the hand of the Boer is everywhere visible in Capetown.' As such he felt that 'throughout our short stay in Capetown we were reminded by the atmosphere of the place that we belonged to another land.'[76] Private Prince too thought Cape Town 'not as patriotic' with 'a lot of Dutch foreigners.'[77] It was not just the presence of Dutch/Afrikaans that made Cape Town 'less British' for some Anzac troops, but its racially-mixed population. Private Roy Inkpen contrasted the 'fairly clean city' with his impression that 'every race on earth seems represented,'[78] whilst Corporal Barker spoke of 'the coloured part of the population which 'did not impress him favourably.'[79] Sergeant Kennedy was disparaging of the 'swarms of Hottentots, Kaffirs and whatnots' that 'straggled along beside us right through the city' during a route march.[80] Sapper Percy Fairlam was similarly prejudiced, and disliked 'the negroes busy with the coaling,' as 'they make a terrible noise with their singing and yelling'[81] (for black dock workers, see Photographs 41 and 42, below). The city's Britishness in this sense was judged according to its *whiteness,* or seeming lack thereof.

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[75] *Upper Murray and Mitta Herald* (Victoria), 25 January 1917. Available online at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/120981526 Accessed: 29 November 2019.
[76] *The Forbes Advocate* (NSW), 19 January 1917.
[77] *Swan Hill Guardian* (Victoria), 02 October 1916.
[78] *Eastern Districts Chronicle* (York), 25 May 1917. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/148620942/18162711 Accessed: 02 November 2019.
[79] *The Riverine Herald* (Victoria), 24 October 1916.
[80] *The Ulladulla Times* (NSW), 04 November 1916. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/161275749? Accessed 29 October 2019.
[81] *Seaside News* (Cheltenham, Victoria), 07 October 1916. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/154476422. Accessed: 02 November 2019.

Photograph 41: *Coaling at Cape Town 1918*

Source: Darren D. Smith (photographer), PRG 1312/12/390, *Photographs of troops travelling to and from Britain,* State Library of Australia. Available online: https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/PRG+1312/3/390. Accessed: 01 August 2019. No restrictions.

Photograph 42: *'Africans' scrambling for pennies at Cape Town, 1918*

Source*:* Darren D. Smith (photographer), *PRG 1312/3/99, Photographs of troops travelling to and from Britain,* State Library of Australia, Available online: https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/PRG+1312/3/99. Accessed: 01 August 2019. No restrictions.

Conclusion:

As part of its modernising project, the City Council - in conjunction with the CPPA, the SA Press Union, the Department of Harbour and Rail as well as local newspapers - was increasingly supporting advertising initiatives in order to sell Cape Town as a travel destination. Initiatives encouraging tourism did not stop because of the war, with particular attention given to selling the city to South Africans from other parts of the Union. This was part of a bid to increase revenue through tourism, but it also related to the promotion of a white South Africanism. Official depictions of Cape Town during the war painted a picture of a progressive, ordered, 'European' city, whilst calling upon long-established historical features and aspects of natural beauty. Based upon the advertisements alone, one would never have suspected that a global war was ongoing, nor would one envisage the myriad of ways in which the city was being challenged as a modern, ordered space by the war itself.

Visitors' impressions reflected both an appreciation for the city's modern and natural attractions (heavily influenced by the persuasiveness of the CPPA) as well as criticism for areas perceived as lacking. These reflections on the city, be it from fellow South Africans or Australian troops, were also influenced by their own preconceptions, prejudices and local experiences. For many of the former, the Cape's relative liberalism and multiracial character was off-putting, whilst a few of the latter thought Cape Town un-British and *less loyal* for the same reasons. Cape Town was thus simultaneously projected and perceived as a city at war, a city of vice and infrastructural challenges, and an attractive travel destination. The latter was enabled by Cape Town's geographical distance to the main theatres of war and encouraged by local groups wishing to promote a sense of shared South Africanism. Finally, the image of Cape Town as a 'destination city' as well as a 'city at war,' complicates the stereotypical imaginings of 'the wartime city' as a 'city in ruins' - usually informed by the physical ravaging endured by many of Europe's cities during the war.

Chapter Eight: Loyalty and the City

Introduction

The news of Armistice came through on Monday, 11 November 1918. Reports later reflected the spontaneity with which thousands of Capetonians stopped what they were doing. 'The people did not know what to do with themselves,' it was revealed,

> …all rushed to the streets and clasped hands with one another, and it was evident that there was general relief that at last, after all these years of strenuous, nerve-racking experiences and suffering, 'our boys' had achieved victory. Many an eye shed tears of joy and many a tongue could only utter 'Thank God.' 'Thank God' - sincerely uttered by a hundred of busy businessmen in the market place is an expression not usual to city life.[1]

Although not altogether a surprise - with talk of victory circulating since that dreadful October, when the city was ravaged by the Spanish Flu - the news nevertheless represented the sudden release of a mounting suspense and a symbolic end to wartime burdens.[2] The unbridled 'air of expectancy' that marked Cape Town that morning finally culminated with 'the boom of the warning guns,' on Signal Hill and 'the city, as if by magic broke out into a blaze of bunting and other manifestations of patriotic fervour.'[3]Almost immediately shops and offices were deserted as crowds poured into the streets and, joining the sounds of human celebrations, the bells of St George's chimed, whilst ships in the harbour 'sounded their sirens.'[4] The city's newly-appointed Mayor, William John Thorne, reflected on the inadequacy of words 'to describe the scenes of rejoicing' on that 'memorable afternoon.'[5] Central Cape Town swelled as people gathered around its nerve centre - the Grand Parade and the City Hall. The signs of festivities were everywhere. Bunting abounded, confetti littered

[1] *CTCM*: 39,01 December 1918.
[2] Ibid, Mayor's Minutes, 1918.
[3] *Cape Times,* 13 November 1918.
[4] *The Argus* (Melbourne), 13 November 1918. Available online: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/1408144. Accessed: 06 July 2019.
[5] Mayor's Minutes, 1919.

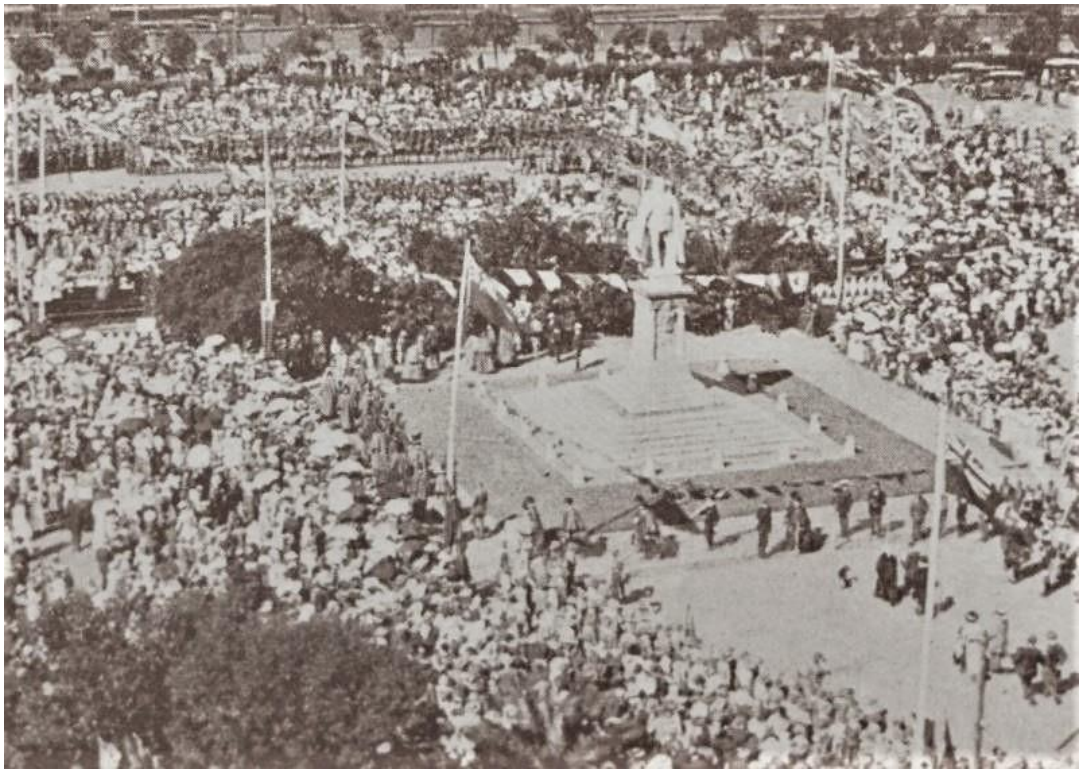
the streets, and the full cornucopia of Allied flags was pinned to blouses, blazers and the ribands of hats. Motor-cars and trams did not escape decoration, and 'almost every vehicle carried some token of general rejoicing.'[6] Patriotic songs filled the air, whilst civilians and soldiers alike 'traversed the streets.'[7] Plans had been put in place in preparation for the momentous occasion and a mass meeting was set for 16.00 on the Parade, under the Statue of King Edward VII. By three o'clock, Adderley Street was deemed 'impassable,' so dense was the crowd, and the Parade itself became 'one mass of humanity.' One reporter estimated that over 25 000 people had gathered,[8] on whose behalf Prime Minister Botha 'humbly gave thanks to Almighty God,' for blessing the 'armies of the Allies with such a glorious triumph' (see Photographs 43, 44 and 45). Cheers were then raised for 'His Majesty the King,' 'the Imperial Forces' and the 'Springboks,' followed by Kipling's 'Recessional' and the National Anthem.[9]

Photograph 43*: Armistice Day in Cape Town, 1918, Crowds in Darling Street*

Source: *Cape Town Citizens' Meeting Booklet,* No 39, 01 December 1918.

[6] *Cape Times* 13 November 1918.
[7] Ibid, 13 November 1918.
[8] *The Argus* (Melbourne), 13 November 1918.
[9] Mayor's Minutes, 1919.

Photograph 44: *Mayor addresses crowds on the Grand Parade, Armistice 1918*



Source: *Cape Town Citizens' Meeting Booklet*, No 39, 01 December 1918.

Photograph 45: *Armistice Day in Cape Town, 1918, from left to right - Sir Thomas Smart, General Botha and Admiral Fitzherbert*

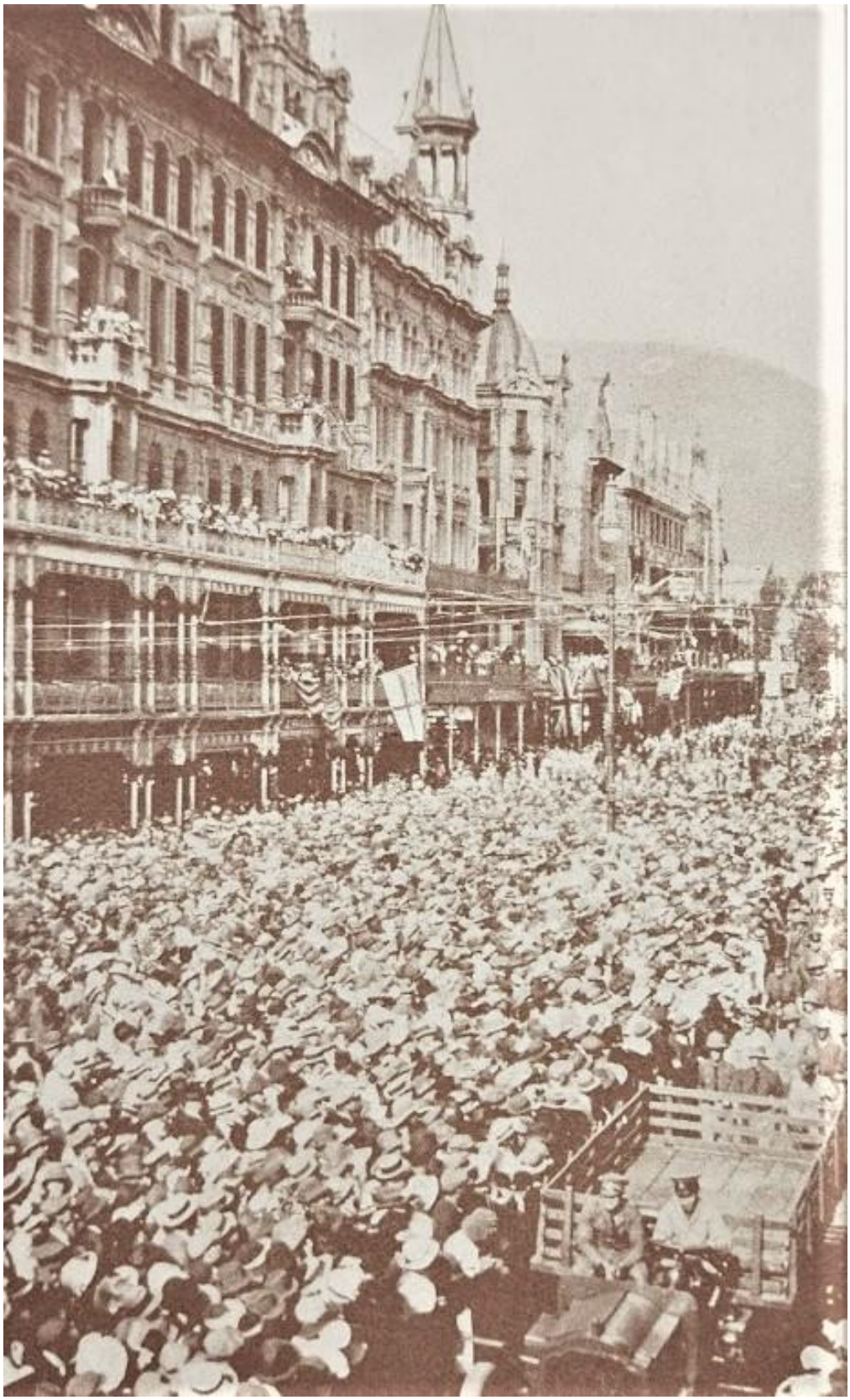
Source: *Cape Town Citizens' Meeting Booklet*, No 39, 01 December 1918.

Although the war years can be considered, overall, a period of heightened identification with Britain and the Empire in Cape Town, the 'patriotic fervour' described above was not the usual state of affairs. The Armistice celebrations represented perhaps the most intense occasion which fostered a sense of heightened belonging to the Empire and validated wartime acts of loyalism. These moments of 'collective sociability'[10] could include school assemblies, church services, rallies, parades and processions (see, for example, Photographs 46 and 47, below). They brought people together through common demonstrations of loyalism and reinforced this through the symbols and sounds of the Empire. As with Armistice, moments of collective sociability also arose in response to war-specific events, such as the remembrance services and recruiting rallies held in connection with the Overseas Contingent who lost their lives in Delville Wood, France, in July 1916.

The previous chapters have demonstrated the way in which Cape Town was affected by the war both in terms of its materiality, as well as ideas about the city. This chapter examines the nature of war loyalism in Cape Town as an identification around which people were frequently forced to position themselves. Generally speaking, most Anglophone, middle-class Capetonians were supportive of the war, as was seen in the city's initial responses to the outbreak of war (Chapter One). Yet beyond such generalisations lie a number of nuances and variations which demonstrate that loyalism was not consistently experienced or expressed. Indeed, loyalism could be both genuine and strategic. It cut across other social constructions - such as class, gender and race - but it was often shaped by them too. Loyalism was changeable, responding to events as they unfolded. It was also not absolute, with a few individuals and anti-war groups expressing their stance against the war - or even against Britain. Particular moments, such as Armistice above, reinforced feelings of collective belonging. The reverse, however, is also true, with certain moments, such as the Afrikaner Rebellion of 1914 and particularly the Lusitania Riots in May 1915, accentuating *difference* and *exclusion* for those deemed as 'disloyal.' Ultimately, then, the nature of war loyalism in Cape Town was heterogeneous, varying and contingent.

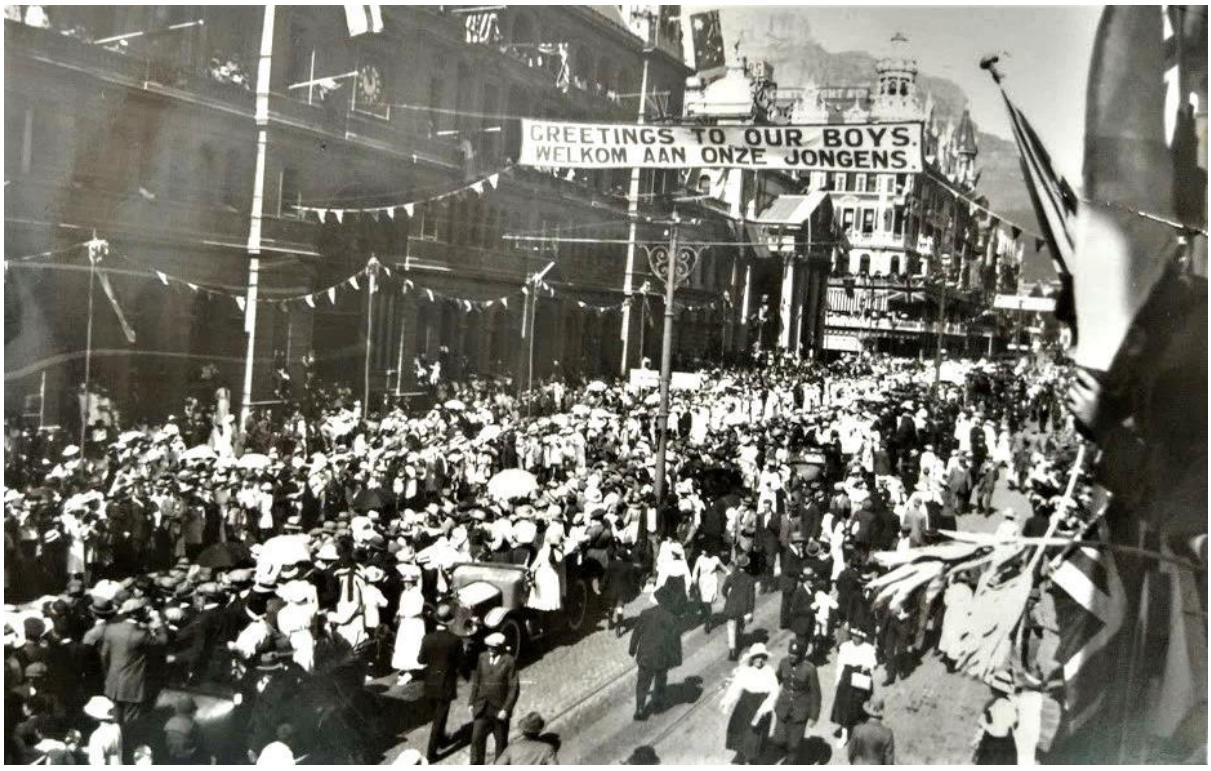
[10] Cronier, 'The Street,' 73.

Photograph 46*: Example of 'collective sociability,' St George's Day Recruiting Rally, 23 April 1917*



Source: *Cape Town Citizens' Meeting Booklet*, No 21, 03 June 1917.

Photograph 47: *Another example of 'collective sociability,' crowds in Adderley Street welcome home returning soldiers, c. 1919. Note the welcome sign is in English and Dutch.*



Source: WCARS, AG Collection, AG 16192.

Defining Loyalism

In the case of wartime Cape Town, loyalism usually encompassed allegiance to the Crown or Empire, and was encouraged by the wartime need to declare affiliations to 'one side.'[11] Britishness, as it has been established, was hegemonic in Cape Town and was, more often than not, central to why so many Capetonians felt compelled to be involved in the war. As a British city, and a part of the transnational to-and-fro of ideas, people and media, Cape Town's society was exposed to a widespread notion of duty and the need to uphold the virtues of Empire. As it was demonstrated in Chapter Six, middle-class females were particularly bound to discourses around morality and motherhood and wartime performances of loyalty often reflected these roles. Ideas about Empire and duty were further inculcated through 'stories of Imperial adventure' in British magazines, Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys*[12] or in the novels of Henty, Buchan, Haggard and the poems and stories of Kipling,[13] which were

[11] Winter, 'The practises of metropolitan life in wartime,' *Capital Cities at War,* 1.
[12] Bickford-Smith, *Emergence of the South African Metropolis,* 56-7.
[13] Many of the adventure stories were set in the colonies, making them readily relate-able to the Union's Anglophone boys. Lambert, 'Munition Factories,' 72.

popular with boys and girls alike.[14] South Africa's elite schools, according to John Lambert, were 'nurseries of imperial patriotism,' where boys were 'weaned on stories of imperial greatness and imbued with ideals of imperial glory and chivalry…'.[15] The Boy Scout movement, too 'aimed at the formation of a high standard of personal character; at the inculcation of the principles of good citizenship; of loyalty to the King and duty to the country; and of sound manly ideals.'[16] This rhetoric was seen in practice in the city, with scouts assisting the war effort - as messengers, assisting with organisations such as the Troop Comforts Committee, or helping with guard duty around the Peninsula. It was thus the utter prevalence of these ideas which fostered a 'culture prepared to sacrifice its members.'[17]

Coloured boys were also exposed to notions about duty and respectability, informing ideas about loyalism during the war. Even though, in the first two decades of Scouting in the Union, the Scout Movement excluded coloured and black youths,[18] the city had a history of multi-racial Boys' Brigades, dating back to 1889. These brigades continued even as white children were scuttled across to the Scouts.[19] During the First World War, the popularity of the Lads' Brigade was significantly boosted with five new companies founded between August 1918 and August 1919. The Brigades were prominent in aiding the Cape Corps in raising funds and organising events for hospitalised troops and allowed coloured youths to imagine themselves as part of the city's war effort and the Empire more generally. Indeed, the Governor-General of the time, Lord Buxton, came to refer to them as the '"cradle of the Cape Corps."'[20]

Pro-war loyalism could be genuine and strategic. The APO's offer of a coloured contingent upon the outbreak of war was grounded in a local pride associated with Cape Corps' history

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[14] Michelle Smith, *Empire in British Girls; Literature and Culture: Imperial Girls 1880-1915,* (Palgrave Macmillan: (Basingstoke and New York, 2011), 19; Angela Woollacot, *Gender and Empire (*Palgrave MacMillan: New York, 2006), 75; see also "athletic masculinity" in P. McDevitt, *May the Best Man Win: Sport, Masculinity and Nationalism in Great Britain and Empire, 1800-1935* (Palgrave MacMillan: Basingstoke and New York, 2004), 11.
[15] Lambert, 'Munition Factories,' 67.
[16] 'The Boy Scout Movement,' in Lewis (ed.) *Children of South Africa.*
[17] Woollacot, *Gender and Empire,* 59-60.
[18] When a Coloured troop in Cape Town approached the Scouts for recognition in 1916, the Scouts offered guidance, but denied them the use of Scout regulations and uniform. Timothy Parsons, *Race, Resistance and the Boy Scout Movement in British Colonial Africa* (Ohio University Press, Ohio, 2004), 77-8.
[19] Ibid.
[20] As cited in Cleophas, 'Physical education,' 171.

in the Cape's military affairs.[21] It was further cemented in the belief that if respectable coloureds proved their loyalty, they would be rewarded with equal rights.[22] This can partially be explained by the 'local response to British war propaganda,' which framed Britain as the champion of democracy and freedom and the liberator of oppressed nations.[23] The belief was further grounded in the Cape's specific history, where Britain had introduced the Slavery Abolition Bill of 1834 and the Cape Constitution of 1853 with its non-racial franchise.[24] The APO had accordingly appealed to the coloured community in August 1914 to set aside local grievances and endure them in 'solemn silence.' Rather, in this time of crisis, 'by offering to bear our share of the responsibilities,' it would be demonstrated that 'we are no less worthy than any other sons of the British Empire.'[25] As Nasson explains, for this elite 'the basis of war patriotism was a vision of empire rather than of "nation." In a pecking order of political instrumentalisation, it was Empire loyalism first, wartime duty to the Union second.'[26] The war, then, presented another opportunity, however slim, for change.[27]

Similarly, in July 1915, James Molebaloa ('Secretary of the Native Community, Ndabeni') wrote to General Botha, after his victory in GSWA, saying 'the natives of this location and throughout the district welcome the General from the deepest of their hearts full of thankfulness of God, from whom the power of General Botha comes.'[28] It is likely that the expression of thanks extended by Molebaloa was genuine, but it also possibly reflected the relative powerlessness of blacks in the city and their need to garner favour where possible.

Whilst the coloured, English-speaking elite in the city were loyal to the Empire, English was not a requirement for loyalism (although the APO promoted English as the language of 'respectability' and upward mobility, the majority of coloured Capetonians spoke a variety of Afrikaans - or 'Cape Vernacular Dutch' - as their home language).[29] Drawing on the example of a Corporal of the Cape Corps writing home from Alexandria, Bill Nasson describes that 'in

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[21] Kenneth Grundy, *Soldiers without Politics: Blacks in the South African Armed Forces* (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1983), 34; Coloured soldiers were used by the Dutch to try deter Britain in 1975, whilst various configurations (Cape Corps included) were used against the Xhosa in the nineteenth century Frontier Wars. Grundlingh, *War and Society,* 140.
[22] Nasson, 'Why they fought,' 57; Grundlingh, *War and Society,* 137-8.
[23] Nasson, 'Why they fought,' 60-61.
[24] Ibid, 70; Thompson, 'Languages of loyalism,' 638.
[25] *APO*: 134, 22 August 1914.
[26] Nasson, 'Why they fought,' 59.
[27] Ibid, 60-61; Albert Grundlingh, *War and Society,* 138.
[28] *Cape Times*, 22 July 1915.
[29] Mohamed Adhikari, 'Ambiguity, Assimilationism and Anglophilism in South Africa's Coloured Community: The Case of Piet Uithalder's Satirical Writings,' 1909–1922, *South African Historical Journal* 47:1 (2002), 121.

wartime, a plain-speaking sense of some British imperial affinity bound together servicemen and fighting auxiliaries fairly cohesively when they were otherwise still so deeply divided by linguistic divisions, cultural identities, and the unequal status of literacy.'[30] It was in Afrikaans that this Corporal declared, '"born on the soil of what we know is the King's country, it is known that we share in a great duty."'[31]

Indeed, it was not only the city's elite - white, coloured and black - who expressed pro-Empire loyalism. As seen in Chapter Three, men from a variety of occupations and economic backgrounds volunteered their services for war - including policemen, engineers, teachers, bank clerks, orchestral members and doctors. Whilst it does appear that war loyalism, along these lines, was primarily 'bourgeois' (the Overseas Contingent was particularly described as such), the fact that the majority of the primary records available for the period reflect the voices of the middle-classes most likely over-accentuates this impression. In fact one article from the *Cape Times,* in August 1915, felt the need to re-assure readers that 'not only are working-classes responding nobly to the call, but professional men are doing their bit.'[32] Many of the men of the Salt River Workshops who volunteered were among the lower middle- and working-classes. Some Workshop men were even aggrieved as they were refused permission to enrol due to the important work that they performed.[33]

Concluding that loyalism was only bourgeois also reflects the greater recognition of certain expressions of loyalism and Britishness - such as volunteering for war service. Posters of the Queen adorning the cramped walls of coloured homes in poorer areas, such as District Six, attest to a multitude of ways in which loyalism could be displayed. Not everyone was able to demonstrate loyalism in the same way.[34] Women, as it is known, were not able to fight; men declared medically unfit were forced to show their patriotism in alternative ways. Economic factors also bore more heavily on the working classes - this did not necessarily make them any less loyal. At an August 1915 meeting held by the Cape Highlanders at the Salt River

[30] Nasson, 'Why They Fought,' 69.
[31] G. February to S. Hendrikse, 07 October 1918 as cited in Bill Nasson, 'Why They Fought,' 69.
[32] *Cape Times,* 14 August 1915.
[33] Cape Town's race relations complicated class distinctions. White workers generally received higher pay than their coloured counterparts. Most of the Anglophone men of there were 'skilled,' and the majority of unskilled labour was performed by coloured workers. The skilled artisans felt themselves to be a class above that of general labour. O' Sullivan, *Workers with a Difference,* 22, 39, 45.
[34] This relates to the idea of 'respectability from above' versus 'respectability from below'- see Wayne Dooling, 'Poverty and respectability in early twentieth-century Cape Town,' *The Journal of African History*, 59:3 (2018), 411-435.

Workshops (where many men were of Scottish extraction), accompanied by the 'lusty' 'skirl of the pipes,' Mr Porter Buchanan recognised that 'there were many young men in the crowd eager to go to the front…but he could quite understand that the matter had to be looked at from the practical as well as patriotic point of view - from the view of their dependents.'[35] This particularly applied to the initial recruitment attempts for the Imperially-funded Overseas Brigade. Unlike the Union rate of three shillings per day, the Brigade paid one shilling per day, and it was only towards the end of 1916 that Britain made up the difference.[36] Bart Ziino, exploring Australian men during the war, argues that despite the 'potent language of martial citizenship,' it was accepted amongst most social circles that some men could not volunteer as it was their duty to provide for their families.[37] Ziino concludes that 'in the wartime lexicon, "eligible" was a qualified term, defined not just by military criteria but by social criteria that underscored the legitimacy of domestic masculine responsibility.'[38] This possibly applied to some Capetonian men who did not volunteer, particularly considering the wartime rise in the cost of living.

Furthermore, volunteering for war service did not necessary indicate an unswerving patriotism. Personal reasons for doing so connected to, or contrasted with, ideas about loyalty and duty. F.H. Cooper, a gunner in the East African campaign, reflected on the matter:

> Lying on my straw mattress in the training camp, or rolled in my blankets on the hard veld under the stars…I have wondered what particular attraction was the deciding factor in persuading this or that man to answer the call to arms. Patriotism, you will reply, frowning at the bare suggestion that any baser motive could have influenced any loyal son of Empire in making up his mind to forsake a comfortable bed and regular meal hours…Duty, combined with an inborn love of adventure, has produced perhaps a greater number of warriors...Three shillings per diem, with free rations, a separation allowance for wife and children, and a temporarily care-free life, has certainly brought not a few into the fold.... A hundred and one more reasons could be discovered, each of them mingled with a greater or lesser proportion of patriotism,

[35] *Cape Times,* 11 August 1915.
[36] Lambert, 'Britishness, South Africanness,' 291.
[37] Bart Ziino, 'Eligible Men: men, families and masculine duty in Great War Australia,' *History Australia* 14:2 (2017), 202-217.
[38] Ibid, 204.

> that are sending men along to the recruiting offices, some in gladness at escaping their humdrum existence, some in sorrow at what they must leave behind.[39]

Public pressure to enlist was formidable at times. In March 1916, during a recruiting drive for East Africa, Mayor Parker declared 'there is one man we shall not envy, and that is the able-bodied, fit and strong young man who turns a deaf ear to the appeals of the city, and remains at home.'[40] Major Bass, the Officer Commanding of the Overseas Contingent Base at Potchefstroom, upon visiting Cape Town, remarked 'what an excellent type of man they had, and what a number there was who had not apparently wakened up to a sense of duty.'[41] Families and friends were also caught up in this rhetoric. In May 1915, for example, the poem 'My Warrior Boy' appeared in the *Cape Times*:

> God keep my warrior boy from shame,
> Good keep him brave and true;
> I have my sweetheart at the front,
> I'd have a hero too.
> Then when the troops full merrily
> Come back with drum and fife,
> Oh grant me, God, the bliss to be
> A happy warrior's wife. [42]

One young man, writing to the Cape Times in December 1915, was disgusted when a friend of his, who was medically unfit to serve, received a white feather in the post. 'It would appear,' he wrote, 'that there are still individuals who are capable of stooping to the cowardly expedient of sending white feathers to the men of their acquaintance, who in their opinion…should volunteer for active service.'[43] With the eyes of opinionated loyalists following them down the street, it could not have been easy for seemingly viable men to ignore the call to volunteer.

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[39] Cooper, 'On Safari,' 5.
[40] *Cape Argus,* 15 March 1916.
[41] *Cape Times* 06 April 1916.
[42] Ibid, 01 May 1915.
[43] Ibid, 15 December 1915.

Loyalism cut across other social identifications such as race, gender, ethnicity - but it was also shaped by them. The city's Anglophone Jewish community felt their men, for example, were held to unfair standards, *simply for being Jewish* - despite the fact that a significant percentage of them volunteered for service in East Africa as well as in France.[44] '"Apparently the number of Jews of suitable appearance and age now sunning themselves on the sands at Muizenberg has led to certain individuals writing to the Cape Town dailies saying that our co-religionists are not doing their fair share,"' the *South African Jewish Chronicle* wrote.[45] Indeed, it is unclear how many of the recently-immigrated Eastern European families (the 'co-religionists') felt invested in demonstrations of Empire patriotism. Whilst some had not acculturated to the hegemonic Anglophile world of the Cape,[46] many, who had fled anti-Semitic Russia, were unenthusiastic about Britain's alliance with their former oppressor.[47] Nevertheless, the *Chronicle* concluded, '"were every Jew but one in the country to get killed in action and that one Jew be seen, he would be pounced upon by anti-Semites and designated a slacker, his female relations - for there would be no Jewish males left - being equally condemned, possibly because they had no further human sacrifices to make."'[48]

Donning a uniform, or participating in mutual acts of loyalism, did not necessarily counter preconceived racial prejudices either. This was particularly seen with the Cape Corps. JB Desmore revealed that 'the police, both civil and military, were ever on the alert to provoke' coloured troops. He recalled

> one of those bullies, a big burly policeman of the Castle, going up to a respectable Corporal, who was walking with a lady from Adderley Street Station, and demanding a pass…another unfortunate man, who could not produce a pass…was led a fearful five minutes by a similar gang of police. Thrown to the ground by them, he was trampled upon and kicked about....[49]

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[44] Mendelsohn, 'Shaping of South African Jewish Loyalties,' 56-7.
[45] South African Jewish Chronicle, 16 February 1917, as cited in Mendelsohn, 'Shaping of South African Jewish Loyalties,' 216, endnote 19.
[46] Mendelsohn, 'Shaping of South African Jewish Loyalties,' 56-7.
[47] Ibid.
[48] As cited by Richard Mendelsohn, Shaping of SA Jewish Loyalties, 216, endnote 19.
[49] Desmore, *Thro' Central Africa,* 17-18.

Loyalism not absolute

War loyalism was also not absolute in Cape Town**.** A few Capetonians, like those belonging to the South African Peace and Arbitration Society (established in June 1915) - were pro-British, but anti-war. The Cape Town faction, headed up by Unitarian minister Ramsden Balmforth and Mrs Julia Solly (of the Enfranchisement League), was banned from holding public meetings and limited to distributing information leaflets.[50] Strongly anti-militaristic, the society struggled to garner any real attention, with only 52 members from the Cape Peninsula joining in its first year. Nevertheless they remained steadfast. On the 04 August 1916, at the anniversary service at the City Hall (marking the two years since the outbreak of the war), the Mayor, Harry Hands, declared the city's resolution of loyalty to the war effort unanimous. A day later, the Secretary of the Peace Society, Olive Warner, wrote to the *Cape Times* to note that the Mayor had clearly 'failed to see those who were standing in opposition in ones and twos about the hall.'[51]

Wilfred Harrison, of the self-described war-on-war organisation, the Social Democratic Federation (see Chapter Four), spent many Sundays in 'the vicinity of the van Riebeeck Statue…a rostrum for all creeds and sects,' at the bottom of Adderley Street, speaking to gathering crowds about the 'fallacies of capitalist wars.'[52] His views had him 'indicted on at least five occasions' for sedition or for inciting the public. 'I do remember,' he reflected in his memoir,

> ... the temper of the crowds we addressed at the Adderley Street meetings during the war period…It took us all our time to keep the crowd from throwing us into the sea, which was then quite close to our rostrum, and many other damages they promised us.[53]

According to Harrison, his meetings were also attended by 'half a dozen uniformed police and private detectives' who made 'notes of our remarks' and dealt 'with any disorder.' The

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[50] Bickford-Smith et al, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century,* 57; F. Hale, 'Contours of Pacifism: Ramsden Balmforth's Advocacy of Peace in the Union of South Africa and Beyond,' *Acta Theologica* 33:1 (2013), 99; South African Peace and Arbitration Society, 'The Citizen's Meeting and the War: A Protest' (City Printing Works: Bree Street), World War One Collection, National Library (Cape Town).
[51] *Cape Times,* 8 August 1916.
[52] Harrison, *Memoirs of a Socialist*, 53.
[53] Ibid.

meetings were sometimes closed when the police 'thought things were getting too rowdy,' or when Harrison's comments were considered seditious. 'There were…numerous complaints to them by some of the public about our unpatriotic language,' Harrison mused, 'and the remuneration we were getting from Kaiser Germany [sic] for our services.'[54]

Some cases of sedition were genuine, but there were also instances where loyalty was evoked to settle personal grudges. Such seems the arrest of John Felix Vigne, a 34 year old 'male, European farmer,' who had recently returned from serving in GSWA. Vigne was reported in November 1915 by Peter Pannewitz and his family, of Woodstock, for saying, 'if I ever put on Khaki again and get into the field, I will signal to the Boers where the English are…I will trample on the British flag. England is the most rotten nation under the sun.'[55] Vigne was found guilty with one month of hard labour, and whilst his comments were seditious, his intentions were less definitely so. The collective testimony suggests that Vigne may have been romantically interested in Mr Pannewitz's daughter, Rosie. Rosie herself claimed that she 'had some trouble' with Vigne, and 'gave him a slap in the face,' while Pannewitz admitted that he 'did not want accused to marry my daughter.' All in all the Pannewitz' relationship to Vigne suggests that ulterior motives underlay the case.

Lastly, whilst Cape Town's Anglicized Dutch population largely supported the war effort (with Rondebosch Boys' School, for instance, proudly noting the number of 'Afrikaans names' appearing on the list of Old Boys who volunteered),[56] it is unlikely that Cape Town's growing population of poor, rural Afrikaners, who were forced to relocate to the city out of economic necessity, shared the pro-British attitude of their Anglicised brethren. In fact, Nasson suggests that war service might have been a viable option for rural men who were financially desperate and with few work prospects. Yet so distasteful was the idea of enlisting in 'Britain's war,' that they chose to relocate to the city to find alternative means of employment. [57]

Certainly *De Burger* - the Dutch/Afrikaans nationalist newspaper established in Cape Town in May 1915 - reflected the views of National Party leader, J.M.B Hertzog, in arguing against participation in an Imperial war and urging that the needs of (white) South Africa should be

[54] Ibid, 53-54.
[55] 1/CT 6/429, Criminal Cases 1914-1915, King vs John Felix Vigne.
[56] *Cape Times,* 14 July 1915.
[57] Nasson, 'Messing with Coloured People,' 308.

prioritised. *De Burger's* abhorrence for an Imperial war shone clearly in relation to the battle of Delville Wood of July 1916 (Photograph 48, below). The latter saw the SA Overseas Infantry Brigade almost completely decimated in part of the Somme Offensive. From a count of 3153 men on the 15 July, 2536 were 'killed, missing, presumed dead, wounded or captured.'[58] For some in the city, the 'noble sacrifice' affirmed a specifically British loyalism, but for others it was a sombre celebration of a South Africanism[59] that was being forged in the theatres of war:[60] 'The English and Dutch have mingled their blood,' reflected the monthly Citizens' Meeting in January 1917, and '…fellowship will replace the former unhappy divisions between the races.'[61]

Photograph 48: Delville Wood

Source: *Cape Town Citizens' Meeting Booklet,* No 21, 03 June 1917.

Delville Wood also led to other moments of 'collective sociability,' spawning church services and commemorative meetings. Its anniversary in July 1917 was marked by a momentous recruiting rally, whereby the city's thoroughfares were thronged by flag-wearing supporters and 'thousands of warriors' marched down Adderley Street alongside boy scouts, bands and

[58] Nasson, *'*Springboks on the Somme,' 12.
[59] Dubow, *A Commonwealth of Knowledge,'* vi.
[60] According to Nasson, 'white public celebration of Delville Wood as patriotic sacrifice conveyed slightly mixed messages…its chorus was simultaneously Union populist and British imperialist in character.' Nasson, *'*Springboks on the Somme,' 16 ; Lambert, 'Britishness, South Africanness,' 295-9.
[61] *CTCM*:16, 07 January 1917.

'allegorical cars.'[62] *De Burger,* in contrast to the city's Anglophone papers, warned against supporting Britain, who was responsible for the unnecessary deaths of South Africa's sons.[63] Delville Wood did, however, change the way many people regarded patriotic duty. Whereas some men had initially enlisted out of enthusiasm, a resigned sense of duty became increasingly prominent with school magazines reflecting 'a growing sense of exhaustion and fatalism,' and assemblies gravitating around death-tolls.[64] Overall, these instances emphasise that although war loyalism was hegemonic in the city, it was not fixed or absolute.

Moments of 'Collective Exclusion:'

War loyalism in Cape Town was thus multiple, variable and contingent. As seen with the events following Delville Wood, or the Armistice celebrations, moments of collective sociability could intensify feelings of war loyalism and belonging. The reverse, however is also true - some moments reflecting social exclusion for those deemed disloyal in the city. The Afrikaner Rebellion of 1914-1915, and particularly the sinking of the *Lusitania* in May 1915, were events which provoked strong reactions in Cape Town, bringing questions of loyalty and belonging to the fore.

Afrikaner Rebellion

The Afrikaner Rebellion was a moment of heightened suspicion towards the Dutch - and particularly those of the 'Interior' - for many Anglophone Capetonians. Between September 1914 and February 1915, approximately 11 400 Afrikaners (mostly from the western Transvaal and Northern Free State), came together in arms against the Union Government. Many Afrikaner men from the Union Defence Force were also involved, having resigned from the UDF, following the actions of respected leaders such as Beyers, Maritz, de Wet and Kemp.[65] Although sparked by the decision of the Union Government to fight for Britain and, in particular, invade GSWA, the roots of the Rebellion were nuanced. Certainly, for some, the Rebellion was a clarion call to reassert the independence of the old Dutch Republics (that had

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[62] *Cape Argus,* 17 July 1917.
[63] Nicholas Kerton-Johnson, 'Men and Memories: Cape Town and the Battle of Delville Wood,' PhD diss., University of Cape Town, 1996, 65-66
[64] Lambert, 'Munition Factories, 80.
[65] Afrikaners who revered Botha and Smuts as Boer-war heroes, stayed loyal to them. Van der Waag, *A Military History,* 99.

been defeated in the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902), and a challenge to Botha's imperial affiliations.[66]

Historians, however, have offered explanations which consider the underlying struggles of a largely rural, impoverished population fearful of change and further disempowerment.[67] Essentially, rather than being a resounding Afrikaner nationalist response to the outbreak of war, the Rebellion drew upon a plethora of anxieties and discontents in the everyday lives of many poor white farmers. The appeal made by the loved and trusted old Boer Commando Generals, to rise up against the Botha Government and to re-establish the independent republican states, resonated with the desperate and the unhappy. In response to the Rebellion, martial law was proclaimed across the Union, but as the majority of rebels were poor bywoners with few resources and haphazard organisation, the rebellion was swiftly crushed.[68] Overall, Botha and Smuts dealt with the situation with sensitivity, not wanting to alienate the rebels further or to re-invigorate their cause via martyrdom.[69] Great leniency was shown towards them, although they were held financially accountable for damages to property.[70]

In October 1914, in the leafy suburb of Claremont, a public meeting gathered 'to express its abhorrence at the treachery of the rebel Maritz' and to tender 'whole-hearted support to the Government in its determination to stamp out rebellion…'.[71] The Mayor of Cape Town similarly noted that whilst 'we were disappointed with those who preached and acted neutrality…we did not greatly blame them in view of their circumstances; but neutrality has not be sufficient for some South Africans…they have disgraced us.'[72] At the very least, the Rebellion had put Cape Town 'in a very nervous state' with 'talk about a [white] race war and a generally exaggerated view of the situation.'[73] The city was an 'indescribable nest of lying rumours,' and was 'in great panic.…'.[74] These words, penned in late October 1914 by the

[66] Hermann Giliomee, *Afrikaners: Biography of a People* (Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press (2003), 380.
[67] By 1914, the expectations that the Union of 1910 would provide swift economic relief were dashed. Continued drought ruined farms across the Orange Free State. Impoverished families were desperate for a solution. Giliomee, *Afrikaners,* 379; Swart, 'The "Five Shilling Rebellion" 92; Swart, 'A Boer and his Gun,' 737-751.
[68] Van der Waag, *A Military History,* 99-100.
[69] The National Party used the rebellion to criticise Botha for unnecessarily invading GSWA and provoking the rebellion. Rebel leaders were venerated as heroes of their people. Accordingly ex-rebels supported the National Party in the 1915 elections, compelling Botha's South African Party to align with the ultra-British Unionists. Adam Cruise, *Louis Botha's War: The Campaign in GSWA, 1914-1915* (Zebra Press: Cape Town, 2015), 186-7.
[70] Kruger, 'Gender, Community and Identity,' 77-78.
[71] *Cape Times,* 23 October 1914.
[72] *Cape Times,* 27 October 1914.
[73] Merriman, *Correspondences, 1905-1924,* 259.
[74] Ibid. 260.

prominent Cape liberal, John X. Merriman,[75] suggest the degree to which the idea of an anti-British Afrikaner collective was cause for concern in the city. Writing at the end of September 1914 to Judge FC Mackarness[76] in London, Merriman revealed how he felt,

> grieved and distressed beyond measure to see the deep anti-British feeling…How deep it goes one can scarcely find out as the Dutch are past-masters in concealing their feelings.[77]

Alice Green echoed Merriman's words in November 1914, whilst writing to her brother, 'Eppy,' in Britain, saying, 'it has come as rather a bleak and sad surprise that we are not as loved here as we thought we were!' She concluded that the Rebellion - that 'most mysterious state of things' - was clear proof that the 1910 'Unification was a premature scheme.'[78]

The Rebellion, for some, exacerbated old fissures between Brit and Boer, where Cape Town, as the 'Mother City,' was the seat of civilisation in the region. This drew upon the discourse of the 'backwards boer' - the belief that poor whites were prone to racial degeneration (see Chapter Five) and that Anglophone South Africans were racially and culturally superior. Dr Murray (honorary consulting Medical Officer to the Military Defence Force at Wynberg and Officer Commanding, Citizen's Training Force Ambulance, Cape Peninsula) thought that the 'Dutch troops' encamped at Green Point were 'queer looking uneducated men,' and was convinced that it would be 'unjust…to any country to place its destiny in their hands.'[79] It was their lack of education - and their un-Britishness - which was cause for concern. For the APO, the Rebellion affirmed that the coloured people of South Africa deserved equal rights, as they were 'on the side of the Government and in this, the Empire's darkest hour, their loyalty stands demonstrated.'[80] The Afrikaners - those 'poor, ignorant backvelders,'[81] 'the product of bad heredity stretching back for some centuries,'[82] were, for the APO, disloyal to the British Crown and Union.

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[75] Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, 1908-1910.
[76] Mackarness was a staunch liberal and had been an advocate in the Cape for several years before returning to Britain.
[77] Merriman to FC Mackarness 21 September 1914, Merriman, *Correspondences, 1905-1924,*265.
[78] Molteno Papers, Box 28, Alice Green to 'Eppy,' 20 November 1914.
[79] Ibid, Box 83, Dr Murray to Percy Molteno, 05 March 1915.
[80] *APO*: 146, 06 February 1915.
[81] *APO*: 141, 28 November 1914.
[82] *APO*: 158, 24 July 1915.

As with the APO, the Rebellion for many elite Indians in Cape Town had been a significant pivot around which unjust local treatment could be protested and loyalty contrasted.[83] 'What an irony of fate,' wrote the spokesman of the Cape Indian Congress, Ahmed Ismail, in August 1916,

> that on one hand, without any thought of colour, or race or selfish interests, the Indians are freely offering their all…and fighting the battles of the Europeans for the sake of the King and Empire; and on the other hand, … more prominently in the British South African colonies, these very people…although they are British subjects, are being insulted and treated like helots! And with all this, with all the special recognition shown by the Imperial Government to the colonies, with all the petting they receive, rebellions in the critical juncture break out in the extra-favourite colonies of the Empire, such as South Africa and Ireland…[84]

Besides restrictions countering Indian immigration to South Africa[85] and the wider curtailment of civil rights for Indians across the Union, many Indians in Cape Town were facing local discrimination.[86] In particular, a considerable number of the city's hawkers were Indian[87] and the Council increasingly refused to renew or grant hawking licenses to them upon prejudicial grounds. New regulations in 1914, which required that each applicant be fingerprinted and wear a badge, were also objected to by the hawkers who felt criminalised and that such actions debased their rights as citizens.[88] It is in the context of wartime loyalism, the Boer Rebellion, and the infringement of Indian liberties that the APO, in October 1914, admonished the Council for denying four Indians the right to renew their licenses. When asked to justify their decision, 'the Council replied that they were not the types of men whom the Council, in the interests of the health of the community, would have

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[83] For Durban's Indians and the war, see G. Vahed, '"Give Till it Hurts,"' 41-60. Vahed questions 'the taken-for-granted classification of Indians as a homogenous racial group.'
[84] *Cape Times*, 21 August 1916.
[85] As Bickford-Smith notes, 'Immigration policy was one way of maintaining social order' in the city. Bickford-Smith, *Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice,*148; Zohra Dawood, 'Making a Community,' 4 -25.
[86] Cape Argus 23 April 1917; *CT,* 25 November 1915; 11 April 1916; Maynard Swanson, '" The Asiatic Menace:" Creating Segregation in Durban, 1870-1900,' *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 16:3 (1983), 401-421.
[87] Uma Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 'The passenger Indian as worker: Indian immigrants in Cape Town in the early twentieth century,' *African Studies* 68:1 (2009), 115.
[88] Tabe, 'Street Trading ,' 43-58.

granted licenses to trade.' 'Yet,' the APO argued, 'these Indians today are quite good enough to fight England's battles.'[89]

Overall, the general response to the Rebellion in the city 'demonstrate[d] that leading English speakers were rather un-informed of other forces such as nascent Afrikaner nationalism and the economic hardship many of the rebels had been enduring.'[90] The English press further chided Hertzog, of the National Party, for remaining silent regarding the matter, whilst public opinion splintered as to the degree to which 'ordinary rebels' - ostensibly ignorant and easily manipulated by their leaders - were to blame.[91] These were not the only opinions on the Rebellion, however. Afrikaner women in the city formed the Nasionale Vrouwe-Weldadigheidsgenootskap (the national women's charity) in 1915 to help Afrikaans families financially crippled by the rebellion. This was shortly followed by the Helpmekaar Vereniging of the Kaapprovinsie (Mutual Aid society of the Cape Province) which centralised the fund-raising efforts.[92] Not all Anglophone Capetonians condemned the rebels either. Henry E. S. Fremantle, the editor and proprietor of *The Interpreter* ('official organ of the National Party'), although pleased with the lenient treatment given to the rebels, argued in November 1916 that 'the rebellion was no rebellion,' rather a reaction caused by Botha 'refusing to consider the feeling of the nationalists.'[93] Similarly, Mr Savidge of Wynberg, was of the opinion that 'we English-born supporters of the Nationalist Party fully realise the greater debt of gratitude we owe to our Dutch brethren…what married man does not say "home first?"'[94] Accordingly, whilst the Afrikaner Rebellion was overall a moment of increased suspicion in the city, this, as with war-loyalism, was not absolute.

Lusitania Revolts and the German 'other'

Whilst the Rebellion fuelled the fires of suspicion in Cape Town towards 'boers,' it was the sinking of the *Lusitania,* on 07 May 1915 that roused a particular frenzy against German

[89] *APO*:138, 17 October 1914.
[90] Louis Grundlingh '" In the crisis, who would tamper with the existing order?" The political and public reaction of English-speaking South Africans to the 1914 Rebellion,' *Historia* 59:2 (2014), 156.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Bickford-Smith et al, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century,'* 56-57; Anton Ehlers, 'Rescuing the Rebels from Ruin: Afrikaner Nationalism and the Political Economy of the Helpmekaar (Mutual Aid) Movement and its £100 Fund, 1915–1917, *Economic History of Developing Regions*, 26:1 (2011), 75-100.
[93] *The Interpreter* 1:46, 30 November 1916, evidence in 1/CT 6/430, Criminal Cases 1916-1917, King vs Henry Fremantle.
[94] Ibid.

residents in cities across the Empire. Cape Town was no exception. The passenger liner, torpedoed by one of Germany's dreaded U-boats, sank off the coast of Ireland. On its largely British passenger-list there was a considerable number of women and children, and this act of killing 'innocents' was met with absolute horror and outrage.[95] Even with

> the memory of the poisoning of wells and water; of the attempt to disseminate infectious disease in German South-West Africa; of the brutal outrages on Belgian civilians, men, women and children; of the infamous treatment of the British prisoners of war; of the use of asphyxiating gases against our trenches…fresh in the mind,

wrote the *Cape Times,* 'few could have believed that the German 'scutcheon, sullied already by many foul deeds, would have been besmirched by an act of such superlative wickedness as this.'[96] The Mayor quickly passed a resolution recording 'their profound abhorrence' of 'the diabolical and cold-blooded murder of its passengers and crew.'[97]

The approximately 2000 Germans in the city, prior to the sinking of the *Lusitania,* were treated with an overall leniency,[98] even if the outbreak of war had caused a surge of anti-German rhetoric, with rumours spreading about the presence of German spies.[99] 'Two of the young fellows guarding the reservoirs on top of Table Mountain,' wrote Dr Murray in September 1914,

> were fired upon by two Germans whom they were trying to catch, who were tampering with the water supply. It was dusk and the guard noticed two men lurking about the reservoir, on being challenged, they suddenly flashed an electric torch in their faces and fired a shot, the bullet passing through the hat of one of the guards, and before they could recover from the flash, the men had escaped down a ravine in the dark…[100]

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[95] Dedering, '"Avenge the Lusitania,"' 258.
[96] *Cape Times,* 10 May 1915.
[97] Mayor's Minutes, 1915.
[98] *CT,* 28 August 1914; 29 August 1914; The 'Minister of Defense was 'not anxious to intern Germans and Austrians unnecessarily,' and 'deserving cases' were allowed to remain at home on parole. 1/CT 20/8, 'Enemy Subjects.'
[99] There were 12,799 Germans in the Cape according to the 1911 census, with most residing in urban centres, including Cape Town. No more than 1000 of these who were naturalised British Subjects. UG 32 F, Birthplaces of the People (Part VII), *Census 1911.*
[100] Molteno Papers, Box 83, Dr Murray to Caroline Murray, 04 September 1914.

The Afrikaner Rebellion had also prompted some to question German involvement. 'If only,' Alice Green wrote in November, the Rebellion 'were not mixed up so dreadfully with Germany…one might have some sympathy with the passionate desire of the Free-State to get back its independence. As it is, it seems a direct invitation to the Germans to come and have a try here!'[101]

The first measure the Government took towards Germans in the Union, starting at the beginning of August 1914, was to round up largely non-naturalised German and Austrian men, aged between 18 and 56, and deport them to a number of internment camps located in Johannesburg, Pretoria and Pietermaritzburg.[102] Respectable business leaders, bakers, farmers, clerks, doctors, hairdressers, teachers, clerics and labourers all fell under scrutiny.[103] Between August and October 1914, roughly 400 German men departed from Cape Town station and, although it was a sombre moment for some, it was widely believed by German residents that the 'European crisis' would be swiftly resolved and that they would shortly return to their normal life.[104] As such, scenes of relative merriment and boozy adieus characterised many of the departures.[105]

After the Lusitania affair, German Capetonians - many of whom had been initially interned, but later released - were regarded with renewed suspicion and disgust.[106] 'In every way we know the menace they are to us,' wrote a Mrs St. Clair, 'and still daily they are given their freedom, and allowed to carry on their business…'.[107] It was similarly pointed out that British naturalisation was easily obtained - through two years of residence, a certificate of good character and a small payment - and that it did not guarantee *genuine* allegiance to Britain. 'Can we trust a German although a naturalised Britisher who had not forsworn his own country?' it was asked.[108] Suddenly feeling enormous pressure to prove their loyalty to the Empire and the Union, Germans in the city were vehemently condemning the behaviour of

[101] Ibid , Box 28, Alice to Eppy, 20 November 1914.
[102] Dedering, '"Avenge the Lusitania,"' 128. My special thanks to Associate Professor Adam Mendelsohn from the University of Cape Town for sharing his research on Germans in Cape Town during the First World War.
[103] 1/CT, 'Enemy Subject' files, 12/48; 15/6-8; 439/14.
[104] *APO*:136, 19 September 1914.
[105] *Cape Times,* 22 August 1914.
[106] The Union's initial policy was to release 'persons interned who, after enquiry, were not regarded as a danger to the state.' GG 536 9/11/24, K 17/2, Union to all Magistrates, 18 May 1915.
[107] *Cape Times,* 14 May 1915.
[108] Ibid.

the German military. One man - professedly 'German-born but now naturalised and thoroughly loyal subject of His Majesty King George,' publicly 'thanked God' that his 'dear departed parents' were spared the horrors perpetrated by 'what were once their countrymen.'[109]

Across the Empire, Germans were targeted as stories of survivors and images of the dead circulated the international press.[110] News of anti-German disturbances in cities like Liverpool,[111] Manchester and London, and across the seas in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States, flooded in and any hint of sympathy for the enemy was enough to prompt violence.[112] The anti-German riots that besieged Cape Town's city centre (as well as, Durban and Johannesburg) on the 12-13 May comprised of German-targeted flag-burning, patriotic singing, arson, and looting - the mob gathering to the call of 'Revenge the Lusitania!'[113]

The riots calmed down after a few days, and like disturbances elsewhere, Cape Town's actions graced the pages of the Union's sister dominions. Residents of the small town of Albury in New South Wales thus read how Capetonians gathered, 'intent on wreaking vengeance on the property of their German fellow-townsmen.'[114] The first night of the riots, 12 May, was notable for the number of troops and sailors involved, many of whom found a following in fellow patrons of the city's bars. The Transvaal Scottish were particularly visible amongst the crowds, as well as sailors from the merchant vessel, the *HMS Laurentic.*[115]

News of anti-German activity in the city centre seemingly spread to the suburbs, as men and women gathered in central Cape Town, either out of curiosity or with a conviction to join the fray. Reports on the rioters later reflected on the notable presence of white men and women, '"not of the hooligan class, but respectably dressed members of the community."'[116] Overall

[109] Ibid*,* 14 May 1915; It is possible that some Germans in Cape Town did support Germany. One police report states, 'colonial born Germans… are extremely anti-British.' 1/CT 15/8.12 Report of the S.A.P, 9/6/15.
[110] Dedering, '"Avenge the Lusitania,"' 266.
[111] *Cape Times,* 10 May 1915.
[112] Dedering, '"Avenge the Lusitania,"' 266-271.
[113] *Cape Times,* 14 May 1915.
[114] Albury Banner and Wodonga Express, 21 May 1915.
[115] John Andrew Hunter, 'The Anti-German Riots in Cape Town, 1915,' Honours Thesis (University of Cape Town, 1980), 17-18.
[116] Ibid, 22.

the police struggled to quell the disturbances, particularly as groups of rioters had broken off in order to target different premises.

Capetonians, on the whole, were pleased with the night's events.[117] The City Magistrate, anticipating further activity the following day, ordered bars to close from 16.00, whilst soldiers on leave were banned from entering the city centre. These measures, combined with a stronger police presence, limited the violence enacted by rioters on the second night, even if the crowds that gathered were reportedly greater in number than before.[118] Although coloured Capetonians had been involved in the rioting on both nights, they seem to have accounted for a higher portion of the revellers on the Friday evening. Bill Nasson has suggested that many were poor, dissatisfied citizens (indeed, the papers noted large gatherings of women, many of whom were coloured), expressing their grievances against 'European outsiders' who were seen to be profiteering from the war at a time when the cost of living was rapidly increasing.[119]

The effects of the post-Lusitania crack-down on German men were felt throughout the German community in Cape Town. As has been demonstrated, the rise of rent and the cost of living in the city put many of Cape Town's poorer citizens under great duress and particularly so for those on the fringes, or cut-off from networks of support. This was the case for indigent women married to less than prosperous Germans, and especially if their husbands were interned.[120] Initially the brunt of strain was relieved through charities such as the Mayor's Fund, but anti-German rhetoric placed increasing pressure on the Mayor to distribute funds to more 'loyal' citizens.[121] Many German-born women were also frequently shunned when seeking employment (for being German or, on occasion, for poorly spoken English) and were unable to benefit from the increase in wartime work opportunities.[122] The German Relief Society and the St Martini Evangelical Lutheran Church,[123] were integral to aiding such cases, but they had limited funds which often fell short of the need. It was finally left up to

[117] Ibid, 27.
[118] Ibid, 27-28.
[119] Nasson, *World War One,* 138; Nasson, 'War Opinion in South Africa,' 19.
[120] These women were both white and coloured. Nasson, *World War One,* 129-131.
[121] Support from the Mayor's Fund had faded by the end of August 1915. 1/CT 15/8.
[122] For instance, A.Lunow revealed that it was 'impossible for the wife, or any dependent of an Enemy Subject to obtain work anywhere as the feeling at the present time is very bitter against them./ 1/CT 15/8, 06 September 1915.
[123] GW Wagener, the pastor, wrote that German families had been left 'without means of existence.' 1/CT 15/8 ; Wagener to Department of Defense, 22 June 1915.

the Union Government to step in and Magistrates were directed to grant financial aid to cases which were deemed to be dire.[124] Yet aid was not distributed fairly, as a distinction was made between coloured and white wives in need, the latter generally requiring, in the minds of the authorities, a higher standard of living.[125]

It was in opposition to 'German enemies' that the British League gained ground. Comprising largely of an 'English mercantile elite,' their vehemently anti-German rhetoric was accompanied by a cunning desire to rid themselves of competition.[126] They were amongst the loudest voices calling for the internment of Germans in the city, and their collective muscle throughout the Union saw the passing of the Enemy Trading Bill in 1915.[127] Yet despite appealing to a 'large audience,' many Capetonians struggled to sustain such an extreme position, nor did many feel it was fair to assume the worst of their neighbours.

Indeed, letters that friends and employees wrote to the Commission of Enemy Subjects on behalf of deported Germans attest to this. Similarly, one Mrs Gibaud, representing the equally fanatical Patriotic Alliance of Port Elizabeth, reported her 'great shock' in receiving 'the cold shoulder' in Cape Town. At a meeting held by the British League in the City Hall, she revealed that the 'many ladies she had asked to preside…had made various excuses' not to attend. Mrs Gibaud dramatically concluded that 'she thought that we were fighting the enemy, but instead we were fighting our own people.'[128] The Mayor, who had been obliged to chair at the very same meeting, felt the need to distance himself from the extreme views held by the British League. He clarified that he was 'not in sympathy with some of the prayers' of the anti-German petition, and reminded the audience that many of their fellow German citizens were 'loyal, law-abiding South Africans.'[129]

Accordingly, although the sinking of the *Lusitania* accentuated an atmosphere of mistrust and hostility towards Germans in Cape Town, these sentiments were not clear-cut or unchanging.

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[124] Nasson, *World War One,* 130;
[125] 1/CT, 'Relief of Enemy Subjects,' 15/8 439/14: Ethel Anderson Hahn received relief as her children were found to be 'poorly clad and not in accordance with the position of respectable European people.' Only those 'respectable' coloured wives who were in "very poor circumstances" merited "an increase to European rate." Such was Nellie Johanna Wolker/Wocker who 'sold nearly the whole of her furniture to buy food for her five children.'
[126] Nasson, 'War Opinion in South Africa,' 19; Nasson, *World War One,* 134-135; Lambert, 'Britishness, South Africanness,' 289.
[127] Lambert, 'Britishness, South Africanness,' 289.
[128] *Cape Times,* 29 March 1916
[129] Ibid.

The actions of kind-hearted (and war-apathetic) citizens towards the residents of Philippi attest to this. Philippi, a small agricultural village on the outskirts of Cape Town, was largely German and its geographic dislocation from the main hubbub of the city encouraged further suspicion towards the poor wives, children and elderly left behind after the internment of German men.[130] Travelling salesmen, largely coloured, continued to make their way to the settlement to trade their wares throughout the war. Similarly, when white midwives refused to tend to the needs of pregnant women at Philippi, 'gamps' - 'casual, self-trained, amateur midwives'[131] - filled the need.

Conclusion

Indeed, as it has been demonstrated through the Afrikaner Rebellion of late 1914, the Lusitania riots of May 1915, Delville Wood of July 1916, and the Armistice celebrations of November 1918, the war prompted moments both of collective sociability and collective exclusion. However, the intensification of these feelings was not constant, uniform or absolute. This similarly emphasizes the contingent and partial nature of Cape Town's pro-war loyalism, which both cut across, and was shaped by, other locally-informed identifications such as gender, race and class. Ultimately, then, although the war was largely a period of heightened identification with Britain and the Empire, there was no single, sustained 'patriotic fervour' in the city.

[130] Nasson, *World War One,* 130.
[131] Ibid.

Conclusion: On Remembrance

Thesis overview

This thesis has demonstrated that the First World War had significant impacts on the materiality of Cape Town and ideas about the city and its people. After the war's outbreak, many Capetonians positioned themselves in relation to notions of Empire and duty. This was informed by local social, political and economic concerns. There was no single patriotic fervour that characterised Cape Town, both during those initial months as well as the four years that followed. Similarly, pro-war loyalism - which both cut across, and was shaped by, identifications of gender, race, and class - was heterogeneous, variable and contingent. Certain events accentuated feelings of loyalism and belonging, but they could also inflame acts of exclusion towards those deemed 'disloyal.'

Although most Anglophone Capetonians experienced the war period as one of heightened identifications with the British Empire, all Capetonians were affected by the material changes engendered by the war. These included changes to, or an intensification of, certain sights, sounds and smells in the Peninsula: from the presence of troops passing through the port, to occasions wherein the city was draped in the symbols of Empire. The war changed routines and behaviours and limited where and when civilians could be: from restricted military zones around the Peninsula to the early closure of pubs and bars in the city. It permeated the multi-media fabric of Cape Town, including newspapers, advertisements, theatre, song and film. It was discussed around dining-room tables, at offices, in workshops, cafes, schools, church services, court rooms, train carriages, tram cars and on the streets.

The war also affected people as the cost of living sky-rocketed, whilst rental prices rose as increased urbanisation drove up demand. Yet despite perceptions of worsening wartime hardship, many households financially benefitted from the demand for labour and full employment. An improvement in the infant mortality rates across many of the city's wards during the war attests to this. Yet those people unable to benefit from full employment felt the

full force of inflation. This is reflected in the increase in infant mortality in the Castle ward and District Six.

Urbanisation, an increase in the number of urban workers, and a general scarcity of labour accelerated labour organisation during the war. This was further bolstered by workers' fears regarding inflation and often dissatisfactory work conditions. In the latter years of the war, the proliferation of socialist ideas in the city played an increasing role in strike activity, and particularly in terms of black and coloured labour organisation.

Work was further affected by the departure of men to war service, with poor Afrikaners entering the police force and fire-brigade in increasing numbers. As seen with the police-strike, this encouraged a nascent collective Afrikaner identity, suggesting identifications in the city outside of 'Britishness.' Middle-class women also filled in as clerks in banks and offices, whilst expanding the scope of their administrative skills in a plethora of wartime organisations and charities. For them, nursing opportunities also increased to meet the needs of invalided soldiers in the city. The wartime expansion of factories created jobs and income, particularly for working-class women, but also furthered their exploitation. Indeed, as with most aspects of city life, the intersections of class, race, gender and ethnicity had a continual impact on the way in which different Capetonians experienced the war, even if it did not necessarily determine this.

The war, along with these attendant material changes, impacted the 'subjective' component of Cape Town. The city was thought of as a 'city at war,' a 'slum city,' a 'sin city,' and a 'destination city.' The latter saw Cape Town promoted as a tourist destination during the war, projecting it as a place of historical and natural significance, with all the conveniences of a modern city. Particularly aimed at attracting visitors from the Union's interior, this promotion of the city was intended to increase revenue and foster a sense of geographic unity across South Africa. Perceptions of Cape Town, although influenced by the Publicity Association, also reflected some ongoing regional fissures in the Union. For many visitors from outside of the Cape, the city's relative liberalism and multiracial character were off-putting, whilst some Australian soldiers thought it distinctly un-British and less loyal for the same reasons.

In contrast to the Publicity Association's depictions of Cape Town as respectable, progressive and orderly, Cape Town was also perceived as a place of material decay during the war, with increased wartime hardship triggering fears about the 'slums' spreading disease across the

city. Yet this 'sanitation syndrome,' which linked race and poverty to material and moral depravity, was more accurately a reflection of English, middle-class sensibilities and prejudices. The same can be said for the moral outcry in Cape Town, spurred on by wartime material changes in the city, including the presence of thousands of soldiers. For middle-class Capetonians, efforts to counter moral corruption were aimed at troops, but they equally involved policing the behaviour of different females in the city. As such, and in the wartime climate which combined notions of 'respectable behaviour' with patriotic duty, girls and women were increasing framed as responsible for upholding the integrity of the city, the Union and the Empire.

These discourses ultimately reflected the city elite's views on progress, modernity and race, and the future of South Africa's cities. The accelerated urbanisation of poor whites and rural blacks was deemed a particular challenge to the modern, ordered and civilised city - and thus a challenge to white hegemony. These ideas were paired with heightened wartime anxieties about child welfare, accentuated by the perception and reality (for some, at least) of increasing poverty in the city. They were also accompanied by fears around the loss of the Empire's white men as 'cannon fodder.' As such they represented a local variation of a trans-imperial concern regarding racial health, purity and the viability of Empire.

These subjective components of the city are important in that they fed into policies and practises that had material effects on Capetonians, shaping legislation which defined who belonged in South Africa's cities and under what terms. Heightened wartime concerns around health, housing, child welfare and urbanisation helped spur on a slew of post-war legislation, from the 1919 Public Health Act and 1920 Housing Act - both placing preference on the improvement of urban whites - to the 1923 Native (Urban Areas) Act, which introduced the mechanisms for influx control and greater residential segregation.[1]

Overall then, 'Cape Town at War: The city, lived experiences and loyalties,' has attempted to complicate the stereotypical imaginings of the 'wartime city' as a 'city in ruins.' It has shown the interaction of transnational threads and local peculiarities, adding nuance to our understanding of the First World War as a 'global' phenomenon. The thesis contributes to the

[1] Maylam, 'Explaining the Apartheid City,' 19-34; Parnell, 'Creating racial privilege,' 471-488; Parnell, 'Sanitation, segregation and the natives (urban areas) act,' 271-288; Mabin, 'Origins of Segregatory Urban Planning,' 9; Swanson, 'Urban Origins of Separate Development,' 31-40.

small body of South African urban histories, representing the first study, within the South African historiography of the First World War, to take a specifically urban-history approach. In focusing on the war period, it has also stressed the importance of understanding Britishness - the hegemonic culture of Cape Town in the early twentieth century - as key to understanding the development of local identities, emerging nationalisms, and South African cities more generally.

In concluding this thesis, attention is turned to the question of memorialisation and commemoration of the war in Cape Town. Even before the practical war effort was wrapped-up, and soldiers returned home, the need to commemorate the dead arose. This discussion pulls on many of the threads tying the thesis together. It rounds back to notions of space and identity in the city, performances of belonging, inclusion and exclusion. Yet, in outlining the broad trajectory of the war's remembrance over time, it also shows how even the First World War - as powerful as it was in the moment in shaping identifications in, and experiences of, Cape Town - was easily forgotten.

On remembrance

In November 1917, one Mr Power received the news that most families dreaded - letters from officers of the Cape Corps, informing him that his son, Walter, was shot whilst in service in East Africa. 'Dear Mr Power…Your son was wounded in the arm while moving along the line encouraging the men, but refused to go back,' wrote Lt Colonel EA Morris. Walter was then hit from behind, and whilst 'one of his coloured men tried to carry him back…they were both found dead together.'[2] Armed conflict was not the only way the war killed. For Cape Town, the Spanish Flu of October 1918 was devastating, and Armistice, which followed so swiftly, must have been bewildering for many who had lost loved ones. The newspapers, of course, proclaimed the moment as triumphant, but perhaps, under the supposed celebrations of November 1918, remained a current of sadness. Unlike most who succumbed to the Flu in the city, many of the soldiers who died as a result of war-service were memorialised. This need to remember and recognise the war dead was part of an empire-wide 'cult of

[2] EA Morris to Mr Power, 17 November 1917, 'Miscellany,' World War One Collection, University of Cape Town BC1001.

mourning.'[3] Acts of remembrance, for families, communities and cities, were attempts to re-establish order in daily life, and a means to express and make sense of loss.

Communal acts of remembrance did not start after the war, but during it. The city's Great Synagogue, built in 1905 alongside the old Dutch gardens, held its first war-related memorial service 'early in the war,' after the death of Max Rothkugel - the son of a prominent Trustee.[4] In school assemblies and religious services, the names of the dead were read out aloud. At girls' schools, like St Cyprians, condolences were given to pupils and ex-pupils who were in mourning.[5] At Rondebosch Boys, the portraits of old boys who died in action graced the pages of the school magazine and the annual Foundation Day ceremony was given over to memorial services for the war dead.[6] An annual commemoration ceremony similarly was dedicated by the City Council to the battle of Delville Wood - used to remember the dead as well as to rally up the living around the war cause through grand processions and demonstrations.[7]

The monthly citizens' meetings held in the City Hall were also explicitly a space for Capetonians - as well as visiting soldiers, nurses and other volunteers in the city - to commemorate the dead and recognise the absence of those still in service. As such they were moments of mutual support and comfort. With hymns and national anthems, collective performances underwrote these occasions. These monthly meetings were also spaces that reaffirmed the values of the group[8] - and in this case these often meant the righteousness of the war and the nobleness of sacrifice. Yet the personal experiences of some people present at these meetings, as with other commemorative occasions, would have been incongruous with the dominant discourse. For example, the contents of the Citizen's meeting booklets, informed by these gatherings, do not reveal any bitterness, fear or despondency that many soldiers and mourners would have experienced. Nor is it likely that such views would have been readily expressed at the meetings. Jay Winter discusses how soldiers, as

[3] Jay Winter, *Remembering war: The Great War between memory and history in the twentieth century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 22-26.
[4] Louis Hermann, *The Cape Town Hebrew Congregation 1841-1941: A Centenary History,* (Mercantile-Atlas Printing Co.: Cape Town, 1942, 93.
[5] St Cyprian's Magazine 69:9, November 1917.
[6] Veitch, *Rondebosch Boys',* 1897-1997, 33.
[7] For Delville Wood and the press, see Kerton-Johnson, 'Men and Memories.'
[8] James Mayo, 'War Memorials as Political Memory,' *Geographical Review* 87:1 (1988), 63.

> the victims of traumatic memory are "witnesses" of a special kind. Some are trapped in the past, condemned to re-enact it when something trivial…triggers something terrifying, buried in their memories. Their historical remembrance is involuntary.…[9]

Anri Delport demonstrates that remembrance ceremonies were often difficult for ex-servicemen as they honoured the dead and comforted mourners rather than recognising the sacrifice of the surviving soldiers. As such it was felt that, for civilians, the noble dead were easier to remember than the *damaged* living.[10] If collective acts of remembrance are based on shared experiences, then soldiers were often excluded from the civilian experience. Instead they formed their own units of collective remembrance, travelling to sites of mourning together (such as the South African memorial to Delville Wood in France, built in 1926), or gathering on poignant anniversaries.

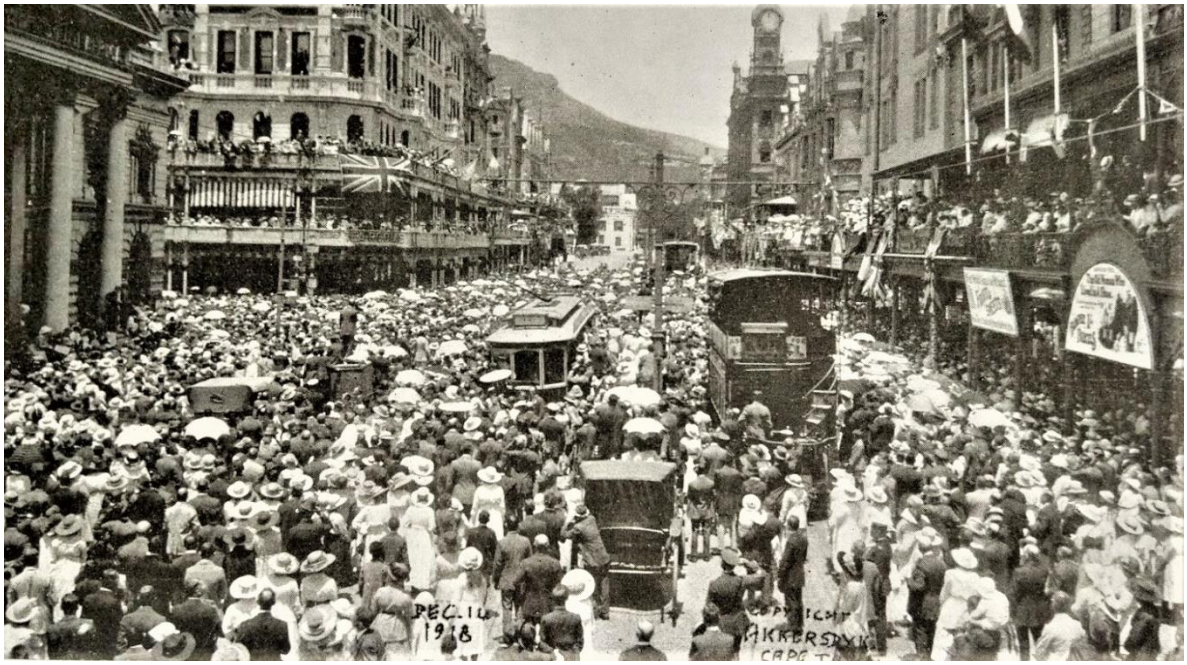
Different spaces could mark specific inclusions in, or exclusions from, a community and bring forth community-specific understandings to memorialisation. This is most obvious when considering churches, mosques, synagogues, school assemblies and the City Hall. In May 1918, Mayor Harry Hands instituted a two-minute midday pause 'in order to direct the minds of the people to the tremendous issues which are being fought out on the Western Front, and to afford a minute or two for silent prayer for the forces of the Allies there engaged' (see Photographs 49 and 50, below) .[11]

[9] Winter, *Remembering War,* 8.
[10] Anri Delport, '"Stumbling on Civvy Street:" The re-adjustment of white South African war veterans to life in post-war society, 1918-1928,' *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies* 44:1 (2016), 132.
[11] *Cape Times,* 14 December 1918.

Photograph 49: *Crowds gathered in Adderley Street for the Midday Pause, 01 June 1918.*

Source: WCARS, AG Collection, AG15344.

Photograph 50: Looking up Adderley Street, Midday Pause, 01 June 1918.



Source: WCARS, 'The Celebration of Peace: Official Programme and Souvenir Booklet' (Cape Town Peace Celebrations Committee: Cape Town, 1919), 940.46 CAP/P.

The daily pause was significant in terms of its regularity and its spatial broadness - that is, the whole city became the site of memorialisation. In so doing, this collective act of cognisance and silence imaginatively connected Capetonians to each other, cutting across the 'potential divides' of 'regional locality, education, ethnicity, class, gender and individual experience.'[12] Moreover, it affirmed a particularly local patriotism within the idea of Empire. After the sounding of the noon-day gun on Signal Hill, pedestrians in the city, and the surrounding suburbs, were requested to 'remain standing wherever they were and… observe silence for this short spell.' Even the tramcars came to a standstill during the two minutes and, with the assistance of the military, the 'Last Post' rang out daily from Cartwright's balcony in Adderley Street.[13] Descriptions of the silence suggest the gravity with which the ritual was experienced and the awareness that one was part of a larger community. A.D. Donovan vividly paints this picture:

> The tram-cars in their dark green dress and with splashings of mud…lumbered quickly up and down [Adderley Street] with monotonous clangings…Motor cars and taxis sped along the damp, chill street with shrill hootings and screechings and women crossing the broad thoroughfare picked up their skirts as they ran across the wet asphalt…Street wagons, carts and lorries came and plunged into the traffic of the main thoroughfare, their coloured drivers looking about them…as their horses' shoes rang on the wet surface of the street below…There were groups of women hovering around big shops…and an unceasing flow of people, inward and outward, at the low, heavy gateway of the Standard Bank….Lower down, the railway station vomited into the street two or three long streams of people who had just come by the suburban train…[14]

It was amidst these raucous, insistent sounds of the city that 'the boom of the Signal Hill gun came and a bugle from Cartwright's balcony began to sound the last post.' According to Donovan,

> everybody and everything in the street and all around, stood still…Just complete silence, complete stillness…The whole life, movement and action of this busy little

[12] Bickford-Smith, *Emergence of the South African Metropolis*, 73.
[13] Mayor's Minutes, 1918.
[14] A.D. Donovan, 'The Midday Pause,' in 'The Celebration of Peace: Official Programme and Souvenir Booklet' (Cape Town Peace Celebrations Committee: Cape Town, 1919), 33-36.

> world of Adderley Street, suspended, stopped, stricken dumb, petrified…The sudden and solemn unanimity of this pause in the very midst of the city's day gets a queer grip on your emotions, gets somehow deep inside of you…you saw here and there a women in black fumbling secretly for a handkerchief, and you pictured her having some special interest, some special sorrow, in one of the rows and rows of bare crosses in Delville Wood…I wonder, as I stand here, one big mass of humanity carved out of stone, when it is going to end.

Words, for Donovan, were still inadequate to describe 'how instantaneously the ritual of the pause gripped the city like a spell flung over it.' It is interesting that he uses the image of the citizens, still and silent, 'carved out of stone,' as if they themselves, during those two minutes, were transformed into a physical memorial. Lieutenant FC Cornell captures the first few moments after the pause in verse, writing,

> Then the City awakens to life once more
> And so, with the many, sad thoughts abode;
> They are chastened and sobered and sanctified;
> For 'tis know that this is no idle play,
> These moments snatched from a 'business' day,
> No senseless pose, no acted role;
> But a fleeting glimpse of the City's soul.[15]

The Silence, considered most successful, was adopted in other Imperial cities up until December 1918.[16] After Armistice, Mayor Hands decided to discontinue the daily observance of the Pause, limiting it to the annual Armistice remembrance ceremonies, 'in memory of the Fallen.'[17]

Practices of remembrance were often private. From pictures on mantelpieces, to untouched bedrooms and boxes of memorabilia in cupboards or under beds, families across Cape Town had their own rituals of mourning and remembrance. Indeed, Jay Winter has made the point that 'the war was remembered initially and overwhelmingly as an event in *family* history' and

[15] Extract of poem by Lieutenant F.C. Cornell, *CTCM*:133, 02 June 1918.
[16] Bickford-Smith, *Emergence of the South African Metropolis*, 73; Connelly, *The Great War, Memory and Ritual, 139.*
[17] 'Midday Pause: final observance,' 'Miscellany,' BC1001.

that the act of remembrance 'within families and among families' was a means to 'live with the war.'[18]

Outside the home, the erection of plaques and memorials was also a significant part of this 'cult of mourning,' physically marking the landscape and linking city spaces to the Empire and the war.[19] In this sense, James Mayo argues, 'loyalty becomes more than word or feeling; it has local place.'[20] Indeed, through public memorials, the war was imprinted onto the city itself. Apart from the war more generally, these memorials were dedicated to individuals, units, and battles. As perhaps the defining battle for white Capetonians, Delville Wood was commemorated through several memorials in the city. One, which sits opposite the National Museum at the top of the Dutch gardens, resembles the South African Memorial to Delville Wood built in France in 1926 and was meant to reflect the blossoming of brotherhood between Dutch and Anglophone white South Africans.[21] Another, a cross at the Castle, was created by the South African Pioneer Corps from timber gathered from Delville Wood itself and brought back to Cape Town in 1919.[22] The newly inaugurated University of Cape Town (c.1918) placed a clean-lined stone dedicated to the war in 1927.[23] It was simply inscribed with 'in memoriam 1914-1918,' until the dates of the Second World War were later added. In school halls and church vestibules, rolls of honour listed the names of community members lost to the war. Bishops (Diocesan College Schools) even built a chapel to the cause. Businesses, too, followed suit, with Standard Bank on Adderley Street reminding their patrons of their losses in mural form.[24] In the City Hall, a memorial to the Cape Corps was erected by its surviving members, commemorating those '"who answered the call of their King and Country to fight in the Great War for civilisation."'[25]

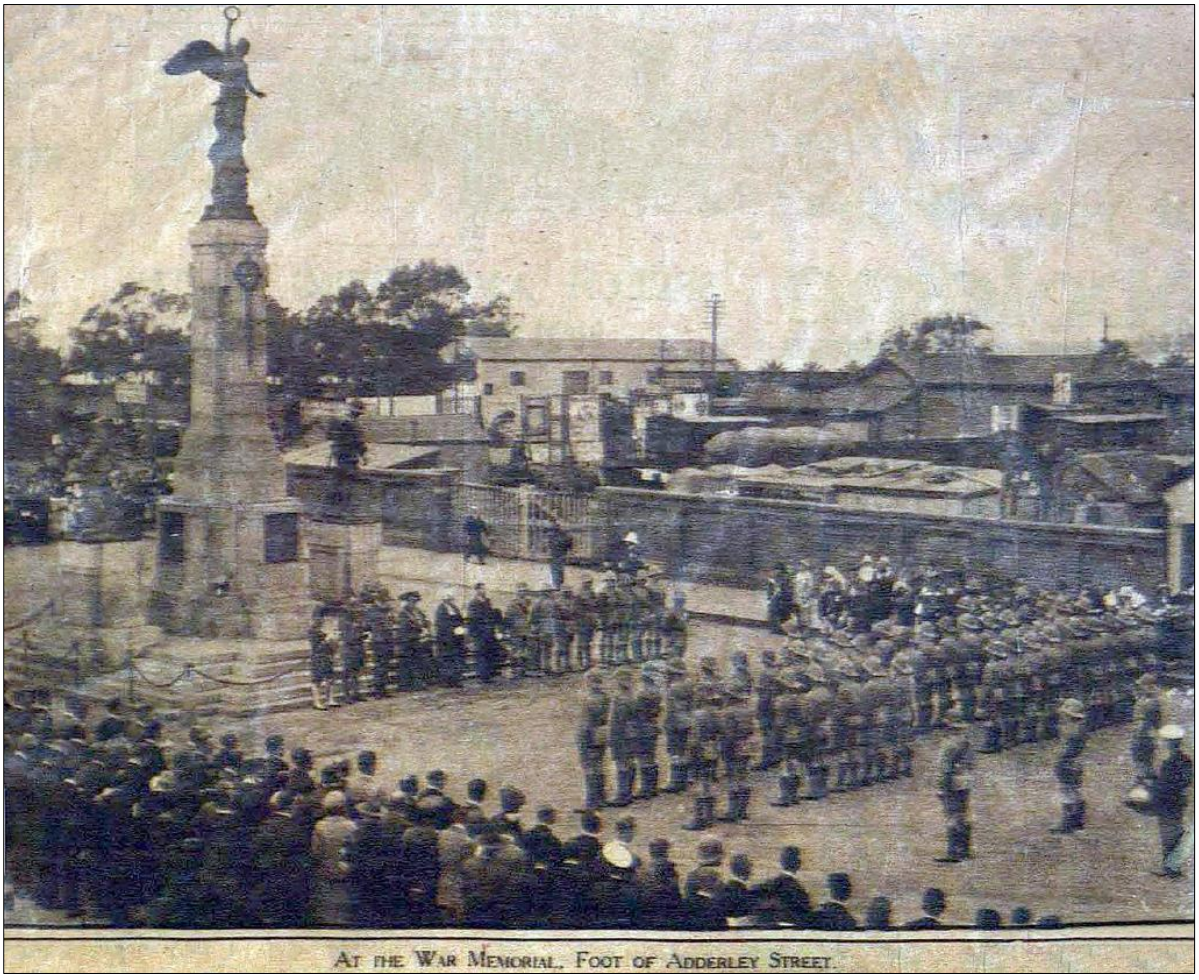
The city's chief memorial to the war was unveiled in August 1924 by the Governor-General, the Earl of Athlone, marking a decade since the outbreak of the conflict. Shortly after Armistice had been signed, Adderley Street was selected as the preferred site for the

[18] Jay Winter, 'Forms of Kinship and remembrance in the aftermath of the Great War,' in J. Winter and E. Sivan (eds.) *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1994), 43-44.
[19] For more on Cape Town's war memorials, see Helen Binckes, 'South African Public Memorials of World War One: A historical view of processes in public memorialisation through their symbolic content, with particular reference to Cape Town,' Master's thesis, University of Cape Town, 2010.
[20] Mayo, 'War Memorials,' 70.
[21] Binckes, 'Memorials of World War One,' 78.
[22] Kerton-Johnson, 'Men and Memories,' 69.
[23] Binckes, 'Memorials of World War One,' 89-91.
[24] Ibid, 143-4.
[25] Ibid,158.

'Cenotaph' as it referenced wartime rallies, processions and celebrations and represented 'the way where many of the gallant lads marched their last on South African soul.'[26] The intended memorial would both derive meaning from, and inscribe meaning to, Adderley Street and the city, by extension. The street itself, as one of Cape Town's busiest thoroughfares, proved a challenging site for a memorial and two proposed locations were rejected before the half-way mark was finally agreed upon.[27] The memorial - which was one of the most dominant features of the street before high-rise offices towered on either side[28] - was topped with a central figure of 'Victory,' her pedestal adorned with an intricate base relief, and flanked by two soldiers. The imagery, it was thought, represented the British triumph over evil, 'typified by the feet of Victory crushing the serpent intertwined around the globe.'[29] The Caucasian-cast of Victory herself left little doubt of *which* Capetonians were of chief concern here, whilst the Cape Corps' exploits were limited to one relief-panel, depicting their actions in Palestine.[30] Indeed, the Battle of Square Hill - the Corps' crowning glory in the war over the Ottoman-Turks in September 1918, never received the same attention as Delville Wood, even if it remained important to the Corps and formed the basis for their subsequent remembrance ceremonies.[31]

[26] WCARS, 3/CT B344/4, Records of the Town Clerk, Cape Town, 1920.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Binckes, 'Memorials of World War One,' 129.
[29] 3/CT B344/4, Memorial Dedication Service Pamphlet, 03 August 1924.
[30] Jacques de Vries, 'Commemoration, Cult of the Fallen (Union of South Africa),' in: 1914-1918-online. *International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, ed. by Ute Daniel, Peter Gatrell, Oliver Janzet et al (Freie Universität Berlin: Berlin, 2018-09-24). Available online: https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/commemoration_cult_of_the_fallen_union_of_south_africa. Accessed: 12 December 2019.
[31] Grundlingh, *War and Society,* 150.

Photograph 51: *The Adderley Street War Memorial, c.1926*



Source: SJ Walton, 'Remembering and Recollecting World War Two: South African Perspectives,' Master's thesis, University of Cape Town, 2014, 62.

The SANLC never made it on to the plinth of the Cenotaph - despite the fact that they were encamped on the fields of Rosebank showgrounds and, like so many other troops, marched down Adderley Street to depart for foreign shores. Many gave their lives to the war, even if they were strictly non-combatant. 'To the immortal honour of those South Africans who made the supreme sacrifice,' reads the Cenotaph's inscription - clearly not all lives lost were worthy of memorialisation. For many black South Africans, the sinking of the *HMT Mendi* off the Isle of Wight, whilst transporting the remainder of the 5th Battalion SANLC on their way to France, was their moment of 'supreme sacrifice' and bravery in the war. In the early hours of the 21 February, 1917, in a thick and murky fog, the *Mendi* was hit by the *SS Darro*.[32] The

[32] Ibid, 115.

Darro never tried to assist the sinking ship, which went under within a mere 25 minutes, taking over 600 lives with it.

The mythology around the *Mendi* grew in the subsequent decades within black communities,[33] but even at the time the South African parliament recognised the tragedy. In an unprecedented move for the Union, an all-white Parliament stood in silence as Botha passed a motion of sympathy for the loss of black lives.[34] This example of goodwill was short-lived and, despite the fact that the Imperial Government had made provision for the SANLC to receive bronze medals in recognition of their service, the Union chose to withhold them.[35] The exclusion of the SANLC from the Adderley Street memorial is most likely explained by the fact that it was a non-combatant corps. Yet, at a time when debates were growing about the regulation of black South Africans in cities - resulting in the 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act - the absence of the SANLC on the memorial also may point towards *which* people the City Council considered *of* the city, versus those who were merely *in* it.

These various memorials encapsulated the dominant narrative about Cape Town's loyalism, reflecting a pride in the city's war service, a firm belief in the righteousness of the war, and heightened identifications with Empire.[36] As Winter suggests, through war memorials 'the local took place of the imperial, as if to remind that those who died did so in the belief that they were defending local landscapes.'[37] Yet, if war memorials perform a social function of bringing groups together in acts of remembrance - thereby defining communities - they can also exclude those deemed as outsiders. It is not known how those Germans who were shunned in the city felt towards, say, the Adderley Street memorial as they passed it on their day-to-day business. Indeed, not only do war memorials host a multiplicity of meanings, but these meanings are far from fixed. What history is remembered, and how it is framed, is constantly churning in response to the changing socio-political currents of a society. The meaning of events and the objects attached to them, thus change, or fade over time - and particularly so if the groups most invested in them diminish.[38]

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[33] Ibid, 115-136.
[34] Ibid, 117.
[35] Starling and Lee, *No Labour*, *No Battle,* 234-5. The Nationalists were against the SANLC scheme. Botha, in order to limit further detractors, had to be very tactful about the SANLC.
[36] Mayo, 'War Memorials,' 72.
[37] Winter, *Remembering War,* 177.
[38] SJ Walton, 'Remembering and Recollecting World War Two: South African Perspectives,' Master's thesis, University of Cape Town, 2014, 55-75; Nasson, 'Delville Wood,' 57-86; Grundlingh, *War and Society,* 115-136.

What can be said, then, about the trajectory of remembrance of the First World War in Cape Town? This moment in the city's history which changed the experience of the city itself, this war which had a profound impact on the daily lives of its citizens from their routines, to their occupations, to the places they lived, the people they met and the causes they protested; this moment which teased out notions of belonging and exclusion; this war which at the time for so many Capetonians was seen as the most significant global conflict in living memory; this war which saw loved ones never return - this war, despite this all, did not form a lasting city or national memory.

Certainly the years following its conclusion saw a flurry of memorialisation efforts and Armistice Day ceremonies were strongly supported. The Second World War, which so painfully laid bare the false assumption that the First World War was the last of its kind, too saw a resurgence of Empire-base affiliations and loyalties. Anglophone Capetonians again rallied to the cause - but this time in a national context in which Afrikaner-based Nationalist aspirations were far more firmly articulated and supported. Indeed, the outbreak of the Second World War saw the ruling white population again divided over participating in an Imperial war, with varying degrees of apathy, loyalty and concern from the Union's increasingly politically dispossessed black citizens.[39]

For both wars, the Union's experience was in many ways unique, with only a small percentage of its overall population volunteering for a war that was geographically far removed from the Southern tip of Africa.[40] Cape Town's stormy winters, blustery summers and perfect spring days were never punctuated by bombs or enemy fire. Only local actions, such as the Lusitania riots, saw violence bloom on city streets and, deplorable rents aside, citizens were not dispossessed of their homes. Adderley Street may have been draped in an abundance of bunting, but apart from the memorials scattered around, there was little physical trace that the wars had even happened. In terms of a national memory, the wars' geographic distance and locally contested meanings meant that there was never a stable or widespread basis for their remembrance.[41] Moreover, as Apartheid increasingly infiltrated the lives of all South Africans, it swiftly overshadowed the history and memory of the wars and,

[39] Walton, 'Remembering and Recollecting,' 2-3.
[40] Ibid, 2-4.
[41] Ibid, 3.

as those people who experienced the war years first-hand passed on, their collective acts of remembrance, and the wartime memories therein evoked, faded.[42]

The Apartheid and Freedom Governments also had their own political narratives to weave. The National Party wished to distance itself as far from Britain as it could, whilst the post-1994 governments have focused on commemorating the men and women who stood against Apartheid. The wars, when mentioned, are momentarily woven into the tale of the 'Freedom Struggle,' with particular prominence around the men of the *Mendi*.[43] Even in Cape Town, where the First World War was integral to the life-histories of so many of its citizens, wider, collective memories[44]of the war struggled to compete with the march of time and the changing visions of the emerging political powers. Accordingly, for both Cape Town, and the Union more generally, tracing the remembrance of both World Wars reveals a process of forgetting. Memories of the war today in Cape Town are largely limited to military groups and families who continue to feel invested in the history of the war.[45]

Certainly there is no lasting notion of Cape Town itself as a city connected to the wars. The apathy most Capetonians have towards the Adderley Street War Memorial today testifies that the city's involvement and connection to the wars is a little known, or cared for, fact. Indeed, when the City Council announced in 2014 that it planned to relocate the memorial to make way for a new bus stop (see Photograph 52, below), there was no great public outcry.[46] War memorials like this are left with a '"half-life," a trajectory of decomposition, from the active to the inert,'[47] the voices and concerns of a previous era loosely bound to a physical object, a curiosity of the past. 'It will be a never forgotten day in the history of Cape Town,' the Mayor of Cape Town had declared in 1918, reflecting on the signing of the Armistice.[48] Little did he know how quickly History would change.

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[42] Halwbachs wrote, 'every collective memory requires the support of a group delimited in space and time.' Maurice Halbwachs, *On collective memory,* trans Mary Douglas (University of Chicago Press: Chicago,1992), 82.
[43] Walton, 'Remembering and Recollecting,' 2-4.
[44] I draw upon Jay Winter's Halwbachs-informed conception of collective memory: 'the process through which different collectives, from groups of two to groups in their thousands, engage in acts of remembrance together.' 'Cultural memory' occurs therein, with material artefacts (such as memorials, texts, images) reflecting group views. Winter, *Remembering War,* 5, 22, 136.
[45] Walton, 'Remembering and Recollecting,' 14-37.
[46] Ibid, 1, 64-69.
[47] Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 98.
[48] Mayor's Minutes, 1919.

Photograph 52*: The Adderley Street memorial before relocation, 2012*

Source: SJ Walton, 'Remembering and Recollecting World War Two: South African Perspectives,' Master's thesis, University of Cape Town, 2014, 56.

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