

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN DURING THE SOUTH AFRICAN
WAR, 1899 - 1902**

AN URBAN SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL HISTORY

THESIS

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the urban social, economic and cultural history of a community under stress and in transition at the turn of the century. Two themes run through the study: how the residents responded to long-term challenges such as the decline of the town in relation to its nearest urban neighbour, the increasing significance of the black population of the town and district, and the end of the millennium; and secondly, the effects of the South African War on King William's Town society and how the residents perceived the various stresses it exerted on the town.

Chapter 1, by way of introduction, provides a general overview of the history of King William's Town and of the current state of historical research on the town. It also examines historiographical strands reflected in this study, focusing on urban history, social history, local history and the new cultural history. The chapter ends with a brief note on sources and methodology.

Chapter 2 sets the scene by examining the population of the town and district in relation to its eastern Cape neighbours. It briefly explores the settlement patterns in the town, and the social divisions and racial attitudes manifested by its inhabitants.

The third chapter provides a study of the town's economy with particular emphasis on the mercantile sector, agriculture and manufacturing. The informal sector, domestic service and labour relations are also explored.

Political processes in this period are dealt with in Chapter 4. The 1898 elections and the re-alignment of political allegiances, the outbreak of the war, the main political issues that emerged and the suppression of the Imvo Zabantsundu newspaper are discussed.

Chapter 5 provides an examination of military aspects of the town and district during the war. The impact of the imperial garrison, the attitudes of the residents to the war and the imposition and effects of martial law are amongst the topics covered.

The next chapter deals with municipal matters, with particular reference to the townspeople's attitudes to Borough status, public health and sanitation, municipal locations and residential segregation, and the various successes and failures of the Borough Council during the war.

The seventh chapter focuses on crime, legislation and social control in the town. The number and type of criminal incidents during the period are analyzed, the various laws establishing the parameters of society and the manner in which these were applied are examined.

Chapter 8 seeks to define the cultural contours of the town, looking at religion, the large number of different clubs and societies, sport and recreation. It explores the way in which cultural pursuits were both a reflection and a reinforcement of the social, political and economic order.

The ninth and final chapter links the preceding themes with regard to the effects of the war on King William's Town society, with particular reference to the mentalité of the community as displayed in the attitudes of the residents to the various developments discussed in the body of the thesis.

PREFACE

The cliché that this thesis would not have been possible without the active assistance of many people certainly holds true in this instance.

First and foremost I must acknowledge an enormous debt to my wife Sharon Caldwell. In addition to producing a little Webblet in the course of this study, learning the relevant computer programmes and handling the computer work, reducing my untidy handwritten pages to neatly typed ones and proofreading the thesis, she utilized her extensive knowledge of King William's Town history (gained from her own research on sanitation and public health from 1885 to 1910) to comment critically on aspects of the text and to force me to reconsider and recast certain sections. Without her it would very definitely not have been completed.

I also owe a big debt of gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Chris Hummel. His experience, friendliness, tolerance, guidance, inspiration and encouragement are much appreciated. It was indeed a privilege to have a supervisor of his calibre. The idea of exploring the history of King William's Town in this period first occurred to me after reading his concise article on Grahamstown during the South African War.¹

My boss and friend, Mlandeli Vazi, also provided unstinting encouragement and support. Few appreciate the importance of education as much as he does.

David and Corrie Bridgman provided much-needed accommodation on frequent trips to the Cape Archives Depot. They run the best bed and breakfast establishment in Bishopscourt. Their company, David's wine and a crackling fire made research in Cape Town in winter a pleasure. Stuart and Ann Dwyer kindly opened their home in Grahamstown to Sharon and I on numerous occasions. Their daughter, Theresa, also kept

1.. H. C. Hummel, "Some Attitudes in Grahamstown Towards the Advent of the Second Anglo-Boer War", *Contree*, 20, July 1986, pp. 11 - 15.

young Christopher Webb entertained. My mother made regular trips to King William's Town to babysit her grandson to enable Sharon to do the typing.

The staff of the Kaffrarian Museum, Cory Library, the South African Library and the Cape Archives Depot assisted in innumerable ways. In particular Somine Loubser, Librarian at the Kaffrarian Museum, deserves special thanks. Her efficient utilization of the Inter-Library Loan service was indispensable. Similarly, Sandy Rowoldt and Jackson Vena made working in Cory a pleasure.

Professor Christopher Saunders at the University of Cape Town very kindly provided a draft of his report on the state of urban history and went out of his way to assist me in obtaining a copy of material that was not available on Inter-Library Loan. Ashley Lillie of the National Monuments Council bore up under the strain I placed on our friendship by asking him to check up a last minute reference in Cape Town.

Lloyd Wingate, Curator of Mammals at the Kaffrarian Museum and computer expert, kindly assisted in setting up the data base computer programme for the criminal records, solved all glitches and negotiated with a recalcitrant computer which refused to regurgitate the information it had digested. He also stepped into the breach and helped print the final draft when we experienced eleventh hour computer hassles. Tish Wingate and Gill Vernon kindly proofread the final draft and Keith Tankard very helpfully gave up part of his vacation to cajole the computer at the East London campus of Rhodes University into printing the thesis.

The maps and plans are the work of the architectural firm of Winterbach, Pretorius and White. They were kindly arranged by P. C. Janse van Rensburg, another person upon whose friendship I imposed. The illustrations are by courtesy of the History Section of the Kaffrarian Museum.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge a grant from the H.S.R.C., in the words of the prescribed format:

"The financial assistance of the Institute for Research Development towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed in this work, or conclusions arrived at, are those of the author and are not to be attributed to the Institute for Research Development."

CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION

The South African War of 1899 - 1902 has attracted more historical research than any other event in South African history.¹ Much of the recent scholarship has moved beyond purely military concerns, to wide-ranging socio-economic studies. The war had a significance which extended far beyond the immediate conflict. It influenced Afrikaner consciousness, stimulated the development of African nationalism and was a critical turning point for British imperialism. It also emerged as an important aspect in the development of the modern capitalist state.²

The war covered a vast geographical area and few communities in South Africa remained untouched in one way or another. King William's Town was no exception. Although just beyond the periphery of actual hostilities, it was home to a garrison of imperial troops prior to the outbreak of war, was placed under martial law, large numbers of blacks entered service in the military as labourers and transport drivers, white volunteers enlisted in various irregular units, a volunteer medical company was sent to the front, and a local defence unit was raised. As a predominantly English-speaking community in a colony which was essentially engaged in a civil war, King William's Town was subjected to various stresses which affected society in different ways.

The war coincided with several long-term challenges King William's Town was experiencing. For nearly a decade its political economy had been undergoing significant change. Declining peasant production in the town's economic hinterland, the movement of capital to the Rand and the meteoric rise of East London, together with the rising tide of organized black politics, challenged traditional relationships and world views in the town. These events, coinciding with the end of the millennium and a severe drought, produced uncertain attitudes to the future of King William's Town.

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1. I. R. Smith, "The Origins of the South African War (1899-1902): A Re-Appraisal", South African Historical Journal, 22, 1990, p. 24, citing S. B. Spies.
 2. G. C. Cuthbertson, "The Non-conformist Conscience and the South African War 1899 - 1902" (PhD Thesis, University of South Africa, 1986), p. 1.

The South African War, then, was a period of great stress in King William's Town. Some of the tensions were the result of the war, others were the culmination of long-term trends. The town at the turn of the century was an urban centre in transition, seeking to define a new identity in relation to the large black population in the King William's Town district, in relation to its urban neighbours, in relation to the rest of the Cape Colony and, indeed, as regards its place in the British Empire and the wider world.

1.1 General Outline of King William's Town History

The history of King William's Town has remained largely unexplored. Apart from a number of locally-produced commemorative brochures and a few other accounts intended to boost the town (mostly by amateur historians whose enthusiasm sometimes exceeded their historical abilities), little in the way of serious research has been undertaken.³ The only academic studies to date have been George Hofmeyr's Master of Arts thesis on the Xhosa and King William's Town during the mid-nineteenth century; Sharon Caldwell's excellent Honours article on the bubonic plague outbreaks and segregation in the early years of this century; and articles on the economic history of aspects of King William's Town by Ann Mager and Gary Minkley.⁴

A few general works on the Border region of the eastern Cape have examined the history of King William's Town in broad outline. Of these, Hobart Houghton's Economic Development in a Plural Society is the most notable.⁵ They have, however, tended to provoke more questions than they answer and are somewhat dated.

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3. Examples include J. A. Bateman, A Hundred Years of Medical History (Grey Hospital Centenary Publication, King William's Town, 1959); J. A. Bateman, A Century of Public Service (Municipal Centenary Publication, King William's Town, 1961); A. W. Burton, Sparks from the Border Anvil (Provincial Publishing Co., King William's Town, 1950); and a host of short articles in popular magazines and local historical society journals such as Coelacanth.
 4. G. S. Hofmeyr, "King William's Town and the Xhosa, 1854-1861. The Role of a Frontier Capital During the High Commissionership of Sir George Grey" (MA Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1981); S. E. Caldwell, "The Course and Results of the Plague Outbreaks in King William's Town, 1900 - 1907" (Honours Article, University of South Africa, 1987); A. Mager, "Moving the Fence: Gender in the Ciskei and Border Textile Industry, 1945 - 1986", Social Dynamics, 15(2), 1989, pp. 46 - 62; G. Minkley, "'With Shouts of Afrika!': The 1952 Textile Strike at Good Hope Textiles, King William's Town", Social Dynamics, 16(2), 1990, pp. 71 - 90.
 5. These include D. Hobart Houghton (Ed.), Economic Development in a Plural Society (Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 1960); C. Board, The Border Region (Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 1962) and H. L. Watts, South African Town (Rhodes University, Grahamstown, 1965).

In particular, Hobart Houghton's theoretical framework of a dual economy obscures the links between the merchants in the urban areas and the peasants in rural areas.⁶ These problems notwithstanding, the general outline provided by Hobart Houghton in the introduction to his study of the Border region in the 1950s is probably the most reliable general guide available on the economic history of the King William's Town region.

Until more research is done on the broad sweep of King William's Town history, only the salient features can be sketched. The general picture that emerges from the available literature is of a town which was established in the context of the expansion of the colonial frontier in the early part of the nineteenth century, became an important military and administrative centre towards the middle of the century; developed into a significant component in the expansion of the Cape's mercantile economy after the middle of the nineteenth century; and then, in the last two decades, began to decline as the economic centre of gravity of the country shifted to the Rand.

King William's Town was established in May 1835 by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, on the site of a mission station which had been started in 1826 by the Rev. John Brownlee of the London Missionary Society.⁷ In the course of the War of Hintsa (1834 - 35) D'Urban extended British control over the territory between the Kei and Keiskamma rivers, named the new colony the Province of Queen Adelaide. King William's Town, named after William IV, the reigning British monarch, was intended to be the capital of the Province. The arrangements did not meet with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Glenelg, and the declaration was rescinded.⁸

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6. C. Bundy, The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry (David Philip, Cape Town, 1988), pp. 2 - 3.
 7. B. Holt, Greatheart of the Border (S. A. Missionary Museum, King William's Town, 1976), p. 63.
 8. J. S. Bergh & J. C. Visagie, The Eastern Cape Frontier Zone 1660 - 1980 (Butterworths, Durban, 1985), p. 46.

A decade later, during the War of the Axe (1846 - 47) Sir Harry Smith re-established King William's Town, this time as the capital of the Crown Colony of British Kaffraria.⁹ The town rapidly developed into the military, administrative and commercial centre of the region. It loomed large in the frontier policies of Sir George Cathcart and Sir George Grey. As the frontier closed and the Xhosa in the cis-Kei and trans-Kei were drawn into the orbit of the Cape's mercantile economy, the town boomed. With these areas as its hinterland, and with links with capital in Europe, King William's Town developed a large and sophisticated mercantile sector. Prosperity was, however, not continuous, and the town appears to have had its share of booms and slumps, along with the rest of the Cape Colony. The town appears to have reached its apogee in the 1880s; thereafter a slow decline relative to East London set in.

The seeds of the decline were planted as early as the 1870s. In 1880 the East London to Queenstown railway was completed. King William's Town was by-passed, linked only by a spur line to Blaney Junction. The more efficient functioning of East London harbour, especially after the dredger, the Lucy, began operations, contributed to a shift of people and capital from King William's Town to East London. The Rand also began syphoning off capital and people. It was against this background that King William's Town approached the end of the nineteenth century and the outbreak of the South African War.

1.2 Historiographical Strands - Urban History, Social History, Local History and the New Cultural History

The form taken by this thesis is the result of the merging of several historiographical strands: urban history, social history, local history and, to a degree, the new cultural history.

Urban history, in the guise it currently enjoys in Europe, owes its origins to the proliferation of sub-specialisations within historical scholarship in Britain and the United States of America in the 1960s and early

9. D. A. Webb, "A Survey of Fortifications in the Province of Queen Adelaide and British Kaffraria, 1835 - 1866", Annals of the Cape Provincial Museums, 1 (6), 1989, p. 220.

1970s.¹⁰ These included social history, oral history, women's history, family history and a host of others. The most "exuberantly expansive" of these in Britain was urban history.¹¹ It came to be identified with Leicester University and its high priest and chief disciple, Jim Dyos. At the same time in the United States, the New Urban History was being developed which, unlike urban history in Britain, did not revolve around one man or even one university.¹²

The 1970s were, in the words of Cannadine,

"a halcyon decade for urban history, which expanded with zest, buoyancy and success, which made all of Clio's other recent offspring seem but ugly ducklings by comparison."¹³

Amongst the developments were the Studies in Urban History series Dyos began in 1970, and which delivered five volumes in rapid succession; the transformation of the Urban History Newsletter into the Urban History Yearbook; numerous publications including the impressive The Victorian City: Images and Reality; and ever increasing numbers at Urban History conferences.¹⁴

In the 1980s both urban history in Britain and the New Urban History in the United States suffered a loss of direction. In the case of the New Urban History, this resulted from growing doubts about the quantitative methodology utilised. In Britain, it resulted from the untimely death of Jim Dyos in 1978 and the fact that no-one assumed his mantle with such zeal.¹⁵

10. D. Cannadine, "Conclusion. Urban History in the United Kingdom: the 'Dyos phenomenon' and after", in D. Cannadine & D. Reeder (Eds.), Exploring the Urban (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982), p. 203.

11. D. Cannadine, "Conclusion. Urban History in the United Kingdom: The 'Dyos phenomenon' and after", p. 203.

12. D. Cannadine, "Conclusion. Urban History in the United Kingdom: The 'Dyos phenomenon' and after", p. 203.

13. D. Cannadine, "Conclusion. Urban History in the United Kingdom: The 'Dyos phenomenon' and after", p. 205.

14. D. Cannadine, "Conclusion. Urban History in the United Kingdom: The 'Dyos phenomenon' and after", p. 206.

15. D. Cannadine, "Conclusion. Urban History in the United Kingdom: The 'Dyos phenomenon' and after", p. 203.

By the mid-1980s urban history in Britain appeared to be in decline. In the Urban History Yearbook in 1987, David Reeder wrote of "the end of an era in urban history", referring to the death of urban history's "elder statesman", Sydney Checkland, and to decisions taken by the British Urban History Group to open membership and to broaden the basis of conferences.¹⁶ At the same time Richard Trainor, in surveying the fruits of urban history research, was moved to conclude that urban history had survived its "mid-life crisis" in Britain.¹⁷

Urban history and its flagship, the Urban History Yearbook, entered the 1990s with a second wind. Some of the major trends confirming the vitality of urban history included the setting up of a European research register; the foundation of research centres in Spain and France; a new journal in Spain; the publication of three volumes of British urban history since medieval times, and the publication of a second volume synthesizing urban and social history in Scotland. These, together with the normal annual meetings and ongoing research projects pointed to the healthy state of urban history in Europe.¹⁸

This optimism was born out by the results of the Register of Research in European Urban History, which revealed nearly 1 000 individuals from eleven countries who identified themselves as having an urban history focus in their research. These included the United Kingdom (250), France (207), Spain (93), the Netherlands (57), Belgium (55), Italy (50), Federal Republic of Germany (43), Denmark (16) and Portugal (11).¹⁹

Urban history did not, of course, appear out of nowhere in the 1960s. It grew from, and branched out of, pioneering studies done earlier in Britain and the United States. In Britain the work of Asa Briggs, in particular his History of Birmingham and Victorian Cities, proved to be innovative and influential. Briggs was the first British historian to take the city seriously as a legitimate field of study. The two books were,

16. D. Reeder (Ed.), Urban History Yearbook 1987 (Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1987), p. v.

17. R. Trainor, "Review of Periodical Articles", in D. Reeder (Ed.), Urban History Yearbook 1987, p. 109.

18. R. Rodger (Ed.), Urban History Yearbook 1991, Vol. 18. (Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1991), p. v.

19. R. Rodger (Ed.), Urban History Yearbook 1991, p. v.

in Cannadine's assessment, "the fountainhead of urban history in the United Kingdom." Urban history in Britain, Cannadine characterised as "the offspring begotten from the union of Brigg's writing and Dyos's entrepreneurship."²⁰ In the United States the initial impetus came from Arthur Schlesinger Snr., and his work in focusing attention away from the Turner frontier thesis onto the city in America. Urban history, as it developed in Britain, had more in common with the earlier tradition of American urban history than the New Urban History which was a reaction to it.²¹

Dyos expressed reservations at the strong sociological bent of the New Urban History and at the quantitative methods which seemed to remove urban history from its prime concern, the urban fabric and its people.²² On a more fundamental level, urban history in Britain was primarily a subject and a field of study, while the New Urban History was self-consciously a methodology. In Britain particular methodology was incidental. In the United States it was the commitment to methodology that mattered, the city was incidental.²³

While urban history has grown and matured in Europe and taken root elsewhere in the world, historians in South Africa have been slow to realise the potential offered by urban history as a field of research. Urban studies have not been lacking. Indeed, one of the earliest was produced by W. M. Macmillan in 1915 at Rhodes University.²⁴ What has been lacking is a commitment and involvement in methodological issues of urban history, as Christopher Saunders had pinpointed in a valuable contribution and a major survey of urban history. An indication of the relative gap between urban studies in South Africa and urban studies in Britain, and a measure of lost opportunities, is the conference arranged by H. L. Watts in 1968 focusing on

20. D. Cannadine, "Conclusion. Urban History in the United Kingdom", pp. 215 - 216.

21. D. Cannadine, "Conclusion. Urban History in the United Kingdom", p. 219.

22. D. Cannadine, "Conclusion. Urban History in the United Kingdom", p. 214.

23. D. Cannadine, "Conclusion. Urban History in the United Kingdom", p. 219.

24. C. Saunders, "Methodological Issues in South African Urban History" (unpublished draft report for the H.S.R.C., 1990), p. 9. I am indebted to Christopher Saunders for a draft of the report.

cities in South Africa.²⁵ Other than an important contribution by Maynard Swanson²⁶ (from outside South Africa), the conference was dominated by academics from disciplines other than history. Even the section, "History and Development of Towns" drew on the work of geographers. Two years before, Jim Dyos produced his watershed conference in Britain which launched urban history there.²⁷

The relatively untouched field of urban history in South Africa and the reluctance of those working with urbanisation to engage in methodological and related issues is also illustrated in the pages of the Urban History Yearbook. Only a handful of South African topics feature. To date, Gordon Pirie, a geographer, remains the only one to have published in the Yearbook.²⁸ His 1985 article was a pioneering study of South African urban history in many respects, but it has remained a lone example. Subsequently, references to urban history in South Africa in the sections devoted to surveying the latest research in these, books and articles, have been extremely limited. In 1987 there was a brief mention of a conference held in 1986 in Johannesburg; and mention of an article by Gordon Pirie and D. M. Hart in the Journal of Urban History on urban segregation in Johannesburg.²⁹ In 1988 Alan Mabin's article on labour, capital and class struggle in Kimberley from Historical Geography rated a brief mention, as did J. Crush's study of Swazi migrant workers to the Rand; Gordon Pirie's examination of the Johannesburg transport system and C. M. Rogerson's study on feeding the common people of Johannesburg.³⁰ The current bibliography section contained a rather disparate handful of South African works.³¹ In 1989 no South African research

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25. H. L. Watts (Ed.), Focus on Cities. Proceedings of a Conference Organized by the Institute for Social Research, ... 8th - 12th July 1968 (Institute for Social Research, University of Natal, Durban, 1970).
 26. M. W. Swanson, "Reflections on the Urban History of South Africa: Some Problems and Possibilities, with Special Reference to Durban", in H. L. Watts (Ed.), Focus on Cities, pp. 142 - 149.
 27. H. J. Dyos (Ed.), The Study of Urban History (Edward Arnold, London, 1968), p. v.
 28. G. H. Pirie, "South African Urban History", in D. Reeder (Ed.), Urban History Yearbook 1985 (Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1985), pp. 18 - 29.
 29. R. Trainor, "Review of Periodical Articles", p. 113.
 30. R. Rodger (Ed.), Urban History Yearbook 1988 (Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1988), p. 104.
 31. R. Rodger (Ed.), Urban History Yearbook 1988, pp 119 - 172.

was listed under the latest articles, theses and books and in 1990 only an article by S. P. Rule on the historical geography of Johannesburg was featured. In 1991 two articles, one by Paul la Hausse on Amalaita in Durban and by C. M. Reintges on urbanisation in a South African township were mentioned.³²

Even when South African historians have displayed an awareness of historiographical trends in urban history, these have not been translated into their own work to any great extent. Keith Tankard, in his meticulously researched thesis on East London, provides a good overview of urban history in France, the United States, Britain and Australia, but ends by arguing that studies "in the traditional mould" are necessary to provide a "foundation" for urban history.³³ There are two significant exceptions to this. Patricia Scott's thesis on early Victorian Grahamstown consciously set out to apply some of the methods pioneered in urban history in Britain.³⁴ The other notable exception, Vivian Bickford-Smith's thesis on commerce, class and ethnicity in Cape Town, also drew on some of the ideas of urban history in Britain whilst firmly locating the study in the debate on the relationship between class and race in colonial society, to provide a major contribution to South African urban history.³⁵

The rather ad hoc featuring of urban history studies in the Urban History Yearbook is not a true reflection of the work that was being done throughout the 1980s. Rather, it is a measure of how little South African historians were prepared to consider methodological issues and to publish in international journals on urban history. The neglect of methodological and philosophical issues by urban historians in South Africa has been highlighted by Christopher Saunders. Amongst the reasons he puts forward for the fact that no systematic attempt to discuss methodological issues in urban history had occurred in South Africa are the empirical bias

32. R. Rodger (Ed.), Urban History Yearbook 1990, Vol. 17 (Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1990), p. 301; R. Rodger (Ed.), Urban History Yearbook 1991, Vol. 18, p. 254.

33. K. P. T. Tankard, "The Development of East London Through Four Decades of Municipal Control 1873 - 1914" (PhD Thesis, Rhodes University, 1990), pp. 20 - 21.

34. P. E. Scott, "An Approach to the Urban History of Early Victorian Grahamstown 1832 - 53 with Particular Reference to the Interiors and Material Culture of Domestic Dwellings" (MA Thesis, Rhodes University, 1987).

35. J. V. Bickford-Smith, "Commerce, Class and Ethnicity in Cape Town, 1875 to 1902" (PhD Thesis, Cambridge University, 1988).

of the majority of South African historians where the study of method is viewed as unnecessary and complicating; and an awareness of the difficulties of coming to grips with method.³⁶ His important study is, in fact, a timely and pioneering effort in addressing the issues associated with urban history in this country. Commissioned by the Human Sciences Research Council, the comprehensive report reviews the state of the discipline, identifies and examines the issues, and charts a possible way forward for the future.

Amongst the problems he identifies in South African urban history include works that are too descriptive and lack appropriate analytical detail.³⁷ The significance of urban history, as Saunders sees it, is that the growth of cities and towns, together with the associated process of industrialisation, "lies at the heart" of the great transformation to modern society. An understanding of the history of urban areas "can help us identify those forces which have promoted, and those which have hindered, change in the society as a whole."³⁸ Future developments, he argues, need to be methodologically sound:

" ... if urban history is to advance it must follow the best of the new work and not merely produce an ever expanding number of local, narrowly-focused and heavily descriptive studies. Put another way, it must ask the right questions, and it cannot do that without consideration of method."³⁹

The other strand in this thesis is that of social history. Like urban history, social history in its present style, owes its origins to the proliferation of sub-disciplines of history in the late 1960s and early 1970s (the rapid rise of what Sutcliffe called "adjectival history").⁴⁰ Defining social history has presented practitioners with more than a few problems. Paradoxically it has proved easier to define what it is not, rather than what it is.

36. C. Saunders, "Methodological Issues in South African Urban History", pp. 1 - 2.

37. C. Saunders, "Methodological Issues in South African Urban History", p. 2.

38. C. Saunders, "Methodological Issues in South African Urban History", pp. 3 - 4.

39. C. Saunders, "Methodological Issues in South African Urban History", p. 18.

40. A. Sutcliffe, "Whither Urban History?", History Today, 33, July 1983, p. 48.

In 1985 the popular history journal, History Today, ran a series in which leading exponents of various branches of history were requested to define their specialities. Seven exponents of social history in the United Kingdom contributed to the "What is Social History?" article.⁴¹ Only one, David Cannadine, attempted a clear definition:

"... social history encompasses the human as well as the economic relations of different classes, the character of family and household life, the conditions of labour and leisure, the attitude of man towards nature, and the cumulative influence of these subjects on culture, including religion, architecture, literature, music, learning and thought."⁴²

Carol Kotzé, in her social history of Windhoek, points to two key characteristics of social history: an interest in the "common man" and an emphasis on the nature and results of changes in the social structure.⁴³

What is significant here is the relationship between urban history and social history. One tendency is to see tensions between the two, with each vying for dominance. Sutcliffe asked of urban history in the 1980s, "Is it merely the footman who opened the door for social history, the big growth field of the 1970s?"⁴⁴ Urban history, especially in the United States, is often defined as a sub-discipline of social history. But as Gilbert A. Stelter has argued, it is both less and more than social history. It is less in that the urban dimension represents only a portion of total history. It is more in so far as the history of cities and towns touches on topics beyond the sphere of social history. Stelter's "rule of thumb" offers the best explanation:

"I accept the approach advocated by Jim Dyos who felt that urban history is a field of knowledge in which many disciplines converge and that it is not a single discipline or sub-discipline in an exclusive sense."⁴⁵

It is perhaps in this sense that Paul Maylam and Gary Baines refer to "urban social history."⁴⁶

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41. "What is Social History?", History Today, 35, March 1985, pp. 34 - 44.
 42. D. Cannadine, "What is Social History?", History Today, 35, March 1985, p. 42.
 43. C. E. Kotzé, "A Social History of Windhoek, 1915 - 1939" (PhD Thesis, University of South Africa, 1990), p. viii.
 44. A. Sutcliffe, "Whither Urban History?", p. 48.
 45. G. A. Stelter, "The Political Economy of the City - Building Process", in D. Fraser & A. Sutcliffe (Eds.), The Pursuit of Urban History (Edward Arnold, London, 1983), p. 169.
 46. P. Maylam, "Aspects of African Urbanization in the Durban Area Before 1940", in R. Haines & G. Buijs (Eds.), The Struggle for Social and Economic Space (University of Durban-Westville, Durban, 1985), p. 41.; G. Baines, "Port Elizabeth's Place in South African Historiography" (Paper delivered to Eastern Cape Historical Organization Workshop, King William's Town, 13 April 1990),

The third strand running through this thesis is local history. The study of local history in South Africa, as K. W. Smith pointed out in 1974, is "still in its infancy and has not been accorded the same recognition as elsewhere."⁴⁷ Where local histories exist, the emphasis has been placed on the foundation and physical growth of towns, the naming of streets, and the establishing of schools and hospitals. The purpose, in most cases, is to produce publicity or commemorative material.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, the focus of most material tends to be narrow and antiquarian. In a nutshell, local history is frequently parochial history.

This is not unique to South Africa. Carol Kammen, in a guide to local history, produced by the American Association for State and Local History, attempted to subvert the second-rate amateur image of local history in the United States. In defining it she took issue with the outmoded English definition, which was associated with Leicester University in the 1950s and early 1960s, that local history is the study of the origin, growth and decline of communities.⁴⁹ She also dismissed the view that it is only national history writ small. For her, local history is

"the study of past events or people or groups, in a given geographic area - a study based on a wide variety of documentary evidence and placed in a comparative context that should be regional and national."⁵⁰

Despite the limited geographic focus, it is a broad field of study and can include the political, social and economic history of the community. Religious history, women's history, biography and cultural history can all fall under the umbrella of this type of local history.⁵¹

The relationship between local history and urban history was highlighted by the editor of the Urban History Yearbook in 1988, when he pointed to

p. 3.

47. K. W. Smith, "From Frontier to Midlands. A History of the Graaff-Reinet District, 1786 - 1910" (PhD thesis, Rhodes University, 1974), p. xv.

48. K. W. Smith, "From Frontier to Midlands", p. xv.

49. C. Kammen, On Doing Local History (American Association for State & Local History, Nashville, 1986), pp. 4 - 5.

50. C. Kammen, On Doing Local History, pp. 4 - 5.

51. C. Kammen, On Doing Local History, p. 5.

" ... the continuing flow of research in urban history, a trend which owes much to the deep reservoir of interest among local historians concerned to set the specific urban experience of their town or region within the wider context of broader themes in urban history."⁵²

One of the common approaches was the comparison to others, and the linking of allied economic and other functions.⁵³

This sort of approach is not very common in the writing of local history in South Africa yet, but it is something to which Richard Bouch very succinctly and aptly drew attention in 1991 at a workshop arranged by the Eastern Cape Historical Organization (ECHO), an umbrella body of local historical societies. Sketching his own research on Queenstown, he appealed for local history that would set the local situation against a wider backdrop.⁵⁴

A fourth strand running through the thesis, perhaps more muted in places than the others, is that of cultural history and an interest in material culture. Cultural history in South Africa has long been the preserve of museums and certain departments at Afrikaans universities. In practice it has become narrowly focused and has acquired certain ideological overtones.⁵⁵ This need not be so. The new cultural history initiative offers potentially fruitful insights into studies of urban culture. A relatively new and unsung development that grew out of a reaction against social history in the United States, it draws on elements of the Annales mentalités historians and English social anthropologists.⁵⁶ The impact of Clifford Geertz, in particular, has been notable. The new cultural history, according to Lynn Hunt' "begins from the premise that individual expression takes place within a general idiom."⁵⁷ Its aim is interpretative, to decipher meaning rather than

52. R. Rodger (Ed.), Urban History Yearbook 1988, p. vi .

53. R. Rodger (Ed.), Urban History Yearbook 1988, p. vi .

54. R. Bouch, "Why We Need Integrated-Approach Regional Histories" (Paper presented to Eastern Cape Historical Organization Workshop, King William's Town, 13 April 1990), p. 1.

55. D. A. Webb, "The Cheshire Cat's Advice and the Problems of History in Museums", SAMAB, 18(7), 1989, pp. 247 - 248.

56. L. Hunt (Ed.), The New Cultural History (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1989), pp. 11 - 12.

57. L. Hunt (Ed.), The New Cultural History, p. 12.

to infer casual laws of explanation.⁵⁸ The ideas of the French philosopher, Michel Foucault, have also been appropriated by the new cultural historians:

"The body of Foucault's writing has seldom been recognized for what it is: an alternative model for writing the history of culture ..."⁵⁹

Culture has not been ignored by historians writing about urban experience in South Africa, but little attention has been paid to methodological or historiographical aspects. Nonetheless some extremely innovative and informative studies have been produced which have generally centred on examinations of the black petty bourgeoisie in relationship to their political background.⁶⁰ The link between material culture studies and cultural history in South Africa is evident in the emphasis on cultural history in most museums. But a link between this and urban history also exists. In one of the few studies of urban history in South Africa to consciously apply some of the methods of urban history in Britain, Patricia Scott investigated the material culture of domestic dwellings and the urban history of Grahamstown. She also provided a useful discussion of the historiography of material culture studies.⁶¹ That this pioneering study has been all but ignored in literature dealing with urban history is in itself indicative of the neglect of urban history in South Africa. Scott's thesis is omitted in a section dealing with regional studies in a recent bibliography of South African history. The other studies of Grahamstown produced as Rhodes University theses are included.⁶² On another level, material culture and urban history are linked in the writings of Asa Briggs. Briggs' influence on the development of urban history in Britain has already been discussed. In 1988 he completed his Victorian trilogy with a study of material culture. Victorian People and Victorian Cities was followed by Victorian Things. The focus moved from the people and their urban environment into their homes. His aim

58. L. Hunt (Ed.), The New Cultural History, p. 12.

59. P. O'Brien, "Michel Foucault's History of Culture", in L. Hunt (Ed.) The New Cultural History, p. 25.

60. For example, A. Odendaal, "South Africa's Black Victorians: Sport, Race and Class in South Africa Before Union", Africa Perspective, 1 (7 & 8), 1989, pp. 72 - 93; B. Willan, "An African in Kimberley: Sol. T. Plaatje, 1894 - 1898", in S. Marks & R. Rathbone (Eds.), Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa (Longman, Harlow, 1982), pp. 240 - 258.

61. P. E. Scott, "An Approach to the Urban History of Early Victorian Grahamstown".

62. B. J. Liebenberg, K. W. Smith & S. B. Spies (Eds.), A Bibliography of South African History 1978 - 1989 (University of South Africa, Pretoria, 1992).

was "to consider the things which they designed, named, made, advertised, bought and sold, listed, counted, collected, gave to others, threw away and bequeathed."⁶³ The book reflects an enormous knowledge of the period and the subject. Unlike books by collectors of Victoriana, Briggs set out to explore not only specific Victorian objects, but also the relationship between the various categories of Victorian things.⁶⁴ While it is tempting to hope that Briggs has set the pace for new trends in cultural history, just as Victorian Cities led the way for British urban historians, it would appear that it has not yet provoked the same interest.

1.3 Note on Sources and Methodology

This thesis has been arranged thematically in order to provide analysis rather than excessive narrative. Descriptive narrative is, of course unavoidable, especially in dealing with a topic that has not been researched before. But a thematic approach provides a useful way of getting to grips with the subject matter in a meaningful manner and allows the linking of events to broader trends. The themes selected necessitate a certain arrangement of the material that sometimes militates against a smooth-flowing discourse. This problem was superbly stated by Shula Marks and Richard Rathbone:

"Historians should be able to write in chords, for our very medium distorts our intentions by sheer linear imperatives. We can only say one thing at a time, so that our ordering ... is necessarily arbitrary and a poor reflection of the rich texture of historical experience."⁶⁵

In order to do justice to the overlapping themes, aspects that have been discussed in different contexts have been cross-referenced with footnotes indicating further discussion.

Amongst the conventional sources utilised are the town's newspapers. During this period King William's Town possessed three newspapers. The Kaffrarian Watchman and the Cape Mercury were essentially local papers. The third, Imvo Zantsundu / Zabantsundu, had a much wider distribution throughout the Cape

63. A. Briggs, Victorian Things (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1988), p. 12.

64. A. Briggs, Victorian Things, p. 13.

65. S. Marks & R. Rathbone (Eds.), Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa, p. 9.

Colony. They all represent a very rich source of information, but historians utilising them need to possess a critical awareness of the weaknesses of the material.⁶⁶

In trying to approach the history of the town in a novel and comprehensive manner use has been made of a number of archival sources not generally utilised. These include the Deeds Office series, the town's Burial Registers, the Municipal Valuation Rolls and the criminal records. These records, together with political voters rolls and various directories, were used to build up a picture of the town and its inhabitants at the time of the South African War. This vast amount of raw data requires computer-aided sorting if one is to provide a proper analysis and avoid an over-reliance on impressionistic evidence. In this case, a data base programme was used. Various methodological problems, such as coding, sorting and the interpretation of the material emerged. Some impressionistic conclusions and assumptions cannot be entirely ruled out due to inconsistencies (such as spelling of names), illegible writing and gaps in the source materials. Although these methodological issues are dealt with in the context of this study, they are aspects which need more detailed discussion than space permits here. The problems and limitations of this method notwithstanding, it reveals trends in the socio-economic lay-out of the town; facilitates the identification of certain sites, such as the location of some of the town's important industries, churches and canteens; and provides useful information on residents across a broad social spectrum. Copies of the computerised material have been lodged with the Kaffrarian Museum in King William's Town.

What has emerged from this exercise is that a complete mapping of the town to show property values, the social division of the town in relation to the geographical distribution of residents and many other issues, is possible. The sheer volume of data to be handled, and the amount of work involved in designing programme formats, punching in data, checking it against the originals, sorting and resorting in the required formats is quite daunting. A comprehensive knowledge of the available computer software is required to adequately manipulate the volume of data in such a project. While being fertile ground for further research in urban history in this country, it would probably be better carried out as a co-operative effort by a team of researchers.

66. D. M. Moore, "The Local Historian and the Press", *Contree*, 19, January 1986, pp. 5 - 15.

Although the results of the various censuses are available in the Cape Parliamentary Papers, one of the biggest drawbacks in the study of urban history in South Africa is the absence of the individual census returns for the nineteenth century.⁶⁷ The existence of a few of the experimental census returns for 1904 in King William's Town and the information they contain serves to highlight the tragedy.⁶⁸

The general topics covered in this thesis tend to follow the list provided by Buck in the 1987 Urban History Yearbook - urban population, physical structure, social structure, economic activity, urban politics, urban planning and the environment, and urban culture - with adaptations to the period and location of the study.⁶⁹

67. J. V. Bickford-Smith, "Commerce, Class and Ethnicity in Cape Town, 1875 to 1902", p. 33.

68. CAD, CSS 3/1/7, Returns Received: King William's Town, 1904 Mar.

69. D. Buck, "The Study of Urban History in the People's Republic of China", in D. Reeder, (Ed.), Urban History Yearbook 1987, p. 61.

CHAPTER 2: "LIVING AS WE DO" - SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND RACIAL ATTITUDES

A guide for "Tourists, Sportsmen, Invalids and Settlers", published in 1899, provided a concise contemporary view of King William's Town on the eve of the war. "King", as the town was frequently known, lay on the left bank of the Buffalo River in the foothills of the Amatola mountains, in the midst of beautiful countryside. It had been the capital of the Colony of British Kaffraria until 1865:

"The town is still an important commercial centre with a large native trade, largely derived from the territories beyond the Transkei. The Kaffir population of the neighbouring districts amounts to 120,000 persons. Many of the merchants here have houses in East London, and wool, skins and other colonial produce are sent down by rail to the port, 42 miles distant. There are manufactories of waggons, carts, soap, candles, leather, matches, sweets, and jams; sugar-boiling, etc., being one of the most flourishing industries."¹

The town was well-established and was the centre of a prosperous district:

"The town is well laid out and covers a large area of ground; the stores and houses are solidly built, for the most part of stone, many of the shops having good frontages. Large numbers of German settlers, located in the neighbourhood, are employed in market gardening so that the town is well supplied with vegetables. The large native population of the district is mainly engaged in cultivating cereals. Cattle and sheep farming are extensively carried on. King is the head quarters of the Cape Police."²

Map 1 shows the location of King William's Town in relation to the rest of the Cape Colony. To really understand the King William's Town community on the eve of the war, it is necessary to look beyond the tourist guide descriptions.

Race and class have long been major themes in South African historiography.³ They remain central to any understanding of a community in nineteenth century South Africa. The concept of "community" has been analyzed and discussed in some detail by Belinda Bozzoli. The third University of the Witwatersrand History Workshop in 1984, with the theme "Class, Community and Conflict: Local Perspectives", sought to address "one of the great presumed dichotomies" in South Africa, the dichotomy between "class" on one hand and

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1. A. S. Brown & G. G. Brown (Eds.), The Guide to South Africa for the Use of Tourists, Sportsmen, Invalids and Settlers (Sampson Low, Marston & Co., London, 1899), p. 356.
 2. A. S. Brown & G. G. Brown (Eds.), The Guide to South Africa, p. 356.
 3. C. Saunders, The Making of the South African Past (David Philip, Cape Town, 1988), pp. 1 - 2.

"race", "culture" and "community" on the other.⁴ The term "community", as used in South Africa, has a host of different meanings.⁵ Bozzoli discussed two schools of thought on the subject. The first is that community is little more than an invention of active intellectuals and ideologues.⁶ The second seeks to explore the way in which the term relates to the notion of class. Citing Gareth Stedman Jones, John Foster and John Cumber as exponents of this school, Bozzoli argued they treat the term as a concrete reality and as a force which, in certain circumstances, enhances rather than contradicts the class consciousness of its members.⁷ Lynn Hunt, argues that

"historians of culture must develop a more differentiated notion of community and ritual, one more sensitive to the ways in which different groups, including women, use ritual and community to foster their own separate positions."⁸

The term, as it is applied here to King William's Town on the eve of the South African War, is both misleading and useful. In one sense it obscures the fact that there were various divisions within King William's Town society, particularly along the lines of race and class. This raises the question as to whether there was not more than one community in the town. The main exponents of the "King" identity and community feeling were upper middle class whites who formed the elite of the town. This group, whose views are most clearly represented in the newspapers, along with those of the middle class blacks, had very definite ideas on the ordering of society along the lines of race and class.

2.1 Population and Settlement Patterns

King William's Town at the start of the last decade of the nineteenth century was the seventh largest urban centre in the Cape Colony, preceded only by Cape Town, Kimberley, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown,

4. B. Bozzoli, "Class, Community and Ideology in the Evolution of South African Society", in B. Bozzoli (Ed.), Class, Community and Conflict (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1987), p. 2.

5. B. Bozzoli, "Class, Community and Ideology", p. 4 - 5.

6. B. Bozzoli, "Class, Community and Ideology", p. 6.

7. B. Bozzoli, "Class, Community and Ideology", p. 6.

8. L. Hunt (Ed.), The New Cultural History (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1989), pp. 11 - 12.

Beaconsfield and Paarl.⁹ Table 2.1 provides a comparison, in terms of the gender breakdown, with the town's closest urban neighbours in the region.

TABLE 2.1: URBAN POPULATIONS, EASTERN CAPE, 1891 AND 1904						
URBAN CENTRE	1891			1904		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
East London	3 888	3 036	6 924	16 354	8 866	25 220
Grahamstown	4 875	5 623	10 498	6 738	7 149	13 887
King William's Town	3 522	3 704	7 226	4 935	4 571	9 506
Port Elizabeth	12 346	10 920	23 266	18 948	14 011	32 959
Queenstown	1 946	2 148	4 094	4 743	4 873	9 616

Source: Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.6 - '92, Cape of Good Hope Census, 1891, Table XVIII, p. 16, "Population of Cities and Chief Towns, Comparative Summary".; Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.19 - 1905, Cape of Good Hope Census, 1904, Table XX, pp. 12 - 13, "Population Centres of 2,000 Inhabitants and Over".

The town enjoyed a marginally larger population than its closest rival, East London. The gender distribution showing a greater number of females over males suggests a more stable, longer-established community. The predominance of males in East London suggests recent arrivals at a developing and growing centre. King William's Town was, in fact, losing ground to other urban centres in the Colony. In the 1875 census, it had been the sixth largest urban centre and its population was more than double that of East London.¹⁰ By 1904 King William's Town had been overtaken by Graaff-Reinet, Uitenhage and Queenstown in terms of population size, and had declined to the status of the tenth largest urban centre in the Cape Colony.¹¹

9. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.6 - '92, Cape of Good Hope Census, 1891, Table XVIII, p. 16, "Population of Cities and Chief Towns, Comparative Summary".

10. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.6 - '92, Cape of Good Hope, Census, 1891, Table XVIII, p. 16.

11. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.19 - 1905, Cape of Good Hope Census, 1904, Table XX, pp. 12 - 13, "Population Centres of 2,000 Inhabitants and Over".

In racial terms, the population of the town in 1891 consisted of 4 870 whites and 2 356 blacks, as set out in Table 2.2.¹² King William's Town did not exist in isolation. It was the centre of a large and populous district which consisted of white farming areas and small villages such as Kei Road, Braunschweig and Frankfort; and large black rural locations. The total population of the King William's Town district, including the town, was 86 983 in 1891.¹³ A comparison with the neighbouring districts, as set out in Table 2.3, shows that the King William's Town district was numerically much larger than its neighbours.

The number of blacks in the King William Town district far exceeded the number of whites. Excluding the town itself, the district was inhabited by only 3 735 whites and by 76 022 blacks.¹⁴ It is clear from the 1904 Census that the black population of the King William's Town district increased significantly between 1891 and 1904 from 78 378 to 93 534. In 1904 whites made up only 9,88 % of the population of the district.¹⁵ Exactly how reliable the census figures are, especially with regard to blacks in the rural areas, is open to some doubt. The information is, however, the most reliable to hand and does assist in establishing broad outlines.

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12. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.6. - '92, Cape of Good Hope Census, 1891, Table XXII, pp. 38 - 39, "Return of Population: Areas in Detail".
 13. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.6 - '92, Cape of Good Hope, Census, 1891, Table XIX, pp. 18 - 19, "Return of Population: Urban and Rural".
 14. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.6 - '92, Cape of Good Hope, Census, 1891, Table XIX, pp. 18 - 19. Figures adjusted by the removal of the King William's Town urban population.
 15. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.6. - '92, Cape of Good Hope Census, pp. 18 - 19, Table XIX, "Return of Population: Urban and Rural"; Statistical Register of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope ... 1904 (Government Printer, Cape Town, 1905), pp. 26 - 27, Table No. 3, "Population, Census of 1904".

TABLE 2.2: POPULATION OF KING WILLIAM'S TOWN : RACIAL CLASSIFICATION, 1891 AND 1904.

The population of the town in terms of the racial classification used in the 1891 and 1904 Census was:

RACE	1891			1904		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
European or White	2 386	2 484	4 870	3 077	2 820	5 897
Malay	3	2	5	1	1	2
Hottentot	85	101	186	165	186	351
Fingo	111	124	235	283	240	523
Kafir and Bechuana	848	853	1 701	1 229	1 195	2 424
Mixed and Other	89	140	229	180	129	309
GRAND TOTAL	3 522	3 704	7 226	4 935	4 571	9 506

Sources: Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.6 - '92, Cape of Good Hope Census, Table XXII, p. 38 - 39, "Return of Population: Areas in Detail"; Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.19 - 1905, Cape of Good Hope, Census, 1904, Table XXVIII, p. 42 - 43, "Return of Population: Areas in Detail".

Residential patterns and the spatial distribution of the population of King William's Town was both a reflection of and a reinforcement of the social situation. Map 2 indicates the five municipal wards. The town consisted of several distinct areas which had grown together and were administered as a unit by the Borough Council. The original part of King William's Town, known as Old Town, covered the Smith Street / Berkeley Street / Mackinnon Street area. This, together with the adjacent Military Reserve and the Durban Street / Amatola Row area made up Wards 1 and 2. This part of King William's Town originated when Sir Harry Smith re-established King William's Town in December 1847. When the town expanded in the 1850s, it did so to the south-east across a natural barrier, Fleet Ditch, along the flats above the Buffalo River. This area became known as New Town. By the 1860s it had come to include two settlements that had been developed in the mid-1850s some distance from the epicentre of the town: Pensioners' Village and the German Village. These, together with housing on the hills above the plain, became Wards 3, 4 and 5. By the late 1890s, a small housing area, the West Bank, had been started across the river from Old Town. There were, in addition, four locations for black residents attached to the town: Brownlee Station, Tsolo,

TABLE 2.3: POPULATION OF SELECTED DISTRICTS IN THE EASTERN CAPE, 1891 AND 1904.

The figures are for the entire districts, including the urban populations.

DISTRICT	1891			1904		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
East London	11 075	10 463	21 538	28 618	21 103	49 721
Albany	11 417	11 960	23 377	14 774	15 101	29 875
King William's Town	40 459	46 524	86 983	49 304	54 480	103 784
Port Elizabeth	13 580	11 828	25 408	27 363	19 469	46 832
Queenstown	21 645	22 250	43 895	18 007	18 121	36 128

Source: Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.6 - '92, Cape of Good Hope Census, p. 18 - 19, Table XIX, "Return of Population: Urban and Rural"; Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.19 - 1905, Cape of Good Hope, Census, 1904, pp. 20 - 21, Table XXV, "Return of Population: Urban & Rural".

Bidhli (also called Beasley) and Ridsdel. Brownlee and Ridsdel were located on the northern edge of King William's Town. The others were situated across the Buffalo River on the western side.

Significant numbers of blacks were living in the town itself rather than the locations. Generally, black residents were not entered into the Municipal Valuation Rolls by name, except for the handful who owned property, such as J. T. Jabavu and Paul Xiniwe. In a few cases, "Natives" was entered under the name of the tenant of the property.¹⁶ But piecing together evidence from the Municipal Valuation Rolls, Parliamentary Voters Rolls, Municipal Burial Registers and various municipal records relating to overcrowding and health regulations facilitates building up a picture of where blacks lived in the town. Most blacks in King William's Town tended to live in four main areas: in the vicinity of Victoria Street and Buffalo Road; the Buffalo Road / Henry Street area; the Smith Street / Berkeley Street area and at the Old Mule Train establishment. Another area providing accommodation for blacks appears to have been on the

16. CAD, 3/KWT 7/1/3/4/3, Municipal Valuation Roll, 1898-99, Ward 3; 3/KWT 7/1/3/3/3, Municipal Valuation Roll, 1898-99, Ward 2; 3/KWT 7/1/3/6/2, Municipal Valuation Roll, 1901-02, Ward 5.

outskirts of Ward 5 at the various slaughterhouses run by the town's butchers.¹⁷ The Mule Train was municipal property and probably housed employees and their dependants. The other two areas, in Old Town and in Ward 5, were the poorer parts of town and low on the social scale. Blacks in town were considered "undesirables" and from time to time there were sporadic attempts to expel them from the town.¹⁸ Map 3 shows the main areas inhabited by blacks in the town. There were, of course, many black servants living all over town.¹⁹

Although there were areas of town where blacks tended to live, these were not racially exclusive. Whites and blacks lived intermingled. There are numerous examples of whites living in the shanty areas.²⁰ In such areas the lower edge of the white social spectrum and the upper part of the black one merged. In 1899, for example, a white named Fischer stayed with his family at Soga's boarding house. Racial tensions were, however, not far below the surface in such situations. He assaulted a "Coloured" man for speaking to his daughter.²¹ Dutch-speaking residents made up the lowest class of whites and their residential areas tended to be similar to those of blacks in the town.²² The Buffalo Road area and Brownlee Station were two of the areas with Dutch-speaking residents.²³

17. See for example, King William's Town Borough Council, Burial Register 1/1/1898 - 31/12/1908, Entry 5936, 17/3/1900; CAD, 3/KWT 7/1/3/5/2 Municipal Valuation Roll, 1898 - 99, Ward 4; Cape of Good Hope, List of Persons Residing in the Electoral Division of King William's Town ... 1899 ... Qualified to Vote (W.A. Richard & Sons, Cape Town, 1899).

18. Discussed in detail below.

19. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1898 (H.D. Blewitt, King William's Town, 1898), p. 19.

20. S. E. Caldwell, "The Course and Results of the Plague Outbreaks in King William's Town, 1900 - 1907" (Honours Article, University of South Africa, 1987), p. 51. The analysis of plague cases in 1907 shows clearly how whites and blacks resided side by side in the Smith Street area.

21. Daily Watchman, 13/1/1899, "The Day's Doings".

22. CAD, 3/KWT 3/1/1/26, Letter: Town Clerk - OC Army Service Corps, 22/2/1899.

23. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/321, Case 680, 4/11/1901; AG 921, Letter: Resident Magistrate KWT - Secretary, Law Dept., 19/2/1901. Vivian Bickford-Smith more precisely refers to speakers of "the Dutch patois". J. V. Bickford-Smith, "Commerce, Class and Ethnicity in Cape Town, 1875 to 1902" (PhD Thesis, Cambridge University, 1988), p. 120.

The settlement patterns of the town were, in no small measure, the physical manifestation of divisions, especially social ones, that existed in the community. In a sense, each ward was a microcosm of the whole, since each ward tended to have a section, usually close to the river, which was on the lower end of the social spectrum.²⁴ In each ward there were large villas, reflecting the taste and wealth of the town's upper middle class residents. But at the turn of the century a new elite area, Hospital Hill, had been opened for housing and the elite of the town were gravitating to the heights on the eastern side of town.²⁵

A typical villa was spacious and well-shaded, as can be seen in the description of a "charming property" in Queens Road:

"The house is well and substantially built, and contains Six Rooms, Kitchen, Pantry and Outhouse, a Verandah on three sides."²⁶

This contrasts sharply with the backyard shanties rented to blacks by absentee landlords. A black family in Alice Street rented one such shanty. It was constructed of corrugated iron, with a rough earth floor and had no windows and no ventilation. It was let by A. Ballack (a German who was described as a "European labourer") on a monthly basis. The Medical Officer of Health maintained it was not more than "a small shed" for calves, adding, "I consider the building unfit for human habitation."²⁷ Johan Philip Bock, another German, was found to have between 18 and 30 tenants at a house in Buffalo Road.²⁸

2.2 Social Divisions: Leading Citizens and Undesirables

King William's Town, like Victorian Britain and settler communities in the other British colonies, was a stratified society. One of the features of Victorian society was that people classified both themselves and

24. This assessment is based on fieldwork on the architecture of the town as part of a study of the historical architecture of King William's Town done with Franco Frescura of the Department of Architecture, University of Port Elizabeth. The results are to appear in print in the course of 1994.

25. Cape Mercury, 8/10/1898, "Local and General".

26. Cape Mercury, 3/5/1898, Advertisement, "T. W. Heywood's Sales".

27. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/317, Case 185, 30/3/1901.

28. Cape Mercury, 16/8/1898, "The Public Health".

others along various lines - gender, colour, class, occupation, legal status, religion and ethnicity.²⁹ Of these, class and race were the two greatest determinants, and the interplay between the two has dominated South African historiography in the last two decades.³⁰

Writing about a later period in Britain, Arthur Marwick argued that a wealth of contemporary material made it abundantly clear that it was a very rigid class society, "even if the same material does not furnish evidence for any precise analysis of the class structure."³¹ Turn-of-the-century King William's Town displayed the same characteristics and the contemporary sources contributing to this impression provide the same problems when it comes to analysing the class structure in detail. Alan Armstrong provided detailed guidelines for quantifying social stratification of nineteenth century Britain based on information on occupations.³² Patricia Scott, applied this methodology to early Victorian Grahamstown, with modifications to allow for social mobility.³³

The quantification of census returns, directories and other data to delineate social class can become a veritable methodological and mathematical minefield. Scott, aware of these problems, balanced out her quantitative analysis by linking it to spatial structure.³⁴ It is not the intention to attempt a similar analysis here. Such an analysis for King William's Town should form a separate study in itself. Instead, the

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29. R. Ross, "Structure and Culture in Pre-industrial Cape Town: A Survey of Knowledge and Ignorance", in W. G. James & M. Simons (Eds), The Angry Divide, (David Philip, Cape Town, 1989), p. 46.
 30. J. V. Bickford-Smith, "Commerce, Class and Ethnicity in Cape Town, 1875 to 1902" (PhD Thesis, Cambridge University, 1988), p. I. In his study he consciously qualifies the term "race" with inverted commas, preferring to refer to "ethnicity".
 31. A. Marwick, The Deluge British Society and the First World War (Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1986), p. 19.
 32. A. Armstrong, "The Use of Information about Occupations" in E. A. Wrigley (Ed.), Nineteenth-Century Society Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1972), pp. 191 - 310.
 33. P. E. Scott, "An Approach to the Urban History of Early Victorian Grahamstown 1832 - 53 with Particular Reference to the Interiors and Material Culture of Domestic Dwellings" (MA Thesis, Rhodes University, 1987), pp. 102 - 133.
 34. P. E. Scott, "An Approach to the Urban History of Early Victorian Grahamstown", Chapter 4.

intention is to provide a brief discussion of the social divisions in King William's Town society at the turn of the century, concentrating on how residents perceived the issue of class.

The upper echelon of King William's Town society was dominated by the mercantile and professional class. Their ranks included the leading merchants, the senior civil servants and other professional men such as attorneys, medical practitioners and ministers of religion, with a handful of manufacturers. These men and their families constituted what could be termed the upper middle class. In the absence of a genuine aristocracy (admission to which was governed by birth), they represented the aristocracy of the town.³⁵ They were, however, a purely local aristocracy of wealth. Their position, above all, underlines the social mobility of colonial society.

In King William's Town, this handful of families dominated political, economic and social life. They set the tone for the rest of society and their values were most strongly advocated in newspapers and reflected in the various social institutions of the town, ranging from the public library to the botanical gardens. Certain public rituals, such as funerals, weddings and balls re-affirmed the distinctions in society. Their names were regularly repeated in public, thus reinforcing their positions.³⁶

They perceived themselves to be the elite of the town and the community's leaders, using various terms to identify themselves to those outside their circle. They were "representative citizens", "elders and betters", "leading citizens", "carriage folk" and "men of influence."³⁷ The rest of society, depending on how they were behaving, were "humble folk" (sedately gathered to commemorate the Queen's birthday under the

35. P. E. Scott, "An Approach to the Urban History of Early Victorian Grahamstown", p. 122.

36. See for example Cape Mercury, 12/2/1902, "Coronation Celebration"; Cape Mercury, 9/6/1898, "Thursday's Dance"; Cape Mercury, 20/9/1900, "The Late Mr. L. H. King".

37. Kaffrarian Museum, Photograph, "Representative Citizens of King William's Town ... 1899"; Cape Mercury, 15/3/1898, Letter to Editor by R. Irvine; Cape Mercury, 24/5/1898, "Queen's Birthday"; Cape Mercury, 12/2/1898, Editorial, "The Grey Hospital"; Cape Mercury, 4/9/1900, Letter to Editor by "Citizen".

direction of the leading citizens) or "low class" (enjoying a drink at a working class hotel).³⁸ The rest of society was simply made up of "undesirables". The latter term covered anyone attempting to subvert middle class values of law, order, hard work and respectability imposed upon them.³⁹ The undesirables consisted, as a rule, of black residents (including "Hottentots" and "Coloureds") who populated the slums and shanties and who congregated at Fleet Ditch, the Mule Train establishment and the slaughterhouses.⁴⁰ Those whites who mixed with them were beyond the pale and were also dismissed as undesirables.⁴¹

The image the upper middle class portrayed was very idealised. It was a life of balls, concerts, recitals, church work and fashionable dress. In 1901 the Cape Mercury ran a column called "M.A.W". (Mainly About Women) which attempted to reflect "society" views and to set the standard for "correct" behaviour and dress. The image of King William's Town society that it consciously portrayed was as idealised as it was unrealistic:

"Everybody went to the Botanical Gardens on Monday afternoon to hear the Band. The weather was perfect, the gardens delightful, and the band enjoyable. Several pretty frocks were worn. Two sisters dressed exactly alike in pale grey trimmed with white silk and chiffon ... They wore black hats and carried such pretty sunshades. A tall lady dressed in fawn wore a very handsome feather ruffle. Of course there were a good many long winter coats about. These were worn open, showing pretty silk blouses, tucked; innumerable tucks being the correct thing now."⁴²

The bottom end of Fleet Ditch bordered on the Botanical Gardens, but the members of the underclass who frequented Fleet Ditch and the habitués of the Botanical Gardens were worlds apart.

The newspapers, through their coverage of the elite at work and at play, provides a very skewed impression as to the size of the class. Below them was a far broader band of middle and lower middle class (or petty bourgeoisie) residents. These included the shopkeepers, general dealers, boarding house keepers, and the

38. Cape Mercury, 24/5/1898, "Queen's Birthday"; Cape Mercury, 23/3/1898, Letter to Editor by "Ward No. 2".

39. Cape Mercury, 7/1/1901, "Magistrates Court".

40. See, for example, CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/45, Petition to Borough Council, Sept. 1897.

41. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/306, Case 55, 6/2/1899; 1/KWT 1/1/1/311, Case 710, 15/11/1899.

42. Cape Mercury, 27/7/1901, "M.A.W."

large number of clerks and salesmen employed by the merchant houses. This group also included the black modernisers who were prominent in the town, usually referred to by historians as the black "petty bourgeoisie".⁴³ Most of these were politically active and an analysis of the 1899 Voters Roll provides a good indication as to who the members of this class were.⁴⁴ Altogether some seventy-six individuals are listed. Of these about fourteen had occupations which could more accurately be termed working class (labourer, packer, foreman, messenger and porter). The rest included such occupations as policeman, clerk, tinsmith, carpenter, saddler, shoemaker, compositor, general dealer, editor, journalist, minister and school teacher - about sixty-two families all in all. But in fact lumping black modernisers together as "petty bourgeoisie" is hardly accurate. The school teachers, ministers, editors and general dealers could certainly be ranked above lower middle class. Indeed, when we look at the case of the businessmen (like J. T. Jabavu) and the black ministers (like Anglican churchman Peter Kawa), then the influence of race on class is clearly seen. The ministers should have been amongst the upper middle class like their white counterparts. Similarly, J. T. Jabavu, a political leader and editor and proprietor of a newspaper, should have been in the ranks of the upper middle class. That this was not so, was due to the colour of their skins. Historians who lump black modernisers together in one class without qualification are, in a sense, perpetuating the status to which their skin colour relegated them at the turn of the century.

Quite clearly, some of the black modernisers like Jabavu, Xiniwe and Kawa enjoyed positions of prominence with the black community, even though not openly accepted in white society. In a sense, they operated as a separate class, parallel to the white upper middle and middle class. But this point should not be overworked. They did not constitute a completely separate society. King William's Town was racially integrated inasmuch that certain areas were racially mixed residential areas. But significantly, here too, the

43. B. Willan, "An African in Kimberley : Sol T. Plaatje, 1894 - 1898", in S. Marks & R. Rathbone (Eds.), Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa (Longman, Harlow, 1982), p. 241.

44. Cape of Good Hope, List of Persons Residing in the Electoral Division of King William's Town ... 1899 ... Qualified to Vote, pp. 33 - 69.

influence of race also asserted itself. Middle class blacks lived amongst what amounted to working class whites.⁴⁵

Like upper middle class whites, middle class blacks also established networks of alliances through marriage, friendship and in social, cultural and religious affiliations.⁴⁶ This of course, did not mean that they were united in all aspects. The political split between the Izwi Labantu / Congress group and the Imvo Zabantsundu / Imbumba grouping was mirrored at a local level in a split in the relationship between J. T. Jabavu (an Mfengu) and Paul Xiniwe (a Tembu).⁴⁷ To what extent the split resulted from ethnic rivalries or acquired them requires a lot more research. Certainly, a recent paper suggests that the split amongst the black modernisers in this period had an ethnic dimension.⁴⁸ Like English-speaking white members of the middle class, the black members were just as conscious of social divisions in society, something which Jabavu clearly articulated when he pleaded with whites to recognise class differences within the black community and not to treat all blacks as the same simply because of the colour of their skins.⁴⁹ Their political and social aspirations were closely linked. The goal was to win acceptability and be treated as black Englishmen.⁵⁰

The King William's Town working class is a lot more difficult to pinpoint. It was probably more heterogeneous than the other classes. Its membership was drawn from the ranks of the English, German,

45. Jabavu, with a house in Alexandra Road was an exception. The extent to which whites and blacks lived together in Smith Street is indicated in S. E. Caldwell, "The Course and Results of the Plague Outbreaks", p. 51.

46. A. Odendaal, "African Political Mobilisation in the Eastern Cape, 1880 - 1910" (PhD Thesis, Cambridge University, 1983), p. 292.

47. For Xiniwe's listing as a Tembu see King William's Town Borough Council, Burial Register, 1/1/1898 - 31/12/1908, Entry 6520, 31/3/1902.

48. W. G. Mills, "The Rift Within the Lute: Conflict and Factionalism in the 'School' Community in the Cape Colony, 1890 - 1915", Collected Seminar Papers, No. 38, The Societies of Southern Africa in the 19th and 20th Centuries, Vol. 15 (Institute of Commonwealth Studies, London, 1990), pp. 29 - 39. I am grateful to Gary Baines for pointing this reference out to me.

49. Imvo, 18/3/1901, Editorial, "The Location Problem".

50. A. Odendaal, "African Political Mobilisation", p. 294.

Dutch-speaking and black residents of the town and municipal locations. Details of the proportional membership of this class are imprecise. Certainly, a large number of white males were given the generic label "Labourer" in the proceedings of the magistrates court.⁵¹ Nightsoil removal, probably the most socially degrading employment in the town, was done by Dutch-speaking labourers whom the Town Clerk characterised as "the low type of poor white".⁵²

Perhaps more important than the precise size and composition of the various classes, is the level of consciousness displayed in this period. There is evidence to suggest that the self-appointed role of the upper middle class was not generally accepted by members of the rest of society. The level of consciousness amongst white members of the working class was well illustrated in an episode in which the temperance alliance in the town (led by the ministers of religion), tried to close down the Red Lion Hotel, a drinking establishment frequented by the working class. In the process various tensions in society were revealed.

One of the regulars wrote to the newspaper defending the hotel and its customers against the Borough Police superintendent's report on the hotel:

"Now Sir as a Resident of Ward No. 2 for 17 years I would like to State that Superintendent Smith dont know who goes there, I dont class myself as low Class but as a Poor Class so I think Super Smiths asertion and the Report uncalled for ... (sic)."⁵³

Significantly, in the light of the debate about the primacy of race or class in determining social position in colonial society, the writer went on to attempt to establish the acceptability of the hotel and its proprietor by drawing a distinction between whites and blacks:

"I must also inform you Sir that Mr. Deringer has a larger custom of Europeans trade than any in Ward No. 2."⁵⁴

Another letter in support of these views went on to claim that the patrons of the hotel,

51. See for example CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/310, Case 666, 27/10/1899; 1/KWT 1/1/311, Case 711, 15/11/1899; 1/KWT 1/1/312, Case 120, 20/2/1900.

52. CAD, 3/KWT 3/1/26, Letter: Town Clerk - OC Army Service Corps, 22/2/1899.

53. Cape Mercury, 22/3/1898, Letter to Editor by "Ward No. 2."

54. Cape Mercury, 22/3/1898, Letter to Editor by "Ward No. 2."

"are very respectable, though, in some instances, uneducated; but that does not detract from their respectability."⁵⁵

The patrons were, he admitted, "working men", but some had property and were "fairly well off, though, perhaps, not Englishmen born."⁵⁶ The writer went on to attack religious "busybodies" who advocated temperance as a pretext for meddling in "matters outside their province." The stigma of "low class" applied to the hotel and its patrons was one that would be resisted.⁵⁷

Occasionally some of the town's middle class tried to awaken interest in the manner in which the upper middle class elite were running the town. In February 1898 a correspondent to the newspaper drew attention to the unfair advantages members of the merchant-dominated Borough Council were enjoying:

"The sooner the small ratepayers awaken to the fact, that the time is now ripe for a Ratepayers Society, the better."⁵⁸

Later in the same year Frederick Campbell, a commission agent, complained of the unauthorised expenditure of municipal money in the elite part of town:

"... if public money is to be spent expenditure should be directed to the health and weal of the public generally, and not to that of a select few, who may live away 'far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife'."⁵⁹

There is no evidence the letter elicited much response either amongst the rest of the ratepayers or the elite who sat on the Borough Council.

Robert Ross has warned that a desire to understand South African history in class terms "should not result in the elevation of every dispute to the status of class conflict."⁶⁰ This is well illustrated in a public battle which erupted in the Press between members of the town's elite and George E. Fox, a produce buyer, an

55. Cape Mercury, 2/4/1898, Letter to Editor by "Justice".

56. Cape Mercury, 2/4/1898, Letter to Editor by "Justice".

57. Cape Mercury, 2/4/1898, Letter to Editor by "Justice".

58. Cape Mercury, 15/2/1898, Letter to Editor by "Down with TAMMANY".

59. Cape Mercury, 28/5/1898, Letter to Editor by Fredk. Campbell.

60. R. Ross, "Structure and Culture in Pre-industrial Cape Town", p. 46.

unsuccessful candidate for election to the Council, and a correspondent for the East London Dispatch.⁶¹

The upper middle class reserved their greatest condemnation for one of their own who turned against them, especially when he seemed to boost East London at the expense of King William's Town. The issue revolved around Fox's criticism of the committee of the public library, but it developed into a broadside against the elite in general:

"... the sum and substance of my offending consists in my lack of blind reverence for local fetishes and local traditions. At one time or other certain local dignitaries, municipal, commercial and social, have established methods of procedure and set up certain standards of what in their eyes is right and wrong. These have in the course of time become crystallised, and now to ignore or even question them is looked upon as an unpardonable error of judgement, if not a positive crime."⁶²

The storm surrounding Fox's lack of respect for the town's leading citizens, although not a class conflict, is useful in that it illustrates just how far their influence had permeated society. Fox, despite strong criticism, was unrepentant. He refused to "bow down and worship the images which our local Nebuchadnezzars have set up."⁶³

Vivian Bickford-Smith, in a full and detailed examination of racial attitudes and class in Cape Town from 1875 to 1902, argued that initially the relationship between the two was "inter-action", rather than the "relative primacy" of one over the other. But by 1902, "ethnic solidarities that cut across class cleavages had become far more important for the majority of Capetonians."⁶⁴ Bill Nasson, in his study of black society during the South African War, argued that the "lines of racial domination moulded social consciousness."⁶⁵ The picture for King William's Town society in this period bears this out, especially in relation to two aspects: the subordinate status J. T. Jabavu, Paul Xiniwe and other black members of the middle class experienced in relation to whites of the same occupations and the fact that black members of the middle class generally resided in racially mixed residential areas, but that their fellow white residents

61. Cape Mercury, Editorial, 23/5/1902, "Municipal".

62. Cape Mercury, 10/2/1902, Letter to Editor by G. Fox.

63. Cape Mercury, 10/2/1902, Letter to Editor by G. Fox.

64. J. V. Bickford-Smith, "Commerce, Class and Ethnicity in Cape Town", p. 441.

65. W. R. Nasson, "Black Society in the Cape Colony and the South African War of 1899 - 1902: A Social History" (PhD Thesis, Cambridge University, 1983), p. 15.

stemmed from the working class. A series of racial incidents in King William's Town during the course of the war adds further evidence of this.

2.3 Racial Attitudes: "A White Man's Town or a Location?"

"Race", like "civilization" was one of the great catchwords of the Victorians.⁶⁶ Vivian Bickford-Smith has discussed the various measures that brought race into focus in daily life in the Cape Colony. Amongst these he lists legislation passed in 1887 and 1892 depriving groups of blacks of voting rights and raising the franchise qualification; stricter segregation in government institutions such as hospitals, asylums, reformatories and prisons; only whites being required to do jury duty by the 1890s; and the segregation of schooling.⁶⁷ King William's Town was no exception to the prevailing general mood, as various racial incidents and statements in newspapers attest.

Bolt, in discussing the evolution and use of the concept of race in Victorian Britain points to the impact of evolutionary theory, despite Darwin's initial reluctance to apply his doctrines to humans. Under the influence of T. H. Huxley, John Lubbock, Spencer, Lyell and others, the application of his theories to humans became acceptable.⁶⁸ In the context of the Cape Colony, this so-called "scientific" approach is exemplified in the report of the Registrar of Births and Deaths of the Cape Colony. In the preamble, under the heading "Race Distinction", he provided the official explanation for the categories used: "European or White, Malay, Hottentot, Fingo, Kafir and Betchuana, Mixed and Other."⁶⁹ Each of these was defined. For example,

"... the European or White population consists of the descendants of the original Dutch Colonists and French Refugees and of the immigrants, chiefly of British and other Teutonic races, who more recently entered the Colony."⁷⁰

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66. C. Bolt, Victorian Attitudes to Race, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1971), pp. 10 - 11.
67. V. Bickford-Smith, "A 'Special Tradition' of Multi-racialism? Segregation in Cape Town in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries", in W. G. James & M. Simons (Eds.), The Angry Divide, p. 48.
68. C. Bolt, Victorian Attitudes, pp. 10-11.
69. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.1-'98, "Cape of Good Hope, Final Report of the Registrar of Births and Deaths for the Year 1896", p. vi.
70. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.1 - '98, p. vi.

The classification "Kafirs and Betchuanas" included (in order of numerical importance) "Amaxosa, Tembu, Basuto, Pondomise, Baca, Betchuana and other similar tribes." The "Fingoes", afforded a separate classification by the Registrar,

"form part of the Bantu family, but were separately considered in the Census tables in consequence of the peculiar relations in which by force of circumstances they stand to the Colony and of their progress in civilization."⁷¹

These phrases are redolent with the colonial and racial stereotypes which became common currency in South African thought. The classification of the Mfengu repeated and extended the old missionary myth exposed by Julian Cobbing.⁷² Revealingly the Registrar admitted:

"The fusion of Fingoes (a commercial peaceful people) with the warlike Kafirs and Betchuanas is proceeding more rapidly than might have been expected, and it has been often found convenient for statistical purposes to group these Races."⁷³

The official views on race found expression in numerous ways in King William's Town. One of these was in the records of the Resident Magistrate where racial classifications were entered into the proceedings of trials and into the Criminal Record Books. But the staff of the courts, possibly less well acquainted with the finer scientific points of racial classification than the Registrar, often lumped blacks together as "Kafirs" and used the term "Native" and "Kafir" quite interchangeably.⁷⁴

Questions of racial classification were not the sole preserve of whites. A letter to Imvo Zontsundu by "Blackman" in February 1899 drew attention to the racial classifications contained in the definition of "Native" in the Innes Liquor Act (Act 28 of 1899) which listed groups legally covered by the term: "Kafir, Fingo, Basuto, Damara, Hottentot, Bushman and Korana." The writer asked why "Zulu, Matebele (sic),

71. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.1 - '98, p. vi.

72. J. Cobbing, "The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo", Journal of African History, 29, 1988, pp. 513 - 514. See also the series of papers on "The 'Mfecane' Aftermath Colloquium" in South African Historical Journal, 25, Nov. 1991; A. C. Webster, "Land Expropriation and Labour Extraction Under Cape Colonial Rule: The War of 1835 and the 'Emancipation' of the Fingo" (MA Thesis, Rhodes University, 1991).

73. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.1-'98, Cape of Good Hope, "Final Report of the Registrar of Births and Deaths ... 1896", p. vi.

74. See for example CAD, 1/KWT 1/2/1/1/21, Criminal Record Book, 1898 Jan. - 1899 Sept; and 1/KWT 1/1/1/306, Records of Proceedings, 1899 Jan.- Feb.

Mashona, Pondo, Morolong, Mothapeng, Griqua, Namaqua" and so on were not also included. He suggested that the term "Native" be simply defined as "an aboriginal resident of the continent of Africa."⁷⁵ Occasionally black modernisers expressed views that amounted to black consciousness or nationalism. Referring to the Afrikaner Bond, one of the members of the Imbumba Yama Nyama in Port Elizabeth in 1882 asked,

"how can they take our name and call us kaffirs ... when they arrived Africa was already standing?"⁷⁶

The acceptance by blacks of racial terminology and racial classifications imposed by whites is well illustrated in other ways as well. John Tengo Jabavu, the mission-educated editor of Imvo Zantsundu and spokesman and defender of black rights, clearly differentiated between "Coloured" people (meaning people in the Western Cape) and "Natives." The latter he divided into three classes. Firstly, "Those who desire and are able to maintain an average European mode of living" who should be allowed to live where they like. Secondly, "The more civilized who endeavour to improve themselves" but who are not yet equal to European standards and who should have separate places on fixity of tenure where they could work themselves up. Thirdly, "the raw element" which required the benevolent discipline of Europeans.⁷⁷ In his view the problem was that whites did not acknowledge these class distinctions and dealt with blacks on purely racial lines as blacks:

"It is in attempting to deal with all black men en bloc that trouble and lack of success ensues ... "⁷⁸

The attitudes and underlying assumptions in Jabavu's views reveal just how easily blacks striving for social and political acceptability assumed the language of race and class when it suited them.

The terminology classifying races used so clinically and pseudo-scientifically by the Registrar of Births and Deaths carried obvious overtones of racial superiority. But racial terms were not only used for the purposes

75. Imvo, 1/2/1899, Letter to editor by "Blackman".

76. A. Odendaal, "African Political Mobilisation in the Eastern Cape", p. 60.

77. Imvo, 18/3/1901, Editorial, "The Location Problem".

78. Imvo, 18/3/1901, Editorial, "The Location Problem".

of official classification. Some were intended as insults. In insulting a rival, Maria Mdiniso, one of the town's underclass and an occasional prostitute, shouted at her, "You are a fucking black like myself."⁷⁹ Another prostitute, Maria Pretorius (a "Hottentot"), insulted a policeman by calling him "a bloody half caste."⁸⁰

Derogatory racial undertones also found expression in everyday language amongst whites, often revealing common stereotypes. The physical aspect of race is well illustrated in the tone and wording of a Cape Mercury report on a court case:

"An uncommonly muscular and impertinent Native, named Bill Mene, was sentenced to 14 days hard labour for obstructing a foot-path."⁸¹

Again, in September 1900 the newspaper's reporter noted:

"A Native, the pronunciation of whose name would trip a goat, was charged with stealing a bag ... The same beautiful specimen of humanity was charged with the theft of keys ..."⁸²

At the very least the language had the effect of dehumanizing and belittling blacks, confining them to a lower order without pronounceable names and whose animal-like characteristics were their most significant features.

But in analyzing racial attitudes in King William's Town during the South African War it is not necessary to resort only to analyzing such coded language. There were numerous examples of overt racism directed at Asians and "Natives". Anti-Indian sentiment was often associated with pre-occupations with disease and the effect Indians would have on property values. During a smallpox outbreak one burgess enquired, "As a property holder, I would like to know what the Council has adopted to stop the Coolies from entering King William's Town ..."⁸³ Another letter a few days later echoed this theme.⁸⁴ A third letter built on the

79. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/306, Case 96, 20/2/1899.

80. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/309, Case 443, 6/7/1899.

81. Cape Mercury, 15/3/1900, no heading to report.

82. Cape Mercury, 7/9/1900, "Magistrates Court".

83. Cape Mercury, 11/1/1898, Letter to Editor by "A Burgess".

84. Cape Mercury, 15/1/1898, Letter to Editor by O. Williams.

same sentiments and extended the anti-Indian rhetoric to the commercial field, exposing another aspect of the matter:

"I would like to suggest that, if we as Britishers wish to keep at bay the Coolies from our shores, the only remedy we have is not to buy from these so-called British subjects ... If the Indians get a footing in business it is wholly and solely the fault of the residents of King Williamstown (sic), and nobody else. Why not support a poor white man, who has to clothe and educate his children, and has to live on bread and meat, and not on fruit which he cannot sell?"⁸⁵

The anti-Indian refrain which focused on commercial rivalry was one which the Editor of the Cape Mercury zealously took up. In an editorial headed "Undesirable Aliens", the newspaper argued Asians were becoming a nuisance. The anomaly of Indians being British subjects and hence heirs, at least technically, to the same treatment as whites of British descent, was not one which sat easily with whites in King William's Town.⁸⁶ The fear was that the "Native trade" upon which so much of the prosperity of the town's whites rested, would pass into the hands of Indian traders.⁸⁷ This response is similar to responses in Natal, such as the "Asiatic invasion" incident of 1897.⁸⁸

While the pre-occupation with Indians waxed and waned in the local Press, racial comments and incidents involving blacks were a constant thread running through the history of King William's Town in this period. Two serious efforts were made by white residents to have the town segregated. Both are tangible manifestations of the prevailing attitudes to race and the ideas underpinning them. In a petition to the Borough Council in May 1897, some 232 burgesses requested the Council to compel every black to be off the streets by 21h00 and to stringently enforce the regulation.⁸⁹ The petition was, however, about more than just a curfew. At the end of the document the petitioners called for "the total exclusion" of blacks from the town, adding,

85. Cape Mercury, 29/1/1898, Letter to Editor by "A Citizen".

86. Cape Mercury, 6/12/1898, sub-editorial, "Undesirable Aliens".

87. Cape Mercury, 6/12/1898, sub-editorial, "Undesirable Aliens".

88. M. W. Swanson, "The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900 - 1909", Journal of African History, XVIII (3), 1977, pp. 390 - 391.

89. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/45, Petition to Borough Council, Sept. 1897.

"as ample provision has been or can be made in the shape of locations near, the necessity of natives living in the town is entirely done away with."⁹⁰

The justification advanced for this, was a jumble of stereotypes and fears whites had of blacks. Three inter-related arguments were put forward:

1. "The interest of the health of the Community. You cannot but be aware that a great number of disgraceful shanties in various parts of town are let to a low class of natives which shanties are invariably denseley (sic) overcrowded, and are dens of prostitution filth & drunkenness as well as in many instances the centres of thieving operations. We are sure no Sanitary Scheme can be brought into effective use, so long as these places exist."
2. "The preservation of Peace and order; These dens are not infrequently the scenes of noisy debauchery, and are the headquarters of natives who roam about the town all hours of the night, so that the peace and quietness of the neighbourhood is disturbed."
3. "The protection of property within the town demands some such measure being rigidly enforced ... The efforts of the Police are being handicapped by natives being allowed to reside in town as every native seen prowling about at any hour during the night claims to be either a resident in town; or a visitor to some resident (native) ... "⁹¹

The heavy-handed emphasis on law and order, health and sanitation and the moral outrage at "debauchery", and the animal metaphors ("prowling about") reveal something of the thinking of the petitioners.

Underpinning it all was the idea that property was sacrosanct and had to be protected.

A second petition, from the residents of Ward 5, appeared in May 1898. It repeated some of the ideas of the 1897 petition, but placed strong emphasis on health and law and order. It began by attacking the Council for allowing the existing state of affairs to develop and for

"endangering the health & property of burgesses living in this ward to an extent, which can only be called scandalous & should certainly not be permitted in any civilized community."⁹²

The equation of blacks with lawlessness and debauchery was in large measure the result of the white residents' frustration at their inability to control the morality of blacks in the town:

90. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/45, Petition to Borough Council, Sept. 1897.

91. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/45, Petition to Borough Council, Sept. 1897.

92. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/45, Petition to Borough Council, 2/5/1898.

"It is a crying shame that such an eyesore & hotbed of filth & evil, should be allowed to exist in the centre of town."⁹³

The emphasis on civilization and the linking of this to race is typical of this period, as Bolt has indicated.⁹⁴

The association of blacks with a lack of civilization and a degeneration of European civilization is a theme which was clearly articulated by a correspondent to the Cape Mercury who complained of "the demoralising custom of Kafirs being permitted to parade through King streets in their purely Native attire - the red blanket."⁹⁵ This, of course raises a wider issue. The question of clothing for blacks fits into a general Victorian pre-occupation in which traditional attire was

"generally associated with a deliberate shamelessness and immodesty, clothes, conversely, being synonymous with decency and civilization."⁹⁶

The issue may well have some deeper psychological depths. The "lack of modesty on the part of Africans was equated, in mind of the European, with lack of sexual restraint: publicly deplored, often privately envied."⁹⁷ Black modernisers were certainly very offended by the sale of postcards of bare-breasted black women, as the editor of Imvo pointed out, the law prohibited the sale of "dirty pictures" of white women,

"but pictures are taken of natives - not as they really are - but purposely to be indecent, and this should not be. If white men look at them with a smile, they have a bad influence on black fellows."⁹⁸

Some white burgesses felt the Council actually favoured black residents. W. J. Deady, manager of Dyer & Dyer, complained of the large number of black tenants on the property adjacent to his house in Ayliff Street. The noisy parties, the number of tenants, their apparent lack of adequate sanitary arrangements and the Borough Council's inactivity in the matter led him to conclude:

93. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/15, Letter: Deady - Mayor, 3/2/1902.

94. C. Bolt, Victorian Attitudes to Race, p. ix.

95. Cape Mercury, 7/7/1898, Letter to Editor by "Grumbler".

96. C. Bolt, Victorian Attitudes to Race, p. 135.

97. C. Bolt, Victorian Attitudes to Race, p. 136.

98. Imvo, 19/1/1899, "Dirty Pictures".

" ... if a crowd of white prostitutes & loafers endeavoured to pig down similarly in this town, it would not be long before the nuisance was abated."⁹⁹

In another complaint a year later he pointed out that the property was still occupied by blacks and was still unsightly and unsanitary. The landlord, he pointed out, was "Mr. Newing".¹⁰⁰ Herein lay another possible reason for the Council's inactivity. Slum landlords earned a great deal from the town's black residents by letting houses and shanties.¹⁰¹ In this case, the Mr. Newing he referred to was none other than J. Newing, one of the municipal councillors in 1898-99.

Another rather raw nerve was the question of black nursemaids or child minders. Whites, eager to make use of the convenience and status afforded by the employment of servants, were in a dilemma over their supposed licentious behaviour and the supposed abuse of children. Claiming to expose these inequities, "Observer" wrote to the newspaper detailing how black nurses did not look after the children entrusted in their care, but "abuse them by hitting and pinching them."¹⁰² More sensationally he claimed that the nurses took the children to Hospital Hill and the Rifle Butts,

"where these damsels, with the usual accompaniment of not over-decent males congregate ... Surely European mothers are sufficiently aware that Native nurses, with few exceptions, are not to be trusted out of sight ... "¹⁰³

To what extent the racial attitudes described here were prevalent in the town is not easy to assess. It is difficult to believe that members of the more liberal section of the community such as the Rev. J. D. Don and R. W. Rose Innes would subscribe to some of the cruder outbursts.¹⁰⁴ On the other hand, the petition calling for the expulsion of blacks from the town in September 1897 was signed by over 200 burgesses, a

99. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/15, Letter: Deady - Mayor, 3/2/1902.

100. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/15, Letter, Deady - Mayor, 29/1/1903.

101. Cape Mercury, 27/10/1892, "Borough Council".

102. Cape Mercury, 7/1/1898, Letter to Editor by "A Witness".

103. Cape Mercury, 7/1/1898, Letter to Editor by "A Witness".

104. The attitudes of these and other liberals are discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

substantial number. If observations by someone who claimed to be a stranger to King William's Town can be believed, then the town was not as overtly race-obsessed as he would have liked:

" ... during my short stay I have sometimes wondered whether this was a white man's town or a Kafir location ... my opinion sways to the latter."¹⁰⁵

During the course of the war some of these racial attitudes found expression in events which can only lead one to conclude that racial intolerance increased rather than diminished. The incidents, discussed below, included the following: a black teacher was publicly insulted during the Mafeking celebrations, J. T. Jabavu's son was refused entry to Dale College on the grounds of his race and the Municipal Council embarked on its first serious attempt at residential segregation when it established Ginsberg location.

On the 28 May 1900, while he and another black were standing on the pavement viewing the Relief of Mafeking celebrations, a black teacher was subjected to abuse and humiliation. A white male attempted to pull him out of the crowd, verbally abused him and, finally, "used his long foot" to kick him.¹⁰⁶ A local liberal attorney, Richard Rose Innes, intervened before the incident developed further. The episode's significance, however, lies beyond the events of the day. It revealed something of the invidious position in which black members of the middle class in King William's Town, and indeed in the Colony, found themselves:

"How shall I teach my Native youth that wherever the English flag flies is the bulwark of freedom? When they see me handled and kicked about in this way, all for the sake of my colour."¹⁰⁷

The incident is also remarkable for the floodgate of racial animosity it opened. "Citizen" responded to the teacher's letter by calling on the Council to take steps to keep blacks off the pavements and force them to walk in the streets, "The native nowadays thinks he is quite as good, if not better, than the white man..."¹⁰⁸ He took exception to what he perceived as the delight blacks had in perambulating about the town at night

105. Cape Mercury, 7/7/1898, Letter to Editor by "A Witness".

106. Cape Mercury, 28/5/1900, Letter to Editor by "A Native Teacher".

107. Cape Mercury, 28/5/1900, Letter to Editor by "A Native Teacher".

108. Cape Mercury, 30/5/1900, Letter to Editor by "Citizen".

in large numbers and in their jostling whites in the street. Paul Kruger, the correspondent noted, deserved praise as he "kept the Natives in their place and made them keep in the street, and not on the footpath as here."¹⁰⁹ A letter by "Fair Play", full of racial spleen, began by expressing satisfaction that someone had kicked the black teacher. Blacks ("These troublesome pets of Exeter Hall"), enjoyed too much freedom under the English flag. Dredging up stock racial phobias, the writer went on to relate the case of a woman who was apparently bumped off the pavement by blacks and claimed his party at the Mafeking celebrations was "the whole time annoyed by a number of coloured lords and ladies, who kept pushing and elbowing everyone around them."¹¹⁰ After being "politely remonstrated with" they "got cheeky and more pushy." The writer then resorted to appeals to his white readers' worst fears:

"I must mention the pleasure we enjoyed in having their woolly heads continually rubbed against our clothes. Think of it! The delightful creepy sensation we felt in anticipation of the likely blissful discovery that we might go home richer than we left."¹¹¹

The flattering reference to Kruger enabled "A Black Briton" to attack "Citizen". Although King William's Town was one of the "blackest" towns in the region, it was also one of the most law-abiding and legislation such as that enforced in the Transvaal under Kruger would be, he argued, an unnecessary irritant. The letter ended with the typical plea of middle class blacks: respectable blacks did not know what to do to win the respect of people like "Citizen", and suffered the indignities and insults of people like him to such a degree that "Native respectability" was of no value in many instances.¹¹²

The moral high ground in the debate was undoubtedly captured by the teacher who had been humiliated. In a second letter to the Press he observed,

"It has been truly said that there are white people who think and believe that the Black race have been made by God only to serve the Whites as water carriers and hewers of wood; that education and civilization is too good for them. Many a citizen entertains this idea ... They become indignant at the sight of a respectable Native."¹¹³

109. Cape Mercury, 30/5/1900, Letter to Editor by "Citizen".

110. Cape Mercury, 30/5/1900, Letter to Editor by "Citizen".

111. Cape Mercury, 30/5/1900, Letter to Editor by "Citizen".

112. Cape Mercury, 1/6/1900, Letter to Editor by "A Black Briton".

113. Cape Mercury, 8/6/1900, Letter to Editor by "Native Teacher".

Blacks were not seeking social equality, he argued, they did not want to socialise with the white "bosses". They only wanted the rights that were due to them and to live peacefully as subjects of the Queen.¹¹⁴

The second incident involved a related but equally important issue, the education of the children of middle class blacks. John Tengo Jabavu, founder and editor of Imvo Zantsundu, General Secretary of the Imbumba Eliliso Lomizi Yabantsundu and long-time burgess of King William's Town, attempted to have his son admitted to Dale College, a well-known local boys school.¹¹⁵ The school committee refused him admittance on three grounds: Jabavu's application could not be considered in isolation and would be followed by others; if one black was admitted then they would have to admit others ("Thus the whole question of mixed schools is introduced"); and thirdly, that Dale College represented the European community of the town.¹¹⁶ Underlying the racial exclusivity of the school was a materialistic streak. The admission of black boys to the school would be resented by the whites of the town and would "injure the prosperity and usefulness of the school."¹¹⁷

The whole matter had, in fact, been covered up in King William's Town. It only reached public attention through a leak to the Cape Times. For his part Jabavu, in response to the publicity given to the matter once it had been aired, noted with regret that "a private and personal affair" had been made public. He had hoped that an exception would have been made in consideration of the fact that he had been a burgess of the town for some seventeen years. His son had been admitted to a school in Stellenbosch, but the question of him having to board with whites and his young age had prompted him to try getting admittance for his son closer to home.¹¹⁸ The fact that Jabavu was a ratepayer in the town qualified him to apply for the admission of

114. Cape Mercury, 8/6/1900, Letter to Editor by "Native Teacher".

115. Jabavu owned property in Alexandra Road. CAD, 3/KWT 7/1/3/6/2, Municipal Valuation Roll, 1898 - 99, Ward 5.

116. Cape Mercury, 2/9/1901, Editorial, "White and Black".

117. Cape Mercury, 2/9/1901, Editorial, "White and Black".

118. Cape Mercury, 3/9/1901, Editorial, "White and Black".

his son to the local school and reduced the Dale College committee's defence of its decision to what it was: a racial decision.

The schooling issue was a lot broader than the simple personal matter Jabavu tried to make it out to be. Perhaps unknowingly, he had brought the education authorities face to face with the question of higher education for blacks. This was something which was not lost on the Rev. W. H. Parkhurst of Zonnebloem College and former head of the Diocesan Grammar School in King William's Town. Dale College, he perceptively observed, was

"no more than a first-class public undenominational school, under a more euphonious name. It is supported by public money for the use of the public. Natives who form by far the greater portion of the South African public contribute indirectly through the revenue to its support and that of kindred institutions. From the standpoint of simple justice and reason it might be urged why should not a respectable member of the public be able to send his son there, be his race what it may?"¹¹⁹

The Education Act contained no clause to exclude respectable blacks from public schools. The decision, in Parkhurst's view, would not have been upheld by any judge on the bench in the Cape Colony should Jabavu have chosen to make a test case of it. Jabavu, however, declined to pursue the matter and it died away. But posterity had the last word. The boy in question, Don Davidson Jabavu, went on to obtain an education in England. As the first black Professor of Anthropology in South Africa, he played a prominent role in education. In a school which sets great store by the achievements of its old boys, he would, ironically, have been one of Dale College's most famous old boys.

The third event revealing racial tensions was the Council's attempt at residential segregation. The single most significant factor which galvanised the municipal authorities into taking steps to create racially exclusive residential areas in the town was the bubonic plague outbreaks. The arrival of bubonic plague in South Africa during the war years has been discussed by Elizabeth van Heyningen.¹²⁰ Sharon Caldwell has thoroughly explored the course and impact of the bubonic plague outbreaks in King William's Town.¹²¹

119. Cape Mercury, 23/9/1901, Letter to Editor by Rev. W. H. Parkhurst.

120. E. van Heyningen,, "Cape Town and the Plague of 1901", in C. Saunders, et al (Eds.), Studies in the History of Cape Town, Vol. IV (University of Cape Town, Cape Town, 1981), pp. 66 - 107.

121. S. E. Caldwell, " The Course and Results of the Plague Outbreaks".

What emerges is that racial attitudes were informed, in no small way, by what Swanson has characterised as the "sanitation syndrome".¹²² The most striking result of the bubonic outbreaks in King William's Town was the creation of Ginsberg location on the west bank of the Buffalo River. The Borough Council's intention, clearly articulated at the time, was to expel blacks from the town and force them to reside in the location.

The location was named after the prime mover, Councillor Franz Ginsberg, the proprietor of soap, candle and match factories in the town. Ginsberg may well have been motivated by more than just sanitation considerations. Throughout this period he experienced labour problems at his factories.¹²³ Having a stable workforce close at hand over which greater control could be exercised probably provided a motivation which he did not articulate in public. The Borough Council had, up to this time, steadfastly ignored calls from white burgesses for the segregation of the town. It is perhaps no coincidence that the first real efforts to enforce residential segregation in King William's Town came just as the town's leaders were seeking to compensate the movement of merchant capital to the Rand and to East London by developing the town as a manufacturing centre. The bubonic outbreaks provided a very convenient pretext.

The Borough Council's efforts to impose harsh segregationist measures on blacks residing in King William's Town were singularly unsuccessful. Even in terms of their own goals they were a failure. By the official calculations (which were an underestimate) there were some 700 blacks in town in 1901. The location they wanted to force them into, ostensibly to stop overcrowding, could only accommodate 300, and that was with at least six people per small hut.¹²⁴ But more importantly, the Council neglected to obtain the necessary legalisation to force blacks out of town and discovered, only after the location was constructed, that they lacked the legal teeth to achieve their ends.¹²⁵

122. M. W. Swanson, "The Sanitation Syndrome", pp. 387 - 410.

123. See Chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion of this.

124. S. E. Caldwell, "The Course and Results of the Plague", pp. 41 - 42.

125. See Chapter 6 for a fuller discussion.

It would be incorrect to portray King William's Town as a centre of unmitigated racial bigotry at the turn of the century. Keith Tankard, in his finely researched history of East London, has pointed to the racist measures undertaken by the East London Municipal Council.¹²⁶ In some respects East London appears to have succeeded in pioneering measures that victimised black residents.¹²⁷ Certainly there were King William's Town residents who looked longingly at the example set by East London.¹²⁸ There were, however, residents who did not subscribe to racist attitudes. Cases of racial harmony and liberal intervention, however paternalistic and one-sided the relationship, also occasionally featured in the Press. A local businessman, Owen, presented a limelight show "at the beautiful Wesleyan Native Church" in Cathcart Street to raise money for the church's building fund. The Cape Mercury exhorted the public to attend.¹²⁹ Very occasionally the Cape Mercury inserted items of news about blacks in the town, such as:

"We are pleased to notice in town this week the Rev. and Mrs. Soga, and family. Dr. Soga's Medical Mission on the borders of East Griqualand is one of the most successful in the Native Territories, and he received a warm welcome from many friends and well-wishers in Kaffraria, in which we heartily join."¹³⁰

After a change of editorship in 1898, the political tone of the Cape Mercury took a decidedly conservative turn and such examples of racial goodwill became a thing of the past.

King William's Town, once the home of the "small tradition" of Cape liberalism,¹³¹ still manifested vestiges of this on the eve of the war. The declining mercantile base of the town's economy had, however, altered the political perceptions of many of the dominant group.¹³² Those few "friends of the Native" still

126. K. P. T. Tankard, "The Development of East London Through Four Decades of Municipal Control 1873 - 1914" (PhD Thesis, Rhodes University, 1990), pp. 350 - 428.

127. K. P. T. Tankard, "The Development of East London", p. 405.

128. Cape Mercury, 8/7/1899, Letter to Editor by "Ratepayer".

129. Cape Mercury, 21/4/1898, "Town and District".

130. Cape Mercury, 3/5/1898, no heading.

131. S. Trapido, "The Friends of the Natives": Merchants, Peasants and the Political and Ideological Structure of Liberalism in the Cape, 1854 - 1910", in S. Marks & A. Atmore (Eds.), Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa (Longman, London, 1980), p. 251.

132. See discussion in Chapter 4.

active on the eve of the war were not without their own motives. T. E. Duckles, a prominent local merchant and liberal candidate in the 1898 general election stated that he was in favour of "a sober and advancing Native peasantry" because they would make better neighbours than "a debauched and drink-sodden mass of barbarians." He also favoured education, since "If there is to be a march of progress in this Colony, the coloured people must be got in step too."¹³³

Although racial tension was common in the town, some whites were prepared to defend the rights of blacks. In a notable case, J. W. Weir, a merchant and one of the archetypal liberals in King William's Town, in a notable case, complained to the Secretary of Native Affairs, W. P. Schreiner, after a black clergyman was publicly humiliated by an attendant in the Blaney station refreshment room,

"... a respectable Native behaving himself as this one was, like a gentleman, should not be insulted in a public place."¹³⁴

Weir's action was one which Jabavu was quick to point out to his readers. Beyond a belated reprimand of the refreshment room manager at Blaney, the matter did not go very far.¹³⁵

The old political alliance between liberal whites and some middle class blacks was reinforced by blacks as well. Acts of philanthropy by whites received praise and coverage in Imvo. A "Native Chapel" erected in a location near King William's Town was financed with money raised by John Knox Bokwe (one of the leading black modernisers and a former business partner of Jabavu) in a concert, by donations from blacks and by

"some gentlemen in town, interested in the improvement of the Natives of the neighbourhood ... The people were highly pleased to learn that some of the leading King Williamstown (sic) merchants had exhibited an interest in their welfare and much appreciated their assistance."¹³⁶

133. Cape Mercury, 9/7/1898, Advertisement, "To the Electors of the Division of King Williamstown".

134. Imvo, 23/1/1899, "Incivility to a Clergyman".

135. Cape Mercury, 22/2/1899, "Treatment of Native Minister".

136. Imvo, 19/4/1899, "A Church Opening Among Reds".

The efforts of liberals in King William's Town did not always meet with success. In August 1900 a case came before the Resident Magistrate of a mission-educated black who had forged the signature of the Rev. J. D. Don to obtain food. Don tried to have the case withdrawn, but the Attorney-General insisted on prosecuting after the Cape Mercury had raised a hue and cry.¹³⁷ Paul Xiniwe, a prominent member of the black community in town and a pioneer business-man, was fulsome in his praise of Don, a veteran liberal and centre of the celebrated Regina versus Don case.¹³⁸ Don was "one of those rare and noble Britishers who are not swayed by the strong wave of colour or race prejudice."¹³⁹

In general, however, the South African War period witnessed the demise of what was left of the "small tradition" of Cape liberalism. Squeezed by the declining economy of the town, it wilted in the face of the blast of jingoism that accompanied the outbreak of hostilities. Nowhere was this better illustrated than in the desertion of Jabavu by his liberal friends.¹⁴⁰ His independent stance on the war while his liberal friends were consumed with jingoism led to a decisive break in the liberal ranks.

It would be misleading to create the impression that whites in King William's Town were only concerned with race as regards blacks. They also displayed strong feelings of ethnicity in other ways. Antagonism towards the Dutch is an example of racial animosity amongst English-speakers. On the eve of the war the editor of the Cape Mercury perceptively remarked on the nervous state of relations between the English and Dutch-speakers in King William's Town:

"Here we have two groups of people, intimately associated for generations, intermarried and intermixed, in many cases till it is difficult to tell just exactly which is which and who is who, yet at the first sign of serious disagreement each seems to suffer from a nervous obsession as to the other's good faith."¹⁴¹

137. Cape Mercury, 12/9/1900, "The Labassi Case".

138. Anon, Regina versus Don. Report of the Trial with Opinions of the Press, &c. (W. T. Randall, King William's Town, 1886); N. Hogan, "The Posthumous Vindication of Zachariah Gqishela: Reflections on the Politics of Dependence at the Cape in the Nineteenth Century", in S. Marks & A. Atmore (Eds.), Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa, pp. 275 - 292.

139. Cape Mercury, 6/8/1900, Letter to Editor by Paul Xiniwe.

140. Discussed fully in Chapter 4.

141. Cape Mercury, 5/10/1899, Editorial, "Nervous Obsession".

Some of the anti-Dutch sentiment found expression in humorous doggerel verse in the newspapers, such as

"We Never Thought of That". The first of three verses read:

"O seker ni! we never looked
For such an awful row,
Ons is gen oorlogsmanne ni,
Ons is vir vrede - now;
We 'sowed the wind' - O ja! dis waar,
In sermon, speech, and chat,
And now we 'reap the whirlwind' - mar
We never thought of that."¹⁴²

Attitudes like this were underpinned by the chauvinistic belief in the invincibility of Britain. "The S. A. Republic and the Orange Free State have impudently declared war on Great Britain", was the comment of the Rector of Holy Trinity Anglican church in the church yearbook.¹⁴³

As the war ground on, and as the British forces suffered devastating defeat after defeat, the humorous sentiments gave way to suspicion and vindictiveness. The Dutch residents of the town, who generally occupied the lower rungs of white society (reflected both in the kinds of work they did and in where they resided in the town) found themselves even more marginalised. They became the focus of the suspicion and hatred of their English-speaking neighbours. Suspicion of Dutch-speaking residents increased when the Boer commandos invaded the Colony late in 1900. Some Dutch residents used the opportunity to settle old scores. In 1901 Hendrik Potgieter, a carrier, was unjustly charged with high treason for trying to raise a commando in King William's Town. His arrest followed a report by Cornelius Badenhorst, a Dutch resident of the town who had joined the Town Guard. Badenhorst, from his evidence, had a grudge against Potgieter. After a lengthy delay, the Attorney-General declined to prosecute. Evidence against him was also given by another Dutch resident, Stephanus Petzer, a member of the District Mounted Rifles.¹⁴⁴ When prisoners escaped

142. Daily Watchman, 17/11/1899, "We Never Thought of That".

143. Quoted in P. de Blocq van Scheltinga, The History of Holy Trinity Church (No Publisher, King William's Town, 1992), no page numbers.

144. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/317, Preparatory Examination 178, 28/3/1901.

from the local gaol, three Dutch residents, Magdalena, Maria and Fritz Potgieter were erroneously arrested for aiding their escape.¹⁴⁵

Dutch residents of the King William's Town district were also subjected to suspicion and hardship. In one notable case, the military Commandant quite arbitrarily prohibited a transport rider, P. G. Bester, from pursuing his livelihood after he allegedly distributed some of his oxen to blacks to prevent them being commandeered.¹⁴⁶ Reports of Boer spies and disloyalty abounded in the Middeldrift area.¹⁴⁷ The kind of racial insults the Dutch-speaking residents were subjected to is illustrated in the case Christopher Timm, a rather low character. He was charged with disturbing the peace after shouting at three of the town's Dutch-speaking residents, "You bloody fucking Dutchmen, come out and fight me; it is through you that I was shut up in Mafeking and had to live on horseflesh."¹⁴⁸ In the final analysis, despite the fears of English-speaking inhabitants, the Dutch-speaking residents remained loyal. No genuine incidents of treason occurred.¹⁴⁹

Even within the "British" community a sense of ethnicity manifested itself. Certain groups, such as the Scots, traditionally organized their own ethnic associations and celebrated their national days. Paradoxically, whilst the war stimulated an overall feeling amongst English-speaking whites of belonging to the mighty British Empire, it also stimulated a strong sense of ethnicity within this ideological framework. This found expression in a series of banquets, celebrations and new associations: St. George's Day (the Sons of England), St. Andrew's Night and Burn's Night (the Caledonian Society) and St. Patrick's Day (the Irish). The Welsh took to celebrating St. David's Day and even the Lancashire and Yorkshire men and the West

145. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/321, Case 680, 4/11/1901.

146. CAD, AG 3703, Martial Law Board Minutes, pp. 375 - 376.

147. Cape Mercury, 12/12/1899, "Suspicious Movement".

148. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/322, Case 716, 7/11/1901.

149. CAD, AG 2084, Letter: Secretary, Law Dept. - Under Colonial Secretary, 13/4/1901; AG 3647, Register of Records of Military Courts, 1901 - 1902.



County men formed their own associations.¹⁵⁰ "National banquets are the order of the year", proclaimed the Cape Mercury in 1900.¹⁵¹ The central unifying theme of these celebrations, other than the prodigious amounts of food and drink consumed, was the length and verbosity of the patriotic speeches delivered.

2.4 Overview

In general terms, King William's Town society on the eve of the war was fairly rigidly stratified along the lines of race, language and class. Of these, race exerted more of a determining role. The elite of the town had, by the turn of the century, succeeded in entrenching their positions as the "leading citizens", although this was not always a position that went unchallenged. Events during the war years caused a hardening of racial attitudes in King William's Town. The Borough Council, after the failure of its attempts to impose residential segregation, became obsessed with relations with blacks. This is succinctly illustrated in the content of an address the Council presented to the Governor, Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, on his visit to the town on 29 January 1902:

"Living as we do, amid a large and increasing coloured population, we would venture to impress upon Your Excellency the urgent need of a permanent settlement of the Native Question in its various phases, and more particularly the necessity of arranging for the residence of coloured persons outside the towns."¹⁵²

The occasion was hardly suitable for such lobbying, but it indicates the level of frustration felt by the councillors at their inability to forcibly segregate the town during the war years and the threat they perceived from the increasing number of blacks in the town and district.

150. This is discussed more fully in Chapter 8.

151. Cape Mercury, 24/4/1900, "St. Georges Day".

152. CAD, 3/KWT 1/1/1/15, p. 172, Council Minutes, Address.

CHAPTER 3: "BUSINESS IS NOT YET DEAD" - THE KING WILLIAM'S TOWN ECONOMY

King William's Town on the eve of the South African War was the centre of a large and populous district. The wealth and prosperity it enjoyed since its re-establishment in 1847 depended on more than just its immediate magisterial district. Its economic hinterland stretched into the cis-Keian and trans-Keian territories and even into Basutoland and the north-eastern parts of the Cape Colony. Richard Bouch's masterly study of Queenstown has illustrated the extent to which Queenstown's economy was dependent on the black trade.¹

Unfortunately a comprehensive analysis of the economy of King William's Town in a comparable period is lacking. It would appear, however, that the volume of trade conducted in King William's Town exceeded that of Queenstown. It seems to have reached its apogee in the late 1880s and early 1890s. Thereafter it steadily declined. Notwithstanding this decline, on the eve of the war the town was still heavily dependant on the black trade in the rural areas:

"The Native trade, and the Native trade alone, is the backbone of the town. Take it away and King Williamstown (sic) will soon sink into an insignificant dorp."²

The salient features of King William's Town's economy analyzed and discussed here are the mercantile sector, agriculture, manufacturing and informal or hidden economic activity.

3.1 The Mercantile Sector: "Special Attention Given to the Native Trade"

Donaldson and Hill's 1900 Directory for King William's Town contains a lengthy list of King William's Town businesses. The list is far from perfect, but it provides a useful guide if used in conjunction with other guides and directories. Nineteen merchants were listed for East London and fifteen for King William's Town in 1900. In 1904 twenty-five were listed in East London and thirteen in King William's Town. These are really only a rough guide as there are inconsistencies. For example, J. J. Whitaker, who is listed as a

1. R. J. Bouch, "The Colonization of Queenstown (Eastern Cape) and Its Hinterland, 1852 - 1886" (PhD Thesis, University of London, 1990), p. 215.

2. Cape Mercury, 16/8/1898, Letter to Editor by "Burgess".

merchant in King William's Town was actually managing director of the Kaffrarian Steam Mills, and Pascoe Brothers were omitted from the King William's Town list.³

With adjustments to the Directory it is clear the mercantile sector in King William's Town in 1899 was represented by at least fifteen firms. These fall into two general categories: those that imported and sold merchandise and bought and exported produce; and those that simply imported and sold goods. Both types depended on the black trade to a large degree. The mercantile sector was supported and supplemented by a wide range of services and trades such as building contractors, carpenters, tinsmiths, boarding house keepers, attorneys, auctioneers and the like.

The large merchant houses which engaged in wholesale and retail trade, buying and selling, included Baker, Baker & Co., Dyer & Dyer, Malcomess & Co., James W. Weir & Co. and William Savage & Sons. The scope of their activities, the size of their premises and number of employees were impressive. In 1902 Baker, Baker & Co. had 20 stores in King William's Town, extending over 40 erven (about 48 000 square metres). They employed 160 skilled white assistants and "a miniature army of natives."⁴ The ranges offered included drapery, costumes and millinery ("the latest fashions of London and Paris ... based on a close and intimate knowledge of le beau monde"), gents' outfitters, house furniture and furnishings, hardware and building materials, provisions and produce, boots and leather goods, coffee roasting and, of course, wool pressing and "native goods".⁵

James W. Weir & Co., styling themselves "Direct Importers and General Merchants, Produce and Grain Buyers", assured the public that " ... special attention is given to the requirements of the Native Trade."⁶

3. Donaldson & Hill's Eastern Province (Cape Colony) Directory 1900 (Johannesburg [Temporarily Durban], 1900); J. E. Grindlay, The King William's Town Directory, Visitors' Guide and Residents' Handbook (King Printing Co., King William's Town, 1902); A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony Illustrated (Standard Printing Co., East London, 1902). Donaldson & Hill's Eastern Province (Cape Colony) Directory 1904 (Johannesburg, 1904).

4. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 101.

5. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 103.

5. Donaldson & Hill's Eastern Province (Cape Colony) Directory 1900, p. 456.

Similarly, William Savage & Sons touted themselves as "General Merchants, Importers and Exporters. All requirements for Native and Dutch Trade largely stocked. Commission & Shipping and Forwarding Agents for Merchandise, Produce, &c. Wool received and shipped to London or Foreign Markets on advantageous terms, and liberal advances made thereon."⁷ The company, established in King William's Town in 1849, maintained a London office.⁸ Some of the mercantile houses, like Dyer & Dyer, also acted as shipping and insurance agents. That the merchants depended on the black trade was no secret. Imvo, a favourite advertising medium for the merchants, carried the slogan on its letterheads: "'IMVO' is the Universal Advertising Medium for reaching Native Consumers in all Districts of South Africa."⁹

These large mercantile houses were, as Richard Bouch has shown for Queenstown, a link between the London wool markets and the producers of the staple in the eastern Cape.¹⁰ Through their activities the merchant houses were one of the links in the chain that incorporated the eastern Cape into the world economy. But the merchants were not just a link with the wool markets and the sources of capital in the metropole, they were also a vital link between the manufacturers of goods in Europe and the consumers in the eastern Cape, especially in the black rural areas. Through Reuters telegrams the merchants kept in touch with the latest details of the London markets.¹¹

Bouch has rightly drawn attention to the role of traders in rural areas who acted as agents for the large mercantile houses.¹² In fact the relationship between the traders and the merchants was more complex than it at first appears. Through a network of trading stations in black rural areas (which, in terms of magisterial custom to prevent competition, were not allowed to be closer than five miles apart¹³) the merchants acted

7. Donaldson & Hill's Eastern Province (Cape Colony) Directory 1900, p. 450.
8. Donaldson & Hill's Eastern Province (Cape Colony) Directory 1900, p. 450.
9. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/33, Letter: Jabavu - Town Clerk, 25/4/01.
10. R. J. Bouch, "The Colonization of Queenstown", pp. 17 - 18.
11. Cape Mercury, 18/2/1898, "Chamber of Commerce".
12. R. J. Bouch, "The Colonization of Queenstown", pp. 33 - 34.
13. E. S. Haines, "The Transkei Trader", South African Journal of Economics, 1, 1933, p. 203.

as a conduit along which wool, hides, skins, horns, bones and grain were conducted out of the rural areas and along which manufactured goods, usually from English industrial cities, were channelled into these same areas.

The relationship between the merchants and traders was not simply a marriage of convenience based on mutual self interest. The merchant houses used their power and influence to establish a type of clientage in the rural areas. Through the judicial use of Notarial Bonds the leading merchants provided credit to certain traders, thus ensuring their own exclusive conduits. James W. Weir & Co., for example, advanced £2 500 to Barnes Thompson at Hebe Hebe in the Transkei in January 1902 at 7% per annum so that Thompson could pay the purchase price of the trading station, stock in trade and goodwill.¹⁴ A similar arrangement was made with John Bentley of Avedwell Trading Station in the Transkei.¹⁵ The agreements contained clauses binding the traders to purchase all goods they required exclusively from James W. Weir & Co., "at current rates and prices" and from no other person unless with the written consent of the company. It also stipulated that all wool, hides, skins and other produce would be sold only through James W. Weir & Co., the proceeds of which would either be used to offset his debt or credited against his account for future purchases.¹⁶

The system obviously provided traders with capital, but it also established monopolies for merchants in certain areas. How extensive the practice was is not clear. It certainly provided a convenient and expedient way to ensure a ready market and a reasonably reliable supply of produce; and all this at a profit of 7% per annum. The practice was not confined to James W. Weir & Co. Dyer & Dyer advanced £1 000 (at 6% per annum) to a trader at Tsomo on similar conditions.¹⁷ Not all the amounts advanced were for the purchase of trading stations. Some were simply for stock supplied and to be supplied in the future. Thus, for the comparatively small outlay of £500 at 7% per annum interest, Dyer & Dyer legally bound Frank

14. CAD, DOT 4/1/106, Notarial Bond, 2/1902, 24/1/1902.

15. CAD, DOT 4/1/108, Notarial Bond, 12/1902, 23/5/1902.

16. CAD, DOT 4/1/108, Notarial Bond 12/1902, 23/5/1902.

17. CAD, DOT 4/1/109, Notarial Bond, 22/1902, 21/8/1902.

Sutton of Mtwegana Trading Store in the Transkei to dispose of all hides, skins, wool and other produce he received exclusively through Dyer & Dyer and to purchase his stock only from them at current prices.¹⁸

The achievements of black peasant producers are well known since Colin Bundy first drew attention to them in the late 1970s.¹⁹ For King William's Town the significance of the peasantry lies not so much in that they were able to overcome serious obstacles to produce a surplus for the market but that the King William's Town merchant houses, through the networks of traders, were the conduit through which products like hides, skins and wool reached world markets. Bundy quite correctly pointed to the significant role played by traders as "a major means of appropriation of the peasant community's surplus." The relationship between the peasants and traders was loaded against the peasants and, as Bundy argued, "Trader and peasant enacted in microcosm the adverse terms of trade of a colonial relationship."²⁰ Peasants, traders and merchants were all part of the process by which products were exported and manufactured articles were imported. If anything, Bundy did not explore the relationship enough by expanding on the role played by merchants in the process. Richard Bouch, following Jack Lewis' critique of aspects of Bundy's thesis, questioned whether rural locations in the eastern Cape ever produced much in the way of genuine surplus for sale on the colonial market, and saw the levels of production falling by the mid-1870s, not after the 1880s as Bundy apparently argued.²¹ Bundy's argument with regard to the latter was in fact not absolute. In the years from 1890 to 1913, "some peasants were able to consolidate, and others to enjoy for the first time, modest economic success, as they grasped opportunities for profit, improved their agricultural techniques, and produced a surplus for sale."²² The level of surpluses may have been falling by the 1870s or 1880s, as Bouch has argued, and pockets of peasants may have prospered as Bundy suggested. Whatever the case there was

18. CAD, DOT 4/1/111, Notarial Bond, 28/1902, 3/12/1902.

19. C. Bundy, The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry (David Philip, Cape Town, 1988); C. Bundy, "The Transkei Peasantry, c.1890 - 1914: 'Passing through a Period of Stress'", in R. Palmer & N. Parsons (Eds.), The Roots of Rural Poverty (Heinemann, London, 1977), pp. 201 - 220.

20. C. Bundy, Rise and Fall, p. 129.

21. R. Bouch, "The Colonization of Queenstown", pp. 221 - 222.

22. C. Bundy, Rise and Fall, p. 110.

enough life left in the peasants to sustain the King William's Town merchants at the time of the outbreak of the South African War.

The year preceding the outbreak of the war began on a very promising note for the merchants of the town, but a combination of factors soon caused trade to slump. The end of the Rinderpest and the relaxing of restrictions aimed at combating the disease in 1897 led merchants to expect a boom. In the fortnight up to 4 January 1898, 11 000 hides from the surrounding districts was received by one firm alone. No less than 80 000 had been received since the Rinderpest restrictions were relaxed in October 1897.²³ The figures were probably abnormally high due to the hoarding of hides and skins during the Rinderpest, but the volume of trade gave merchants reason to be optimistic. The new wool season also showed promise. The busy streets indicated that wool was coming into town from upcountry.²⁴

Through April 1898 wool continued to stream into the town:

"The wool season is now on, and after the [Easter] holidays, the chief thoroughfares present scenes of busy life, in the off-loading of wagons laden with all kinds of produce, and the sending away of return loads of merchandise. The chief staple is coming to hand in good condition, and prices rule in favour of the flockmasters."²⁵

Similar reports persisted throughout April. The phrase "return loads of merchandise" suggests that the wool was reaching the merchants through the trading stations from black peasant producers. Wool was also reaching them from some of the Kaffrarian farmers, but in what quantities is not clear.²⁶ By late April the wool season was reaching a crescendo. Wool, hides and skins were coming into King William's Town at such a rate that some stores were working late into the night.²⁷

23. Cape Mercury, 4/1/1898, "Town & District".

24. Cape Mercury, 2/4/1898, "Town & District."

25. Cape Mercury, 14/4/1898, "Town & District".

26. Cape Mercury, 30/4/1898, "Town & District".

27. Cape Mercury, 30/4/1898, "Town & District".

By June the picture had altered. Hides and skins were in short supply and the general wholesale and retail trade was sluggish. Amongst the reasons for this were the revised Customs Tariff which initially caused an increase in prices. But the dissolution of the Cape parliament without the adoption of the new tariffs then led to prices falling - to the confusion of all.²⁸ By August the drought prevailing in most of the districts of the eastern Cape was depressing business. By September wool prices in England were firm, but not much shearing was taking place because of the drought and disease in the wool producing areas of the Transkei and Komgha which caused a high mortality of sheep.²⁹ The wool supply improved briefly when the clip turned out to be better than expected in view of the drought, but wool from the Transkei was still in short supply and traders reported a large shortfall in the clip.³⁰ The political tension in the months immediately preceding the outbreak of war also took its toll on business:

"As an item of out and about it may be said that things are sluggish. The burning question is not business, but what about the South African Republic."³¹

The war crisis also affected the traders in the rural areas, and hence the wholesale merchants, through the loss of the income of migrant labourers who returned from the mines:

"The present crisis is affecting businesses of all classes and I learn that the Native traders are feeling it a good deal too. This must be accounted for by the fact that there is at present no money coming in from the workers on the mines and also that the Natives know the position and are spending very little, awaiting events."³²

The actual outbreak of hostilities disrupted the activities of the merchants in no small way. The Boer incursions into districts in the north-eastern Cape cut these off as markets and sources of produce. Trade was hampered by the shortage of wagons occasioned by military transport needs, and later by the imposition of travel restrictions under martial law regulations. The general dislocation of the railway systems, the priority the military enjoyed in the use of railway trucks and in the discharging of cargoes at East London

28. Cape Mercury, 27/7/1898, "Local Trade in June".
29. Cape Mercury, 10/9/1898, "Local Trade in August"; Cape Mercury, 1/10/1898, "Trade During September".
30. Cape Mercury, 5/11/1898, "Local Trade During October".
31. Cape Mercury, 19/8/1899, "Notes of the Day".
32. Cape Mercury, 11/10/1899, "Countryside Notes".

harbour caused considerable disruptions. The world slump in the demand for wool further added to their woes. Initially it appeared as if the wool price would soar. A Kei Road farmer disposed of his twelve month clip of greased wool at the "phenominal"(sic) price of 1/- per pound through a King William's Town agent, Ebell & Co., on 18 November 1899.³³ But by April the outlook was bleak and prices were falling.³⁴ The demand had also dropped. It was mostly greased wool from black producers coming in and local and continental buyers were "very chary", waiting for prices to go down even further.³⁵

By September the pattern was clear. The general slump in wool prices was because of a slump in Europe. All orders in the hands of merchants in the Colony were withdrawn. Stocks in King William's Town, Port Elizabeth and East London amounted to over 40 000 bales. Wool that was selling in January for 10d a pound would not realise 5d or even 4½d. The market for hides and skins was also down.³⁶ The oversupply in London continued into October and prices were expected to go down even further.³⁷ The severe drought further hampered the wool season. The small parcels that came in were mostly from local traders and in a very poor condition.³⁸

By December 1900 there were signs of a recovery. German firms had entered the market, which was characterised as "fairly brisk". Demand was stronger and prices firmer. Greased wool from black producers was quoted at 4½d and fleeces at 5½d per lb. But, as the Cape Mercury pointed out, "on the face of it these prices are ridiculous taking into consideration the London prices in October."³⁹

In the crisis leading up to the war some business men lost capital they had invested in the Transvaal:

33. Cape Mercury, 18/11/1899, "Notes of the Day".

34. Cape Mercury, 6/4/1900, "The Wool Market".

35. Cape Mercury, 16/4/1900, "The Wool Market".

36. Cape Mercury, 4/9/1900, "Slumping".

37. Cape Mercury, 8/10/1900, Sub-editorial, "Wool".

38. Cape Mercury, 18/10/1900, Sub-editorial "Wool".

39. Cape Mercury, 28/12/1900, Sub-editorial, "Wool".

"A couple of townsmen have just returned from the Transvaal capital. They went to recover moneys launched in business transactions but came back empty-handed."⁴⁰

The presence of a garrison in King William's Town and the outbreak of the war had few benefits for the town's economy. In April 1898 J. Adams and M. F. Peinke secured the tenders to supply the garrison with meat and bread for a year.⁴¹ A local manufacturing jeweller, J. Hilner, produced a range of badges and war souvenirs for the Town Guard, Brabant's Horse, the District Mounted Rifles and the Border Horse.⁴² Some of the tailors, like Ryan and Burton, probably benefitted in a small way from the presence of the military prior to the war, and the recruiting of the Town Guard and other irregulars after the outbreak of the war.

The war also provided a few enterprising individuals with the opportunity to advertise their wares in a new way. At the time of the formation of the Cycle Corps of the Town Guard, Baker, Baker & Co. published a large advertisement with a picture of a bicycle and Gilbert Fox and Sons ran a humorous advertisement extolling the virtues of their particular brand of bicycle.⁴³ Despite these limited opportunities, the war generally had a negative impact on the merchants of the town. To the detriment of the merchants, military transport requirements provided many transport riders and farmers with the opportunity to lease or sell wagons and oxen to the military transport services. In the opening stages of the war the agents procuring these were T. W. Heywood, a local auctioneer and broker, and Julius Weil of Queenstown.⁴⁴

Business was further disrupted when employees went off to fight as volunteers. In one notable case, J. J. Whitaker, the manager of Kaffrarian Steam Mills prosecuted two of his employees under the Masters and Servants Act (Act 18 of 1873) for deserting from service to go to the front with the Kaffrarian Rifles.

40. Cape Mercury, 22/8/1899, "News of the Day".

41. Cape Mercury, 15/3/1898, "Town & District".

42. Cape Mercury, 13/3/1900, Advert. "J. Hilner & Son".

43. Cape Mercury, 14/2/1901, Advert. "To Those Joining the Cycle Corps"; Cape Mercury, 14/2/1901, Advert. "Town Guard Cycle Corps Special Order".

44. Cape Mercury, 22/2/1900, Advertisement.

The case attracted a lot of public attention and Whitaker, in the face of the publicity, tried unsuccessfully to withdraw the case. His reason for bringing it in the first place, he said, was "to put a stop to this sort of thing as it is not the first time I have been inconvenienced in the same way." He went on, "I only desire to show that the interest of the Company must be protected."⁴⁵ The Resident Magistrate thought so too, and the two were found guilty and fined the nominal amount of 2/6 each. Property and business might have been sacrosanct, but Whitaker was out of step with his fellow businessmen.

The popular nature of the war, the sense of jingoism that pervaded everything made patriots of businessmen who let their employees go off to war:

"The merchants of King William's Town are to be highly commended for the loyal spirit they have shewn (sic) at this juncture, and they have placed no difficulty in the way of any men going who belonged to the [Cape Medical] Corps."⁴⁶

By January 1900 Baker, Baker & Co. had 25 employees at the front in the various Colonial units, mostly in the Cape Medical Corps at Modder River.⁴⁷ The war lost its appeal as the prospects of a quick victory receded. By September 1900 employers were anxiously awaiting the return of the Medical Corps men. By then the effects of the disruption of trade were beginning to bite. The merchants found themselves rather torn between their jingoism and their capitalist instincts. The mayor, in response to many earnest requests, telegraphed Field-Marshal Roberts to request their return. The reply was unambiguous:

"I fear I must ask you to make a further demand on the patience of employers ... I feel sure your loyal fellow citizens will keep open situations a little longer than run the risk of delaying the end of the war ... "⁴⁸

When the volunteers finally returned, some of them were a liability to their employees, as the mayor, T. N. Dyer, let slip to the Cape Times in an unguarded statement.⁴⁹ In a report which was reprinted without comment in the Cape Mercury, it was pointed out that the victims of war were not only those who

45. Daily Watchman, 7/11/1899, "Masters & Servants Act".

46. Daily Watchman, 8/11/1899, "The Day's Doings".

47. Cape Mercury, 11/1/1900, "News of the Day".

48. Cape Mercury, 15/9/1900, "Medical Staff Corps".

49. Cape Mercury, 21/8/1901, "'King' Day by Day".

suffered physical injury and material loss, "The demoralisation resulting from it is very serious." Fifteen men from Dyer & Dyer had volunteered in various corps. With one exception, they returned "intemperate and dissipated." Prior to the war they had been "steady and well conducted".⁵⁰ The report created a stir and the next day the Cape Mercury devoted an editorial trying to explain it. The problem, as the editor saw it, was that the men were no longer used to military discipline. He also tried to refute the idea that drink was freely available in the army.⁵¹ The editor was wide of the mark. Quite simply, the brutalizing and dehumanizing experiences of war led to complications when the men tried to adjust to normal society.

Some of the irregulars returned to unemployment. Embittered and disillusioned, one of them wrote to the newspaper, claiming "thousands" of irregulars were unemployed and that the Government was utterly indifferent to their fate. Relief, when it was offered at all, was barely sufficient. Those who had not gone to war had fared better than those who had volunteered. Just how far public opinion had swung was clear:

"Well I remember the good ladies - how proud they were to shake the hand of a volunteer and wish him safe return. But alas! The scene has changed. Peace is now an established fact, and the gallant volunteer of two and a half years ago is forgotten and unknown ..."⁵²

Military restrictions placed on the town and district, and the general military situation, adversely affected business. The action around Stormberg and the north-eastern Cape disrupted the railway link between King William's Town and that part of the Colony.⁵³ The censoring of business telegrams caused great delays and inconvenience. The local Commandant acted as censor and his office was far from the business part of town.⁵⁴ In this case complaints made by the Chamber of Commerce bore fruit and a more satisfactory arrangement was worked out. An Assistant Censor, based at the Post Office, was appointed.⁵⁵ King William's Town merchants were unable to collect money from debtors in Burgersdorp, Colesberg, Aliwal

50. Cape Mercury, 21/8/1901, "'King' Day by Day".

51. Cape Mercury, 22/8/1901, Editorial, "Volunteering and Drinking".

52. Cape Mercury, 23/8/1902, Letter to Editor by "Scout".

53. Cape Mercury, 10/3/1900, "Chamber of Commerce".

54. Cape Mercury, 26/10/1901, "Chamber of Commerce".

55. Cape Mercury, 6/11/1901, Letter to Editor by H.D. Blewitt.

North and Barkly East.⁵⁶ Travel to the Transkei was curtailed to the obvious inconvenience of businesses dependent on Transkei trade. Permits had to be applied for, a week in advance, in writing, giving reasons for the journey.⁵⁷ The priority the military enjoyed with railway trucks was even more disruptive. By April 1900 a tremendous backlog had built up at the East London harbour. Up to fifteen transports were lying off East London waiting to discharge cargo. One alone had 1 000 railway truck-loads of cargo. It was estimated that between 5 000 and 6 000 railway trucks would be needed to clear the backlog. The military, however, dominated the use of the railways. Nearly 900 trucks and other rolling stock were being retained beyond Bethulie.⁵⁸

The King William's Town merchants were at a far greater disadvantage than their counterparts in East London who were able to transport their goods from the wharf to town in trucks that were not used on the main line.⁵⁹ The King William's Town merchants suffered a further setback when it emerged that a certain number of trucks had been promised to the merchants of Port Elizabeth to convey goods to Bloemfontein in April 1900.⁶⁰ Before the war the East London merchants anxiously guarded their advantage over their King William's Town rivals, to the extent that they even opposed a telephone link between King William's Town and the port.⁶¹ The war provided them with increased opportunities to exploit King William's Town's weak position. By June 1900 it was clear that through their control of the Harbour Board and through the East London Chamber of Commerce they were exploiting the situation to the detriment of the King William's Town merchants.⁶² The delays at the East London harbour and the shortage of transport were clearly identified as major problems in 1902:

56. Cape Mercury, 24/1/1900, "Chamber of Commerce".
57. Cape Mercury, 11/2/1902, "Martial Law Notices".
58. Cape Mercury, 11/4/1900, "Chamber of Commerce".
59. Cape Mercury, 11/4/1900, "Chamber of Commerce".
60. Cape Mercury, 11/4/1900, "Chamber of Commerce".
61. Cape Mercury, 26/11/1898, "Chamber of Commerce".
62. Cape Mercury, 9/6/1900, "Chamber of Commerce".

"This town is suffering by the great delay, and it is not the merchants, but the whole of the public who in some cases now have to pay 50 per cent more for necessities ... "63

In addition wool from Kei Road farmers was delayed at Kei Road and then not sent to King William's Town, as "it could only be loaded for East London."⁶⁴

The merchants were eager to resume trade with the interior of the country when the theatre of war shifted. Various representations to the Railway authorities were only partially met. By August 1900 three extra railway trucks a week had been set aside for carrying the merchandise from King William's Town to the Orange River.⁶⁵ This small measure did not end the problems the King William's Town merchants experienced. Their difficulties with the Harbour Board and the problems of sending goods to the north continued to be recurrent themes in the Chamber of Commerce meetings.

The preferential railway rates East London merchants enjoyed was also to the disadvantage of the merchants in King William's Town. Although the latter were further from the coast than East London, the East London merchants paid the same rates to send goods inland:

"... the merchants of King Williamstown (sic) were at a distinct disadvantage to those of East London. They got their goods sent off at the same rate as King Williamstown."⁶⁶

Under martial law, the military Administrator of the King William's Town area issued regulations placing the military requirements for labour above other interests. He also set a maximum wage for Native labour at £2 per month with rations.⁶⁷ The language and style of the order suggest a hastily conceived idea. Exactly how employers of labour in King William's Town responded is unclear. They may well have welcomed a limit on wages. Certainly the measure could hardly have found sympathy with the blacks who were no longer able to sell their labour to the highest bidder. Reacting to enquiries from the Borough

63. Cape Mercury, 2/5/1902, Editorial, "Work of the Port".

64. Cape Mercury, 2/5/1902, Editorial, "Work of the Port".

65. Cape Mercury, 4/8/1900, "Chamber of Commerce".

66. Cape Mercury, 10/12/1901, "Chamber of Commerce".

67. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/1/3/7, Martial Law Notice, 11/2/1902.

Council, the Administrator tried to explain that the regulations were intended only to apply to "Labor (sic) Agents who are exporting Natives from the District in batches in a way that is detrimental to the Military requirements", so it may well have been intended to inhibit recruiters such as the Indwe Colliery.⁶⁸

When Boer commandos invaded the Colony late in 1901, the military, somewhat panic-stricken, issued Martial Law regulations aimed at depriving the commandos of equipment and supplies. All stores in the King William's Town area, except those within a radius of six miles of the town, were to reduce stocks of flour, meal and general foodstuffs, blankets, men's clothing, boots and horse shoes. Storekeepers were forbidden to stock saddles. Only a fourteen day supply of merchandise was allowed and, if ordered to do so, storekeepers had to send all stocks into King William's Town.⁶⁹

Other factors which contributed to weakening the King William's Town economy in this period were only indirectly attributable to the war or entirely due to other factors. Two of the town's three newspapers collapsed during the war. In October 1899 both the Cape Mercury and the Kaffrarian Watchman became dailies, the latter under the name of the Daily Watchman. Competition for circulation and advertising was intense and included the East London Daily Dispatch. Supplying the public with the latest war news became the means to increase circulation. One effect of the war was the initial increase in the circulation figures of the newspapers. Both, however, over-extended themselves. The Daily Watchman folded on 18 August 1900.⁷⁰ The Cape Mercury's demise came at the end of March 1901.⁷¹ The war was only an indirect cause. The general state of the economy seems to have been to blame. The Umtata Herald attributed the Cape Mercury's closure to the lack of support the newspaper received from local businesses:

"'King' in its own estimation, as an important centre, well able to maintain a daily newspaper, but the businessmen are too indifferent, too miserly to advertise."⁷²

68. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/1/3/7, "Martial Law Notice, 11/2/1902; 3/KWT 2/1/1/3/7, Letter: Administrator, No. 2 Area - Town Clerk, 14/2/1902.

69. Cape Mercury, 6/2/1902, "Martial Law Notice".

70. Imvo, 26/2/1900, "The Watchman".

71. Imvo, 14/4/1901, Editorial, "King Journals".

72. Quoted in Imvo, 16/4/1901, "King News".

When the Cape Mercury eventually restarted it was under the control of a consortium of local businessmen who appreciated how important a role the paper had played in promoting business and defending the town's interests.⁷³

The general decline of business in King William's Town and the fate of the town is one of the most persistent threads running through the history of the town in this period. As far as economic causes are concerned, one of the factors was the outflow of capital to the Rand. As R. W. Rose Innes, a local attorney, perceptively commented in 1898:

"Kingwilliamstown (sic) has been on the decline for some time past and the goldfields have done us nothing but harm - men and money have left for the Transvaal."⁷⁴

This certainly confirms Alan Mabin's point that there was a movement of capital, commodities and money from the Cape Colony to the Transvaal.⁷⁵ The general slackening off of business was a constant refrain in the columns of the fiercely parochial Press. The usual formulation being in the negative, "business is not yet dead."⁷⁶ The war may have accelerated the process, but even that is not clear. Some businesses sniffed the changes in the air early in the 1880s and began opening branches in East London. Later some moved their headquarters to the port. Baker, Baker & Co. opened their East London branch at least as early as 1884.⁷⁷ Other King William's Town firms who featured in both places on the eve of the war include Theodore Dreyfus, Dyer & Dyer, Malcomess & Co., and Savage & Sons.⁷⁸ Just prior to the war the most significant translocation of the period occurred. In July 1899 Dyer & Dyer shifted their headquarters to East

73. Cape Mercury, 13/5/1901, Editorial, no heading.

74. Quoted in S. Trapido, "The Friends of the Natives': Merchants, Peasants and the Political and Ideological Structure of Liberalism in the Cape, 1854 - 1910", in S. Marks & A. Atmore (Eds.), Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa (Longman, London, 1980), p. 271.

75. A. S. Mabin, "The Making of Colonial Capitalism: Intensification and Expansion in the Economic Geography of the Cape Colony, South Africa, 1854 - 1899" (PhD Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1984), p. 4.

76. Cape Mercury, 21/3/1901, "Under Martial Law".

77. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 101.

78. Donaldson & Hill's Eastern Province (Cape Colony) Directory 1900, pp. 400 & 213.

London, "for the interest of the business."⁷⁹ The firm was a leading one in the town, one with which the mayor, T. N. Dyer, was associated. The symbolism of the transfer of the headquarters to a rival urban centre could not have been lost on the public. The changing emphasis of the principal merchant houses was keenly felt as a sign that the town was "going back".⁸⁰ J. W. Weir & Co., bowing to the inevitable, opened a branch in East London in 1903.⁸¹

Keith Tankard, in his study of East London, argued that during the war East London made rapid progress and then slowed down.⁸² The perception King William's Town residents had of the port was of unmitigated prosperity:

"Despite the unsettled state of the country the merchants of East London are doing a large trade, as large in fact as they have done in years. This is accounted for in many ways. The principal of which, I think, lies in the many requirements of the military. Every store almost that one enters is a beehive of industry ..."⁸³

A more fundamental aspect of the town's decline can be traced to the period before the war. King William's Town's economic hinterland shrank as the East London mercantile sector expanded. In an attempt to balance this, King William's Town merchants sought to open new markets in Rhodesia. In January 1898 it was reported that Dyer & Dyer were sending a large quantity of grain to Bulawayo.⁸⁴ In August 1899 the General Manager of the Standard Bank reported that in the last fortnight of the half year King William's Town merchants exported about £30 000 worth of grain to Bulawayo alone.⁸⁵ The following month large quantities of meal and millet were sent to markets in Kimberley and Bulawayo, notwithstanding the general

79. Cape Mercury, 25/7/1899, "A Farewell Function".

80. Cape Mercury, 2/9/1899, "The £10,000 Loan"; Cape Mercury, 29/8/1899, Letter to Editor by F. Ginsberg.

81. Anon., A Century of Service to Commerce. The Story of the Family Business of James W. Weir & Company (J. W. Weir & Co., King William's Town, 1966), p. 9.

82. K. P. T. Tankard, "The Development East London Through Four Decades of Municipal Control 1873 - 1914", (PhD Thesis, Rhodes University, 1990), p. i.

83. Cape Mercury, 12/10/1901, "East London".

84. Cape Mercury, 22/1/1898, "Town and District".

85. A. Mabin & B. Conradie (Eds.), The Confidence of the Whole Country, (Standard Bank, Johannesburg, 1987), p. 473; General Manager's Report, 8/8/1899.

importation of American grain into the Colony.⁸⁶ It was reported that of 2 070 tons of goods forwarded to Rhodesia, King William's Town merchants were responsible for 1 494 tons.⁸⁷ The war obviously crippled this developing trade with Rhodesia, but it is most unlikely that it could have developed into an effective economic hinterland for the King William's Town merchants in the long term.

One response of the King William's Town community to the town's decline was backward-looking, focusing on the past glory of the town. Residents harked back to the glorious days when the town was the capital of British Kaffraria and East London was no more than a little seaside suburb of King William's Town.⁸⁸

Another response was to deny any rivalry at all:

"We Kingites may be less aggressively "commercial" than go-ahead East London, but we may also be more - what shall I say 'intellectual'?"⁸⁹

Matters came to a head over the Cartage Contract question. The Cape Mercury, under the control of G. Whitaker and other leading businessmen, exposed what they saw as a tremendous scandal. The contract to cart goods from the harbour to businesses in East London had been awarded to David Rees, the mayor of East London, proprietor of the Daily Dispatch and brother-in-law of the Premier. The contract was on very generous terms and Rees enjoyed what was in effect a subsidy of 10 shillings for every ton of goods carried. The Cape Mercury and the King William's Town Chamber of Commerce pursued the matter with desperation, even resorting to publishing a booklet that purported to expose all the iniquities.⁹⁰ The controversy became increasingly vitriolic until the Cape Parliament looked into the matter.⁹¹ In the final analysis the issue was not about the Cartage Contract as much as it was about the rivalry between the two centres and the damage that King William's Town was suffering to its economy and prestige.

86. Cape Mercury, 1/10/1898, "Trade During September".

87. Cape Mercury, 2/9/1899, "The £10,000 Loan".

88. Cape Mercury, 14/4/1902, "East London".

89. Cape Mercury, 22/2/1901, Letter to Editor by "A King Subscriber".

90. See for example Cape Mercury Editorials on 3/10/1901, 10/10/1901, 12/10/1901, 16/10/1901, 21/10/1901, 24/10/1901, 5/11/1901, 6/11/1901 and 12/12/1901.

91. Cape Parliamentary Papers, A.3 - 1902, "Cape of Good Hope, Return to a Resolution Adopted by the ... House of Assembly on the 21st August 1902 ... "

It would seem that in response to the seepage of merchants to East London, the King William's Town economy shifted emphasis. Manufacturing was held up as the town's salvation. The Cape Mercury, ever mindful of its responsibility to boost the town, and with more than a touch of hyperbole, enthusiastically predicted that when peace came,

"a wave of prosperity will sweep over South Africa. King Williamstown (sic) has the reputation of being the principal manufacturing centre of the Cape Colony, and there is not the slightest doubt that it owes much of its present prosperity to its industries ... We do not think we are too sanguine in prophesying that in a very few years time the hub of manufacturing interests in the Colony, if not in all South Africa, will be King Williamstown."⁹²

3.2 Agriculture: "Native agriculturalists to the fore"

Although King William's Town's economic hinterland lay as far afield as the trans-Keian territories, Basutoland and the north-eastern part of the Cape Colony, especially as regards wool, hides and skins, the immediate district was also important. The prosperity of the town was rooted in both the agricultural pursuits of those in the immediate district and those further afield. An analysis of agriculture in the district indicates that there were four types of farmers: large-scale "grantee" farmers who mostly produced wool; small-scale German peasants who mostly produced market vegetables; black peasant farmers who supplied the merchants with wool, hides and skins; and black peasants ("agriculturalists" in the language of the day) who sold their surplus directly on the King William's Town municipal market.

The grantee farmers in the King William's Town district, situated mostly in the Kei Road and Komgha areas, were heirs to the policies of Sir George Grey. Large tracts of land had been made available to English- and Dutch-speaking settlers on the understanding that they would pay a quit-rent and render military service whenever required. Bouch, in his study of Queenstown, drew attention to the role the grantees had in increasing wool production in the Cape Colony.⁹³ There is little doubt that the same applied to the grantees of Kaffraria. It is, however, unclear how much of the wool they produced was channelled through East London merchants and how much through King William's Town. The advantage certainly lay with East

92. Cape Mercury, 24/1/1902, Editorial, "Progress of 'King'".

93. R. Bouch, "The Colonization of Queenstown", pp. 56, 62, 65.

London since the railway line from Queenstown to East London passed through Kei Road and wool for King William's Town would either have had to be sent via Blaney along the branch line or by wagon.

The German agriculturalists in the King William's Town division, descendants of the German settlers of 1857 and 1858-59, were concentrated in the Frankfort, Berlin, Izeli / Braunschweig, Mngqesha, Breidbach and Keiskammahoek areas. The emphasis in their activities was small-scale peasant farming and supplying the King William's Town market with vegetables, fruit, hay and firewood. But by 1898 they had lost ground to black agriculturalists. As the old settlers retired, some of the next generation moved to urban areas.⁹⁴

Black peasant farmers were producing for two markets. Those further afield were marketing wool, hides, skins and grain through the networks of traders in the rural areas. Some of those closer to King William's Town disposed of surplus produce and firewood directly on the municipal market. This distinction coincides with what Bundy, almost as an aside, calls "pastoral peasants" and "agricultural peasants". It is not a distinction he explores in any great detail.⁹⁵

The black agricultural peasants in the King William's Town area do not appear to have been placed under the same sort of stress as some peasants in the Transkei may have been.⁹⁶ They, not the German farmers, were the mainstay of the King William's Town produce market on the eve of the war:

"Native agriculturalists were again to the fore with produce and firewood; they came from Peddie, Green River and Fort Murray."⁹⁷

This was significant, according to the reporter, since it indicated, "the fact that Natives are living out of the land and will in due time take no small part in feeding this market."⁹⁸ That the King William's Town market recovered from the closure of roads during the Rinderpest was due to black peasant farmers:

94. Cape Mercury, 10/9/1898, "Local Trade in August".

95. C. Bundy, Rise and Fall, p. 11.

96. C. Bundy, Rise and Fall, pp. 109 - 145; C. Bundy, "The Transkei Peasantry", pp. 201 - 220.

97. Cape Mercury, 14/7/1898, "The Produce Markets".

98. Cape Mercury, 14/7/1898, "The Produce Markets".

"For this state of affairs the large increase in the number of native farmers was mainly responsible. At one time the market almost entirely depended upon the German farmers, who were energetic and thrifty, but the present generation did not appear to work in the grooves in which their fathers did such substantial service, to the benefit of the community and their own advancement and prosperity."⁹⁹

The Market Master claimed blacks had stepped into the vacuum left by the Germans, citing several cases to prove the point, such as one black agriculturalist who was paid £16 for produce (principally potatoes) sold on the market in one morning.¹⁰⁰ It was not only foodstuffs. They also produced forage, which was sold with due regard to market forces:

"In former times they never stacked, but placed it on the market as soon as cut and ready; now they have a proper system of harvesting and supplying the market according to requirements."¹⁰¹

No details exist as to the extent of this, but an idea of the identity of these agriculturalists, most certainly mission educated, is suggested in the Market Master's comments that they "are generally educated and intelligent. There are few of them who cannot calculate for themselves and at least write their signature."¹⁰² Share-cropping or farming on the half appears to have been quite common. A correspondent from Fort White near King William's Town informed the Cape Mercury readers that the black agriculturalists were hard at work in December 1898:

"Many of them obtain land from Europeans for the purpose of sowing mealies, which is given to them on halves. I have known some of them to get from 30 to 40 bags for their share."

It was, he observed, "a splendid system".¹⁰³

The increasing sophistication black agriculturalists showed in marketing their produce was noticeable:

"It is pleasant to record that Native agriculturalists have been good contributors during the season, and for the first time it has been remarked that they are holding reserves, and

99. Cape Mercury, 11/6/1898, "Natiyes (sic) & Produce, Proof of Progress".

100. Cape Mercury, 11/6/1898, "Natiyes (sic) & Produce, Proof of Progress".

101. Cape Mercury, 11/6/1898, "Natiyes (sic) & Produce, Proof of Progress".

102. Cape Mercury, 11/6/1898, "Natiyes (sic) & Produce, Proof of Progress".

103. Cape Mercury, 24/12/1898, "Fort White Notes".

following the market to their advantage, instead of, as old, rushing in with their produce as soon as it is reaped ... "104

This was also revealed in other ways:

"Those who do a lucrative trade with Natives say that the people are now beginning to enquire as to the price of grain; but as truly small purchases are being made it is thought to be only a careful testing of the market occasioned by the recent high demand from Bulawayo."105

The Transvaal crisis resulted in very poor markets. Supplies were held back and "dealers and speculators are waiting, Micawberlike, for something to turn up."106 As the war progressed the markets did not recover. The blame was laid squarely at the door of the military for importing mealies for themselves.107

By September 1900 market agents were beginning to reminisce nostalgically about better days, albeit in a semi-humorous vein:

"Fading, slowly fading are the memories of the splendid array of wagons that in the good old days used to line the Market Square from top to bottom."108

Brief improvements were followed by virtually no produce on the market in October 1900.109 Drought and locusts also took their toll towards the end of 1900. The country was fast assuming the character of a desert, according to the Cape Mercury article with the explicit heading "The Twin Scourges. Drought and Locusts. A Gloomy Picture. But No Exaggeration."110

But despite the drought and locusts, the war provided a general fillip to agricultural production in areas that were not disrupted by actual hostilities. Black peasants in particular, since their areas were largely

104. Cape Mercury, 10/9/1898, "Local Trade in August".

105. Cape Mercury, 27/7/1899, "Notes of the Day".

106. Cape Mercury, 6/3/1900, "Produce Markets".

107. Cape Mercury, 6/3/1900, "Produce Markets".

108. Cape Mercury, 7/9/1900, "Produce Reports".

109. Cape Mercury, 17/9/1900, "Produce Markets"; Cape Mercury, 20/10/1900, "Produce Markets".

110. Cape Mercury, 25/10/1900, "The Twin Scourges".

unaffected by commando activity, were able to profit from the increased demand for agricultural products and animals. As Nasson has demonstrated:

"The available evidence suggests that agricultural surpluses were produced specifically to meet army cash crop requirements. Some peasants were able to expand areas of cultivation, breaking in new land, or soil which had hitherto only been lightly used. Wartime scarcity and wartime prices stirred numbers of Africans to make a killing."¹¹¹

Table 3.1 provides a comparison of cereal crop production in the King William's Town district before and after the war, compared to neighbouring districts of Albany, Queenstown and East London. The increase in the King William's Town District, with its large black population, is obvious.

Tables 3.2 and 3.3 compare the livestock in the King William's Town and neighbouring divisions before and after the war. The dramatic increases in livestock in the war years and just after is clear. In some respects black peasant farmers were actually better off in the King William's Town district than the white farmers. Unlike the whites whose horses and wagons were commandeered under martial law regulations, blacks were able to dispose of them as they wished at market rates.¹¹²

111. W. R. Nasson, "Black Society in the Cape Colony and the South African War of 1899 - 1902 : A Social History" (PhD Thesis, Cambridge University, 1983), p. 80.

112. See Chapter 5 for discussion of martial law.

TABLE 3.1: COMPARISON OF CEREAL CROPS HARVESTED IN 1898-99 AND 1904 IN SELECTED DIVISIONS IN THE EASTERN CAPE

1898-1899							
DIVI-SION	WHEAT Muids	BARLEY Muids	OATS Muids	OATHAY Bundle	RYE Muids	MEALIES Muids	POTA-TOES Muids
ALB	364	2109	-	175754	-	3956	3441
EL	421	408	467	422618	-	13400	2967
KWT	3743	716	786	662320	-	58789	9038
QTN	20688	1890	728	1229804	77	16407	7038
1904							
DIVI-SION	WHEAT Muids	BARLEY Muids	OATS Muids	OATHAY Bundles	RYE Muids	MEALIES Muids	POTA-TOES Muids
ALB	229	2317	45	803706	42	14289	14306
EL	1228	1152	343	1694612	6	33923	7591
KWT	15131	3468	3595	2336817	6	77234	29892
QTN	3781	975	1647	1601472	38	10985	20095

Source: Statistical Register of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope ... 1899 (Government Printer, Cape Town, 1900), p. 339, Table No. 4, "Cereal Crops Harvested ... 1898 - 99"; Statistical Register of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope ... 1904 (Government Printer, Cape Town, 1905), p. 339 - 340, Table No. 2, "Agricultural Produce, 1904". Figures rounded off.

TABLE 3.2: COMPARISON OF LIVESTOCK IN SELECTED DIVISIONS IN THE EASTERN CAPE 1899

	ALBANY	EAST LONDON	KING WILLIAM'S TOWN	QUEENSTOWN
Stallions	168	60	1 121	339
Mares	881	255	4 397	2 555
Geldings	1 580	880	4 261	2 120
Mules	171	278	3 413	94
Asses	155	123	24	47
Bulls	768	496	1 139	597
Cows & Heifers	17 340	6 021	18 974	14 730
Oxen	6 607	6 958	12 053	9 808
Ostriches	17 757	332	50	595
Pigs	1 434	2 413	7 714	2 558
Merino Sheep	64 841	3 571	188 419	377 559
Cape Sheep	11 311	-	-	239
Angora Goats	5 306	-	680	41 734
Boer Goats	11 632	17 937	73 579	9 260

Source: Statistical Register of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope ... 1899 (Government Printer, Cape Town, 1900), pp. 340 - 341, Table No. 5. "Livestock on 31st May, 1899 - Pastoral Products, 1898-9".

TABLE 3.3: COMPARISONS OF LIVESTOCK IN SELECTED DIVISIONS IN THE EASTERN CAPE 1904

	ALBANY	EAST LONDON	KING WILLIAM'S TOWN	QUEENSTOWN
Mules	450	525	128	168
Asses	322	71	83	51
Bulls	718	874	2 573	918
Cows & Heifers	9 604	6 267	23 358	12 632
Other Cattle	18 979	9 261	21 238	22 986
Oxen	8 175	11 439	23 211	14 172
Ostriches	23 256	310	78	655
Pigs	2 589	4 685	15 692	3 920
Merino Sheep	53 757	292	210 797	416 177
Cape Sheep	57 130	1 556	11 289	22 046
Angora Goats	2 569	307	1 962	68 738
Boer Goats	28 975	30 444	183 403	22 516

Source: Statistical Register of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope ... 1904 (Government Printer, Cape Town, 1905), pp. 361 - 362, Table No. 8, "Livestock, 1904".

3.3 Manufacturing: "The electric hurry of the century of steam power and science."

King William's Town only rated one mention in the discussion on manufacturing in Noble's 1896 Handbook of the Cape and South Africa:

"The manufacture of Cape wagons and carts is a special colonial industry, the chief localities where it is carried on being the Paarl, Worcester, Oudtshoorn, Graham's Town and King William's Town."¹¹³

This must surely have irked the burgesses of King William's Town who were inordinately proud of the industries they possessed. The mayor, in 1898, drew attention to the need to promote manufacturing in King William's Town:

"I should like to state that I think it should be our aim to do all in our power to encourage our local Manufacturers. The fostering of local industries must be a prominent feature in our policy. We have a water supply, which, at the cost of a few thousand pounds, could be made practically unlimited. We have in the immediate neighbourhood large forests of timber trees, and a vast native population for unskilled labour. In every way our town is particularly adapted for manufacturing enterprise, upon which our future prosperity may have to depend."¹¹⁴

As Mabin had indicated for the whole Cape Colony, few of the manufacturing establishments were "industrial" in the real sense of the word.¹¹⁵ Most were, as was the case in King William's Town, places processing raw materials on a relatively simple scale. In the case of King William's Town, this included tanning, milling, woolwashing, chicory roasting and mineral water manufacturing. Others were essentially crafts which were conducted on a large scale, such as wagonmaking, the sleeper factory, confectionery and cigar making. Mabin's definition of an industry in 1891 is one employing more than 100 workers.¹¹⁶ While one could quibble with this (possibly the criteria should include the degree of mechanization and the level of sophistication of the processes involved), it is clear that in King William's Town only three concerns

113. J. Noble (Ed.), Illustrated Official Handbook of the Cape and South Africa ... (J. C. Juta, London, 1896) p. 257.

114. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1898 (H. D. Blewitt, King William's Town, 1898), p. 11.

115. A. S. Mabin, "The Making of Colonial Capitalism", p. 300.

116. A. S. Mabin, "The Making of Colonial Capitalism", p. 300.

TABLE 3.4: INDUSTRIES IN THE EASTERN CAPE, 1904

DIVISIONS			EAST LONDON	ALBANY	KING WILLIAM'S TOWN	PORT ELIZABETH	QTN
TOTAL NUMBER			82	79	74	158	69
TOTAL PERSONS			1618	763	1188	2507	609
NUMBER OF WORKERS USUALLY EMPLOYED	WHITES	M	656	381	446	1064	278
		F	60	66	109	193	51
	BLACKS	M	897	308	540	1232	280
		F	5	8	93	18	-
POWER EMPLOYED	MANUAL		49	60	39	100	59
	WATER		-	-	3	-	-
	WIND		-	-	-	-	-
	ANIMAL		-	-	-	1	-
	OIL & GAS		16	12	6	30	1
	STEAM		16	7	26	27	9
	ELECTRIC		1	-	-	-	-
HORSE POWER OF ENGINES			1460	258	711.5	1517.5	180

Source: Statistical Register of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope ... 1904 (Government Printer, Cape Town, 1905), p. 260, Table No. 7, "Industries. 1904".

could be considered real industries: the soap, candle and match factories run by Franz Ginsberg. Table 3.4 provides a summary of the details of industries reflected in the Cape Parliamentary Papers. According to this 1 188 people in the King William's Town District were employed in industries, less than East London, but far more than in the Albany District.

The tannery in King William's Town, situated in the middle of town at the bottom of Smith Street, was a relatively unsophisticated establishment on the eve of the war, with a low production figure. During the last months of the war the tannery was taken over by Middlemore & Lamplough of Birmingham, an infusion of overseas capital which caused the local Press to go into raptures and prophesy great things for the town in the good times that were to come.¹¹⁷ A limited liability company was floated in about 1901 with a capital of £50 000 and a boot, saddlery and harness factory was added.¹¹⁸ The entire premises were spread over some two acres of land. The tanning section included 20 lime pits, unhairing beams, 80 tanning pits and a currying section. Black wattle and thorn tree bark was shredded in "a powerful Huxham & Brown disintegrator" before being infused with "Gambier Root and Hemlock Extract" for the tanning process. The raw materials (the hides and skins) were of Colonial origin, but from how far afield is not clear.¹¹⁹

The boot factory, which was still being enlarged and fitted with new plant in 1902, employed a "large number of employees" - 300 were to be employed once the extensions were completed. A high degree of mechanisation was being introduced. Amongst the machines being installed were a Patent American Belt Knife Splitting Machine for cutting paper thin slices of leather, rollers for pressing sole leather and presses for cutting dies for stamping out sole and heel pieces, blocking and crimping devices, folding machines, eyeletting machines and a host of others. Power was generated by a 45 horse power steam engine.¹²⁰

117. Cape Mercury, 24/1/1902, Editorial, "Progress of 'King'".

118. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, pp. 122 - 123.

119. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 123.

120. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 123.

The most important milling operation in King William's Town was the Kaffrarian Steam Mill, situated in the heart of the town near the railway station. The extent of the mill's operations and the influence of its managing director, J. J. Whitaker, is symbolised by the huge castle-like structure, erected in 1887, which dominated that part of town. The mill and stores occupied about ten erven and appear to have been relatively modern. The machinery, as the name implies, was steam driven and the mill was lit by electricity generated on the premises. A second mill, erected in 1892, operated from Molteno. According to a commercial guide, the company's trade was very large, and its connections extended all over South Africa.¹²¹

Little was publicised about the activities of the woolwashes in the town, which appear to have been relatively simple operations. There were at least three, situated along the banks of the Buffalo River. They suffered severely in times of drought when the Municipality imposed water restrictions.¹²² In September 1900 the woolwashers sat with large quantities of wool and no water to wash it.¹²³

S. Salomon's Coffee and Chicory Works, processed a local commodity, chicory, in what appears to have been a fairly mechanised process. The premises occupied two acres of land between Victoria Street and the river. Established in 1897, the factory consisted of at least two buildings, one of which contained three kilns for drying the chicory root. The root was obtained from farmers in the surrounding districts. The finished article, produced at a weekly output of 10 to 12 tons, was "sent in considerable quantities to all parts of South Africa."¹²⁴ Salomon also roasted coffee and ground mealies and wheat as a side line. The plant included machinery to cut up the chicory root, roasting cylinders, grinding mills and a 40 horse power steam engine which provided the necessary power. The chicory and coffee was packed in tins which were made on the premises.¹²⁵ Salomon ensured a steady supply of raw material by supplying chicory seeds to local

121. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 122.

122. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/1/10/9, Letter: McPhearson - Town Clerk, 24/4/1900.

123. Cape Mercury, 4/9/1900, Sub-editorial, "Slumping".

124. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 132.

125. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 132.

farmers, possibly on a contract basis rather than by outright sale. An advertisement, which also appeared in German in the newspaper, advised:

"TO THE FARMER

The season for sowing Chicory being close at hand, I beg to notify my numerous farmer friends that fresh seeds have just arrived and may be had at my office, under the usual conditions."¹²⁶

There were at least three manufacturers of aerated water in King William's Town during the period under examination. Of these, M. A. Evatt & Co. appears to have been the largest. His plant included a gas generator, filtration system and three bottling machines that were capable of turning out 1 200 dozen bottles a day. The process included bottle washing.¹²⁷ Amongst Evatt & Co.'s products were raspberry-ade, pineapple-ade, kola, tonic water, ginger beer, ginger-ale, orange-ade, hop ale, Boston cream, "champagne cider" and "the celebrated double soda water."¹²⁸

Another producer of soft drinks was not a general manufacturer of aerated waters, but a chemist, H. T. Doble, who specialised in the production of lemon squash. Doble's lemon squash, the Cape Mercury claimed, "has received the highest medical testimony as being par excellence the ideal drink for hot weather, and especially for hot climates, being anti-pyretic."¹²⁹ The manufacturing process was relatively labour intensive and manual, despite the Cape Mercury's claim that the fruit was squeezed and the juice bottled by machine so that "nothing ... comes in contact with the hand except the bottle." The process involved "boys" squeezing the fruit and bottling. The labelling and despatching orders was done by "girls".¹³⁰

The backbone of the manufacturing and processing sector in the King William's Town economy on the eve of the war was wagon, carriage and cart building. The industry was dominated by five large concerns: Symons' Buffalo Wagon and Coach Works, Ririe Bros., J. T. Burgess, G. Randell & Co. and W. T.

126. Cape Mercury, 10/9/1898, Advertisement, "To the Farmer".

127. Cape Mercury, 3/11/1900, "Local Industries".

128. Cape Mercury, 15/3/1898, "Agricultural Show".

129. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 131.

130. Cape Mercury, 13/8/1901, "Local Manufacturers".

Glennie's Bon Accord Works. There were, in addition, a number of smaller wagonmakers such as Pahl and Grapentein. The operations of the largest concerns were fairly sophisticated and, although still making use of artisans, the extent and organization of some of the operations approached industrial activity. R. Symons, for example, had premises covering a large piece of land below Buffalo Road. The raw materials included both local timber and timber imported from America and Australia.¹³¹ Amongst the specialist artisans employed were bodymakers, wheelwrights, joiners and fitters, trimmers, smiths and painters.¹³² He also operated a branch in East London. About 40 men were employed in King William's Town alone. In addition to wagonmaking, Symons had diversified into cartage for the railway in King William's Town and East London. In King William's Town he kept 50 to 60 horses for this work.¹³³ He also supplied accessories such as harnesses and saddlery. Some idea of the production capacity of the Buffalo Wagonworks can be gleaned from the order Symons executed at the beginning of the war. Using extra assistance, he produced 90 wagons, 80 Scotch carts and 50 water carts in eight weeks.¹³⁴

Unlike Symons' Buffalo Wagon and Coach Works, J. T. Burgess' Steam Wagon Works was reasonably mechanised. The machinery, all powered by steam, included a welding and screwing machine; band saws; drilling and planing machines and "a Sager's General Wheelwright Combination Tool" where three men could work at the same time on different processes.¹³⁵ The work was still ordered in the traditional stages: smith work, wood working, the assembling of the vehicle, wheelwrighting and painting. But the attempt to marry traditional crafts with steam power drew the comment from one writer that the roar and hiss and busy activity "compel the mind to move in sympathy with the electric hurry of the century of steam power and science."¹³⁶ Burgess' wagons were made entirely of Colonial timber and finished products were sent as

131. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 99.

132. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 99.

133. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 101.

134. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 101.

135. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 111.

136. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 111.

far afield as Rhodesia and what was then German South West Africa. With the mechanised production process Burgess was capable of turning out a wagon a day.¹³⁷

G. Randell & Co. appear to have concentrated more on the coach and carriage market. Like Symons, most of their raw materials were imported. Timber came from America and steel and iron from England. The springs and axles were imported in a manufactured state directly from England.¹³⁸

Another of the large wagonmakers, Ririe Bros., appears to have mechanised to a degree the others had not yet attained.¹³⁹ In addition, the firm had also diversified. Aside from wagonmaking, Ririe Bros. operated an iron and brass foundry, producing various types of iron and brass castings, tomb railings, palisade railings and lettered tomb slabs.¹⁴⁰ At the King William's Town Agricultural Show in March 1898 Ririe Bros. displayed, inter alia, an ornamental verandah front "of exquisite design", cast in King William's Town.¹⁴¹ The casting appears to have been sufficiently novel to attract considerable attention and the remark, "perhaps few people were aware that such work could be executed in King Williamstown."¹⁴² The foundry was not a mere novelty, however. In July Ririe Bros. supplied a cast iron verandah for a local business¹⁴³ and numerous cast iron gates and railings, still extant in King William's Town today, testify to the quality of their work. As a side line they also operated an "ochre factory", which probably produced ochre for the black trade. Little information on this has survived.

The wagonmaking industry in King William's Town (and indeed, in the Colony as a whole), was particularly sensitive to fluctuations in the economy. On the eve of the war it was on the verge of collapse, mainly

137. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 111.

138. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 122.

139. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 126.

140. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 126.

141. Cape Mercury, 15/3/1898, "Agricultural Show".

142. Cape Mercury, 15/3/1898, "Agricultural Show".

143. Cape Mercury, 30/7/1898, "Local and General".

because of the railway extensions. In King William's Town, as the General Manager of the Standard Bank reported,

"... wagon and cart making is very depressed, not more than ten vehicles per month being now made, as against 100 per month two or three years ago."¹⁴⁴

The war, however, provided a sharp boost to wagonmaking in the town, thanks to the demand of the imperial authorities for transport of all kinds.¹⁴⁵

The Sleeper Factory on the south-east side of town was a dismal failure as a commercial undertaking. It was established in 1898 by the Cape government to supply railway sleepers.¹⁴⁶ A similar factory was also established at Knysna. The manufacturing process was unsophisticated. It essentially involved treating the wood with preservatives. Tenders were called for the supply of yellowwood sleepers from the Pirie forests near the town. The response was poor and those which were supplied were expensive. Only 5 000 were accepted at three shillings each. An additional 8 000 "Australian sleepers" were adzed in the first year.¹⁴⁷ After a year of operations the manager was forced to admit, "No Revenue yet Accrued."¹⁴⁸ During 1899 a shed for storage and a railway siding were added, but only 12 032 sleepers from the Pirie forests were treated. A shortage of creosote at the Knysna factory led the government to transfer 21 800 sleepers from Knysna to King William's Town for treatment. The cost of these, already adzed, was 3/10 each. The high cost of King William's Town sleepers was attributed to the higher Forestry tariff and the cost of transport. The idea of shipping sleepers from Storms River via East London was mooted as a possible alternative.¹⁴⁹

144. A. Mabin & B. Conradie (Eds.), The Confidence of the Whole Country, p. 459: General Manager's Report, 8/2/1899.

145. A. Mabin & B. Conradie (Eds.), The Confidence of the Whole Country, p. 482: General Manager's Report, 7/2/1900.

146. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.26-'99, "Reports on the working of the Government Sleeper Factories at Knysna and King William's Town for the Year 1898", p. 4.

147. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.26-'99, p. 5.

148. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.26-'99, p. 5.

149. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.14 - 1900, "Cape of Good Hope, Report on the workings of the Government Sleeper Factories at Knysna and King William's Town for the year 1899", p. 4.

Matters did not improve during the war. Although a contract had been signed with local suppliers for 66 350 sleepers from the Pirie forests, supply was poor and the factory often stood idle. By December 1900 only 19 179 sleepers had been delivered and the manager was forced to explain that the drought and war had caused a shortage of cattle and transport.¹⁵⁰ The small number of woodcutters in the district made it difficult to get contractors. The Conservator of Forests in the eastern Cape, Joseph Storr Lister, also attributed the high cost of timber to the war and its consequences:

"Just now owing to the lack of transport and the exceptional demand for wagonwood, the price of timber is abnormally high - 60% more than it was two years ago."¹⁵¹

In addition there was, according to Lister, a shortage of labour and draught animals were being commandeered by the military.¹⁵² As the situation persisted, ill-feeling developed between the manager of the factory and the Conservator of Forests, which exploded into a series of fiery letters.¹⁵³ By 1901 the Department of Agriculture was considering the closure of the sleeper factory. Storr Lister suggested delaying a decision until after the war.¹⁵⁴

The whole enterprise had, however, been a failure. It had originally been mooted in 1894, but the government was slow to get it going. When the land was expropriated for the factory by the government, the management of the Kaffrarian Steam Mill protested, unsuccessfully, because of the proximity of creosote to flour.¹⁵⁵ It did not get a railway siding until its second year. But ultimately the real reason for its

150. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.24 - 1901, "Report on the Workings of the Government Sleeper Factories at Knysna and King William's Town for the Year 1900", p. 3.

151. CAD, FCE 3/1/63, Letter: Storr Lister - Under Secretary of Agriculture, 21/1/1901.

152. CAD, FCE 3/1/63, Letter: Storr Lister - Under Secretary for Agriculture, 18/7/1901.

153. CAD, FCE 3/1/63, Letter: Storr Lister - Under Secretary of Agriculture, 15/8/1901; Ibid, 3/2/1902; and Ibid, 7/5/1902.

154. CAD, FCE 3/1/63, Letter: Storr Lister - Under Secretary for Agriculture, 18/7/01.

155. CAD, FCE 3/1/63, newspaper cutting, 16/1/1897 and note in file.

failure lay not so much in the war which hampered supplies, but in the fact that large tracts of the Pirie Forest been heavily worked and needed time to regenerate.¹⁵⁶

Of the various bakers and confectioners in King William's Town in this period, David Brown's Anglo-African Steam Confectionery Works appears to have been the largest. Brown, who styled himself a "Wholesale Manufacturing Confectioner", produced boiled goods, jellies, crystallised gums, jujubes and "cockernut goods."¹⁵⁷ The mainstay of his business was not these relatively sophisticated products, but items produced for the black trade, "lozenges of all kinds including English, Dutch and Kafir mottoes."¹⁵⁸ The factory was arranged in departments such as the Pan room, Drying Room, Boiling Shop, box-making department and packing and despatching room. The raw material, "the finest Dutch Crushed and Mauritius" sugar, was imported. In addition to the manufacture of boxes on the premises, Brown added a tinsmith shop, in 1902, to manufacture his own tins.¹⁵⁹ He appears to have had a widespread market for his sweets. In 1898 the Cape Mercury enthusiastically reported he was sending orders to districts he had not previously supplied.¹⁶⁰ In 1902 it was claimed that he was despatching his goods to all parts of South Africa.¹⁶¹

Information on the cigar factory is limited. It was located in Grey Street in an old mill and was run by Michael Arnholz.¹⁶² Despite the name "cigar factory", it appears to have been a relatively small operation.

The Ginsberg soap, candle and match factories represent the only true industries in King William's Town on the eve of the war. They had a large labour force, made use of skilled and unskilled labour, utilised a

156. CAD, FCE 3/1/63, Letter: Storr Lister - Under Secretary for Agriculture, 18/5/1901.

157. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, advertisement, p. 106.

158. Cape Mercury, 15/3/1898, "Agricultural Show".

159. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 125.

160. Cape Mercury, 23/7/1898, "Local and General".

161. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 125.

162. Cape Mercury, 11/8/1898, "An Important Point".

certain degree of mechanisation and at least two of them converted raw materials to a considerable degree in the manufacturing process.

The candle factory, utilising raw materials such as paraffin, charcoal, vegetable fats and animal fats, included such steps as washing, drying, pressing, purifying, filtering and moulding.¹⁶³ The factory covered 11 erven, employed 100 workers, had its own water supply in two boreholes and was fairly well mechanised. One 30 horse power steam engine provided power. Gas, generated on the premises, provided lighting.¹⁶⁴ Thirty-three moulding machines were in operation in 1902, each capable of making 100 candles in about 40 minutes - an output of some 3 300 candles in 40 minutes. The weekly output was in the region of 45 000 lbs. per week. These were packed in boxes made on the premises.¹⁶⁵

The match factory, unlike the candle factory, was quite primitive, labour intensive and not mechanised, "the whole operation being performed by hand."¹⁶⁶ The splints were imported, ready made, from Sweden. Using large wooden frames the splints were dipped in the various mixtures to produce heads. With the frames, an unskilled workman could produce, theoretically, 1 250 000 matches per day. A "skillful" worker could produce up to eight million matches a day.¹⁶⁷ Once dry, the matches were packed in boxes by hand. Two types of matches were manufactured, the cheaper brand being less stable. To obviate the danger of fire, operations were spread out in thirteen separate corrugated iron buildings, covering an area of twelve erven. About 150 male and female workers were employed, with a weekly output of about 4 500 gross of boxes.¹⁶⁸

163. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 105.

164. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 105.

165. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 105.

166. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 105.

167. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 107.

168. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 107.

In 1900 the Ginsberg company became a limited liability company - presumably with a fresh injection of capital.¹⁶⁹ In 1902 the Ginsberg Match Factory was taken over by the Rosebank Match Co. Ltd. of Port Elizabeth. They transferred operations to King William's Town, ostensibly because of water supply problems and labour shortages, to be run under the management of Ginsberg.¹⁷⁰ This resulted in another influx of capital and the transfer of machinery from Port Elizabeth. The manufacture of matches was now put onto a more industrialised footing. A large double-storey building was planned to house the new machinery. One of the machines, 52 foot long and operated by 25 people, was capable of producing completed matches from blocks of wood, according to the Cape Mercury's enthusiastic reporter. By 1902 the factory employed 350 people, almost double the 180 workers employed in 1899.¹⁷¹

The soap factory was devoid of sophisticated machinery, the principal process being the boiling of the raw materials in three- and four-ton iron boilers heated with steam.¹⁷² Two types of soap were manufactured, blue mottled soap and yellow soap. The raw materials included tallow and palm, coconut, and olive oils. The output was between three and three and a half tons of soap a day. In 1903 extensions in the form of a ten ton boiler were added.¹⁷³

Manufacturing in King William's Town just prior to the South African War, although mechanised to a degree, was still mostly processing in character rather than truly industrial. In some cases, like wagon-making, it was based on traditional craft. The exceptions to this were the Ginsberg factories. Despite the low level of industrialisation, the town was nonetheless something of a leading industrial centre in the region if judged by the standards of the day. In terms of size and scope the King William's Town manufacturing sector was certainly ahead of those of East London and Queenstown. There were tentative moves towards modernising some of the industries before the war. The idea of the town's future lying with manufacturing

169. Cape Mercury, 24/11/1900, Advertisement.

170. Cape Mercury, 14/11/1902, "Local Industries".

171. Cape Mercury, 2/9/1899, "The £10,000 Loan".

172. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 105.

173. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 107.

rather than commerce gained ground. The war appears to have had the effect of stimulating some of the industries, such as the Ginsberg factories and the tannery, which received injections of capital that allowed them to undertake massive expansions. Wagonmaking benefitted most obviously in the opening stages of the war. Prices of raw materials like timber also increased rapidly. With few exceptions the raw materials for the town's industries had to be imported. In some cases this was a source of pride since it was equated with quality, a rather paradoxical situation for Colonial manufacturers.¹⁷⁴

The comprehensive nature of some of the operations - from processing raw materials to packing the finished product in tins and boxes made on the premises - is obvious in candle making, confectionery and chicory roasting. By the same token this reveals a lack of specialisation and the absence in the town of support industries that could have made these articles.

Some of the working conditions were obviously unhealthy by today's standards and little in the way of safety measures were considered. The noise made by Ginsberg's match dipping machines was "simply dreadful".¹⁷⁵ Exposure to chemicals and noxious fumes was a dangerous aspect of the job for Ginsberg's workers. A fire at the match factory in 1898, followed by the careless control of loose matches, led to the death of a six year old girl.¹⁷⁶ Although Ginsberg installed a sprinkler system, the hazard remained. At a Chamber of Commerce meeting in 1898 Ginsberg complained that the Railways staff were not handling his matches with sufficient care, as they were "frequently set afire by rough usage."¹⁷⁷ An explosion at the candle factory in 1902 seriously injured a worker.¹⁷⁸

174. See for example, Cape Mercury, 2/9/1899, Advertisement, "R. Symons' Buffalo Wagon and Carriage Works".

175. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, p. 105.

176. Cape Mercury, 24/9/1898, "Fire Last Night".

177. Cape Mercury, 10/12/1898, "Chamber of Commerce".

178. Cape Mercury, 12/6/1902, "King Day by Day".

Virtually no thought was given to the removal of industrial waste. Pollution was the norm. Most, if not all, effluent drained into the Buffalo River. The bye-products of the tannery passed straight into the river, as did that of the woolwashes and Ginsberg's operations. Putrid water from the Kaffrarian Steam Mill was a source of complaint to its neighbours.¹⁷⁹ The match factory caused considerable inconvenience in 1900 by burning waste matches at the edge of town where, in the words of a complainant, "dense clouds of sulfur ... envelope our premises, making life far from pleasant.(sic)"¹⁸⁰

The pollution of the Buffalo River was an issue of some concern to the people of East London, who were planning to draw water from this source. In 1900, John Fleming, a civil and mining engineer, estimated that King William's Town discharged an average of 75 tons of filth into the river each day, including over two tons of animal grease, sheep dip, soap and caustic soda daily from the woolwashes.¹⁸¹ Fleming was a partisan observer since he had been commissioned by a syndicate pushing for a rival water scheme to the one being proposed for the Buffalo River.¹⁸² He nonetheless provides some idea of the pollution emptied into the Buffalo River at King William's Town.

The manufacturers in King William's Town, anxious to secure their positions, exerted as much influence as they could through the King William's Town Chamber of Commerce. One of their complaints was that colonial manufacturers could not compete for government contracts with English firms because of the duties on imported materials.¹⁸³ Where their interests coincided with those of the merchants the manufacturers enjoyed a modicum of success. Possibly as a result of the diverging interests of the manufacturing and

179. CAD, 3/KWT 1/1/5/1, Letter: Yates & Murray - Town Council, 8/12/1904.

180. Cape Mercury, 1/8/1900, "Borough Council".

181. K. P. T. Tankard, "The Development of East London", p. 457.

182. K. P. T. Tankard, "The Development of East London", p. 457.

183. Cape Mercury, 14/5/1898, "Chamber of Commerce"; Cape Mercury, 9/7/1898, "Chamber of Commerce".

mercantile sectors, the former met in April 1898 to consider their position. Franz Ginsberg was sent Cape Town to discuss the impending Customs Conference with the Premier.¹⁸⁴

In July 1898 five manufacturers formed the Manufacturers' Association, a move which was considered "imperative in the interests of the town."¹⁸⁵ There appears to have been some sort of disunity in the town as the new association was at pains to point out that "This new society has no connection with the King William's Town Industrial League."¹⁸⁶ The Association became a casualty of the war, only meeting again in December 1902. The absence of formal meetings was probably also because there was no immediate issue over which they needed to lobby. Whatever the case, the formation of the Manufacturers' Association underscored the shift in the town's economy from one primarily based on mercantile activity to one seeking to be industrial. The Association, stated the chairman, was needed to "properly represent the manufacturing interests, which are of such enormous importance to this community."¹⁸⁷

3.4 The Informal Sector, Domestic Service and Labour Relations

In addition to its mercantile, manufacturing and agricultural aspects, the economy of King William's Town also had a thriving informal sector. By its very nature this aspect did not receive as much publicity as the others. In many instances the authorities attempted to suppress it. Given the level of exploitation of workers in domestic service and in the other sectors of the economy it is not surprising people resorted to independent attempts to make their livelihood. Amongst other activities these included hawking, prostitution, beer brewing, running coffee houses and sub-letting accommodation.

Hawking occupied an ambivalent position in the town. Some hawkers were tolerated in King William's Town. Pajohn, a Hindu, resided in Brownlee Station and made a living hawking fruit and vegetables in the

184. Cape Mercury, 7/4/1898, "Town and District".

185. Cape Mercury, 7/7/1898, "Local and General".

186. Cape Mercury, 7/7/1898, "Local and General".

187. Cape Mercury, 9/12/1902, "Manufacturers' Association".

streets. He was a well known character and his death in 1899 rated a passing mention in the local Press.¹⁸⁸ Less tolerated were the white hawkers who tried to make a living in the town by hawking watches and other manufactured goods. Frequently of Middle Eastern origin ("Syrians"), they were harassed and arrested. The mercantile and manufacturing elite, anxious to preserve their position, invoked legislation that required hawkers to have certain kinds of licences. Seven cases of hawking were brought before the Resident Magistrate between 1900 and 1902. The prosecutions were usually in terms of Section 4 of Act 20 of 1884 (the Stamps and Licences Act), according to which they were prosecuted for carrying on trade in articles that were not of Colonial manufacture without the necessary licence.¹⁸⁹ Sentences were a lot harsher than, for example, public drunkenness or riotous behaviour. In 1900, David Crook was given the option of a £5 fine or one month in gaol with hard labour for hawking a box of watches in town.¹⁹⁰

Another aspect of the informal economy which featured prominently in the Courts was prostitution. Prostitution is essentially an urban phenomenon, as Rosen has pointed out.¹⁹¹ It is perhaps testimony to the level of urbanization of King William's Town that the town enjoyed the services of a number of prostitutes of varying classes. Most of the prostitution appears to have occurred in the town itself, with very few reports of prostitution in the municipal locations. Those who appeared before the Resident Magistrate frequently had "prostitute" given as their occupation. In terms of the Contagious Diseases Act (Act 39 of 1885), they were required to report to the District Surgeon for regular examination, and to submit to treatment at the Lock Hospital if found to be suffering from venereal disease. The lower class prostitutes, however, were the ones to feel the brunt of the law.

188. Cape Mercury, 8/8/1899, "News of the Day".

189. See for example CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/312, Case 83, 7/2/1900.

190. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/313, Case 205, 11/4/1900.

191. G. Rosen, "Disease, Debility, and Death", in H. J. Dyos & M. Wolff (Eds.), The Victorian City Images and Realities, Vol II (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1973), p. 657.

Prostitution as such was seldom openly persecuted. In only one case was a prostitute prosecuted for soliciting. This was after a local resident pressed charges.¹⁹² In another case it was only after Sophie, a black prostitute and her white client were caught copulating in the cattle pens on the market square that she was prosecuted for immoral behaviour.¹⁹³ It was for drunkenness and unruly behaviour that the lower class whores were frequently in court. As a result they are the ones about whom we know most. Whether there were prostitutes who catered for better class clients is unclear. If there were they were more discreet. Certainly, in 1890 a white woman, Fanny Lamont, operated a brothel in Amatola Row in the Military Reserve.¹⁹⁴ Another white, Minnie Arnold, ran a brothel in Henry Street in 1891.¹⁹⁵ Since King William's Town was a garrison town, it is difficult to believe that prostitution was confined to lower class whores.

The Contagious Diseases Act required regular examinations at the Lock Hospital. King William's Town had one of the four Lock Hospitals in the Cape Colony, along with Simonstown, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth.¹⁹⁶ This would hardly have been the case if prostitution was negligible in the town. On the other hand, there may well have been an absence of higher class whores catering for a better class of clientele because a small town like King William's Town lacked what Trudgill has called the "comforting anonymity" of a large city.¹⁹⁷

One of the chief informal economic activities in the locations was beer brewing. This, more than anything, aroused the ire and consternation of the authorities. Regular location raids by municipal officials and the

192. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/320, Case 420, 1/7/1901.

193. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/313, Case 147, 7/3/1900.

194. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/257, Case 37, 7/2/1890. I am indebted to Sharon Caldwell for this and the next reference.

195. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/257, Case 114, 24/3/1891.

196. Statistical Register of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope ... 1903 (Government Printer, Cape Town, 1904), p. 332, No. 13, "Hospitals and Charitable Institutions".

197. E. Trudgill, "Prostitution and Paterfamilias", in H. J. Dyos & M. Wolff (Eds.), *The Victorian City*, p. 701.

Borough Police and frequent high fines imposed by the Resident Magistrate did little to stem the tide. In almost all cases those involved were women. Beer brewing in the locations chiefly filled a social and cultural need of the inhabitants whilst allowing these women a measure of economic independence. The activity had been criminalised by the dominant groups in society in what was clearly an effort to provide greater social control in the locations, to ensure a sober work force and to reduce the economic independence of black women. The rationalisation for the control of beer brewing was frequently couched in high moral tones. The Resident Magistrate clearly stated the prevailing views on beer brewing in a case in July 1900. Not only did beer injure blacks physically, but "many evils" followed in its wake. It drew servants away, causing them to neglect their duties. It led to frequent assaults, and it led to thieving because it made "men ravenously hungry" and they then stole livestock.¹⁹⁸

Beer brewers generally got short shrift from the magistrates. Between 1899 and 1902 at least 121 beer prosecutions were made in King William's Town. Of these, 114 resulted in a guilty verdict. Except for a mere handful of cases, those charged were women. Sentences were harsh in comparison to other crimes such as drunkenness and riotous behaviour involving ordinary liquor. In the case of beer brewing sentences were usually in the region of a £5 fine or one month imprisonment with hard labour, depending on the quantity of beer involved.¹⁹⁹

Running coffee houses and sub-letting accommodation was another source of income for blacks in the town. Ben Nomvula ran a coffee shop and boarding house by subletting rooms he had hired from a German in Grey Street. He had up to nine tenants.²⁰⁰ Some of the accommodation appears to have been little more than overcrowded doss-houses. Sam Joseph, a "Coloured" in Smith Street provided accommodation by hiring a house and sub-letting rooms.²⁰¹ Much of the accommodation for blacks was in tin shanties in the

198. Cape Mercury, 26/7/1900, "Kafir Beer Making".

199. Calculated from CAD, Criminal Proceedings 1/KWT 1/1/1/306 - 1/1/1/322 and from Criminal Record Books, 1/KWT 1/2/1/1/21 - 1/2/1/1/24.

200. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/318, Case 240, 22/4/1901 and 1/KWT 1/1/1/321, Case 623, 28/98/1901.

201. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/310, Case 671, 30/10/1899.

backyards of dwellings. In most cases the slum landlords were whites, although some black entrepreneurs served as middle men. These were the types of places that the Council occasionally raided in the name of public health, usually after been stung into action by some public complaint.²⁰²

There were doubtless other aspects of the informal economy in operation. Begging, however, was not common as a result of the zealous efforts of the Borough Police. Anyone attempting begging was hauled before the Resident Magistrate on a charge of having no visible means of support, or forced out of town. Of the fifteen cases of vagrancy tried in the Magistrates Court between 1899 and 1902, nine were whites. Thomas Smith, for example, was given fourteen days gaol with hard labour. He had apparently been begging at different stores and had been drinking.²⁰³ Drink might have been a factor in some cases, but extreme poverty was the common denominator. John Cowan, a white clerk was found at the public buildings wanting to commit suicide after he had wandered about the town for six weeks. He had no money in his possession. He was charged with wandering about with no visible means of support, and given fourteen days imprisonment.²⁰⁴ Some of the vagrants may have been refugees from the Rand. Frederick Rudolph, an "electrician" was arrested after he wandered about the town, without employment, for one month and slept in the veld.²⁰⁵

The Borough Police and the Resident Magistrate did not scruple to rid the town of "undesirables" by sending them to East London. Charges of wandering about with no visible means of support against Evelyn Richards, a white labourer, were dropped when he agreed to go to East London.²⁰⁶

One of the more intriguing cases of economic activity of which evidence has survived was the case of a black man named Giddy who appears to have practised an urban variation of farming on the half for a local

202. For example, Cape Mercury, 6/8/1898, "The Public Health".

203. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/311, Case 710, 15/11/1899.

204. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/312, Case 118, 20/2/1900.

205. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/313, Case 329, 18/6/1900.

206. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/315, Case 516, 25/9/1900.

butcher, John Attwood. He specialised in making leather thongs. Attwood, according to Giddy, "buys the hides and I do all the work and get half the profits." He was given a room and occasionally Attwood gave him a ticky. He also did other small jobs for Attwood.²⁰⁷ The case was probably as much an example of enterprise on the part of Giddy as gross exploitation by Attwood.

Domestic service appears to have been a large source of employment in the town. One of the characteristics of domestic service and the employment of unskilled labour in this period, at least from today's vantage point, is the level of exploitation that occurred. The Masters and Servants Act (Act 18 of 1873) provided employees with a limited recourse to the law in the case of exploitation but, owing to the nature of the courts and the social situation, employers enjoyed the upper hand in labour matters.²⁰⁸ Even the terminology used for referring to servants served to belittle them and to entrench positions of dominance: "we keep a small yard boy also", was the comment of Alfred Parker.²⁰⁹

An English servant, Hannah Cullunich, in her diary of 1871 recorded the hardship and workload of a general servant in England.²¹⁰ Annie Mlakalaka would probably have identified with her. In 1901 she worked for Alfred Parker and his family as a monthly domestic servant at 12/- per month plus food. The Parkers attempted to force her to work long hours and tried to squeeze as much work into her day as possible. When they ordered her to wash windows after dark she refused and was charged by the Parkers for refusing to obey a lawful command. What is significant about her case is not that she was charged, but that she had very clear ideas on what her duties were and the hours she should work. She provides a good example of someone who was not a passive victim of exploitation. But the system was loaded against her and she was found guilty by the Resident Magistrate and fined 10/- or ten days. She did not pay the fine.²¹¹

207. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/320, Case 442, 8/7/1901.

208. Discussed more fully in Chapter 7.

209. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/320, Case 564, 27/8/1901.

210. Quoted in J. M. Golby (Ed.), Culture and Society in Britain 1850 - 1890 (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1988), p. 25.

211. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/320, Case 564, 27/8/1901.

Another domestic who attempted to stand up her rights was Annie, a black woman employed by a leading citizen, William Duckles. He claimed she had departed from his service after giving a month's notice, but without working it. She claimed she had been forced to leave because of ill-treatment. The sort of ill-treatment was not specified, but she got little sympathy from the Resident Magistrate. She was found guilty and fined £2 or one month hard labour; and paid the fine.²¹²

The Resident Magistrate's records are resonant with such cases involving both men and women. Between 1899 and 1902 there were 205 prosecutions under the Masters and Servants Act. Of these, only twelve were cases of employees prosecuting employers (for withholding wages). Of these only four were successful. Of the cases where employers prosecuted workers, 171 were found guilty.²¹³ Amongst the battery of offences employers could deploy against employees were departing from service without lawful excuse, absconding from service, refusing to obey a lawful command; making oneself unfit for service by becoming drunk, neglecting to perform duties and being absent without leave.²¹⁴ The few cases where servants had recourse to law were for the withholding of wages.

The law could also be used to provide forced labour. Indentured labour for juvenile offenders was common. Magalula, an eighteen year old black youth was charged under the Act when he was away from his employer for one night and neglected to feed his horses. In evidence it emerged he had been a juvenile offender in 1897 and had been indentured to Robert Cumming in King William's Town.²¹⁵ But it was not only juvenile

212. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/320, Case 566, 29/8/1901.

213. Calculated from CAD, Criminal Proceedings, 1/KWT 1/1/1/306 - 1/KWT 1/1/1/322 and from Criminal Record Books, 1/KWT 1/2/1/1/21 - 1/KWT 1/2/1/1/24.

214. J. Foster, H. Tennant & E. M. Jackson (Eds.), Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope 1652 - 1886, Vol. II (W. A. Richard & Sons, Cape Town, 1887), pp. 1614 - 1622: Act 27 of 1882, "An Act to Amend the Laws regulation the relative Rights and Duties of Masters, Servants and Apprentices".

215. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/316, Case 603, 10/11/1900.

offenders who were indentured. The children of destitute parents who applied to the Resident Magistrate for relief were also routinely indentured by means of advertisements in the newspapers.²¹⁶

Among the most common faces in the court for Masters and Servants prosecutions were Franz and Gustav Ginsberg. They appear to have used the Masters and Servants Act to maintain low wages, inadequate working conditions and general exploitation of their workers. Asa Briggs, writing about the matchmaking industry in Victorian England, described the disease of the lower jaw caused by phosphorous poisoning when working with the phosphorous matches (which were later replaced by safety matches).²¹⁷ The matchmaking in King William's Town was also done by hand and "molten sulphur", amongst other chemicals, was used.²¹⁸ Unfortunately there are no medical records extant to examine the effects of this in any detail.

As regards the Ginsbergs' labour practices, we have a bit more detail. In particular, a series of cases in March 1901 illustrated how they arbitrarily deducted money from their workers' wages and how the amounts the workers earned fluctuated from week to week. In the case of Folsi, charged with desertion, Ginsberg claimed he was paid from 11/- to 14/- per week. Folsi, however, said he was paid "sometimes 5/- and sometimes 6/- a week." Folsi believed his conditions to have been exploitative, claiming "I was driven away."²¹⁹

Further revelations were made the next day when Gellum, a black worker was charged with departing from service without cause. It appeared the Ginsbergs had introduced a system of metal tickets about six months before which enabled "checking upon work". Each machine operator and his partner were given a dozen tickets with their particular number and had to fix these to the completed batch, enabling Ginsberg to monitor

216. I am indebted to Sharon Caldwell for drawing my attention to these references. CAD, CO 7127, Letter: Acting Resident Magistrate, KWT - Under Colonial Secretary 22/5/1897; CO 7127, Letter: Resident Magistrate - Under Colonial Secretary, 9/4/1897; CO 7590, folio 928, Letter: Acting Civil Commissioner & Resident Magistrate - Under Colonial Secretary, 9/3/1899.

217. A. Briggs, Victorian Things (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1988), p. 189.

218. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, pp. 105 & 107.

219. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/317, Case 169, 26/3/1901.

production. Gellum, who had worked for Ginsberg for six years, resisted this innovation and "lost" his tickets. He refused to pay fines Ginsberg levied and refused to accept responsibility for the tickets. He further disagreed when Ginsberg told the court he earned 15/- a week.²²⁰ Gellum's case was followed by that of Komani for the same thing. He also claimed he was driven away.²²¹

What emerges from the court evidence is that some of the Ginsbergs' labour force tried to resist exploitation and create room to manoeuvre. In the face of the Masters and Servants Act they failed. Their action was nothing like the celebrated Match Girls strike in Britain in 1888,²²² but a month later six more of Ginsberg's match factory workers voted with their feet and left. He had a warrant issued for their arrest to coerce them to return. Only one was apprehended, but was discharged when he was able to prove he had been sick.²²³

Another unsuccessful case of attempted worker solidarity emerged when James Leighton tried to prosecute one of five workers at his nursery for refusing to obey a command. The other four downed tools. This defiance was, however, short-lived. The same day they all appeared before the Resident Magistrate, were found guilty of refusal to obey a lawful order and sentenced to pay a 10/- fine or serve one month hard labour each. None appears to have paid the fine.²²⁴

Other forms of exploitation also occurred. W. J. Cole, a general dealer, charged Jim and Joe, two black labourers, with refusal to obey a command of their master in August 1901.²²⁵ In fact the case was not about a refusal to obey a command at all but a dispute over wages and rations. They had refused to work in support of their demands. There may also have been an element of misunderstanding in what the workers

220. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/317, Case 170, 27/3/1901.

221. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/317, Case 171, 27/3/1901.

222. A. Briggs, *Victorian Things*, p. 202.

223. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/318, Case 245, 23/4/1901.

224. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/321, Case 617, 27/9/1901.

225. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/320, Case 565, 29/8/1901.

expected when they were engaged and what the employer intended to pay. He attempted to force them to buy their rations on credit from his own shop.

The case is revealing about the labour practices of some the shopkeeper employers in King William's Town. Cole had engaged the two as monthly general servants at 30/- each. They were given pass books for food in his store which was to be deducted when they were paid at the end of the month. Jim had been employed nine weeks earlier and had earned 25/-. He was given a 5/- increase when Joe was hired. Both were from the same rural area. Thirty shillings each was not sufficient to cover their living expenses and they wanted food as well. Cole was forcing his workers into debt by coercing them to buy rations in his shop on credit. "I had everything in shop they could have obtained on credit until end of month." Jim, according to his pass book owed 30/- for a month's food. How he was expected to pay for other things is unclear. Cole claimed they had put him to great inconvenience, that "our work is special" and that they had been specially trained (In fact, they seem to have carried out goods and filled orders). He disputed that they had told him they would not work for 30/- a month, but alluded to the fact that they may have heard of better conditions of other "boys" in King William's Town.²²⁶

The court decided in Cole's favour and each was fined £1 or fourteen days hard labour. Only Joe paid the fine. The Magistrate, in passing sentence, admitted he thought the wage too low, but that was not his business.²²⁷ The policeman who prosecuted mentioned that blacks preferred to engage as weekly labourers rather than as monthly ones.²²⁸ This was another tactic to evade the narrow confines imposed by the Act.

Most labour disputes ended peacefully, albeit to the disadvantage of the employees. But in September a dispute between Pony Gama and a white overseer, Edwin Goodall, led to blows being exchanged and each charging the other with assault. Gama eventually lost his case.²²⁹

226. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/320, Case 565, 29/8/1901.

227. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/320, Case 565, 29/8/1901; Cape Mercury, 28/8/1901, "Police Court".

228. Cape Mercury, 29/8/1901, "Police Court".

229. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/321, Case 590, 16/9/1901.

The only successful example of industrial action in this period was not a strike in the real sense of the word at all. In June 1901 the washerwomen staged a public demonstration. Between 60 and 70 washerwomen from the four locations congregated outside the premises of Innes and Hutton, blocking traffic in Cathcart Street. They engaged the attorneys to obtain redress after the Borough Ranger had stopped them collecting dry cow dung on the outspans adjacent to town and had prohibited the washing of clothes on the banks of the river, even though the washing was being done in tin baths not in the river itself. He had also stopped the collection of dry wood from the commonage, "a right and privilege which we understand the native women have enjoyed for very many years past."²³⁰ In response, the Council amended the restrictions to mean that such activities would be restricted if conducted "without a permit".²³¹

The fact that a number of Master and Servant cases increased in the late part of 1901 is not co-incidental. The war had the effect of increasing opportunities and blacks were not slow to appreciate their new power of selling their labour to their best advantage. Prior to the outbreak of the war, advertisements occasionally appeared advising, "A HUNDRED Natives are required for service on the Rand"²³² or calling for workers for the New Jagersfontein Mining and Exploration Co. ("Good wages. Food Free and Good Treatment") or "Umsebenzi! Umsebenzi!!" for 1 000 workers on the Oudtshoorn / Klipplaat railway.²³³ During the war employment opportunities increased, due to the demands of the military and plague in Cape Town. As early as 30 November 1899 the Daily Watchman stated that there was "quite a scene" near the court house when blacks who had heard that the imperial government wanted 500 labourers at the various railway depots congregated there. They were offered £3 per month, rations and accommodation, terms of three months enlistment and would be paid for three months even if they worked less. They were to do railway work,

230. Cape Mercury, 17/6/1901, "'King' Day by Day".

231. CAD, 3/KWT 1/1/15, Borough Council Minutes, 25/6/1901, pp. 102 - 103.

232. Cape Mercury, 2/7/1898, "Local & General".

233. Imvo, 5/1/1899, Advertisement, "The New Jagersfontein Mining & Exploration Co."; Imvo, 5/1/1899, Advertisement, "Umsebenzi!".

not fight. According to the newspaper, there was "an immediate rush" to register and by 10h00 150 names had been taken.²³⁴

Groups of blacks from King William's Town district were sent out through the Resident Magistrate or Special Magistrate. By the beginning of February 1900 it was reported that 1 600 blacks had been sent to the imperial forces as labourers from the King William's Town district.²³⁵

Military labour was not the only alternative source of employment for blacks in King William's Town seeking to avoid service in the town. The Indwe Colliery also found itself having to compete for labourers, and advertised its wages and conditions of employment:

"INDWE
Notice!

Native labourers can find at the Indwe Mines Wages or Day Work, 1/6 to 2/6 per day
Wages on Piece Work, 2/- and upwards per day
Free Rations and Lodging.
Native Women can also obtain work in Picking Coal.
Wages 9d to 1/- per day."²³⁶

Even the Cape Town docks were recruiting, as was revealed in a very paternalistic letter to Imvo.²³⁷ The more generous conditions of employment to be found in the military labour contingents was blamed by J. W. Weir, the chairman of the Indwe Mining Co., for drawing workers away to the military.²³⁸

The military demand for labour lasted throughout the war. In January 1902 advertisements for 500 "Native Leaders & Drivers" for wagons appeared.²³⁹ Not long after this, the local military Commandant attempted

234. Daily Watchman, 30/11/1899, "Notes & News".

235. Cape Mercury, 8/2/1900, "News of the Day".

236. Imvo, 12/3/1900, Advertisement.

237. Imvo, 16/4/1901, Letter to Editor by W. Hay.

238. P. Warwick, "Black People and the War", in P. Warwick & S. B. Spies (Eds.), The South African War The Anglo-Boer War 1899 - 1902 (Longman, Harlow, 1980), p. 202.

239. Cape Mercury, 3/1/1902, Advert, "Wanted at Once".

to control black labourers' bargaining power by imposing a maximum £2 per month wages and establishing priority for military labour needs through the permit system.²⁴⁰ This was probably an indication that the voracious appetite of the imperial army for black military labour was not being satisfied quickly enough.

Occasionally King William's Town officials complained that blacks who came to the town en route elsewhere for migrant labour did not have sufficient overnight accommodation. For a short time the government toyed with the idea of constructing accommodation for about 300 migrants on the commonage. This was intended to provide accommodation for blacks who were passing through to work on government projects, but the idea was abandoned. The end of the war meant that fewer blacks would pass through and, in the final analysis, the government felt accommodation was the responsibility of the labour agent concerned. The local merchants, it was thought, would benefit but there would also be less desirable consequences.²⁴¹

Not all the menial or low-paid positions were filled by blacks. White members of the working class also featured in the records. Most of the whites in the working class appear to have been Germans or, most frequently, Dutch-speaking. Augustine Wilhelmine Graetz was a washerwoman.²⁴² A certain Mrs. Botha was found by the magistrate to be "almost destitute" after her husband was arrested for stock-stealing. She had five children who "are nearly naked and without sufficient food." The two elder daughters (ages seventeen and fifteen years respectively) found work at the cigar factory.²⁴³ Some of the women supported themselves and their children by doing needlework or by running cheap boarding houses.²⁴⁴ Occasionally advertisements for white servants appeared:

240. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/1/3/7, "Martial Law Notice", 11/2/1902.

241. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/1/3/4, Letter: Sec Native Affairs Dept - Borough Council, King William's Town, 24/7/1902.

242. King William's Town Burial Register, Jan. 1898 - Dec. 1905, Entry 6188, 10/11/1900.

243. I am grateful to Sharon Caldwell for bringing this, and the following Colonial Office references to my notice. CAD, CO 7147, Letter: Resident Magistrate - Under Colonial Secretary, 14/4/1898; CO 7147, Letter: Resident Magistrate - Under Colonial Secretary, 2/5/1898.

244. CAD, CO 7338, folio 150, Letter: Resident Magistrate - Under Colonial Secretary, 21/2/1900; CO 7338, folio 150, Letter: Rev. Chaplin - Civil Commissioner, KWT, 19/4/1899.

"A General Servant. European girl preferred. Apply to Mrs. Everitt."²⁴⁵

Having servants was an indication of having a certain position on the social scale. Employing a white servant seems to have pushed the employer further up the social scale.

Many of the white males who appeared before the Resident Magistrate were given the rather generic classification of "labourer", but other evidence also points to the existence of a white labouring class. The removal of nightsoil was probably one of the most socially degrading jobs. The Borough Council operated five vans, each with a person in charge, an assistant, a driver and a leader. They were, according to the Town Clerk, "the low type of 'poor white' without much intelligence."²⁴⁶ The pay scales were:

In charge	27/- week; 4/5 day	
Assistant	£1-5-6 week; 4/3 day	
Driver	22/6 week; 3/9 day	
Leader	1/6 a day	247

During the plague outbreak in 1901 those in charge received increases that amounted to 6/- a day after 18 months service.²⁴⁸

Table 3.5 and 3.6 provide a summary of the average wages in Grahamstown, East London and Queenstown in 1899 and 1902 for labourers and certain trades. King William's Town scales of pay are unfortunately not available. Tables 3.7, 3.8, 3.9 and 3.10 provide a detailed analysis of the cost of living as reflected in foodstuffs, clothing and rent for Grahamstown, East London, Queenstown and King William's Town. The tables provide a useful yardstick for assessing the pay scales mentioned in the discussion so far, despite certain obvious flaws. Fluctuations caused by supply and demand are not shown, resulting in a static picture. In addition, the statistics cannot be verified from the available sources. Other points which emerge from Tables 3.5 and 3.6 include the big discrepancy between the wages of black labourers and white labourers, for example in the case of Queenstown. A large discrepancy is also obvious in the wages of males and

245. Daily Watchman, 10/11/1899, Advert, "WANTED".

246. CAD, 3/KWT 3/1/1/26, Letter: Town Clerk - O C Army Service Corps, 22/2/1899.

247. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/2 "Agreement Nightsoil Employees", 29/3/1898.

248. CAD, 3/KWT 1/4/1/3, Sanitary Committee Minutes, 11/3/1901.

females in domestic service. White females in Queenstown were paid the same as black males, and black females earned far less. White males earned disproportionately more. In the category of trades, no scales for blacks are given in the official statistics. This would seem to imply that the work was only performed by white men and that blacks in these positions were an anomaly. A comparison of wages in 1899 and 1902 indicates that the remuneration of labourers generally rose. Wages for domestic servants generally remained static (except in Queenstown where the wages of male domestic servants with board and lodging dropped from 90/- to 30/- per month). The pattern amongst the trades is more complex, but again a general increase is evident, except for trades like bookbinders, printers and painters in East London. Some of the increases such as those of wagonmakers and blacksmiths in Grahamstown and East London are quite spectacular, but regional variations are also obvious. The same trades in Queenstown suffered a decrease.

One of the effects of the war was substantial increases in the price of commodities. King William's Town was hard hit because of problems in the transportation of goods from the East London harbour to the town. One estimate is that the prices of "necessities" rose by fifty per cent.²⁴⁹ Given the context of this claim it was doubtless an exaggeration. It nonetheless serves to illustrate how people perceived the increases. Quantifying the increases is not easy since statistics are only available some months after the end of the war. Tables 3.7, 3.8, 3.9 and 3.10 provide an indication (insofar as the official figures can be accepted) of the trend in the economy of the town. Although the price of bread had risen by 50 % in King William's Town between 1899 and 1902, it remained stable in Grahamstown and Queenstown, and actually decreased in East London. In numerous other areas, prices decreased in all four urban centres. In items such as coffee increases occurred in the other centres, whilst King William's Town experienced a decrease. The cost of town lodgings increased in Grahamstown and East London, but decreased in Queenstown in this period. As regards clothing and bedding a comparison of 1899 and 1902 reveals several erratic changes. Generally, however, King William's Town prices at the end of the war were consistently lower than at the beginning.

249. Cape Mercury, 2/5/1902, Editorial, "Work of the Port".

TABLE 3.5: AVERAGE WAGES IN EASTERN CAPE, 1899

NATURE OF SERVICE		Daily/ Monthly Rates	R A C E	GRAHAMSTOWN		EAST LONDON		QUEENSTOWN	
				s	d	s	d	s	d
Day Labourer - with food		p.d.	W	-	-	-	-	4	6
		p.d.	B	1	6	1	6	1	6
Day Labourer - without food		p.d.	W	-	-	-	-	5	0
		p.d.	B	2	6	2	6	2	0
Domestic Servant - Board & Lodging	Male	p.m.	W	-	-	100	0	90	0
	Male	p.m.	B	20	0	40	0	30	0
	Female	p.m.	W	-	-	50	0	30	0
	Female	p.m.	B	17	6	30	0	10	0
Tradesmen - without food									
Bookbinders		p.d.	W	9	0	-	-	-	-
Brickmakers		p.d.	W	5	0	-	-	5	0
Carpenters & Joiners		p.d.	W	10	0	10	0	10	0
Masons & Bricklayers		p.d.	W	10	0	10	0	15	0
Painters		p.d.	W	9	0	7	0	10	0
Printers		p.d.	W	8	6	7	6	6	0
Saddlers		p.d.	W	6	6	7	6	15	0
Sawyers		p.d.	W	12	0	-	-	15	0
Stonecutters		p.d.	W	11	0	10	0	16	0
Tailors & Shoemakers		p.d.	W	7	0	7	6	12	0
Tanners		p.d.	W	7	6	-	-	6	6
Tinsmiths		p.d.	W	7	0	-	-	7	6
Wagonmakers & Blacksmiths		p.d.	W	7	6	7	6	15	0

Source: Statistical Register of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope ... 1899 (Government Printer, Cape Town, 1900), p. 245, No. 50. "Wages and Rent".

TABLE 3.6: AVERAGE WAGES IN EASTERN CAPE, 1902

NATURE OF SERVICE		Daily/ Monthly Rates	R A C E	GRAHAM'S TOWN		EAST LONDON		QUEENS- TOWN	
				s	d	s	d	s	d
Day Labourer - with food		p.d.	W	-	-	5	0	5	0
		p.d.	B	-	-	2	0	-	-
Day Labourer - without food		p.d.	W	3	6	7	6	1	0
		p.d.	B	2	6	3	0	-	-
Domestic Servant - Board & Lodging	Male	p.m.	W	-	-	100	0	30	0
	Male	p.m.	B	20	0	40	0	-	-
	Female	p.m.	W	25	0	50	0	20	0
	Female	p.m.	B	20	0	15	0	-	-
Tradesmen - without food									
Bookbinders		p.d.	W	9	0	-	-	-	-
Brickmakers		p.d.	W	5	0	-	-	5	0
Carpenters & Joiners		p.d.	W	10	0	10	0	10	0
Masons & Bricklayers		p.d.	W	10	0	10	0	15	0
Painters		p.d.	W	9	0	7	0	10	0
Printers		p.d.	W	8	6	7	6	6	0
Saddlers		p.d.	W	6	6	7	6	15	0
Sawyers		p.d.	W	12	0	-	-	15	0
Stonecutters		p.d.	W	11	0	10	0	16	0
Tailors & Shoemakers		p.d.	W	7	0	7	6	12	0
Tanners		p.d.	W	7	6	-	-	6	6
Tinsmiths		p.d.	W	7	0	-	-	7	6
Wagonmakers & Blacksmiths		p.d.	W	7	6	7	6	15	0

Source: Statistical Register of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope ... 1902 (Government Printer, Cape Town, 1903), p. 245, No. 50. "Wages and Rent".

TABLE 3.7 : COST OF LIVING AS REFLECTED IN RENT AND THE PRICE OF BASIC FOODSTUFFS & CERTAIN LUXURIES IN THE EASTERN CAPE, 1899.

Average costs in Grahamstown, East London, King William's Town and Queenstown in November 1899.

ARTICLE	QUAN- TITY	GTN		EL		KWT		QTN	
		s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d
Oatmeal	per lb.	3	½	3	¼	3	½		6
Flour	per lb.		3		3		3		3
Bread	per lb.		3		4		2		3
Mutton	per lb.		11	1	0	9	½		9
Beef	per lb.		11	1	0		10		10
Pork	per lb.	1	0	1	0		9		9
Bacon	per lb.	1	2	1	4		2	1	3
Butter, fresh	per lb.	2	6	2	9		3	1	9
Butter, salt	per lb.	1	3	1	9		6	1	6
Cheese	per lb.	1	2	1	3		2	1	3
Tea	per lb.	1	6	3	0		10	1	6
Coffee, raw	per lb.		6		6		9		6
Sugar	per lb.		3		6		3		3
Rice	per lb.	2	½		4		3		3
Tobacco, Colonial	per lb.		9	1	0		9		9
Dried Fruit	per lb.		6		7		6		6
Salt	per bushel		-	3	0		-	2	6
Wine	per gallon	8	6	5	0		-	7	6
Brandy	per gallon	10	0	4	9		-	10	0
Beer, English	per bottle	1	3	1	3	1	6	1	0
Beer, Colonial	per bottle	1	0	1	0		10		6

TABLE 3.7 : CONTINUED

ARTICLE	QUAN- TITY	GTN		EL		KWT		QTN	
		s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d
Milk	per bottle		4		3		6		6
Condensed Milk	per tin		6		11		7		7
Candles	per lb.		8	1	0		9		8
Lamp Oil	per gallon	2	0	2	6	1	3	2	9
RENT									
Town Lodging per month		60	0	110	0	-	-	70	0

Source: Statistical Register of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope ... 1899 (Government Printer, Cape Town, 1900), p. 245, No. 50, "Wages and Rent", P. 246, No. 51. "Prices of Provisions".

TABLE 3.8 : COST OF LIVING AS REFLECTED IN RENT AND THE PRICE OF BASIC FOODSTUFFS & CERTAIN LUXURIES IN THE EASTERN CAPE, 1902.

Average costs in Grahamstown, East London, King William's Town and Queenstown in November 1902.

ARTICLE	QUAN- TITY	GTN		EL		KWT		QTN	
		s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d
Oatmeal	per lb.	3	½	3	¼	3	0		6
Flour	per lb.	2	½		3	2	½		3
Bread	per lb.		3		3		4		3
Mutton	per lb.	1	1	1	0		8		9
Beef	per lb.	1	0	1	0		8		10
Pork	per lb.	1	0	1	0		8		9
Bacon	per lb.	1	2	1	4		8	1	4
Butter, fresh	per lb.	2	6	3	6	2	0	2	0
Butter, salt	per lb.	1	6	2	0	1	0	1	6
Cheese	per lb.	1	2	1	2		10	1	4
Tea	per lb.	2	6	2	0	1	0	2	3
Coffee, raw	per lb.		8		8		6		8
Sugar	per lb.		3		3		2		3½
Rice	per lb.		2½		3		2		3
Tobacco, Colonial	per lb.	1	3	1	6		9	1	3
Dried Fruit	per lb.	1	0		9		9		8
Salt	per bushel	3	6	3	0	2	0	5	0

TABLE 3.8 : CONTINUED

ARTICLE	QUAN- TITY	GTN		EL		KWT		QTN	
Wine	per gallon	8	0	8	6	6	0	7	6
Brandy	per gallon	12	6	16	6	5	6	15	6
Beer, English	per bottle	1	6	1	0	1	6	1	6
Beer, Colonial	per bottle	1	0		9		9		9
Milk	per bottle		5		4		4		6
Condensed Milk	per tin		6		6		6		7
Candles	per lb.		9		8		9		9
Lamp Oil	per gallon	2	0	2	3	1	0	2	0
RENT Town Lodging per month		70	0	120	0	-	-	40	0

Source: Statistical Register of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope ... 1902 (Government Printer, Cape Town, 1903), p. 245, No. 50. "Wages and Rent".

TABLE 3.9 : PRICES OF CLOTHING IN EASTERN CAPE, 1899.

Average prices in Grahamstown, East London, King William's Town and Queenstown in November 1899.

ARTICLE	QUAN- TITY	GTN		EL		KWT		QTN	
		s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d
LABOURER CLOTHING									
Shirts	doz	13	6	24	0	18	0	22	6
Boots	pair	7	6	10	6	7	6	10	0
Jackets	each	12	6	15	0	7	6	12	6
Waistcoats	pair	3	6	6	0	2	6	4	6
Trousers	pair	5	6	10	6	7	6	8	6
Hats	each	4	6	7	6	5	6	3	6
CLOTHING									
Bonnets/ Straw Hats	each	2	6	1	6	2	6	2	0
Boots, women's	pair	5	6	10	6	9	0	10	0
Calico	yard		3		9		6	0	6
Coats, Doeskin	each	10	6	15	0	15	0	17	6
Flannel	yard	0	9	3	0	2	3	1	6
Handkerchiefs	each	0	3		6		6		6
Print	yard	0	3		6		6		6
Shawls	each	4	11	15	0	10	0	10	6
Sheeting	yard	1	4	3	0	1	9	1	6
Shirts, Flannel	each	5	6	10	6	7	6	5	6
Socks	pair	1	0	1	3	1	0	1	0

TABLE 3.9 : CONTINUED

ARTICLE	QUAN- TITY	GTN		EL		KWT		QTN	
		s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d
BEDDING									
Blankets	pair	25	0	30	0	30	0	20	0
Counterpanes	each	4	11	7	6	10	0	4	6
Mattresses	each	15	9	30	0	20	0	25	0

Source: Statistical Register of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope ... 1899 (Government Printer, Cape Town, 1900), p. 247, No. 52. "Prices of Clothing".

* Prices rounded to nearest penny to facilitate computerisation

TABLE 3.10 : PRICES OF CLOTHING IN EASTERN CAPE, 1902.

Average prices in Grahamstown, East London, King William's Town and Queenstown in November 1902.

ARTICLE	QUAN- TITY	GTN		EL		KWT		QTN	
		s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d
LABOURER CLOTHING									
Shirts	doz	25	0	18	0	18	0	18	0
Boots	pair	9	0	7	6	7	0	10	0
Jackets	each	15	0	8	0	7	6	12	0
Waistcoats	pair	5	0	4	0	4	6	4	0
Trousers	pair	9	0	10	6	6	6	7	6
Hats	each	6	0	5	6	2	6	5	6
CLOTHING									
Bonnets/ Straw Hats	each	5	0	1	6	1	0	3	0
Boots, women's	pair	7	6	7	6	6	0	7	6
Calico	yard		4		4½		6		6½
Coats, Doeskin	each	30	0	14	0	10	0	18	0
Flannel	yard	1	6	2	0	1	6	1	6
Handkerchiefs	each		9		3		6		6
Print	yard		5		4½		6		6
Shawls	each	7	6	8	6	10	0	8	6
Sheeting	yard	1	3	1	0	1	6	2	0
Shirts, Flannel	each	6	0	5	0	5	0	6	6
Socks	pair	1	0		9		9	1	0

TABLE 3.10 : CONTINUED

ARTICLE	QUAN- TITY	GTN		EL		KWT		QTN	
		s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d
BEDDING									
Blankets	pair	15	0	14	6	15	0	15	6
Counterpanes	each	7	0	4	6	3	6	4	6
Mattresses	each	17	6	15	0	13	6	18	0

Source: Statistical Register of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope ... 1902 (Government Printer, Cape Town, 1903), p. 247, No. 52. "Prices of Clothing".

The response of King William's Town residents to the increased bargaining power of their workers presented by the war was to utilise the Masters and Servants Act and resort to racist rhetoric. In August 1901 matters came to a head when the Cape Mercury devoted a lengthy editorial to "Native Deserters" from employment which, it claimed, was a "very serious problem" in the town.²⁵⁰ The matter, it argued, was a common complaint amongst householders and employers of labour. They could not keep their "boys", who left on the slightest pretext to "accept another situation at somewhat higher wages" - or just to loaf.²⁵¹ The "boys" in the Cape Mercury's opinion, did not like reprimands and restrictions on their liberty. After all the trouble employers went to train them they absconded. The "demented employer", was left "to wonder for what good Kafirs were ever invented."²⁵² Most departures from service were not reported and the example of a "boy" leaving to enter more remunerative or congenial employment only encouraged others to follow his "pernicious" example. It advocated the pass system of the Rand as a possible way to control the situation.²⁵³

The editorial struck a responsive cord in some quarters. "Encore" thanked the editor for exposing the matter and advocated the pass system not just to force blacks to complete contracts, but to force into work the

250. Cape Mercury, 14/8/1901, Editorial, "Native Deserters from Service".

251. Cape Mercury, 14/8/1901, Editorial, "Native Deserters from Service".

252. Cape Mercury, 14/8/1901, Editorial, "Native Deserters from Service".

253. Cape Mercury, 14/8/1901, Editorial, "Native Deserters from Service".

"hundreds" of blacks who loafed the street.²⁵⁴ The Cape Mercury campaign of increasing the awareness of the needs of employers bore fruit almost immediately. In the case of John Vale, a general servant who had given a week's notice, but who was nonetheless charged with desertion, the Resident Magistrate imposed a stiff fine of £3 or one month imprisonment and "referred in very strong terms to the necessity of putting a stop to such desertions, and of his intention to punish all such offences severely."²⁵⁵ The campaign also had the effect of prompting employers to take action. An immediate increase in the number of prosecutions under the Masters and Servants Act followed.²⁵⁶ The matter reached farcical proportions when two labourers were charged with desertion by W. H. Cole. Cole was clearly exploiting them by underpaying them and forcing them into debt by coercing them to buy food on credit from his own shop.²⁵⁷ The Resident Magistrate considered the wages exploitative, "but that was a matter that he had nothing to do with at present" and imposed stiff penalties on the labourers.²⁵⁸

The campaign certainly proved victorious for the masters. In November the Cape Mercury proudly announced that the new Resident Magistrate, H. G. Bright, was "determined to put a stop to desertions from service by inflicting solitary confinement and spare diet on offenders who came before him." In making an example of an unfortunate man who appeared before him, Bright threatened to impose penalties of three months hard labour and spare diet and solitary confinement if desertions continued. The Cape Mercury, delighted, crowed:

"Mr. Bright will deserve the thanks of the whole community if he eradicates once and for all this bete noir (sic) of merchants and shopkeepers."²⁵⁹

254. Cape Mercury, 15/8/1901, Letter to Editor by "Encore".

255. Cape Mercury, 17/8/1901, "Police Court".

256. Cape Mercury, 21/8/1901, "Police Court".

257. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/320, Case 565, 29/8/1901.

258. Cape Mercury, 29/8/1901, "Police Court".

259. Cape Mercury, 4/11/1901, Editorial, "The Servant Question"; Cape Mercury, 4/11/1901, "Magistrate's Court".

In the final analysis, blacks who tried to use the opportunities presented by the war to resist exploitation and create bargaining spaces for themselves found that the powerful combination of interest groups in the dominant culture - the newspaper, domestic employers, manufacturers, merchants and the courts - were able to utilise the Masters and Servants Act to stifle them.

3.5 Overview

Looked at as a whole, the King William's Town economy underwent a significant shift in the late 1890s and early twentieth century. The slow decline of the dominant position of the merchants was hastened. At the same time the manufacturing sector began to assume a new significance. A few cases of the injection of capital into manufacturing enterprises served to create the impression that the town's economic salvation lay in that direction. As events transpired, this proved to be a false hope. The decline of the mercantile economy was not solely based on an outflow of capital to the Rand and a decline in peasant production, but was also tied to the meteoric rise of East London in this period. Despite the apparent twilight years of black peasant producers in the rural areas, King William's Town merchants were still able to command a large trade in hides, skins, wool and grain on the eve of the war. The King William's Town municipal market was also heavily dependent on black agriculturalists. The war caused increased prices for commodities but also increased demands for produce and livestock which peasants strove to meet. In addition it brought a massive demand for black labour. Blacks joined the military labour contingents in large numbers, thus offsetting the disruption caused to migrant labour to the mines. The increased opportunities presented by the war served to provide a measure of independence from the exploitative conditions of employment in the town. By the end of the war, this provoked a white backlash in so far as both domestic and commercial employers embarked on a campaign to extend control over the labour supply. The war ended with the perception among whites that the town had declined in importance compared to East London, but blacks utilised the war to entrench their positions, as the Resident Magistrate noted in December 1902:

"The natives generally are in a better position today than has been the case for many years. Numbers of them are away at work at the various labour centres in the several Colonies ... From the Domestic and Agricultural points of view they are also in a good position, not however, without a certain reactionary result for by obtaining good crops in the last two

seasons and every prospect of the same in this, the inclination to leave home in search of work is somewhat diminished."²⁶⁰

260. CAD, AG 1001, Part I, Letter: R.M. King William's Town - Secretary, Law Department, 20/12/1902.

CHAPTER 4: "IN THESE DAYS OF STRESS AND STRAIN" : POLITICAL PROCESSES

King William's Town prior to the South African War, and during the hostilities, also presents an interesting and complex political picture. It was a time of shifting allegiances and regroupings. On the one hand, the local political scene formed a not inconsequential part of the national political situation. On the other, it reflected the changing socio-economic character of the town.

One of the key characteristics of King William's Town in the two decades preceding the war was the dominant position which liberals enjoyed. Two separate but related strands run through the political fabric of King William's Town at the turn of the century: the re-alignment of white politics away from the dominance of Cape liberalism towards militant imperialism; and the re-alignment of black politics, with a shift in the centre of gravity away from King William's Town to the Izwi Labantu / South African Native Congress axis in East London. Whilst the liberal strands in both these threads unravelled, the more extreme pro-British imperialists in both pulled towards each other. These processes, which began to manifest themselves in the tension following the Jameson Raid, intensified during the 1898 election. During the war they coalesced around such issues as Milner's policies, the stance of the Afrikaner Bond and the proposed suspension of the Cape constitution. In the same period issues of particular importance to King William's Town cropped up - the Transkei railway route and the protection of colonial manufactures being two of them.

4.1 The 1898 Elections and the Re-Alignment of Political Allegiances

Stanley Trapido, in his 1980 study, identified a great and a small tradition in Cape liberalism.¹ The former, firmly centred in Cape Town, drew its adherents from amongst the leading financial and commercial figures, the legal profession and missionaries.² The small tradition, a microcosm of the great one, evolved in towns

1. S. Trapido, "The Friends of the Natives': Merchants, Peasants and the Political and Ideological Structure of Liberalism in the Cape, 1854 - 1910", in S. Marks & A. Atmore (Eds.), Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa (Longman, London, 1980), p. 251.

2. S. Trapido, "The Friends of the Natives'", pp. 251 - 252.

where the peasant and urban vote came together, such as in King William's Town.³ In essence it brought together the merchant interest and African peasant voters.⁴

This small tradition was manifested in different ways, but was best exemplified in the establishment of Imvo Zabantsundu in King William's Town in 1884. John Tengo Jabavu launched the newspaper with backing from prominent local liberals, R. W. Rose Innes, J. W. Weir and William Hay of the Cape Mercury. It reached its high point, according to Neville Hogan, in the already-mentioned Regina versus Don trial.⁵ Its decline Hogan and Trapido attribute to the decline of the peasantry and the growth of the Rand which attracted the merchants from their failing peasant power base.⁶ This argument, looked at in general terms, seems conclusive. An examination at the local level reveals the decline was more complex.

King William's Town's economic base, as discussed in the previous chapter, certainly underwent transformation in the years preceding the war. On the eve of the war, the mercantile-dominated economy of the 1870s and 1880s had declined, giving way to one that was still dependent on the merchant houses but also on manufacturing. By the end of the war manufacturing was increasingly seen as the town's salvation. But it was not only capital shifting to the Rand that led to a decline in King William's Town. Trapido's argument is based on the revealing comment made by R. W. Rose Innes in 1898:

"King Williamstown has been on the decline for some time past and the gold fields have done us nothing but harm - men and money have left for the Transvaal."⁷

3. S. Trapido, "'The Friends of the Natives'", p. 259.

4. S. Trapido, "'The Friends of the Natives'", p. 259.

5. See Chapter 2 for further discussion of this. N. Hogan, "The Posthumous Vindication of Zachariah Gqishela: Reflections on the Politics of Dependence at the Cape in the Nineteenth Century" in S. Marks & A. Atmore (Eds.), Economy and Society, p. 278.; Anon, Regina versus Don. Report of the Trial with Opinions of the Press, &c. (W. T. Randall, King William's Town, 1886).

6. S. Trapido, "'The Friends of the Natives'", p. 256 and pp. 270 - 271; N. Hogan, "The Posthumous Vindication", p. 286.

7. Quoted in S. Trapido, "'The Friends of the Natives'", p. 271.

Although this was undoubtedly the case, capital and people had also been migrating to East London, as has already been mentioned.⁸ The latter's meteoric rise was closely tied to the decline of King William's Town:

"The improvement of the East London Harbour is steadily progressing, and ocean vessels of considerable tonnage have recently crossed the bar. Most of the Eastern Province merchants are now represented at the port, and it is thought that a large portion of the trade of King William's Town, which has so far held its own, will gradually pass to East London..."⁹

The small tradition's influence declined after the 1880s, as Hogan argues,¹⁰ but it was by no means entirely dead prior to the 1898 Legislative Council and House of Assembly elections. The Cape Mercury, the flagship of the King William's Town liberals, still proudly proclaimed itself, "Colonial Outspoken Progressive".¹¹ On the eve of the 1898 House of Assembly elections it nailed its colours to the mast. Its position, in accordance with its traditions, was :

"Imperialist to the back-bone, believing the British Empire to be the finest institution under Heaven; and Liberal in regard to South African questions, believing that South African colonists will best serve the cause of Empire in that way. In a word, the MERCURY advocates the view with which the names of Mr. Innes and those who think with him and share his liberal sentiments are associated in our politics."¹²

The key characteristics of the small tradition of Cape liberalism were the involvement of mercantile interests and peasant producers, defence of private property, and the assertion of the primacy of the rule of law.¹³ All these elements were present in King William's Town on the eve of the war, but the issues had become blurred after the Jameson Raid. In an articulation of the classic liberal position, the Cape Mercury was critical of the Transvaal because its laws did not allow blacks to own fixed property and allowed them to be flogged for petty offences.¹⁴ Following the Raid, English and Dutch-speakers in the Cape Colony

3. See Chapter 3.

7. A. Mabin & B. Conradie (Eds.), The Confidence of the Whole Country (Standard Bank, Johannesburg, 1987), p. 310, General Manager's Report, 17/2/1892.

10. N. Hogan, "The Posthumous Vindication", p. 286.

11. Cape Mercury, 4/1/1898, Masthead.

12. Cape Mercury, 25/6/1898, Editorial reply to letter by F. Schermbrucker.

13. S. Trapido, "'The Friends of the Natives'", pp. 261 & 263.

14. Cape Mercury, 4/1/1898, Editorial, "Kwaai Afrikanders".

separated into opposing political camps. The Dutch gravitated to the Afrikaner Bond and most English speakers moved towards the South African League, formed to articulate their views.¹⁵

The League grew out of an amalgamation of organizations whose common interest was to strengthen British influence in South Africa. Significantly, the two that provided the basis for the League were established in the eastern Cape early in 1896: the Anglo-African League, founded in Kei Road by Arthur Fuller and H. O'Kelly Webber amongst the farming community; and the Loyal Colonial League, established by Dr. Darley-Hartley in East London.¹⁶ The amalgamation of the two organizations was enthusiastically received by the pro-British Press and public. By the time of the first congress in May 1896 over 30 branches had been constituted.¹⁷ When a branch was set up in Johannesburg the name was changed from the Loyal Colonial League to the South African League.¹⁸

The League's growth was phenomenal, with branches established across South Africa in a short space of time, but it lacked the coherence of a proper political party. This led to the formation, amongst the members who were parliamentarians, of the Progressive Party at Port Elizabeth in 1897.¹⁹ The Progressive Party was primarily a pro-Rhodes party and "espoused the cause of militant British imperialism while the Bond began to evolve a broadly-based South African nationalism which it propagated to counter the spread of imperialism."²⁰ During the 1898 election the James Rose Innes liberal faction and Independent members split. Most aligned themselves with the Bond, but Rose Innes identified himself with the Progressive Party.²¹

15. A. J. C. Smith, "General Elections in the Cape Colony, 1898 - 1908" (MA Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1980), pp. 8 - 9.

16. M. F. Bitensky [Katzen], "The South African League. British Imperialist Organization in South Africa 1896 to 1899" (MA Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 1950), pp. 22 - 24.

17. M. F. Bitensky, "The South African League", p. 25.

18. M. F. Bitensky, "The South African League", p. 32.

19. M. F. Bitensky, "The South African League", p. 9.

20. A. J. C. Smith, "General Elections", p. 14.

21. A. J. C. Smith, "General Elections", p. 14.

Those liberals in King William's Town who had not already joined the Progressives, tended to follow Innes and transferred their allegiances to the Progressive Party, of which Rhodes became the leader in 1898. Rhodes's pronouncements on black voting rights, however, were not in line with the liberals' traditional position. Clearly, imperial allegiances were allowed to take precedence over concerns for black political rights.

The conversion of people like the editor of the Cape Mercury was neither immediate nor complete. In July 1898 the newspaper's policy appeared confused and its new allegiance to the Progressive Party had not jelled. An article on blacks and politics, following a meeting of "influential and representative" black leaders in King William's Town, predicted blacks would vote for their old and tried friends in the coming election, irrespective of party considerations.²² That it still clung to some of its old liberal characteristics is also seen in its choice of candidates for the House of Assembly election. Of the three candidates, T. E. Duckles was a King William's Town merchant. Colonel F. X. Schermbrucker had local connections, but could no longer be considered a resident of the town. T. Warren was a Kei Road farmer. The Cape Mercury recommended that its readers vote for Duckles and Schermbrucker, since both were Progressives, but Duckles was an "advanced Progressive."²³ It also grouped Duckles with the liberal luminaries, Innes, Hay and Molteno.²⁴

The Cape Mercury suffered a change of editorship in November 1898 and this, together with the advent of the war, weakened the liberal grip on King William's Town altogether. The new editor, F. D. MacDermott, had previously been editor of the Johannesburg Times and had apparently been put on trial in the Transvaal for exposing a dynamite monopoly.²⁵ He immediately put a conservative stamp on the newspaper.

While the Cape Mercury was contorting itself to fit the changing political scene, the other liberal strand, J. T. Jabavu at the helm of Imvo, performed a similar contortion in the opposite direction. He followed the

22. Cape Mercury, 18/6/1898, Editorial, "Natiyes (sic) and Politics".
23. Cape Mercury, 20/8/1898, Editorial, "The Local Election"; Cape Mercury, 23/8/1898, "On the Eve".
24. Cape Mercury, 13/8/1898, Editorial, "Some Opinions".
25. Cape Mercury, 8/11/1898, "Day by Day".

majority of the liberal politicians by aligning himself with the Bond in the election. Considerable tension was thus placed on the old liberal alliance in King William's Town, although no split occurred at this stage. During the election Jabavu campaigned actively on behalf of the Bond in Victoria East, embroiling himself in a quarrel with Dr James Stewart, the principal of Lovedale College. After Stewart attacked him in the Christian Express, Jabavu's old liberal ally R. W. Rose Innes still sprang to his defence.²⁶

While the liberal alliance involving the Cape Mercury, Jabavu and people like R. W. Rose Innes held together, a split in black politics occurred, both at a purely local level and in the broader context. Jabavu's volte face and backing of the Afrikaner Bond estranged him from a large section of evolving African opinion and, as André Odendaal has indicated, divided the African political class.²⁷ One of the main results of the "ideological, generational and ethnic split"²⁸ was the establishment of Izwi Labantu in East London by Thomas Mqanda, A. H. Maci, R. R. Mantsayi, A. K. Soga, W. D. Soga, W. B. Rubusana and N. C. Umhalla.²⁹ The ethnic factionalism within the ranks of black modernisers has been briefly explored by Mills.³⁰ Although the split was real enough at this time its origins were not simply rivalry between the Mfengu and Xhosa based on the frontier war experiences. It was a factionalism which "should not be exaggerated, as Africans continued to find it necessary and possible to co-operate."³¹

The events of 1898 were symptomatic of much deeper political processes at work amongst the black community. King William's Town occupied an important place in black organizational politics and the major

26. Cape Mercury, 20/8/1898, Letter to Editor by R. W. Rose Innes.

27. A. Odendaal, Vukani Bantu! The Beginnings of Black Protest Politics in South Africa to 1912 (David Philip, Cape Town, 1984), p. 13.

28. A. Odendaal, "The Development of African Organizational Politics in South Africa, with Particular Emphasis on the Responses of Africans to the Process of Unification, 1899 - 1910" (MA Thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 1980), p. 72.

29. A. Odendaal, Vukani Bantu!, p. 15.

30. W. G. Mills, "The Rift Within the Lute : Conflict and Factionalism in the 'School' Community in the Cape Colony, 1890 - 1915", Collected Seminar Papers, No. 38, The Societies of Southern Africa in the 19th and 20th Centuries, Vol. 15 (Institute of Commonwealth Studies, London, 1990) pp. 29 - 39.

31. W. G. Mills, "The Rift Within the Lute", p. 35.

changes which occurred in this period involved King William's Town. The first combined political conference of blacks in the eastern Cape was held in King William's Town in October 1887. Attended by over 100 people, it was, in Odendaal's words, "a historic event in African politics." It reflected "a hitherto unequalled sense of unity" amongst black political groupings.³² The conference formed Imbumba Eliso Lomzi Yabantsundu (or the Union of Native Vigilance Associations), which was to be co-ordinated through Imvo and a King William's Town-based committee. Jabavu was General Secretary and Paul Xiniwe was one of the executive members.³³ Imbumba did not meet again until 1898, by which time it was being challenged. In 1890 Xiniwe attended the first meeting of a rival association, Inggungqutela or the Congress, also formed in King William's Town.³⁴ The Congress (as the South African Native Congress) eventually became a major force in opposition to Jabavu, but it took years to establish itself.³⁵

The establishment of Izwi Labantu occurred against this background. It is interesting that the relationship between Xiniwe and Jabavu, both businessmen and leaders of the black community in King William's Town, appears to have mirrored the split in black politics. Xiniwe had initially come to the town from Port Elizabeth to set up the first hotel for blacks in the Cape, apparently on Jabavu's persuasion.³⁶ But thereafter their paths diverged.

The Congress, eager to obtain a mouthpiece, launched an appeal in 1897 for a fund of £500 to start its own newspaper. Amongst those involved in the initiative to start what became known as the Eagle Printing Company were Paul Xiniwe, Rob Mantsayi, Walter Rubusana, Peter Kawa and Thomas Mqanda, the latter being President of the Congress.³⁷ Contributions almost totalled the amount needed and Cecil Rhodes made

32. A. Odendaal, "African Political Mobilisation in the Eastern Cape, 1880-1910" (PhD Thesis, Cambridge University, 1983), p. 125.

33. A. Odendaal, "African Political Mobilisation", pp. 127-128.

34. A. Odendaal, "African Political Mobilisation", pp. 163 - 164.

35. A. Odendaal, "African Political Mobilisation", p. 168.

36. A. Odendaal, "African Political Mobilisation", p. 107.

37. A. Odendaal, "African Political Mobilisation", p. 169.

up the shortfall. The result was the launching of Izwi in November 1897 in East London.³⁸ The fact that East London was the base of operations also reflects the broader trend of King William's Town's decline in relation to East London. Xiniwe was the first chairman of the Eagle Printing Company and W. D. Soga, another well-known member of the King William's Town middle class, was secretary.³⁹

Jabavu's influence was effectively challenged for the first time. The 1898 elections and the war years proved to be crucial for it was in this time that the unity of black politics was shattered. At the same time, the initiative in black politics passed from King William's Town to East London. Jabavu's stance on the war only served to cement this split and destroyed his relationship with white liberals. The consequences of the split were extremely far-reaching. Right through to Union in 1910, the Congress and Imbumba remained competitive and hostile to each other.⁴⁰

The South African League did not manage to establish a firm grip on King William's Town. A meeting of the King William's Town branch, held in January 1898, was well attended and was "a thoroughly representative one."⁴¹ It had 94 members and its leadership included the leading professional and commercial men in town.⁴²

The Legislative Council elections, held in March 1898, were not as significant for the town as the House of Assembly elections in August. Three Progressive candidates stood against a Bond candidate for the Legislative Council seats. The Eastern constituency comprised a large geographical area which included King William's Town, Wodehouse, Queenstown, East London, Tembuland, Aliwal North and Kokstad.⁴³

38. A. Odendaal, "African Political Mobilisation", p. 219.

39. A. Odendaal, "African Political Mobilisation", p. 219.

40. A. Odendaal, "African Political Mobilisation", p. 190.

41. Cape Mercury, 22/1/1898, "South African League".

42. Cape Mercury, 22/1/1898, "South African League".

43. Cape Mercury, 22/3/1898, "Legislative Council"; Cape Mercury, 26/3/1898, "Legislative Council".

The King William's Town electorate was solidly behind the Progressives. The Bond candidate's attempts to hold a public meeting in the town ended in chaos when it was subverted by Progressive supporters.⁴⁴

The annual meeting of the King William's Town branch of the League, which was to have been held on 28 March 1898, had to be abandoned when only six people attended, including the two Press representatives. Even the President did not appear.⁴⁵ Part of the explanation lies in that the Legislative Council elections had just taken place. The King William's Town League failed to secure the return of its candidate, even though the election as a whole was a victory for the Progressive Party.⁴⁶ The Cape Mercury observed:

"the King Williamstown branch of the S. A. League seems to be in a moribund state, and even the disaster at the polls has not galvanized it into activity ... "⁴⁷

A meeting held in July 1898 to elect representatives to attend the electoral convention of the South African League was characterized by indecision and confusion. The elections for the House of Assembly threw the King William's Town branch into disarray. The election revealed the inherent split in the League between the interests of the town and the interests of the farming community.

Thus three candidates stood in the King William's Town division: Colonel F. Schermbrucker, T. Warren and T. E. Duckles. The first two were the incumbents and stood as Progressive Party members. Schermbrucker was, inter alia, a former German mercenary and farmer. He also had an interest in businesses, including the Indwe Colliery. Warren, a farmer, came from Kei Road. Duckles was a local merchant. He represented an echo of the liberal merchants who had stood for parliament in the decades before. His decision to run sowed dissent in King William's Town. Some of the merchants were split over whether to vote for one of their own or to follow the Party line. George Whitaker, a merchant and President of the King William's Town branch of the League, tried to influence the choice of delegates by suggesting "a townsman", and after the branch struggled to elect office bearers, he indicated that he had not

44. Cape Mercury, 12/2/1898, "Legislative Election - The Bond Candidate".

45. Cape Mercury, 2/4/1898, Editorial, "The Progressive Victory".

46. Cape Mercury, 2/4/1898, Editorial, "The Progressive Victory".

47. Cape Mercury, 2/4/1898, Editorial, "The Progressive Victory".

yet decided to vote for Warren and Schermbrucker or for Duckles. The latter was a man "living in the town, and connected with the business of the town."⁴⁸ In the event the South African League electoral convention at Kei Road nominated Warren and Schermbrucker.⁴⁹

Duckles' name was nonetheless also put forward for election. In his manifesto, he characterised himself as neither a "Bondsman" nor a "Leaguesman", but a liberal and would be Progressive, except that he did not have unqualified faith in Rhodes.⁵⁰ He made repeated calls to the King William's Town business community for support.⁵¹ But the business community, no longer dominated by the mercantile interest and more captivated by the imperial factor, was not united. Leading businessmen were involved in the committee to promote the election of Schermbrucker and Warren.⁵² The Cape Mercury, however, ditched the farming interest, Warren, in favour of its old style liberal candidate, Duckles. It put him in good company when it claimed that in Molteno, Jones, Hay, Duckles and Watkins, "the voters have the opportunity of returning men who are not only Progressives through and through, but have a pronounced leaning in favour of an INNES Premiership."⁵³ Duckles, it explained to voters, was a man "particularly fitted to represent not only the mercantile community but the farmers, and last, and of no slight importance, the Native electors."⁵⁴ The King William's Town results of the election show that the Cape Mercury was well out of step with voters in the constituency.

48. Cape Mercury, 2/7/1898, "S.A. League".

49. Cape Mercury, 2/7/1898, "General Election".

50. Cape Mercury, 9/7/1898, Advertisement, "To the Electors of the Division of King William's Town".

51. Cape Mercury, 28/7/1898, "Meeting of Electors"; Cape Mercury, 4/8/1898, "General Election".

52. Cape Mercury, 26/7/1898, "General Election"; Cape Mercury, 4/8/1898, "General Election".

53. Cape Mercury, 13/8/1898, Editorial "Opinions".

54. Cape Mercury, 20/8/1898, Editorial, "The Local Election".

RESULTS OF THE 1898 GENERAL ELECTION IN KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

Schernbrucker	1 649	
Warren	1 427	
Duckles	400	⁵⁵

The League candidates obviously rode to victory on the wave of jingoism amongst English speakers in the months preceding the outbreak of war. The "Transvaal crisis" provided an excellent rallying point.

One of the real strengths of the South African League was its ability to orchestrate public meetings throughout the Colony in support of imperial policies. An example of this in the run up to the elections was the series of public demonstrations in support of Milner's position at the Bloemfontein Conference. Imvo noted:

"The League is conducting an agitation through public meetings in the Colony and other Colonies, and in England, against the Transvaal ... "⁵⁶

The King William's Town meeting was held in July 1899. The resolution put to the meeting by G. Whitaker and H. B. Hutton stated:

"That the Burgesses of King William's Town in public meeting assembled, express their entire approval and satisfaction with the policy of His Excellency, Sir Alfred Milner, enunciated at the Bloemfontein Conference and elsewhere and trust that he will receive the full support not only of the Imperial and Cape Governments but of all Governments and people throughout the civilised world in his endeavour to give effect to such policy."⁵⁷

Blacks were also drawn into holding meetings in support of Milner, such as those that had been organized by the South African League. A meeting of 36 black delegates representing the Border districts met near Indwe on 11 July under the title "Native Vigilance Association", but was actually the Congress. It was chaired by Thomas Mqanda, a well-known leader from Peddie and President of the Congress. Motions were tabled which included one expressing approval of Milner's policy of trying "to obtain some measure of fair

55. Cape Mercury, 27/8/1898, "The Electors".

56. Imvo, 3/7/1899, "The League Public Meeting".

57. Cape Mercury, 8/7/1899, "The Crisis".

treatment towards the Natives from the Transvaal Government."⁵⁸ Paul Xiniwe, by now clearly a rival of Jabavu in King William's Town, played a prominent part as proposer of the motion. Imvo was quick to pick up the challenge posed by the group and characterised it as an "agency" of the League. Several letters in connection with the matter were sent to the Cape Mercury which refused to publish them, on the grounds that it was a matter between another newspaper and its opponents.⁵⁹

Jabavu tried to counter with a meeting of Imbumba, 80 members of which met at Pirie in September to review their policy and organization. The Rev. Isaac Wauchope of Fort Beaufort, a veteran politician, was appointed to work with the committee from Tembuland-Fingoland to draft a constitution. The association, Imvo commented optimistically, would be useful for the "Middle, Moderate and Liberal Party in government."⁶⁰

After the advent of hostilities the South African League in King William's Town withered away completely. Orchestrating public meetings was taken over by a new organization - a Vigilance Committee - which mostly consisted of the same people advocating the same policies, but more extremely. A fitting postscript was provided by the Cape Mercury in November 1902. Having undergone bankruptcy and having emerged, phoenix-like from the ashes with a new editor, it disowned the League:

"We have received a vague telegram addressed to the League here in reference to Town Guards and District Mounted Troops. We understand it to mean deputations should petition Mr. Chamberlain on the question of disbandment. There is no branch of the League in this town ... "⁶¹

This was all the more surprising since the managing director of the newspaper was none other than G. Whitaker, the erstwhile President of the King William's Town branch of the South African League.

58. Cape Mercury, 15/7/1899, "Native Vigilance Association".

59. Cape Mercury, 27/7/1899, "Native Vigilance Association".

60. Imvo, 4/9/1899, Editorial, "Natives and the Cabinet".

61. Cape Mercury, 5/11/1902, Sub-editorial, "League".

Bitensky, in a study of the League done in 1950 (and which has withstood the passage of time surprisingly well), identified two reasons for the League's very rapid growth. Firstly, Cecil Rhodes may have provided the necessary financial backing. Secondly, and more importantly, the cause it espoused was a popular one amongst jingoistic Englishmen. It touched a chord with which so many English speakers could identify - British supremacy.⁶² But its decline was equally rapid. It was a decline which had been predicted from the outset:

" ... the thing was started in a time of great excitement and many flocked to join it, but I feel almost certain that when the excitement has passed off the thing will either collapse altogether or dwindle into something that will have no power in the land."⁶³

Another factor contributing to the League's decline was that the Cape League, to achieve its aims of maintaining British supremacy in South Africa, entered Cape politics where other issues, incidental to the main one, influenced them.⁶⁴ Sectional jealousies also divided the English-speaking communities (such as the rivalry between East London and Port Elizabeth); and economic interests divided farmers and townsmen.⁶⁵

The dramatic decline of the King William's Town branch probably contained elements of all of these factors, particularly the rivalry between the town interest and the farmers on one hand, and the rivalry between King William's Town and East London on the other. In effect the League power base remained in the agrarian areas. Between 1896 and 1898 the most active areas were Kimberley, Toise and Thomas River and Komgha.⁶⁶ The latter three places were farming districts. It is in the light of this that the League's dramatic demise in King William's Town needs to be viewed.

62. M. F. Bitensky, "The South African League", pp. 25 - 26 & 29.

63. W. H. Hockley - J. Rose Innes, 1896, quoted in M. F. Bitensky, "The South African League", p. 126.

64. M. F. Bitensky, "The South African League", p. 121.

65. M. F. Bitensky, "The South African League", p. 123.

66. M. F. Bitensky, "The South African League", p. 127.

4.2 The Outbreak of the War : The Slough of Despond

On the outbreak of the war Jabavu, through Imvo, surprised supporters and opponents alike by adopting an independent, pacifist line. Under the heading "A WAR OF MUTUAL DISTRUST" he criticised the aggression and conduct of the "war party" which had "forced" the war on the republics.⁶⁷ L. D. Ngcongco, in his discussion of this does not altogether do justice to Jabavu.⁶⁸ Jabavu's editorial was a subtle and finely written plea for a negotiated settlement:

"We are of those who ... hold that there did not exist adequate cause for such a dire calamity as was in this land; that all its problems were still such as statesmen might have solved without the intervention of the military element to cut the Gordian Knot; and that it is diplomatic ineptitude that has hurled South Africa into the Slough of Despond in which she finds herself today."⁶⁹

The line Jabavu took on the war was a sophisticated one in the super-charged atmosphere of the time: "we as a principle abhor war, and sincerely deplore the present struggle."⁷⁰ It was a line that his detractors and opponents either did not comprehend or wilfully distorted. To most English-speaking whites, and probably to the followers of Izwi, the matter was simple. You were either for the Empire or for the Republics. Jabavu drew inspiration from the Radical wing of the Liberal Party in Britain, led by Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman.⁷¹ This group, which included John Morely, Sir William Harcourt, James Bryce and David Lloyd George, was vociferous in condemning the war policy of the British government.

Jabavu reproduced some of their speeches against the war and used their arguments to explain his position.⁷² In an article in November 1899, he quoted the views of James Bryce, M.P., ex-President of the Board of Trade, (who, ironically, had visited King William's Town as a guest of the mayor, T.N. Dyer):

67. L. D. Ngcongco, "Imvo Zabantsundu and Cape 'Native' Policy 1884 - 1902", (MA Thesis, University of South Africa, 1978), p. 218.

68. L. D. Ngcongco, "Imvo Zabantsundu", p. 218.

69. Imvo, 16/10/1899, Editorial, "War of Mutual Distrust".

70. Imvo, 24/10/1899, "Our Critics".

71. L. D. Ngcongco, "Imvo Zabantsundu", p. 225.

72. L. D. Ngcongco, "Imvo Zabantsundu", pp. 225 - 226. See for example Imvo, 20/4/1899, "Liberal Opinion".

"We can, of course, conquer the Transvaal and the Free State - it is merely a question of time and money - can, if we like, turn them into Crown Colonies and hold them by garrisons. It is after the conquest that the real difficulties will begin."⁷³

Bill Nasson, in his penetrating study of blacks in the Cape Colony during the South African War, offers another motivation for Jabavu's opposition to the war. Jabavu refused to accept the claim that Britain was fighting to win rights for Africans in the Boer states, "For Imvo, pious British resolutions about improving conditions for Africans were fraudulent."⁷⁴ He credits Jabavu with more foresight than Ngcongco appears to do. The irony of the situation, as Nasson points out,

"is that Tengo Jabavu's severely sceptical attitude towards imperial propaganda about native rights and justice proved to be a hard-headed and accurate assessment of British intentions in South Africa."⁷⁵

The position taken by Jabavu gave rise to dismay amongst his black supporters and his white readers. The strongest and most significant reaction came from his former liberal friends, J. W. Weir and R. W. Rose Innes. In a letter published in the Cape Mercury, they publicly terminated their subscriptions to Imvo and ended their association with Jabavu.⁷⁶ The Cape Mercury commented that it was because of Imvo's persistence with "uninformed petty politics", instead of "taking up a strong attitude on the side of the Imperial Government which is the plain duty of every loyal British subject when the Empire is assailed." In a distinctly petulant repudiation of its liberal heritage the Cape Mercury added that trying to get fair play for Natives was useless and unappreciated.⁷⁷

Weir and Rose Innes took the unprecedented step of disowning Jabavu in the Cape Mercury after Rose Innes had personally delivered a letter, dated 22 December 1899, on their behalf to Jabavu. The letter, full of liberal pique and paternalism, is revealing. After claiming that Jabavu's last editorial had been disloyal and

73. Imvo, 20/11/1899, "Liberal Opinion".

74. W. R. Nasson, "Black Society in the Cape Colony and the South African War of 1899 - 1902 : A Social History" (PhD Thesis, Cambridge University, 1983), p. 228.

75. W. R. Nasson, "Black Society in the Cape Colony", p. 235.

76. Cape Mercury, 18/12/1899, Editorial, "Imvo".

77. Cape Mercury, 18/12/1899, Editorial, "Imvo".

sedition, Rose Innes went on to assert the real issue was loyalty to the Queen "to whom you and your people owe so much."⁷⁸ The problem was that Jabavu had not

"preached loyalty and faithfulness to the Natives as I expected you would ... Your voice should have rung out clear and strong. You missed, as I told you, the opportunity of your life. It will never come again ... You have disappointed me most grievously, and I had given you advice and warning."⁷⁹

The letters and editorial opened a floodgate of criticism. Another local merchant, W. Lord, was quick to make the cancellation of his subscription public, claiming he had cancelled two months earlier because of Imvo's "disloyal attitude, and the strong support it had persistently given "to the imbecile Government now in power", by constantly belittling the efforts of the imperial government and misinforming "our native population."⁸⁰ Lord, also one of the old-style liberals, reveals just how far the imperial factor had triumphed over the concern for black rights in the transformation of the liberals.

It was not only whites who rejected Jabavu's stand. Supporters of Izwi Labantu also entered the fray.⁸¹ The Daily Watchman, the Cape Mercury's local rival, allowed Jabavu space to defend himself against the attacks. In a rambling and, at times, confusing letter a shaken Jabavu referred to the "campaign of boycotting and coercion which is being conducted against the business arrangements of Imvo." He accused his critics of "taking the bread from the mouths of a number of innocent fellow beings who depend on Imvo as a business concern" and denied charges of disloyalty.⁸²

The controversy did not die down quickly, but continued well into the first two months of the new year. Not all the outbursts were critical of Jabavu. An articulate, well-reasoned letter from "A Black Briton"

78. Cape Mercury, 4/1/1900, Letter: Rose Innes - Jabavu, 22/12/1900.

79. Cape Mercury, 4/1/1900, Letter: Rose Innes - Jabavu, 22/12/1900.

80. Cape Mercury, 30/12/1899, Letter to Editor by W. Lord.

81. Cape Mercury, 30/12/1899, Letter to Editor by "Loyal Native".

82. Daily Watchman, 2/1/1900, Letter to Editor by J. T. Jabavu.

defended him and took issue with some of the points raised by his critics.⁸³ Claiming to know Jabavu personally, he stated Jabavu was "deeply attached to Her Majesty's crown" and more genuinely loyal than some of those shouting loudly about disloyalty:

"What he wanted was the upholding of the noble traditions of justice, liberality, and freedom of speech even when dealing with Boers, Dervishes, or cannibals."⁸⁴

If nothing else, the incident showed that the liberal torch, dropped by people like Rose Innes and Weir, was still being held aloft by Jabavu, even though the political circumstances had changed.

The Cape Mercury returned to the topic early in January, publishing two letters from R. W. Rose Innes, one of which was a copy of his private letter to Jabavu on the 22 December 1899. It also published an editorial attack on Jabavu which selectively quoted extracts from the contentious editorial of 18 December to prove that he had belittled the Crown.⁸⁵ By mid-February the original issues were becoming increasingly obscured. Perspective on the matter is, however, provided by two other events. C. P. Crewe, the General Secretary of the South African League, wrote to Schreiner, the Premier of the Cape, in a different context:

"It has become very difficult during the last months to draw the line of demarcation between differing political opinions and open sedition and rebellion."⁸⁶

Secondly, a letter to Imvo by an admirer of both Rose Innes and Imvo rather perceptively noted of liberals like Rose Innes and Weir:

"In times of quiet they could trust the Natives. In these days of stress and strain they seem to fear a Native rising or some such peril. They wish to see leading Natives preach peace loyally to their countrymen. It is sad indeed to see a man (sic) with records like theirs succumb to what is perhaps the greatest obstruction to philanthropic work in South Africa."⁸⁷

83. Cape Mercury, 2/1/1900, Letter to Editor by "A Black Briton"; other examples include Imvo, 15/1/1900, Letter to Editor by "A New Subscriber"; Imvo, 29/1/1900, Letter to Editor of Argus by A. Makubalo; and Imvo, 11/2/1901, Letter to Editor by "N.S.B."

84. Cape Mercury, 2/1/1900, Letter to Editor by "A Black Briton".

85. Cape Mercury, 2/1/1900, Editorial, "Imvo"; Cape Mercury, Letter to Editor by R. W. Rose Innes; Cape Mercury, Letter: Rose Innes - Jabavu, 22/12/1899.

86. Cape Mercury, 14/3/1900, "'Ons Land' and the 'S.A. News'".

87. Imvo, 5/2/1900, Letter to Editor by "An Ardent Admirer of 'IMVO' and of Mr. Innes".

In the final analysis, Jabavu was vindicated. In a civil case before the Circuit Court in March 1900, he sued W. Lord for defamation contained in his letter to the Cape Mercury in December 1899. Jabavu won his case and Lord was ordered to publish an apology and retraction in English and Xhosa in Imvo, and in the Cape Mercury, the East London Dispatch, the Cape Times, and the South African News. Lord had to pay £25 damages and all costs, including those between attorney and client and the publication costs.⁸⁸ Ngcongco tends to gloss over the libel case, but it is significant in that it gave the lie to the accusations of disloyalty that had been so freely bandied about.⁸⁹ Jabavu had played the old liberals at their own game - recourse to law - and won. It must have been some comfort to him that Lord's solicitor was none other than R. W. Rose Innes.⁹⁰ But by then the negative publicity had attracted new attention. On 29 January 1900 Imvo received a request from the military Commandant of the King William's Town area, that a copy of each Imvo be sent to the Director of Military Intelligence in Cape Town.⁹¹ Seven months later Imvo was suppressed under martial law regulations.⁹²

4.3 The Vigilance Committee and Political Agitation

Most English-speaking whites in King William's Town greeted the outbreak of war with unmitigated feelings of jingoism. Once the war was a reality, the South African League, which had contributed so much to mobilising English-speakers behind Milner's aggressive policies, gave way to another political formation. In March 1900 the Cape Mercury informed its readers of the establishment of a new political organization in Cape Town, the Vigilance Committee under the chairmanship of Sir J. Gordon Sprigg.⁹³ Its object was straightforward: to unite all sections of loyalists "with the sole object of securing incorporation of the two

88. Imvo, 12/3/1900, "Apology!".

89. L. D. Ngcongco, "Imvo Zabantsundu", p. 233.

90. Imvo, 12/3/1900, "Apology!".

91. Imvo, 29/1/1900, "This Picture and That".

92. Discussed in Chapter 5.

93. Cape Mercury, 28/3/1900, Editorial, "The Situation".

Republics within the Empire." The tactic was to orchestrate demonstrations all over the Colony close to midday on 3 April.⁹⁴

T. N. Dyer, the mayor, who received a telegram from Sprigg requesting assistance, called a meeting "representative of the leading citizens" to discuss the matter. A King William's Town Vigilance Committee was formed. The executive was dominated by leading businessmen of the town, many of them pre-war liberals.⁹⁵ A public meeting was planned for the 3 April on the Market Square at 12h30. Businesses and employers of labour were called upon to co-operate by allowing their men to leave work at noon.⁹⁶ The Cape Mercury tried its best to drum up support for the mass meeting, even calling on "country friends" to participate in "showing that the old capital of British Kaffraria still voices the feelings of the people of the Frontier."⁹⁷

Imvo's report on the proposed "monster meeting" was more matter of fact. The "leading citizens" of the town had decided on a meeting to support the movement to deprive the Republics of their independence.⁹⁸ In the same issue it carried a lengthy letter from Albert Cartwright, J. C. Molteno, and A. J. van Reenen announcing the formation of the Conciliation Committee of South Africa in Cape Town on 12 March 1900.⁹⁹ The episode serves to illustrate the extent of the divergent paths the white liberals and Jabavu had taken.

The "Monster Demonstration", complete with flags and bunting, was well attended. The motion was carried with "loud and prolonged applause."¹⁰⁰ Thereafter the Vigilance Committee appears to have adopted a

94. Cape Mercury, 28/3/1900, Editorial, "The Situation".
95. Cape Mercury 28/3/1900, Editorial, "The Situation".
96. Cape Mercury, 28/3/1900, Editorial, "The Situation".
97. Cape Mercury, 29/3/1900, Sub-editorial, "Conviction".
98. Imvo, 2/4/1900, "General".
99. Imvo, 2/4/1900, Letter to Editor by J. C. Molteno et al.
100. Cape Mercury, 3/4/1900, "The Situation".

more formalised structure than might initially have been intended. The central committee, with its Cape Town-dominated executive under Sprigg, formulated seven aims:

1. to "collect and focus the views of all sections of South African citizens" who believe Milner's policies to be right and just
2. to convince the British public of the necessity to prosecute the war with determination
3. to "make it clear" to the Empire and the other colonies that the Boer republics should lose their independence
4. to counteract the statements of the anti-British press
5. to organize public demonstrations at suitable times in favour of the policy of re-incorporation of the republics
6. to influence Dutch fellow colonists
7. to raise money for the South African Imperial Defence Fund to influence Dutch colonists (but not to be used for contesting elections).¹⁰¹

The committee provided Sprigg, as leader of the opposition to the Schreiner ministry, with a power base from which he could challenge the government. The King William's Town parliamentary representatives, Schermbrucker and Warren, were quick to join. Together with M. A. Evatt (a local mineral water manufacturer) and H. B. Hutton (a King William's Town attorney), they acted as King William's Town delegates at the Cape Town congress of the Vigilance Committee.¹⁰²

The new rallying cry for English-speaking colonists in King William's Town was depriving the republics of their independence. But like the King William's Town branch of the South African League before it, the Vigilance Committee in King William's Town, after an initial flourish, collapsed. The general meeting called to hear the reports of the delegates to the Cape Town congress was only attended by nine people, despite massive publicity from the Cape Mercury.¹⁰³ After that it became moribund.

101. Cape Mercury, 6/4/1900, "The Vigilance Committee".

102. Cape Mercury, 25/4/1900, sub-editorial, "Vigilance".

103. Cape Mercury, 7/9/1900, Editorial, "Vigilance"; Cape Mercury, 7/9/1900, "Vigilance Committee"; Cape Mercury, 11/9/1900, "Vigilance Committee".

In December, at the request of the mayor of Cape Town, the Borough Council arranged a public meeting to protest the speeches of the Volkskongres at Worcester.¹⁰⁴ Although this was directly in accordance with the aims of the Vigilance Committee, no mention of the committee was made in the Press. The organizers of the demonstration were essentially the same ones who had arranged the April meeting, but the demonstration against the speeches at Worcester was organized in the name of the Borough Council.

The Worcester Conference was not an Afrikaner Bond meeting per se, although some of the speakers were members of the Bond and other members were present. The most provocative speeches were made by non-Bond members.¹⁰⁵ This was a finer line than King William's Town residents took. Cronwright-Schreiner's attack on Milner's policies "aroused a deep feeling of indignation and resentment," according to the Cape Mercury.¹⁰⁶ The meeting, which was held on the Market Square, attracted about 1 500 people, according to a favourable estimate.¹⁰⁷ The surrounding buildings flew the Union Jack and "a general air of loyalty was stamped on everyone's features."¹⁰⁸ The three resolutions, which were adopted "with acclamation", were:

1. the town and its people reiterated support for Milner's policies
2. as British subjects, they resented the "gross misrepresentations and calumnies" directed against Milner by the Dutch element, and
3. they called for the removal of the independence of the republics as a solution to the South African problem.¹⁰⁹

Further messages of support were sent to Milner by the Sons of England, the Caledonian Association and the Lancashire and Yorkshire Association.¹¹⁰

104. CAD, 3/KWT 1/1/15, pp. 31 - 32, Minutes, 8/12/1900; Cape Mercury, 8/12/1900, Editorial, "Indignation".

105. T. R. H. Davenport, The Afrikaner Bond, (Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 1966), p. 228.

106. Cape Mercury, 8/12/1900, Editorial, "Indignation".

107. CAD, 3/KWT, 1/1/15, pp. 31 - 32, Minutes, 8/12/1900.

108. Cape Mercury, 10/12/1900, Editorial, "The Counterblast".

109. Cape Mercury, 10/12/1900, Editorial, "The Counterblast".

110. Cape Mercury, 10/12/1900, Editorial, "The Counterblast".

At the meeting, H. B. Hutton, seconding the motion, spoke rather heatedly and intemperately of resorting to arms against Dutch colonists. Imvo, ever vigilant, seized on this point to criticise Hutton and "the fact that even the now rabid Cape Mercury omitted that portion of Mr. Hutton's speech."¹¹¹ The issue became another controversy in the town, sparking off heated exchanges between Imvo on one hand and the Cape Mercury and Hutton on the other.¹¹²

The meeting proved, if any proof was needed, that "the majority of the white population of King William's Town is Milnerite in regard to the war policy."¹¹³ But once martial law was proclaimed in January 1901, even the "Milnerite" residents had problems trying to organize public demonstrations to display their loyalty. The military Administrator, in one case, refused to sanction a meeting to condemn reports of British atrocities in the concentration camps.¹¹⁴

4.4 The Suppression of Imvo and the Suspension Issue.

Martial law was imposed throughout the Cape Colony, with the exception of the ports, in January 1901.¹¹⁵ Prior to that it had been in operation only in areas of hostilities. The editor of Imvo was well aware of the workings of martial law in those districts in which it operated in the early stages of the war. In June 1900 he commented on the selective and partisan manner in which military officers suppressed newspapers with which they disagreed. Jabavu, the evergreen liberal concerned with fair play and freedom of expression, contrasted this with the demands made before the war concerning the Transvaal Press:

"Our surprise in these circumstances is that there should not have been an outcry in the press against so glaring an outrage on the freedom of the press ..."¹¹⁶

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111. Imvo, 17/12/1900, "Intemperate Language".
 112. Imvo, 27/12/1900, "As to Language"; Cape Mercury, 18/12/1900, Editorial, "'Imvo' as Mentor"; Cape Mercury, 19/12/1900, Letter to Editor by H. B. Hutton.
 113. Imvo, 17/12/1900, "Intemperate Language".
 114. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/1/3/7, Letter: Addington, Major, Administrator - Mayor, King William's Town, 7/2/1902.
 115. See Chapter 5 for detailed discussion.
 116. Imvo, 11/6/1900, "Equal Rights".

It was thus with a note of caution that Imvo announced the imposition of martial law in 1901. The Cape Mercury, quick to observe the change of tone, gloated:

"The Native sheet is judiciously trimming its sails to the breeze. Bread and butter realities must triumph, though truth will never prevail."¹¹⁷

Imvo defended itself by saying that the Cape Mercury would prefer to see Imvo over-reaching itself, and that the Cape Mercury appeared to acknowledge that Imvo always sought the truth even if it suffered in its "bread and butter" considerations:

"Our contemporary is an authority on a policy which sacrifices truth for 'bread and butter' considerations, and it would be interesting to know the results of it, both pecuniarily."¹¹⁸

This very astute comment should not be taken at face value. The Cape Mercury had been in financial difficulty at the end of 1900. It needed extra capital and was up for sale by tender. Although tenders closed in December, little had happened. In March 1901 the Cape Mercury collapsed entirely, only to re-open in May. It was revived by a group of local businessmen with George Whitaker, a local merchant and former President of the local branch of the South African League, as the managing director. It is therefore all the more significant that Imvo, in the face of detractors amongst English-speaking whites and followers of Izwi, kept going when both the Daily Watchman and the Cape Mercury, King William's Town's other newspapers, failed.

The suppression of Imvo under martial law came in an unexpected way. The catalyst was the objections of a black clergyman.¹¹⁹ In a sense, the liberal strands in the political fabric had snapped completely. The public repudiation of Imvo by Rose Innes and J. W. Weir marks the final demise of the "small tradition" in King William's Town. The closure of Imvo after the complaints of a black clergyman marks the extent of the Izwi / Imvo split in black politics.

117. Quoted in Imvo, 28/1/1901, "Under Martial Law".

118. Imvo, 22/1/1901, "Under Martial Law".

119. See Chapter 5.

Rather significantly, the changing situation of the war, and the shifts within Cape parliamentary politics threw up a new issue which briefly saw the resurgence of some of the white liberal figures in King William's Town. The suspension of the Cape parliamentary constitution became the new issue. In 1902 this debate replaced previous concerns with the independence of the Boer Republics, but below the surface were still anti-Bond sentiments. It was as the Cape Mercury called it, the "Topic of the Day."¹²⁰ The issue led to further shifts in alliances and saw white former liberals in King William's Town adopting opposite positions.

The suspension crisis arose towards the end of the war, but Milner had advocated the suspension of the Cape Colony constitution continually since the beginning of hostilities. The move gained momentum after the Graaff-Reinet Vigilance Committee took it up in mid-1901.¹²¹ This, amongst other things would have facilitated the forced unification of South Africa, and given Milner a free hand in dealing with the explosive issue of the Cape rebels. The suspension issue, although propelled by the Vigilance Committees, also caused a split within the membership of the committees. Sprigg, Premier since 1 June 1900, opposed suspension. The issue was an emotive one and alienated his former Vigilance Committee supporters in King William's Town who were still unquestioningly pro-Milner and blindly loyal to Empire. They became even more confused when Chamberlain spoke out against suspension.¹²²

At a public meeting in King William's Town in June 1902 the Commissioner of Crown Lands, A. Douglas, spoke against suspension. H. B. Hutton spoke in favour of it. R. W. Rose Innes, his partner in a law firm, reverted to his liberal inclinations and spoke against it. The anti-suspensionists were, however, in the minority.¹²³ Smartt and Schermbrucker debated the issue at another meeting on 30 June. This well attended meeting was also in favour of suspension. One of the undercurrents was the fear of a resurgence of the Bond if the Cape constitution continued to operate. English-speaking imperialists, especially those in

120. Cape Mercury, 24/6/1902, Editorial, "The Commissioner", Cape Mercury 24/6/1902, "The Topic of the Day".

121. T. R. H. Davenport, The Afrikaner Bond, p. 237.

122. T. R. H. Davenport, The Afrikaner Bond, pp. 239 - 240.

123. Cape Mercury, 24/6/1902, Editorial, "The Commissioner"; Cape Mercury, 24/6/1901, "The Topic of the Day".

the eastern Cape, feared that they would lose influence if the Dutch-speaking element was not weakened. But the issues were also changing. Traces of liberal concerns were tentatively emerging.

Rose Innes had spoken out against suspension in June. In July T. B. King, one of the most prominent King William's Town merchants, proprietor of Baker, Baker and Co. in the town and of Baker, King & Co. in East London, spoke against suspension. He focused attention on the black franchise. Black representation in parliament was inadequate:

"Their numbers, their wealth, and their intelligence entitles them to a larger representation than they at present enjoy."¹²⁴

Here was some of the old-style "small tradition" emerging from the political wreckage of the war. The political climate had, however, altered irrevocably. Jabavu took issue with some of King's statements and the Cape Mercury claimed that it was not desirable for blacks to hold the balance of power between the English and the Dutch, especially since some had aligned themselves with the Bond in the past. The "fairest way", in the Cape Mercury's view was to give political representation to blacks by allowing the election of members only by native voters in districts like King William's Town and the Transkei.¹²⁵

The liberals were by no means resurgent and kept a low profile. In 1901 both J. W. Weir and R. W. Rose Innes refused nomination for the Tembuland seat.¹²⁶ King, after initially refusing to stand for Tembuland, agreed to stand for Victoria East in 1902. He was elected unopposed to the House of Assembly.¹²⁷ King William's Town finally had a parliamentary representative who lived in the town and who was a member of the town's elite, even if he was not elected for the King William's Town division:

"King Williamstown is much elated at the return of its townsman ... It is certainly not to the credit of the place that there should not be a single M.L.A. or M.L.C. in it; and it is

24. Cape Mercury, 17/7/1902, "The Native Vote".
25. Cape Mercury, 17/7/1902, Editorial, "The Native Vote".
26. Cape Mercury, 15/5/1901, Editorial, "Representation in Tembuland".
27. Cape Mercury, 23/10/1902, "Mr. T. B. King, M.L.A."

hoped that in future the more worthy of its leading townsmen will come forward to take part in the larger public affairs."¹²⁸

4.5 Overview

The years from 1898 to 1902 proved to be significant in the political life of King William's Town. In this period, under the blast of jingoism, the last vestiges of the small tradition of Cape liberalism evaporated in the town. The process of decline had begun much earlier, but heightened emotions in the post-Jameson Raid period and during the war years sounded its death knell. Although Jabavu and one or two prominent merchants re-emerged to hold aloft the liberal banner, the circumstances were no longer conducive in the town. The Cape Mercury, in particular, once a bastion of liberalism, had undergone a profound transformation. At the same time that whites were moving away from their liberal heritage, black politics suffered a major upheaval. The split between Izwi Labantu and Imvo Zontsundu, mouthpieces of rival black political organizations, was of fundamental importance in this period. The effects of this were to be felt in the weak opposition blacks were to offer to the franchise clauses in the South Africa Act which ushered in Union in 1910.

Before the tension that led to the war the predominant issue had been race. During the war this continued to be a constant undercurrent. After a convoluted flirtation with Empire and anti-Afrikaner sentiments, the issue re-emerged as a major theme again. This is perhaps best illustrated in two addresses prepared by the Borough Council. In 1897, on the occasion of a visit by the Governor, Sir Alfred Milner, the Borough Council stated:

"There are many grave questions to engage your attention, but we venture to affirm that there is none more important than the "Native Question ... The security of our lives and property, the well-being of our children, the progress of our farmers, and the development of our commerce, all depend upon it."¹²⁹

The address to Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson for his visit in 1902, returned to the theme, with special local emphasis:

128. Imvo, 25/10/1902, "Current Notes".

129. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1898 (H. D. Blewitt, King William's Town, 1898), p. 7.

"Living as we do, amid a large and increasing coloured population we would venture to impress upon Your Excellency the urgent need of a permanent settlement of the Native Question in its various phases, and more particularly the necessity of arranging for the residence of coloured persons outside the towns."¹³⁰

In a sense, politics in King William's Town had come a full circle.

130. CAD, 3/KWT 1/1/1/15, Borough Council Minutes, p. 172: Address.

CHAPTER 5 : "UPHOLDING THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN SOUTH AFRICA" - MILITARY MATTERS

King William's Town was not the scene of any actual fighting during the South African War, but it was not untouched by other military matters: a garrison was stationed in King William's Town prior to the outbreak of the war, the town was the headquarters of the No. 2 Military District, it was placed under martial law in 1901, a locally raised medical company was sent off to war, large numbers of townsmen enlisted for service in various irregular units, and even larger numbers of blacks from the district joined the military labour contingents. As the war passed through its three distinctive military phases - the invasion of the colonies, the occupation of the republics and the guerilla period,¹ the mood of the townspeople fluctuated under the influence of rumour and news reports.

5.1 The Garrisons

In the tension prior to the war imperial soldiers were garrisoned in the town. Initially the 1st Middlesex Regiment was stationed in King William's Town, but after February 1898, the 2nd Royal Berkshire Regiment was transferred to King William's Town. On arrival the regiment had a strength of 24 officers and 777 other ranks.² The imperial troops were welcomed with open arms by the English-speaking locals. Some King William's Town merchants won contracts to supply the troops.³ In the minds of the residents, the presence of the garrison seems to have boosted the significance of the town. It meant the town had a place in imperial policy. The psychological significance was, however, probably greater than the direct economic benefit.⁴

On a social level the garrison proved most popular. The officers became the benchmark of the sort of society to which most middle class King William's Town residents aspired. Military balls, promenade concerts and concerts in the Town Hall under the patronage of the commanding officer were the highlights

1. H. Bailes, "Military Aspects of the War", in P. Warwick & S. B. Spies (Eds.), The South African War The Anglo-Boer War 1899 - 1902 (Longman, Harlow, 1980), pp. 72 - 95.

2. Cape Mercury, 15/3/1898, "The Berkshire Regiment".

3. Cape Mercury, 15/3/1898, "Town and District".

4. See Chapter 3 for a fuller discussion.

of the social calendar.⁵ The military band, in particular, was in constant demand.⁶ The months preceding the outbreak of hostilities were halcyon days for the King William's Town social set. The busy social scene even came to the attention of the editors of the Owl, who published a rather libelous comment on the Middlesex subalterns. The Cape Town attorney and liberal politician, James Rose Innes, was approached by the Regiment with a view to suing the weekly. The serious manner in which the commanding officer of the Regiment listed all the dances his officers had attended was a source of amusement:

"King William's Town must be a gayer place than I thought it was. I have always thought that the Middlesex men were a steady lot, and have no doubt they are - the regiment is a particularly good one - still, if the Col. means to say that all his young subs. drink nothing but kola I think he is pitching it a little strong."⁷

While the officers set the scene for King William's Town's aspirant upper class, the NCOs - the sergeants' mess - slotted into a different set of inhabitants. The excellence of their smoking concerts, in particular, drew appreciative comments from those lucky enough to be invited.⁸ The ordinary soldier - Tommy Atkins in the popular mind - was not so comfortable. He had less money, less time on his hands and no social connections to make his garrison duty more pleasant. Bill Nasson has characterised relationships between ordinary soldiers in the British army and blacks as "frequently one of mutual antagonism", arguing that many soldiers accepted the prevailing class and racial structure as the basis for their behaviour.⁹ King William's Town whites did not approve of the soldiers occasional contacts with the town's black residents and when this happened it caused friction. Nasson, in discussing prostitution and the ordinary British soldiers, shows how readily Tommies "took to the arms of compliant black women." Prostitutes operating near military camps were invariably black and frequently supplied illicit liquor in addition to sexual services.¹⁰ Although the records are silent on the situation in King William's Town it is inconceivable that prostitution did not

5. See for example, Cape Mercury, 29/3/1898, "Town and District".

6. Cape Mercury, 5/2/1898, "Town & District".

7. H. M. Wright (Ed.), Sir James Rose Innes Selected Correspondence (1884 - 1902) (Van Riebeeck Society, Cape Town, 1972), p. 217, Letter: J. Rose Innes - R. W. Rose Innes, 27/9/1897.

8. Cape Mercury, 1/3/1898, "Town & District".

9. W. Nasson, "Tommy Atkins in South Africa", in P. Warwick & S. B. Spies (Eds.), The South African War, p. 130.

10. W. Nasson, "Tommy Atkins in South Africa", p. 132.

occur as a result of the demands of the garrison. Brownlee Location, where many of the known prostitutes lived, was adjacent to the military barracks. But white men consorting with black women was not something which readily found favour in colonial society.¹¹ Perhaps this is what the Cape Mercury was referring to when it intoned the cryptic warning:

"In military parlance one or two small areas in the borough are 'out of bounds.' No need to name the localities. But there is need to give a warning to the young soldiers now in garrison not to be too 'friendly' - to put the matter kindly - with Natives met with in the thoroughfares at night time, especially if acting as escort."¹²

Generally life was rather miserable for Tommy Atkins, and nowhere was this more apparent than in the accommodation in the barracks. The buildings were old, run down, insanitary and a health hazard. The presence of the imperial garrison, inadequately housed, gave local residents a chance to criticise the Cape government which utilised some of the old barracks buildings. Many of the residents saw their allegiances lying with the imperial government and not the Cape government. This was also the gist of some of the Cape Mercury editorials. In May 1898 "Old Soldier" drew attention to the fact that many troops were accommodated under canvas while some of the old barracks were occupied by private citizens and the Cape Police.¹³ A similar letter from "Admirer of Thomas Atkins" commented that in former times 1 200 to 1 500 men had been comfortably garrisoned in the Military Reserve, but now with only 600, two companies (about 160 men) were kept under canvas:

"This means they spend a most miserable life. It is a difficult matter for men to keep their kits and other articles clean when six men are confined to a tent."¹⁴

The blame, in his opinion, lay with the Colonial officials who occupied military buildings. Referring to the Conservator of Forests, he noted, "One official has a whole block."¹⁵ Another letter a few days later echoed the same themes.¹⁶

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11. W. Nasson, "Tommy Atkins in South Africa", p. 133.
 12. Cape Mercury, 10/12/1898, "Notes of the Day".
 13. Cape Mercury, 3/5/1898, Letter to Editor by "Old Soldier".
 14. Cape Mercury, 11/6/1898, Letter to Editor by "Admirer of Thomas Atkins".
 15. Cape Mercury, 11/6/1898, Letter to Editor by "Admirer of Thomas Atkins".
 16. Cape Mercury, 14/6/1898, Letter to Editor by "An Old Soldier".

As things turned out the troops under canvas were safer than their comrades in the buildings which were run down and polluted by old cesspools. Soon after their arrival, the soldiers of the Middlesex Regiment began succumbing to enteric fever. The military authorities, characteristically, reacted by blaming the Borough Council's sanitary arrangements.¹⁷ The disease rate amongst the garrison in King William's Town was so high (54 cases of enteric fever between May 1898 and May 1899¹⁸) that some of the soldiers might have been happy to go off to the comparative safety of active service. Not only the imperial garrisons, but also the Cape Police, barracked in the Reserve, suffered losses from enteric. The steady stream of military funerals (which were "becoming so common" in King William's Town "that they scarcely attract more than passing interest", as the Cape Mercury commented laconically¹⁹) finally stung the military and the Council into action. An in-depth investigation of the garrison accommodation by the Acting Medical Officer of Health on behalf of the municipality revealed the extent of the problem. He linked the outbreaks of enteric to the poor barrack accommodation and saturated soils. The accommodation certainly was appalling. Amongst other things, the married quarters were converted stables. The room used as a kitchen was formerly a latrine. One of the old latrines was "very dirty, the walls and soil being saturated with faecal matter and urine fungus grew upon its walls ..."²⁰

Not unexpectedly, Tommy Atkins's miserable life led to problems. At least four men from the Middlesex Regiment deserted in 1898 and four more deserted from the Royal Berkshires. Two of the deserters, one from each regiment, found work as cleaners at the East London Railway workshops. The fact that the deserters were arrested and punished may have acted as a deterrent against further desertions.²¹ A few

17. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/41, Letter: A. Hill, O.C. Middlesex Regt. - Town Clerk, 27/12/1897; 3/KWT 2/1/2/41, Letter: A. Hill, O.C. Middlesex Regt. - Town Clerk, 8/1/1898.

18. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1899 (Kaffrarian Steam Printing Co., King William's Town, 1899), p. 34.

19. Cape Mercury, 4/1/1898, "Town and District".

20. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/41, Letter: H. Draper Bishop - Borough Corporation, K.W.T., no date, [1899].

21. Cape Mercury, 12/5/1898, "Deserted from King William's Town"; Cape Mercury, 15/6/1898, "Local & General"; Cape Mercury, 26/4/1898, "Town & District"; Cape Mercury, 28/4/1898, "Town & District".

soldiers turned to petty crime. Two privates in the Royal Berkshire Regiment received six months hard labour each for stealing fowls.²² Perhaps the townsfolk expected nothing less of common soldiers, for it was possibly with both relief and surprise that the mayor, in his review of the 1897-98 year, remarked of the Berkshires that "no complaint of any nature had been made against them."²³

He was, however, being premature. Three serious incidents involving the garrison occurred in the town. Two of these involved blacks. The third, a riot, occurred at the end of the war when they had returned from active service and were awaiting transfer. On 16 May 1898 horses belonging to the Royal Berkshire Regiment were impounded by the Ntinde when they strayed onto their land. The soldiers tried to rescue the horses. In the scuffle that ensued, a corporal was hit on the head with a stick.²⁴ The Ntinde were the original occupiers of the land on which King William's Town was built. Their chief, Dyani Tshashu, had allowed the Rev. John Brownlee to establish a mission on the banks of the Buffalo in 1826. Subsequently they had been deprived of their land until, on the eve of the war, they were reduced to living on a piece of land on the eastern boundary of the commonage. The Ntinde had been well within their rights in impounding the horses, but the incident sent the indignant white residents of the town into paroxysms of racist rhetoric. The Cape Mercury reported that:

"... now burgesses hope that the incident will put an end to the misconduct of the Ntinde people, who have a notoriously bad name for capturing stock on the commonage and for worse things."²⁵

A lengthy editorial in the same issue revealed some of the unhappy history of the Ntinde. Several years before, when the Council extended the commonage to the east to provide grazing for the oxen of transport riders, the Ntinde who were displaced were supposed to be re-settled in the Transkei, but some refused to move. Those who remained became "notorious as a curse to the town" by impounding cattle which strayed

22. Cape Mercury, 6/3/1900, "News of the Day".

23. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1898, p. 3.

24. Cape Mercury, 16/5/1898, Editorial, "Inconvenient Neighbours".

25. Cape Mercury, 19/5/1898, "Local and General".

onto what was left of their land.²⁶ The editorial, a masterly blend of generalisation, innuendo and insult, is all the more surprising given the Cape Mercury's usual liberal style. The newspaper's shrill denunciation of the Ntinde seems to have been sparked by the threat they were perceived to pose to transport riders (and hence the mercantile trade upon which the town's prosperity was based) and the imperial connection. The Cape Mercury went so far as to claim the Ntinde planted mealies near their water spots in order to lure cattle onto their land in order to impound them. The solution was seen to be a simple one:

"... the interests of the town and country alike demand the removal of these Ntindes, who have for so long been a menace to their law-abiding neighbours. They should be located elsewhere and placed under strict police supervision."²⁷

The editor of the Cape Mercury was not alone in the views he expressed. A public meeting was called to discuss the matter and it was taken up with the Premier, Sir J. Gordon Sprigg, when he paid a brief visit to the town. After a lengthy effort on the part of the Council the matter was eventually dropped.²⁸ There simply was no legal sanction for the forced removal of the Ntinde, however outraged the local whites may have felt. In all the fuss no-one appears to have paused to consider that up to 1835, it was the Ntinde who occupied the land on which King William's Town was established.

The second incident involved a soldier, Private Bedborough, who shot a black woman, wounding her and killing the baby she was carrying on her back. From the court records it appears to have been deliberate. In a miscarriage of justice, the jury dismissed the case. The crowd of spectators, at the height of jingoistic fervour at the beginning of the war, gave Bedborough an ovation.²⁹

After the Royal Berkshires returned from the war, just prior to their transfer to Egypt, they ran riot in an incident which saw one of the town's manufacturers assaulted. By then the townspeople were not so sympathetic. The riot started after a civilian assaulted one of the soldiers. Incensed, the soldiers ran through

26. Cape Mercury, 16/5/1898, Editorial, "Inconvenient Neighbours".

27. Cape Mercury, 16/5/1898, Editorial, "Inconvenient Neighbours".

28. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1899, pp. 9 - 10.

29. Cape Mercury, 12/3/1900, "The Circuit Court".

the town, smashing windows and doors, entering houses and searching for the culprit. In the vicinity of Henry Street they apparently mistook the brother of a councillor and a manufacturer, Gustav Ginsberg for the man and began assaulting him. In view of Ginsberg's treatment of his black workers, it is somewhat ironic that he was rescued by them. They keenly waded into the soldiers with sticks. A full-scale confrontation was prevented by the action of the foreman of the Ginsberg factory.³⁰ Perhaps the black residents of the town could have taken solace in the fact that they were not living in Queenstown. In June 1901 a contingent of troops there went on the rampage after one of their number and been arrested by a black policeman. An unfortunate Indian was killed when his house was attacked.³¹

Prior to departure for the Stormberg front on 30 September 1899, the Royal Berkshire Regiment deposited the regimental Colours and other artefacts in the Town Hall for safe keeping. The departure by train, which took place from midnight to 04h00, was attended by a large crowd of townspeople who cheered them on.³² The regiment returned on 24 June 1902 to an equally enthusiastic welcome.³³ This contrasted sharply with the shabby manner in which A Company of the Cape Medical Corps, the town's volunteer company, was treated when they returned from active service. Despite numerous statements about providing a proper welcome for the members of A Company, no large-scale welcome was arranged.³⁴

Although the Royal Berkshire Regiment did not suffer the enormous number of casualties some of the other British regiments experienced, they nonetheless suffered fairly heavy losses.³⁵ The regiment left for Egypt at the end of October 1902. In the intervening time some of the soldiers managed to upset the civil authorities over their dealings with the residents of Brownlee Station. Exactly what transpired is not clear,

30. Cape Mercury, 25/9/1902, "Rowdy Soldiers".

31. Cape Mercury, 17/6/1901, "Rowdyism in Queenstown".

32. Cape Mercury, 2/10/1899, "2nd Royal Berkshires".

33. Cape Mercury, 24/6/1902, "Return of Berks."

34. Cape Mercury, 18/6/1902, Letter to Editor by "A Friend of the Corps".

35. Cape Mercury, 24/6/1902, "Return of the Berks".

but the Resident Magistrate passed a Police report on to the Commanding Officer with the suggestion that he make "a general warning" and that Brownlee be placed out of bounds.³⁶

5.2 Attitudes to the War: Enthusiasm, Panic and Apathy

The outbreak of the war was greeted with considerable enthusiasm by the portion of the population whose views are reflected in the Press. This situation was not much different from Grahamstown where the outbreak of the war was also greeted with jingoism.³⁷ Expressions of loyalty and patriotism abounded in King William's Town. The Sons of England loyally decided to hoist the flag each day over the Lodge premises until the crisis was over.³⁸ Before the war the Cape Mercury characterised the type of loyalty it favoured:

"It is the Imperialism with which Kipling's pages are aglow, the Imperialism that brings a catch to the voice and a lump to the throat as one ponders its past and tries to imagine its future; a lofty ideal of an Empire ..."³⁹

This brand of jingoism also found an outlet in enterprising advertising:

"FOR SALE
A FLAGSTAFF, 40 feet in length, of strong wood, with a pulley on top. Just the article for a loyal Britisher."⁴⁰

The only sombre note in the Press was struck by J. T. Jabavu who attempted to present a more balanced view of the war.⁴¹ But as events rapidly unfolded, exuberant confidence gave way, first to shock and incredulity at the British reverses, and then to panic. By 16 October the public was being told the sensational news that the burghers of the Orange Free State had declared their intention to march on King William's

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36. CAD, 1/KWT 5/1/1/1 Letter: Blenkins - Colonel B [illegible], 21/8/1902.
37. H. C. Hummel, "Some Attitudes in Grahamstown Towards the Advent of the Second Anglo-Boer War", Contree, 20, July 1986, p. 12.
38. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book 1898 - 1905, 16 October 1899.
39. Cape Mercury, 28/6/1898, Editorial, "Mr. Innes's Declaration".
40. Cape Mercury, 13/10/1899, Advertisement, "For Sale".
41. Discussed fully in Chapter 4.

Town immediately.⁴² It was suggested that the "ladies" of the town prepare themselves by learning First Aid and nursing.⁴³

The major issue of the day was that King William's Town did not have a Town Guard. The Schreiner ministry was held responsible for this. In an emotional editorial, "Defenceless", the Cape Mercury proclaimed:

"Feeling is running so high in King Williamstown that a forcible means has been suggested to secure arms. But we would advise an appeal to the High Commissioner, though much may be forgiven for suggesting desperate remedies with the enemy clamouring at the gate."⁴⁴

In the panic a curious dichotomy, first revealed in the residents' attitudes to the garrison's accommodation, was reinforced. The allegiance of the town's English-speaking inhabitants was focused on the imperial government, not the colonial one.

The panic was fed by numerous rumours sweeping the town. The Cape Mercury devoted a sub-editorial to discounting "the sensational news", but deliberately added fuel to the flames by casting doubt on the Under Colonial Secretary's assurance that King William's Town was not in danger and that there was no cause for alarm:

"It is high time the people on the Frontier acted for themselves. If no satisfactory answer is received to-day an indignation meeting should be held immediately and the High Commissioner approached direct ... we must either move in self-defence or sit still and see isolated post after isolated post captured until the Boer rules triumphant through the country."⁴⁵

Despite the Cape government not supporting the idea - indeed, in direct opposition to the sentiments expressed by the Under Colonial Secretary - the mayor bowed to popular opinion and convened a public

42. Cape Mercury, 16/10/1899, "A Refugee's Story".

43. Cape Mercury, 16/10/1899, "Notes of the Day".

44. Cape Mercury, 16/10/1899, Editorial, "Defenceless".

45. Cape Mercury, 17/10/1899, Sub-editorial, "Rest Assured".

meeting for 19 October. The purpose was to form a Town Guard.⁴⁶ The anxieties of the people of King William's Town were prompted in no small way by their view of their own importance:

"Anxious feeling has grown since the outbreak of hostilities that King Williamstown (sic) is one of the few points which need special protection."⁴⁷

The Cape Mercury generally dismissed reports of British defeats as rumours spread by "scaremongers"⁴⁸ But as the humiliating reverses in Natal became undeniable the panic intensified. The disruption of communications north of Stormberg exacerbated the situation.⁴⁹ In this atmosphere, spy scares became common. A correspondent from Middle Drift warned:

"A Dutchman, name unknown, turned up here at the Middle Drift Hotel on a magnificent horse and evidently provided with plenty of funds ..."⁵⁰

Not everyone subscribed to the serious side of the scare. A humorous letter to the Editor by "Tantalus" complaining of the water supply, began his criticism of the Council with a tilt at those who believed the town was in danger:

"If our Borough Council, in view of a probable seige being laid to the town during the campaign and our water supply being cut off, are desirous of conserving the supply in our reservoirs ..."⁵¹

The scare stories were fuelled by refugees in particular. They recounted their experiences in exaggerated style and speculated on Boer intervention. One maintained the Boers would attack King William's Town via Umtata from Barkly East and Mount Fletcher.⁵²

46. Cape Mercury, 18/10/1899, Sub-editorial, "Indignation".

47. Cape Mercury, 18/10/1899, "A Call for Arms".

48. Cape Mercury, 24/10/1899, Sub-editorial, "Scares".

49. Cape Mercury. 3/11/1899, "More Scares".

50. Cape Mercury, 7/11/1899, "Notes of the Day".

51. Cape Mercury, 7/11/1899, Letter to Editor, "A Water Complaint".

52. Daily Watchman, 1/12/1899, Letter to Editor by "A Refugee".

The refusal of the Schreiner ministry to arm its citizens was a recurrent theme and rallying cry for the pro-Town Guard agitators and frequently provided a pretext for criticism of the Cape government. The Cape Mercury returned to this hobby horse in strong language in December:

"We are a small community in King Williamstown, and the loyal section of the Border may be in a minority ... King Williamstown must be armed - and that immediately, or the consequences may be more serious still."⁵³

In this case the outburst was prompted by a rumour contained in an obscure telegram sent to the Cape Mercury from Middle Drift:

"In is reported that a fairly large party of Boers passed through the Amatole Basin on Thursday at midnight, taking observations. Also that secret meetings are being held in the Victoria East district. These reports are from good sources. Action is imperative."⁵⁴

Rumour was a powerful force in a community anxious for news. The Cape Mercury played a rather duplicitous game, sometimes denying rumours and sometimes fuelling them. The disasters to British arms which fed the rumours and panic were consistently downplayed by the Cape Mercury unless they could be used to criticise the government. Denouncing the reports of the defeat at Colenso as rumour mongering, it sought to minimise the issue:

"If these thoughtless ones would study the map for a few moments and try to realise the magnitude of the task before our soldiers they would be thankful our forces have done as well as they have, considering the odds against them."⁵⁵

One of the results of the war scare was xenophobia. In the absence of large numbers of Dutch residents in the area, it was directed at descendants of the German settlers of 1857 and 1858-59. Keith Tankard has explored some of the anti-German sentiments in East London, which largely focused on Hermann Malcomess, a merchant and councillor.⁵⁶ The suspicion with which some English-speaking residents regarded the Germans was exacerbated by the conduct of a German farmer, Christian Andreka. He made various immoderate statements in public bars in the town about the English and the war. These included:

53. Cape Mercury, 12/12/1899, "Suspicious Movement".

54. Cape Mercury, 12/12/1899, "Suspicious Movement".

55. Cape Mercury, 10/12/1899, Sub-editorial, "Disaster!".

56. K. P. T. Tankard, "The Development of East London Through Four Decades of Municipal Control 1873 - 1914" (PhD Thesis, Rhodes University, 1990), pp. 213 - 216.

"You English are a bloody lot of thieves. Because the Transvaal has the cream of the country you want to steal it from them ... "

"Where are your English soldiers now? The Boers have licked them and killed six or seven hundred."⁵⁷

It seems Andreka was just an embittered, crippled ex-Frontier Armed and Mounted Policeman who was excitable and argumentative. He was charged with sedition, found guilty and given the heavy sentence of a £30 fine or four months hard labour in gaol.⁵⁸ In the highly charged atmosphere at the outset of the war his statements were blown out of all proportion. The episode is significant because it sheds light on the panicky mentalité of the King William's Town community.

The war aroused such anti-German feeling that the German-speaking M.L.A., Colonel F. X. Schermbrucker, returned to the area to hold a series of public meetings with the German residents. After stirring up the anti-German hysteria, the Cape Mercury sanctimoniously announced: "the danger of Germans rebelling is clearly passed and gone," adding hypocritically, "for our part we never doubted the loyalty of our German fellow Colonists."⁵⁹ In an obvious criticism of the Cape Mercury, the editor of Imvo far more accurately, but possibly also with himself in mind, noted:

"There are people in the Colony who think so well of their own loyalty that they think everybody else is disloyal. You will find them sniffing and sniffing everywhere and anywhere to find out their victim and sometimes they even make a noise, resembling the cackling of a hen, when they think they have scented disloyalty in one. The quiet peaceful German immigrants of Kaffraria have been 'smelt out' by the mischievous ones."⁶⁰

Further evidence of tension between the English- and German- speaking inhabitants of the town surfaced when the town celebrated the surrender of General P. A. Cronje, with nearly 4 000 men, and the relief of

57. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/314, Case 781/99, 12/7/1900.

58. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/314, Case 781/99, 12/7/1900.

59. Cape Mercury, 6/1/1900, Sub-editorial, "First Fruits"; Cape Mercury, 30/12/1899, "The Colonel".

60. Imvo, 15/1/1900, "Mischief makers".

Kimberley in February 1900.⁶¹ Franz Ginsberg, a councillor, manufacturer and one of the town's German residents, did not hesitate to attack the Cape Mercury's anti-German bias:

"Why don't you say anything about the want of tact on the part of the English Club whose members are the very essence of loyalty and wear plenty of national colours, and are foremost in shouting Britannia rules the waves!"⁶²

Ginsberg's letter had the immediate effect of producing a change of attitude in the Cape Mercury. In the next issue it carried a very flattering and comprehensive report on the German Club's celebration of the Queen's birthday, harping on the good relations between English and Germans in the town.⁶³ Despite this, the suspicion that Germans would side with the Boers persisted. In 1901 the alleged dissemination of slips of paper printed in German amongst the farmers of Frankfort and Breidbach caused some concern to the authorities. The slips were purported to contain claims that the reports of British victories were false and that the Boers were winning all over the country.⁶⁴

By February 1901, despite its previous stance, the Cape Mercury threw its weight behind an attempt to recruit Germans for the Colonial Defence Force. Schermbrucker inserted a large advertisement in German in the Cape Mercury calling on his countrymen to enlist.⁶⁵ The editor of the Cape Mercury showed himself to be at least pragmatic, if at the same time hypocritical. In an editorial entitled "Practicalities", he referred to Schermbrucker's "stirring appeal to our friends and neighbours, the German farmers of the Frontier." He argued that the Germans had been misled by "the campaign of calumny and misrepresentation."⁶⁶ Yet in the same issue he hinted at the supposed disloyalty of the German community:

61. Cape Mercury, 28/2/1900, Sub-editorial, "Flags"; Cape Mercury, 24/5/1900, Letter to Editor by Gustav Ginsberg.

62. Cape Mercury, 24/5/1900, Letter to Editor by Gustav Ginsberg.

63. Cape Mercury, 26/5/1900, "The German Club".

64. CAD, AG 921, Letter: Resident Magistrate to Secretary Law Dept., 12/8/1901; CAD, AG 921, Pt II, Letter: Resident Magistrate - Secretary Law Dept., 11/9/1901.

65. Cape Mercury, 11/2/1901, Advertisement, "Aufruf".

66. Cape Mercury, 11/2/1901, Editorial, "Practicalities".

"... whatever men's opinions may have been in respect to the beginning of the war, they are now unanimous in acknowledging their obligation to defend the borders of their own country."⁶⁷

King William's Town residents welcomed the start of the war in the expectation of an early victory. The startling defeats suffered by the British forces did not radically alter their assessment. By June 1900 the Cape Mercury was urging the residents to plan peace celebrations and not to be shown up by Port Elizabeth and Pietermaritzburg.⁶⁸ As the war tediously went on, initial enthusiasm, and then the panic which followed it, gave way to apathy. The war was no longer the absorbing topic it was initially. At times apathy even turned to disillusionment and hostility. The Cape Mercury discussion of the Colonial Division's mutiny in October 1900 indicates the level of disillusionment. Rather than condemn the sections of the Border Horse and Kaffrarian Rifles who had demanded their discharges, as would usually have happened, it excused the colonial men who "are tired of racing after a bush ranger like De Wet. Let the regular cavalry keep at it."⁶⁹ The cynical tone of a Cape Mercury report on a chaotic meeting between Kei Road farmers and contractor who was to hire their wagons on behalf of the imperial army also indicates the shift in mood.⁷⁰

The change of attitude is also reflected in other ways. The coverage of the war, which filled the newspapers in the beginning, dwindled as 1900 progressed. The Town Guard, which was eventually formed early in 1900, is a useful barometer of public opinion. Attendance at parades declined during 1900 as the level of interest in the war receded. Just as the public appeared to be losing all enthusiasm for the war, the Boers provided another rallying point: the invasion of the Cape Colony early in 1901. The Cape Mercury flung itself with renewed gusto into its self-appointed role of drumming up support for the war effort. In March, with Boer commandos in the Pearston and Somerset East areas, it proclaimed shrilly:

67. Cape Mercury, 11/2/1901, Sub-editorial, "To Germans".

68. Cape Mercury, Sub-editorial, "Peace".

69. Cape Mercury, 26/10/1900, Sub-editorial, "Mutiny".

70. Cape Mercury, 6/11/1900, "Imperial Transport".

"As we go to press today the situation is more threatening, locally, than it has ever been since the war began."⁷¹

It exhorted all men to join the Town Guard:

"As it must appear to the meanest intellect that the only thing to be done now is for every able-bodied man to shoulder a rifle and do his level best to help in bringing this miserable state of things to an end ..."⁷²

In a series of articles headed "The Situation", the Cape Mercury kept its readers abreast of the progress of the Kritzinger commando in the eastern Cape. These rather alarmist reports all had a similar message: enticing or exhorting people to join the Town Guard or irregular units. By mid-March, however, even the Cape Mercury realised that King William's Town was not likely to be attacked. This did not prevent it from continuing its usual refrain.⁷³ As the threat receded so the "Situation" updates were relegated to sub-editorial status until finally, dropped altogether.⁷⁴

The Cape Mercury, was not alone in misunderstanding the level of threat the Boers posed. Colonel F. Bennett, the commanding officer of the Queenstown area, sent an alarming letter to the mayor warning him of the commando raid, urging him to organize a thoroughly efficient Town Guard to protect "your hearths and homes."⁷⁵ Why the commanding officer of the King William's Town district was bypassed is not clear.

The panic and rumours, combined with the news of General C. R. de Wet evading British columns around the country, ultimately had the effect of causing De Wet sightings in King William's Town. In January 1901 a report was received from an over-imaginative Borough Policeman that De Wet had stayed in a house in King William's Town for two days. It appears to have been sparked off by an item which appeared in

71. Cape Mercury, 11/3/1900, Editorial, "Threatening".

72. Cape Mercury, 11/3/1900, Editorial, "Threatening".

73. Cape Mercury, 12/3/1901, Editorial, "The Situation".

74. Cape Mercury, 12/3/1901, Editorial, "The Situation"; Cape Mercury, 13/3/1901, Editorial, "The Situation"; Cape Mercury, 19/3/1901, Sub-editorial, "Situation".

75. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/6 Letter: Bennett - Mayor, KWT, 30/1/1901.

the East London Dispatch alleging De Wet had been in Butterworth. The Resident Magistrate was instructed by the Law Department to investigate but could find nothing conclusive.⁷⁶ More than anything, the episode illustrates the powerful effect of rumour and conjecture. Suspicions, however, fell on Hendrik Potgieter, the owner of the house in Buffalo Road where De Wet was alleged to have stayed. But here too, the Police and Resident Magistrate were unable to obtain sworn eyewitness accounts. Despite obviously unreliable reports, the Resident Magistrate, Blenkins, advised the Law Department, "I believe that de Wet was here and if certain persons (Dutch) would come forward, a case could be cooked up against Potgieter."⁷⁷

In the final analysis, the town and district was not as easily whipped into a fervour of jingoistic enthusiasm the second time around. Criticisms of the military, unspoken in the first months of the war, were more frequent in 1901. One resident, after attending a meeting at the Drill Hall where General E. Y. Brabant was trying to recruit for the Colonial Defence Force is reported to have said, "I'll see them blowed first before I run the risk of losing my billet by going patrolling for a month."⁷⁸ Given that most of the recruits for the Colonial Defence Force probably came from amongst the farming community,⁷⁹ he may have been expressing the sentiments of a lot of King William's Town men.

5.3 The Town Guard : "An Exhibition of Staunch Patriotism"

The King William's Town Town Guard was born out of the local view that the town had been left in the lurch by a government whose sympathies were suspect. The Cape Mercury, in particular, kept up the refrain, based on a letter apparently received by the mayor from the Cape government, refusing to sanction the formation of a Town Guard. The government, it was argued, refused to trust the burgesses with

76. CAD, AG 921, Letter: Ketterer - Supt. King William's Town Police, 15/1/1901.

77. CAD, AG 921, Letter: Resident Magistrate, King William's Town - Secretary, Law Dept., 19/2/1901.

78. Cape Mercury, 14/2/1901, "Under Martial Law".

79. Cape Mercury, 9/3/1901, Editorial, "Defence".

rifles.⁸⁰ King William's Town, like Mafeking, had been left in the lurch by an uncaring government.⁸¹

The town was not in fact defenceless. Two officers and 50 Cape Mounted Riflemen had arrived to protect the Ordnance Stores after the imperial troops had departed for the front.⁸² Twenty-five men from the Kaffrarian Rifles also acted as guards in the Military Reserve.⁸³ The general purpose of the Cape Mercury attack was to make political capital out of the situation by emphasising its own loyalty and questioning Schreiner's loyalty and competence.⁸⁴ A letter writer did much the same, "As a town we have not much to thank the present ministry for, and as British Colonists still less." In an appeal to the residents' sense of pride he added:

"The capital of Kaffraria has always boasted its loyalty to the throne and her sons have taken a fair share in the various wars that have taken place in this country. Will King William's Town allow itself to be behind in this the greatest struggle that has yet taken place, whilst other towns are showing their loyalty ... by raising defence corps?"⁸⁵

For good measure he added the less than subtle and totally unfounded hint that the blacks in the region might rise up and side with the Transvaal.⁸⁶

The net result of this, and other agitations, was that the mayor called a public meeting to consider the raising of a Town Guard. The meeting, held on 19 October, was very well attended. Names were taken for the proposed unit. In three days over 200 had come forward. They met again on 24 October to elect a commanding officer and to plan the defence of the town.⁸⁷ A week later the mayor received a telegram

80. Cape Mercury, 4/10/1899, "Example to follow".

81. Cape Mercury, 10/10/1899, Sub-editorial, "Disarmed and Defenceless".

82. CAD, 3/KWT 1/1/1/14, Council Minutes, p. 419.

83. Cape Mercury, 11/11/1899, "Notes of the Day".

84. Cape Mercury, 12/10/1899, Editorial, "Practical Loyalty".

85. Cape Mercury, 12/10/1899, Letter to Editor by "British Born".

86. Cape Mercury, 12/10/1899, Letter to Editor by "British Born".

87. Cape Mercury, 23/10/1899, "News of the Day".

from the Colonial Secretary denying that a Town Guard was necessary for the defence of the town.⁸⁸

Proper recruitment only started in January 1900 after the imperial government sanctioned the formation of a Town Guard.⁸⁹ Volunteers did not come forward with quite as much enthusiasm as before. The Cape Mercury noted:

"A goodly number have entered their names, but there should be many more active and serviceable men in the town who are prepared to take upon themselves the duties attached to the work."⁹⁰

Recruitment seems to have progressed fairly smoothly once the Town Guard was established. The first muster was held in the Drill Hall on Saturday 6 January 1900 and thereafter regular meetings were held.⁹¹ The officers were elected at a meeting on 10 January 1900. Captain Templar was elected Commandant. Messrs M. A. Evatt and A. B. Gordon became Company Captains. The Lieutenants were R. Pascoe, J. C. Stap, W. C. Howard, T. E. Wilson, S. McIntyre, J. T. Jenkins, J. W. Ritchie, and W. Gammon.⁹² They all came from amongst the middle and upper middle class of the town, as is revealed by their occupations. Evatt was an aerated water manufacturer; A. B. Gordon was the manager of the Sun Insurance Office; Howard was probably a clerk. Pascoe was one of the partners in a drapery firm; Wilson and Stap were bookkeepers; McIntyre was one of the partners in J. McIntyre & Son, Boot Merchants; Jenkins was the manager of C. A. Jay and Co.; Ritchie was the Market Master and Gammon was the Sanitary Inspector.⁹³

As the Town Guard became more organized, a mounted section and a cycle section were added.⁹⁴ While interest ran high, the Cape Mercury ran a regular column, "The Town Guard", where it published the orders

88. Cape Mercury, 31/10/1899, "The Town Guard".

89. Cape Mercury, 4/1/1900, Advertisement.

90. Cape Mercury, 4/1/1900, "The Town Guard".

91. Cape Mercury, 8/1/1900, Sub-editorial, "Town Guard".

92. Cape Mercury, 11/1/1900, "The Town Guard".

93. Donaldson & Hill's Eastern Province (Cape Colony) Directory, 1900, pp. 438 - 453; Howard & Co's Border Directory, 1901, p. 335.

94. Cape Mercury, 17/1/1900, "Town Guard"; Cape Mercury, 12/2/1900, "Town Guard"; Cape Mercury, 29/12/1900, "Cycling Corps".

for the week.⁹⁵ By 3 February 1900 the Town Guard had a strength of about 300 men. Of these, 40 were mounted infantry.⁹⁶ See Map 5 for a plan showing the proposed defences of the town.

By the beginning of August the Cape Mercury had reduced its coverage of the Town Guard to a brief column detailing the Orders issued. The organization had begun to break down. "Inquisitive" wrote to the editor of the Cape Mercury enquiring about the results of a shooting match in which only nine members participated.⁹⁷ Even the language of the orders indicates a certain waning of enthusiasm: "The O.C. hopes all members will make an effort to attend the parade."⁹⁸ In September 1900 the Town Guard Band, one of the most active sections of the Town Guard, was disbanded.⁹⁹ During its existence it had held 97 practices and performed at ten parades, one church parade, six promenade concerts, seven funerals, a sports gathering and a dog show. The members decided to constitute themselves outside the influence of the military as the Kaffrarian Band.¹⁰⁰

The invasion of the Colony at the end of 1900 and beginning of 1901 gave a fillip to the Town Guard. The government authorised the recruitment of another two companies. The mayor chaired a meeting on 18 December to try to enrol a further 250 men.¹⁰¹ The steam had clearly been running out of the Town Guard for some time. The invasion, the De Wet hunts and the Volkskongres at Worcester provided useful rallying points. Appealing to his audience's sense of loyalty, the mayor told the meeting:

" ... it must be apparent to all loyal British subjects that at this time they ought to do everything they possibly could to put themselves in a position which would enable them to uphold the British Empire in South Africa."¹⁰²

95. For example, Cape Mercury, 23/1/1900, "The Town Guard".

96. Cape Mercury, 5/2/1900, "'King' Under Arms".

97. Cape Mercury, 11/8/1900, Letter to Editor by "Inquisitive"; 17/8/1900, "Town Guard Cup".

98. Cape Mercury, 9/8/1900, "Town Guard".

99. Cape Mercury, 26/9/1900, "Borough Council".

100. Cape Mercury, 16/10/1900, "The Kaffrarian Band".

101. Cape Mercury, 19/12/1900, "The Town Guard".

102. Cape Mercury, 19/12/1900, "The Town Guard".

The response was not as overwhelming as some would have liked. A while later, a note of discord was struck when "Disgusted" wrote to the Press complaining that one of the merchants in the town had ejected the Town Guard messenger from his premises when he had come to deliver a message. King William's Town residents were apparently not responding as well as other towns. The class aspect may have deterred some from enlisting. In East London, it was claimed, "You have the heads of firms joining the ranks and carrying a gun and bandolier with other men."¹⁰³

The disarray in the Town Guard became so extensive that over a month later the Commandant of King William's Town, Major E. Hutchinson, could not provide the exact troop strength of the Town Guard, "I am unable to give you exact numbers asked for as my organization is not complete yet."¹⁰⁴

A sure sign of the waning enthusiasm was the fact that even the Cape Mercury began to complain about Town Guard practices that started before businesses closed and ended past seven, which meant most men had "cold dinners or teas". It suggested a change or the men would "jib and be chary" of attending manoeuvres again.¹⁰⁵ It had moved a considerable way since advocating "practical loyalty" at the beginning of the war.¹⁰⁶

Two months after the mayor's call to arms for the Empire's sake the Town Guard had not yet reached full strength. Even the Cape Mercury admitted that the military threat was quite remote, but added that a large Town Guard was a political rather than a military necessity:

"The visible material effect on the war may not be great but the moral influence exercised by such an exhibition of staunch patriotism would be incalculable."¹⁰⁷

103. Cape Mercury, 17/1/1901, Letter to Editor by "Disgusted".

104. CAD, AG 921, Pt. 1, Letter: E. Hutchinson - Resident Magistrate, King William's Town, 23/1/1901.

105. Cape Mercury, 7/2/1901, "Town Guard".

106. Cape Mercury, 12/10/1899, "Practical Loyalty".

107. Cape Mercury, 12/2/1901, Editorial, "Town Guard".

These grand aims notwithstanding, the Town Guard was beset by internal problems. Orders were issued, changed, re-issued and contradicted again.¹⁰⁸ Not all the people of the town took it seriously or were eager to join. Those who participated were sometimes subjected to ridicule. Drills were attended by members of the public. Men and boys ("yahoos") stood watching, laughing and sniggering as the Town Guard members were put through their paces.¹⁰⁹ Even some of the officers came in for public criticism for being inclined to emulate "the Dandy Coloured coon."¹¹⁰ The class-related issue of rank appears to have been a problem. A columnist in the Cape Mercury was quick to criticise Town Guard officers who swaggered around:

" ... when they are on duty they are soldiers, not twelfth cake ornaments ... paltry distinctions of rank, beyond those absolutely necessary, should be studiously avoided."¹¹¹

Problems with the Town Guard emerged during the panic when the Boer commandos were in the Fort Beaufort area. The Town Guard was armed with new Lee-Enfields but less than one in a hundred members knew how to use them. Some of the Town Guard members were actually too young to be enlisted, and the Town Guard's general knowledge of parade procedures was poor.¹¹²

On 15 March 1901, at the height of the panic over commando activity, two farmers who had joined the Colonial Defence Force but who refused to serve outside their district were sent home. As they neared the town, they were mistaken for Boers. The story circulated that the Boers were just a few miles away:

" ... on receipt of the news there was a flutter in the military dovecote ... [and] stentorian words of command were issued and a party sent out in pursuit, followed by several cyclists."¹¹³

108. Cape Mercury, 13/2/1901, "Under Martial Law".

109. Cape Mercury, 13/2/1901, "Under Martial Law".

110. Cape Mercury, 14/2/1901, "Under Martial Law".

111. Cape Mercury, 19/2/1901, "Under Martial Law".

112. Cape Mercury, 15/3/1901, "Under Martial Law".

113. Cape Mercury, 15/3/1901, "Under Martial Law".

This false alarm was followed by a mock attack on the town two days later. The Cape Mercury gave the casualties as "One non-com returned suffering from heat and thirst" and several privates suffering from new boots.¹¹⁴

The recruitment saga was one that persisted throughout 1901. In May the Cape Mercury exhorted people to join:

"The prospect of the enemy threatening the town may be remote, but no one will deny that we should be fully prepared in case of emergency."¹¹⁵

In June the military authorities were still trying to bring the Town Guard up to strength. The Cape Mercury redeployed its worn old rhetoric and scare tactics to exhort people to join.¹¹⁶ By July it was clear that the Town Guard was no longer a military necessity. General Brabant, during a visit, outlined at length a new organization for Town Guards in the future.¹¹⁷ As part of Brabant's visit a parade was held on the Market Square. It was one of the most impressive parades ever held in King William's Town, according to the Cape Mercury.¹¹⁸ A few days later some of the Town Guard staged a mock attack on the town while the rest defended. A detachment of attackers managed to get into the town, but this was rather unsportingly done under the cover of darkness.¹¹⁹ From then on the Town Guard ceased to receive much attention. It was virtually defunct, except for the fact that on 17 October 1901, a private was tried by the commanding officer for refusing to obey the commands of a superior officer, for using obscene language and failing to turn up to mount guard. Found guilty, he was fined £2 or seven days in goal. He refused to pay the fine. The Cape Mercury spread the news under the heading "A Warning". It is an indication of how far interest in

114. Cape Mercury, 8/3/1901, "Capture of 'King'".

115. Cape Mercury, 30/5/1901, Sub-editorial, "Town Guard".

116. Cape Mercury, 25/6/1901, "'King' Day by Day".

117. Cape Mercury, 12/7/1901, "Town Guard".

118. Cape Mercury, 22/7/1901, "Inspection of Troops".

119. Cape Mercury, 25/7/1901, "'King' Day by Day".

the Town Guard had receded, that the Town Guard commander and its ally the Cape Mercury had to resort to coercion to function.¹²⁰

The last major effort was a special meeting called for 16 May 1902 and chaired by the mayor to elect officers, discuss problems experienced with pay from the government and take leave of the commanding officer, Major Templar, who was leaving for England. Only about 70 people attended. The mayor sounded as unrealistic a note as that upon which the Town Guard had begun:

"He (Mr. Dyer) might safely say that it was due to the Major, and his men that the district was not invaded by the enemy. He had heard that on very good authority."¹²¹

Ultimately, the Town Guard was little more than an expression of jingoism and loyalty that gave some of the white adult males in the town a chance to participate in the war without actually going to the front. It suffered from the small petty politics that affect such things. Its political value was more significant than its military one. To a degree it provided a training ground from which some went on to enlist in active units. The real reason the Boers chose to attack places like Somerset East and Pearston, rather than King William's Town, was not because of the Town Guard. It was because there was a relatively small Dutch-speaking community and a large population of blacks in the King William's Town district, who would have resisted in the event of an invasion.¹²²

The Town Guard was only one aspect of the recruiting done in the town. Intensive recruiting for various irregular units occurred. Even prior to the outbreak of hostilities twenty recruits were sent to Mafeking for Baden-Powell's Regiment of Horse.¹²³ Amongst the units seeking recruits in the town and district were

120. Cape Mercury, 17/10/1901, "'King' Day by Day".

121. Cape Mercury, 16/5/1902, "Town Guard".

122. CAD, 1/KWT 5/1/1/1, Confidential Letter: Civil Commissioner, KWT - Commandant, KWT, 12/2/1901.

123. Cape Mercury, 26/8/1899, "Regiment of Horse".

the Imperial Light Horse, Brabant's Horse, Montmorency's Scouts, the Kaffrarian Rifles and the Border Horse.¹²⁴ It would seem, however, that many of those who enlisted came either from the ranks of the farming community or from amongst the refugees. In the latter case, this falls into a broader trend. In East London the Ladies Relief Committee tried to force male refugees to volunteer for military service.¹²⁵ A greater incentive, however, was the chance to return to Johannesburg. Diana Cammack has identified the confused and contradictory policies Milner and the imperial army adopted towards the return of refugees to the Rand.¹²⁶ Official delays were only matched in their frequency by the eagerness of the refugees to return. Recruiting officers took advantage of this. The Railway Pioneer Regiment advertised for recruits to serve in the Transvaal.¹²⁷ Both the Johannesburg Mounted Rifles and the Commander-in-Chief's Body Guard offered recruits the additional incentive of demobilization in Johannesburg.¹²⁸ Even the jingoistic Cape Mercury attached a "sinister meaning" to the way the delay in the return of refugees seemed to be linked to recruitment drives:

"The latest reported suspension for an indefinite period of the issue of permits to refugees [to return] is now coupled with renewed activity on the part of the recruiting officers for the various Colonial corps."¹²⁹

5.4 Martial Law

One of the most significant consequences of the outbreak of hostilities was the imposition, in January 1901, of martial law throughout the Cape Colony in all districts except East London, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Wynberg, Simonstown and the Native Territories.¹³⁰ Prior to this martial law had been in operation in

124. Cape Mercury, 21/9/1899, "Imperial Light Horse"; Cape Mercury, 29/11/1899, Sub-editorial, "Brabant's Horse"; Cape Mercury, 16/1/1900, Sub-editorial, "Scouts"; Cape Mercury, 17/1/1900, Advertisement, "Kaffrarian Rifles"; Cape Mercury, 20/7/1900, Advertisement, "Wanted".

125. K. P. T. Tankard, "The Development of East London", p. 232.

126. D. Cammack, The Rand at War 1899 - 1902 The Witwatersrand and the Anglo-Boer War (James Currey, London, 1990), pp. 165 - 166.

127. Cape Mercury, 9/1/1901, Advertisement, "Railway Pioneer Regt".

128. Cape Mercury, 21/1/1901, Advertisement, "Johannesburg Mounted Rifles"; Cape Mercury, 27/6/1901, Advertisement, "Commander-in-Chief's Body Guard".

129. Cape Mercury, 9/7/1901, Editorial, "The Rand Refugees".

130. Cape Mercury, 18/1/1901, Editorial, "Martial Law".

specific theatres of military conflict. The general proclamation was in response to the invasion of the Cape by Boer commandos at the end of 1900.

King William's Town residents, by and large, welcomed the declaration. Indeed, the move had been urged on the government since the outbreak of the war:

"Once more we would urge upon every friend of the Empire to bring pressure to bear on the authorities to proclaim martial law throughout the whole Colony."¹³¹

The martial law regulations for the King William's Town district, published on 21 January, can be divided into two types: specific measures affecting civil life and military conduct and, secondly, general measures aimed at the more intangible aspects like disloyalty. The first batch of regulations included the following:

1. No-one was permitted to enter or leave the district without a pass from the military.
2. Political meetings or any meetings which might result in a breach of the peace were prohibited.
3. All letters, telegrams and press matter was subject to censorship, and goods sent to people in the district were liable to examination.
4. The sale or supply of liquor to troops was prohibited. All Native Canteens and Liquor Bars were closed and no liquor was to be supplied to blacks. Hotel bars were to be closed from 10 p.m. to 8 a.m.
5. No person was allowed to have a firearm, ammunition or explosives in his possession, unless these had been registered and a licence issued.
6. Any person under suspicion of assisting the enemy, exciting disaffection or otherwise disturbing the peace was liable to arrest without warrant. More specifically, seditious language was singled out. No person was allowed to use language with the intention of raising or fomenting disaffection with Her Majesty's subjects; of promoting hostility between different classes of subjects, under penalty of a £100 fine or six months gaol.¹³²

These regulations were amended and extended from time to time as the need arose and at the whim of the Commandant. The circulation of two strident critics of Milner's policies, Ons Land and the South African News, was banned with immediate effect.¹³³ This was followed by the banning of the circulation of the English papers, Reynolds and Lloyds.¹³⁴ Amongst the supplementary restrictions issued was a ban on the

131. Cape Mercury, 2/11/1899, Sub-editorial, "Martial Law".

132. Cape Mercury, 21/1/1901, "Martial Law".

133. Cape Mercury, 22/1/1901, "Martial Law".

134. Cape Mercury, 24/1/1901, "Martial Law".

possession of Edgar Wallace's book, Unofficial Despatches and Sir H. Marriott's The War and Its Cost; a decree forcing all wagon owners to keep their wagons in good repair and threatening to prosecute people who did not do so; and regulations to prevent people picnicking at Pirie and climbing the hills.¹³⁵

The Cape Mercury probably reflected the views of most English-speaking whites when it welcomed the move. The only inconvenience it could foresee related to having to obtain permits to travel. The benefits associated with the banning of the sale of liquor to blacks was especially welcome.¹³⁶ Imvo was far less enthusiastic. Jabavu, no longer the undisputed voice of blacks, rather ruefully explained to his readers:

"Martial law means the suspension of the ordinary law of the land, the giving of carte blanche to the soldier to do as he likes with the persons and property of those thus delivered to martial law. The prospect is therefore not pleasant to those that believe themselves to be hunted at the present times."¹³⁷

The latter comment was a clear reference to himself and the bitter dispute that had been raging over his neutral stance on the war. It was not the armed commandos in the Colony which were directly affected by martial law, he argued, "Its grim realities are felt by the law-abiding inhabitants ..."¹³⁸

The exact workings of martial law are difficult to analyze, since many of the relevant documents - especially the martial law letterbook for King William's Town - have vanished.¹³⁹ Soon after the proclamation of martial law a detailed handbook, Martial Law in the Cape Colony, was compiled as a guide to inexperienced Commandants. It appeared in May, some five months late. The aim was to provide guidelines and secure a semblance of uniformity:

"This pamphlet, containing Explanations and Directions as to the mode of Administering Martial Law in the Cape Colony, together with a Set of Martial Law Regulations, is issued

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135. Cape Mercury, 28/2/1902, "'King' Day by Day"; Cape Mercury, 13/3/1902, "Martial Law Notices"; Cape Mercury, 22/3/1902, "Martial Law Notice".
136. Cape Mercury, 21/1/1901, Editorial, "Martial Law".
137. Imvo, 7/1/1901, Editorial, "More Martial Law".
138. Imvo, 7/1/1901, Editorial, "More Martial Law".
139. The records of the Resident Magistrate in King William's Town contain certain evidence that martial law records were kept, but there is no trace of these in the Cape Archives Depot. See for example 1/KWT 5/1/1/1, Letter: Blenkins, Civil Commissioner & Dick, Special Magistrate - Administrator, No. 2 Area, 19/3/1902.

for the information and guidance of all concerned ... The instructions contained herein,
being issued to secure uniformity in the administration of Martial Law in the Cape Colony
... "140

In June a short supplementary circular was added to it.¹⁴¹

The administration of martial law in the Colony fell under the control of imperial officers as Commandants of military districts. The large number of abuses alarmed the Sprigg government, especially the Attorney-General, James Rose Innes. He fought a bitter battle to reduce the number of abuses:

"Martial Law has been so harshly administered during the last few months that it has irritated the disaffected beyond endurance and has at the same time disgusted the loyals. The result is a very serious position."¹⁴²

In December 1901 martial law was separated from military command and placed in the hands of Administrators of larger districts. Resident Magistrates or other civilians were appointed as Deputy Administrators. Certain functions, such as the issue of permits and the trial of ordinary breaches of martial law were placed in the hands of the magistrates. In making the changes Lord Kitchener was responding to the growing pressure in England against the arbitrary use of martial law, rather than pressure being brought to bear by the Sprigg government.¹⁴³

The Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate in King William's Town was designated Deputy Administrator of Martial Law. This had the effect of ameliorating some of the more extreme measures proposed by the Administrator, especially as regards blacks. The relationship between the two is not always clear, but the rare record that has survived suggests that the magistrate acted as a moderating influence. This emerged clearly when the military decided to decree the registration of black-owned horses and guns in

140. CAD, AG 801, Martial Law in the Cape Colony 1901, Confidential booklet, no page.

141. CAD, AG 801, Martial Law, Cape Colony District, Martial Law Circular No. 2.

142. H. M. Wright (Ed.), Sir James Rose Innes, p. 286, Letter: J. Rose Innes - J. D. P. Rose Innes, 26/8/1901.

143. H. M. Wright (Ed.), Sir James Rose Innes, pp. 324 - 325, Letter: J. Rose Innes - F. E. Garrett, 4/12/1901.

February 1901. The Resident Magistrate and Civil Commissioner and the Special Magistrate opposed the move:

"I should state that the Special Magistrate and I consider the registration of native guns and horses in this District will have a very disquieting effect on the Natives." ¹⁴⁴

They were, he believed, "absolutely loyal", and would probably resist in the event of the district being invaded. They would certainly "prey on the invaders". The few guns they had, other than "antiques", were not legally in their possession and would thus not be registered. Their horses, moreover, were not fit for military service. The regulation would have to be uniformly applied and blacks would question why the Transkei would be exempted. In a clear appeal to legitimate authority to sustain their view, the Civil Commissioner and the Special Magistrate ended their letter:

"We consider the matter of sufficient importance for reference to Military Head Quarters and would even suggest an expression of opinion from the Prime Minister, who is at the head of the Native Affairs Department." ¹⁴⁵

Other matters that appear to have been ill-conceived include the banning of the sale of liquor to blacks in the initial regulations in January 1901. This obviously racist restriction trampled upon the rights of black registered voters. Within less than a month these restrictions in the King William's Town district were lifted, although their status elsewhere is unclear. ¹⁴⁶ Similarly, the notice imposing a maximum wage for black labour of £2 per month with rations and establishing the priority of the labour requirements of the military, through its language, suggests a hasty and ill-conceived measure. ¹⁴⁷

The Resident Magistrate was supposed to forward confidential weekly reports to the Secretary of the Law Department on martial law and the state of the district. These were submitted rather irregularly and were

144. CAD, 1/KWT 5/1/1/1, Confidential Letter: Civil Commissioner, KWT - Commandant, 12/2/1901.

145. CAD, 1/KWT 5/1/1/1, Confidential Letter: Civil Commissioner, King William's Town - Commandant, 12/2/1901.

146. Cape Mercury, 29/1/1901, "Martial Law Notice".

147. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/1/3/7, Martial Law Notice 11/2/1901. This aspect is discussed more fully in Chapter 3.

usually little more than generalisations about the war situation ("district continues to be quiet and satisfactory").¹⁴⁸ One of the effects of the imposition of martial law was to increase the workload of the Resident Magistrate and Civil Commissioner and his staff. In a motivation for a clerical assistant for martial law work, the Resident Magistrate claimed some of his staff were working three hours overtime daily, and working on Sundays and holidays.¹⁴⁹ Despite one or two differences of opinion, the Resident Magistrate and the Military Commandant appear to have worked well together in the first year. In July 1901 the Resident Magistrate submitted a confidential assessment suggesting that martial law should be retained. In his opinion, the "administration here wise and not entailing much hardship. Natives interfered with as little as possible."¹⁵⁰

It seems, however that by March 1902 friction had developed, once again over the thorny issue of black-owned horses in the district. In a rather formal letter which was clearly intended to set the record straight, the Resident Magistrate and Civil Commissioner and the Special Magistrate followed up a meeting they had with the Administrator over proposals to commandeer black-owned horses:

"We are satisfied the Natives will not comply with the instructions contained in your No. 58, and that the application of force will involve risks that cannot be measured."¹⁵¹

They went on to explain that once the order had been sent out, it would be impossible to withdraw it without seriously weakening them in the future and creating difficulties with their administration. In addition disturbances amongst the blacks in the King William's Town district would certainly spread to the Transkei. They argued that the King William's Town district had a large black population (about 100 000) and that they were well disposed and had assisted the imperial authorities throughout the war, "it would be most deplorable

148. CAD, AG 921, Confidential Letter: Resident Magistrate, King William's Town - Secretary, Law Department, 12/8/1901.

149. CAD, AG 100, Pt. II, Letter: Resident Magistrate - Secretary Law Dept., 13/1/1902.

150. CAD, AG 921, Letter, Resident Magistrate, King William's Town - Secretary, Law Dept., 2/7/1901.

151. CAD, 1/KWT 5/1/1/1, Letter, Blenkins, Civil Commissioner & Dick, Special Magistrate - Administrator No. 2 Area, 19/3/1902.

if any misunderstanding through an act of our own should arise between us."¹⁵² The Administrator appears to have been concerned that some Europeans, in order to avoid the commandeering of their horses and cattle, had transferred them to blacks. The Resident Magistrate and Special Magistrate asserted the field of Native Administration as beyond the abilities of the military:

"Natives with their modes of thought and training cannot be governed as Europeans are, and this should be carefully borne in mind in this connection."¹⁵³

The magistrates expected repercussions over their opposition to the military. Perhaps anxious to preserve the record for a possible enquiry, the relevant pages from the martial law letterbook were removed and pasted into the normal letterbook with the comments: "Taken from Martial Law letter book." The martial law letterbook is unfortunately no longer available. The episode does indicate that friction, when it occasionally developed, tended to be over matters relating to blacks. Blenkins, the Civil Commissioner, was not one to be outflanked by the military. His objection to the military Administrator's proposal was followed by a letter to the Secretary of the Law Dept.:

"Action on the Circular in question has been stayed and the matter is being considered. Should the military decision be unfavourable, I may wire to you in which case you will have the enclosures."¹⁵⁴

Beyond the obvious friction, the episode reveals that after martial law was placed in the hands of Administrators and Deputy Administrators rather than Commandants, the military was not given an entirely free hand. Through the Resident Magistrates the Law Department was able to monitor proceedings and, if necessary, influence regulations. By July 1902 the Law Department was instructing the Resident Magistrates to temper their co-operation with the military. The Resident Magistrates were to continue to assist the military, but were not to participate in any aspect of military administration.¹⁵⁵

152. CAD, 1/KWT 5/1/1/1, Letter: Blenkins, Civil Commissioner & Dick, Special Magistrate - Administrator No. 2 Area, 19/3/1902.

153. CAD, 1/KWT 5/1/1/1, Letter: Blenkins, Civil Commissioner & Dick, Special Magistrate - Administrator No. 2 Area, 19/3/1902.

154. CAD, 1/KWT 5/1/1/1, Letter: Resident Magistrate - Secretary Law Dept. 20/3/1902.

155. CAD, 1/KWT 5/1/1/1, Confidential Letter: Blenkins - McNeil, 30/7/1901.

The number of cases prosecuted under martial law in King William's Town was small. On 26 July 1901 the first case was held, that of a Kei Road farmer who had contravened regulations by not producing his horse when called upon to do so. He was found guilty and fined £6 or 14 days hard labour in gaol.¹⁵⁶ On 15 July Johannes Bezuidenhout, a farmer from Victoria East ("of decidedly Dutch appearance"), was prosecuted for contravening regulations relating to the use of seditious language. He was supposed to have insulted a detachment of Cape Police and had already appeared before the Alice Resident Magistrate, who decided he had no jurisdiction in the case. The King William's Town Resident Magistrate, authorised by the military to try the case, found him guilty and sentenced him to £2 or 10 days imprisonment.¹⁵⁷ In September 1901 Stephen Marais, a rather simple-minded man who travelled without a permit from East London to Seymour to visit his family was prosecuted. He was found guilty and given the nominal penalty of 10s fine or one day imprisonment.¹⁵⁸ In the same month two local men were prosecuted for travelling by rail from King William's Town to Blaney without the necessary permit. Each was found guilty and sentenced to pay a fine of £3 or serve a gaol term.¹⁵⁹

In November, a German, August Kuhn, was found guilty of having a rifle and ammunition in his possession. He pleaded ignorance of the regulations since he was illiterate. He was found guilty and given a fine of £6 or 12 days imprisonment with hard labour and had to hand over the gun and ammunition to the military.¹⁶⁰

In May 1902 two Germans appeared before the Resident Magistrate for contravening martial law regulations. Mrs. Carl Lindemann, a rather pathetic woman, was charged with attempting to bribe a Field Cornet and given a £10 fine or one month in gaol. Fritz Oumare, who appears to have been a refugee from the Rand, was charged with using seditious language in German. He received a fine of £30 or six weeks in gaol.¹⁶¹

156. Cape Mercury, 26/6/1901, "'King' Day by Day".

157. Cape Mercury, 15/7/1901, "Martial Prosecutions".

158. Cape Mercury, 6/9/1901, "Police Court".

159. Cape Mercury, 12/9/1901, "'King' Day by Day".

160. Cape Mercury, 8/11/1901, "'King' Day by Day".

161. Cape Mercury, 5/5/1902, "Martial Law Cases".

A few days later Nomei, a black woman, was charged with possessing liquor and fined £5 or one month hard labour. F. W. Schroeder, the proprietor of the Prince of Wales Hotel, was charged with supplying the liquor, but the case was dismissed.¹⁶² In the same month a white man and a black man were charged with a similar offence. The former was sentenced to a £30 fine or three months in gaol and the latter fined £5 or one month in gaol. On the same day a black labourer charged with travelling by train from East London to King William's Town without a permit was given a £2 fine or 14 days hard labour.¹⁶³

The majority of those who fell foul of martial law regulations tended to be Germans, Dutch-speaking residents or blacks. In none of the cases could those charged be seen to have actually endangered the British war effort. The cases which came to court were almost all trivial offences. The sentences, however, were harsh compared to those meted out in the normal criminal courts. For example, a man who beat and stabbed a woman was given a £2 fine or one month imprisonment with hard labour.¹⁶⁴

Occasional court cases were not the only way martial law was enforced in the district. By far the biggest impact of martial law was as a result of arbitrary decisions, especially in the early months following the proclamation of martial law. Censorship of newspapers was one such area in which the military officers made martial law felt throughout the Colony. Censorship of the Press meant that even the jingoistic Cape Mercury fell prey to the Commandant's narrow views on what was permissible. The Cape Mercury editorial of 21 January 1902, headed "Plain Speaking", was nothing but a blank column with "CENSORED" printed across it.¹⁶⁵ No explanation was given to the readers. Another blank editorial appeared in March.¹⁶⁶ The distribution of newspapers was affected, not only through the outright prohibition on the circulation of some, but also because of the slow process of censoring and examining the mails. Subscribers

162. Cape Mercury, 16/5/1902, "Martial Law Cases"; Cape Mercury, 21/5/1902, "Selling Liquor to Natives".

163. Cape Mercury, 26/5/1902, "'King' Day by Day".

164. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/316, Case 613, 14/11/1900.

165. Cape Mercury, 21/1/1902, Editorial, "Plain Speaking".

166. Cape Mercury, 6/3/1902, Editorial.

frequently received their copies very late. This was particularly a problem for Imvo, which relied on a wide postal circulation. In August 1901 Imvo criticised the Press restrictions imposed under martial law, which were operating harshly on newspapers and the public.¹⁶⁷ In Kimberley a news agent was prohibited from selling any newspaper, except overseas ones, unless they had been passed by the censor. All South African newspapers coming through the Post Office were delayed by up to three weeks.¹⁶⁸ This amounted to little more than outright prohibition since few people wanted to read news that was three weeks old. In addition, the application of martial law was inconsistent. What was passed by one censor in one district for posting, should have been acceptable to another where it was to be distributed.¹⁶⁹

Amongst the arbitrary decisions made under martial law, the suppression of Imvo stands out. L. D. Ngcongco has explored the suppression of Imvo under martial law regulations in August 1901.¹⁷⁰ Ngcongco, who did not use archival sources in this regard, simply narrates the sequence of events and does not examine the precise motivation for the closure of Imvo. Unfortunately, the documents relating to the case, and Jabavu's objections to the measure, have been lost in the move from the old Cape Archives Depot in Victoria Street to the Roeland Street premises.¹⁷¹ From correspondence between the Secretary of the Law Department and the Resident Magistrate in King William's Town, it is possible to piece together the sequence of events which led to the suppression of the paper. As it turns out, it did not stem from King William's Town at all, and it did not originate with the military.

The issue of 8 July 1901, when it reached Kimberley, was shown to the Assistant Provost Marshal by a black clergyman. It was translated and sent to the Provost Marshal at the headquarters in Pretoria. On 22 July it was sent to the Commander in Chief for a decision and a day later, passed on to headquarters in Cape Town. On 1 August correspondence passed between military intelligence in Cape Town and the intelligence

167. Imvo, 5/8/1902, "Occasional Notes".

168. Imvo, 5/8/1902, "Occasional Notes".

169. Imvo, 5/8/1902, "Occasional Notes".

170. L. D. Ngcongco, "Imvo Zabantsundu", p. 246.

171. Letter: Chief, CAD - D. A. Webb, 10/4/1992.

department in the eastern Cape. On 6 August the correspondence was sent to Colonel Hutchinson, the Commandant of No. 2 Area in King William's Town, for action. The next day he returned it for instructions. From there, on 8 August, the papers were sent to Cape Town for instructions. Five days later they were sent back and on 19 August, returned to Colonel Hutchinson in King William's Town.¹⁷²

In effect the paper was banned after a black clergyman in Kimberley brought an item in Xhosa to the attention of the authorities. What the article in question was, is not clear. The results for Imvo and for Jabavu personally were quite devastating. It had the immediate effect of throwing a number of people out of work, and Jabavu was forced to somehow find another source of income. It also removed a level-headed voice from the political scene and stifled a critic of the verbal excesses of the Cape Mercury.

The paper re-appeared on 8 October 1902 "with unmixed pleasure", getting off to a shaky start.¹⁷³ It is surprising that the military authorities chose to suppress Imvo when they did. It occurred at a time that Jabavu had already toned down the content of his editorials. Unlike the Cape Mercury, which had two editorials censored in 1902, the authorities found nothing worthy of censoring in Imvo up to the date of its suppression. The closure of the newspaper was moreover an extreme measure. A particularly offensive article could have been censored if the King William's Town censor had found it necessary. In the light of this it would appear that the suppression of Imvo was not the result of a particular article which transgressed martial law regulations, but the consequence of general political disagreements which the establishment and certain black political groupings had with Jabavu's stance on the war. Ironically, of the three newspapers operating in King William's Town at the start of the war, two suffered bankruptcy in the course of the war. First, the Daily Watchman and then the Cape Mercury folded. Imvo, had it not been suppressed, would have kept going.

172. CAD, 1/KWT 5/1/1/1, Letter: Resident Magistrate, King William's Town - Secretary Law Dept., 12/9/1901.

173. Imvo, 8/10/1902, Editorial, "Imvo".

As the war seemed to grind interminably on, and as general apathy set in, tolerance of martial law restrictions became increasingly thin. After a year of restrictions and as the war changed and became more remote, even the Cape Mercury, which championed the martial law cause from the outset, began questioning the necessity:

"After nearly twelve months experience of the irksome, though necessary, restrictions on business and social intercourse we have now reached a stage which we sincerely hope is but the preliminary to the final lifting of the incubus altogether."¹⁷⁴

The imposition of martial law was not universally popular even amongst English-speakers in the Cape Colony, although it was generally regarded as a necessary evil. The Attorney-General fought a lengthy battle to limit the excesses of the military Commandants. In September the Sprigg ministry became embroiled in a dispute with Kitchener over the extension of martial law to the ports, which had hitherto been exempted.¹⁷⁵ In return for allowing an amended form of martial law at the ports, the Sprigg ministry exacted an undertaking from Kitchener for the establishment of a Martial Law Board to hear grievances.¹⁷⁶ The Board came into existence on 15 October, with a member nominated by the Governor, one by the Sprigg ministry and one by the military. Innes believed it would curtail abuses by the very fact of its existence.¹⁷⁷ As things turned out this was a rather naive belief.

The Board was established to hear complaints and grievances relating to the administration of martial law in the Colony.¹⁷⁸ In effect it did very little, at least as far as those affected in the King William's Town district were concerned. In the case of Jabavu and the suppression of Imvo, after a lengthy correspondence it decided "that the Board were not prepared to interfere with the decision of the Military Authorities."¹⁷⁹

174. Cape Mercury, 14/12/1901, Sub-editorial, "The Old Order and the New".

175. H. M. Wright, Sir James Rose Innes, p. 301, Letter: J. Rose Innes - J. D. P. Rose Innes, 16/9 - 5/11/1901.

176. H. M. Wright, Sir James Rose Innes, p. 304, Letter: J. Rose Innes - J. D. P. Rose Innes, 16/9 - 5/11/1901.

177. H. M. Wright, Sir James Rose Innes, p. 307, Letter: J. Rose Innes - J. D. P. Rose Innes, 16/9 - 5/11/1901.

178. Cape Mercury, 2/11/1901, "Special Army Order".

179. CAD, AG 3703, Martial Law Board Minutes, p. 12.

Other, more minor cases, received similar treatment. The Commandant of King William's Town prohibited P. G. Bester, a transport rider, from pursuing his livelihood after he distributed some of his oxen to blacks to prevent them being commandeered. The case seems to have been grossly unfair, but the Board decided not to interfere.¹⁸⁰ Similarly, G. Fox, a produce merchant in King William's Town, applied to the Board for remission of a £5 fine he had received from the Commandant for infringing martial law regulations. He received no satisfaction.¹⁸¹ August Schwulst of Keiskammahoek was also subjected to petty vindictiveness by the military which was not redressed by the Board. While the Colonial Defence Force was operating in the area one of the horses became lame. A black was sent to commandeer Schwulst's horse, but he refused to hand it over. He was subsequently tried by the Commandant in King William's Town, found guilty and fined £10 or 30 days in gaol. In addition he had to surrender his horse. The Commandant also decreed that should the Colonial Defence Force be called out again, the local commander could order Schwulst to close his business until the troops returned:

"This would prevent his making unfair profit at his business whilst his neighbours, also in business, were away serving their country."¹⁸²

Martial law had a number of other results of perhaps less significance. The initial ban on the sale of liquor had the effect of "creating many clearer heads" in town.¹⁸³ The Cape Mercury used the opportunity to start a new column, "Under Martial Law" which, while it lasted, made some rather trenchant comments about local society. The municipality found that it had to obtain the sanction of the military authorities to hold public meetings, even one which was to be addressed by the senior M.L.A., Colonel F. X. Schermbrucker.¹⁸⁴ The regulation was extended to such mundane matters as the holding of public meetings to elect municipal auditors and the election of councillors.¹⁸⁵

180. CAD, AG 3703, Martial Law Board, Minutes, pp. 375 - 376.

181. CAD, AG 3703, Martial Law Board, Minutes, pp. 339 - 340.

182. Cape Mercury, 22/10/1901, Editorial, "A Warning".

183. Cape Mercury, 22/1/1901, "Under Martial Law".

184. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/1/3/7, Letter: Town Clerk - Administrator, 25/6/1902.

185. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/1/3/7, Memo: Administrator - Town Clerk, 15/5/1902.

Martial law affected daily life in various small ways as well. It was obviously an inconvenience to have to go to the Military Reserve in the far end of town to get a permit to travel by train, or to be restricted in where one could picnic at the Pirie. But even clubs and sports were affected. The Dog and Poultry Show of 1901 was postponed because of, inter alia, restrictions on travel.¹⁸⁶ A football clash between Pioneers and Queenstown was cancelled when the military did not grant permits for the team to travel to Queenstown.¹⁸⁷

In assessing the administration of martial law, the Resident Magistrate considered that restrictions on travel, the regulations on public meetings, the regulations forcing boarding houses to report daily arrivals and the commandeering of waggons, horses and oxen were a mistake.¹⁸⁸

Restrictions on travel, and attempts by the military to regulate forage supplies and the supplies in stores in the district began to irk the merchants when they were applied. In July, Councillor Ginsberg drew attention to some of the inconveniences, especially concerning railway transport. The Council could do little more than send the mayor to speak to the Commandant.¹⁸⁹ At a Chamber of Commerce meeting on 27 September 1901 commercial restrictions, particularly those regarding trade with the Transkei, were discussed.¹⁹⁰

In an effort to lend support to their case for the removal of restrictions, the Chamber of Commerce got the support of the military authorities in Umtata. The Commandant, after being approached by the merchants, agreed to forward their requests to headquarters in Cape Town.¹⁹¹

186. Cape Mercury, 5/6/1901, "'King' Day by Day".

187. Cape Mercury, 18/7/1901, "'King' Day by Day".

188. CAD, AG 1000, Pt. 2, Confidential Letter: Resident Magistrate, KWT - Secretary, Law dept. 30/4/1902.

189. CAD, 3/KWT 1/1/1/15, p. 114, Council Minutes, 31/7/1901.

190. Cape Mercury, 27/9/1901, "Chamber of Commerce".

191. Cape Mercury, 27/9/1901, "Chamber of Commerce".

One of the only aspects to have received unqualified support from both Imvo and the Cape Mercury was the prohibition of liquor sales to blacks. Jabavu, a strong champion of temperance found delight in the regulation and disappointment when it was lifted.¹⁹² His own prejudices emerged in this context. In a report bemoaning the lifting of the restrictions, he equated "law-abiding inhabitants" with temperance. Even after the war, Jabavu maintained that the liquor restrictions were one of the positive results of martial law.¹⁹³

5.5 Overview

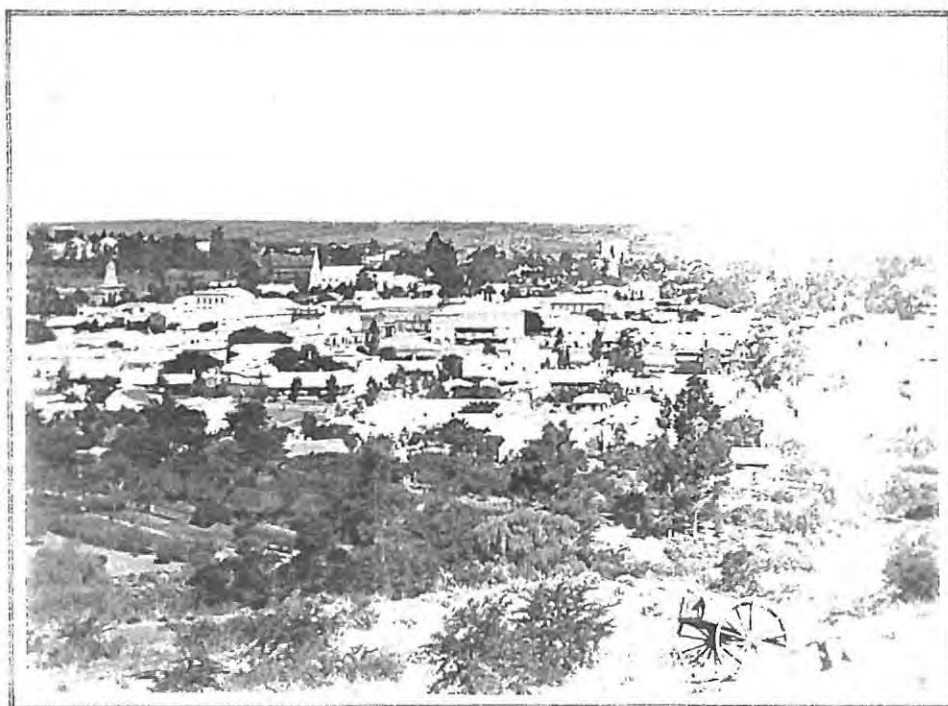
Although King William's Town was not directly affected by actual fighting, the war nonetheless impinged on the town. Prior to the outbreak of hostilities a large garrison of imperial troops was quartered in the town. These troops (initially the 1st Middlesex Regiment and later the 2nd Royal Berkshire Regiment) were well received by the town's white residents. Their presence served to boost the town's status in terms of imperial policy and the bands were an important component of the social scene in King William's Town. The officers set the scene for the town's aspirant upper class, but the soldiers were less well-received by the town's black residents. At least three incidents of ill-feeling between the soldiers and black residents occurred. The garrison provided an opportunity for the town's English-speaking inhabitants to focus loyalty to the imperial government rather than the Cape government. This was exacerbated when war broke out, by the town's frenetic efforts to secure a Town Guard. In the panic following the outbreak of hostilities residents blamed the Cape government for the town's apparent defenceless position. The mood of residents of the town fluctuated with the phases of the war. Initially jingoistic and enthusiastic, the mood soon became panicky and then swung to apathy. Panic was revived when the Boer commandos invaded the Colony late in 1900. In the confusion and fear that followed the initial Boer victories and the invasion of the Colonies, suspicion, fed by rumours and xenophobia, focused on the German and Dutch-speaking inhabitants. The Town Guard, which was an effective barometer of public opinion on the war, turned out to be less than the great success it promised to be at the beginning of the war. It proved to be of greater political significance,

192. Imvo, 28/1/1901, "Martial Law Regulations"; Imvo, 11/2/1901, "Under Martial Law".

193. Imvo, 25/10/1902, Editorial, "Total Prohibition".

as a manifestation of "staunch patriotism", rather than of military importance. It enabled some of the town's white residents to enlist without having to actually sacrifice much. Those residents who went to the front in volunteer units such as the Cape Medical Corps and other irregular units, were rather shabbily treated on their return. At the same time that small numbers of whites were being recruited in the town for irregular units, large numbers of blacks enlisted in the military labour contingents.

In January 1901 the town was placed under martial law and various aspects of daily life were curtailed. This led to the conviction of a number of inhabitants of the town and district (chiefly Germans, Dutch-speakers and blacks), on various petty infringements of martial law regulations. The most significant effect of the imposition of martial law was the suppression of Imvo. By the time the war ended, even the most jingoistic English-speakers were beginning to resent the martial law regulations.

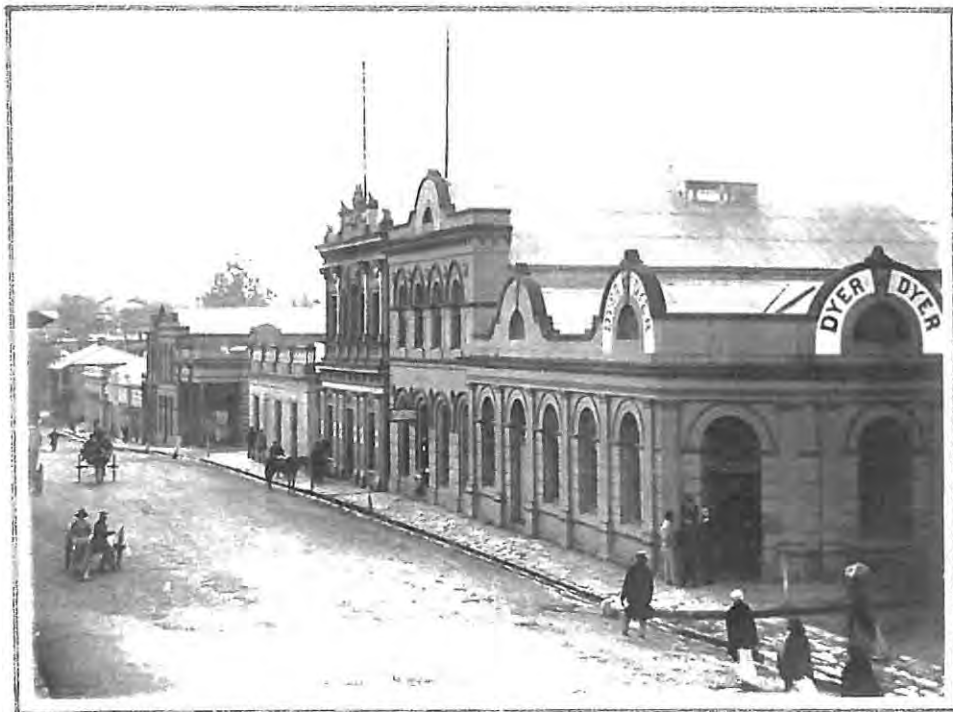
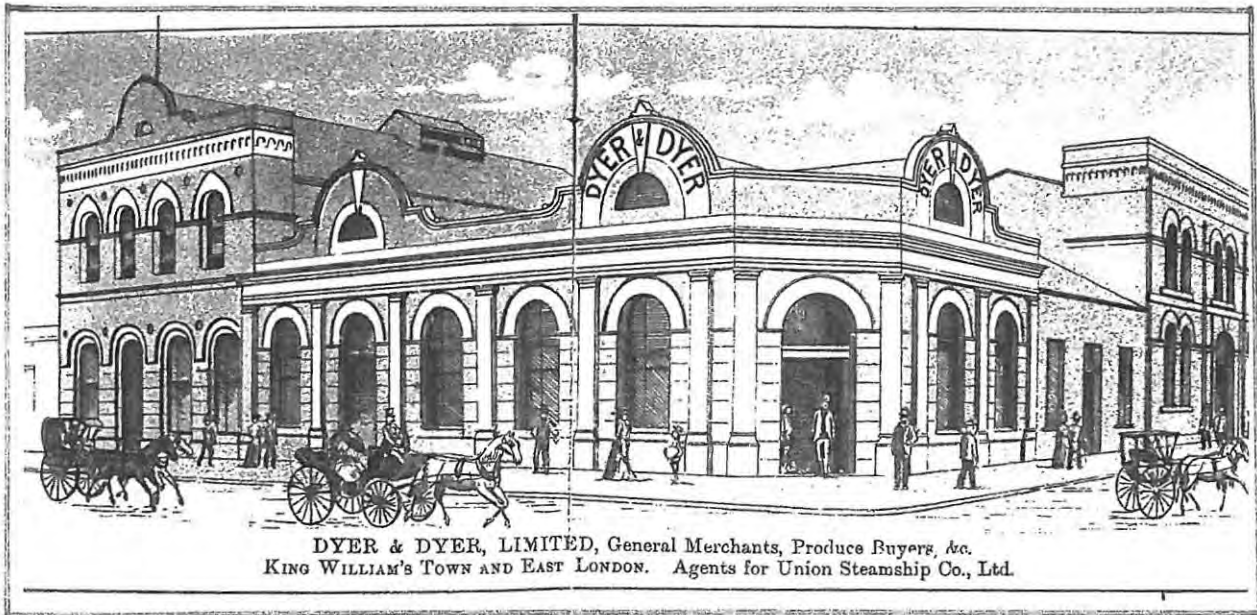


1. General view of the town from the Grahamstown Road.

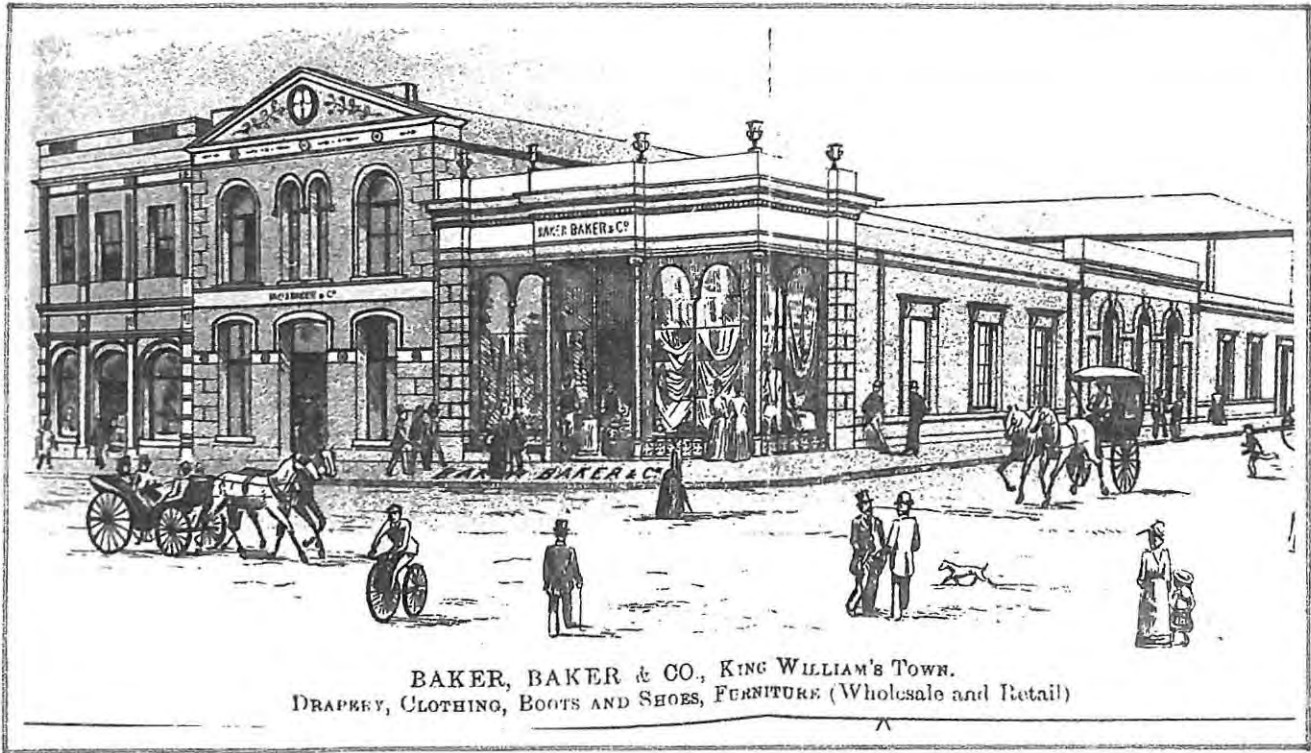


2. Brownlee Station Location.

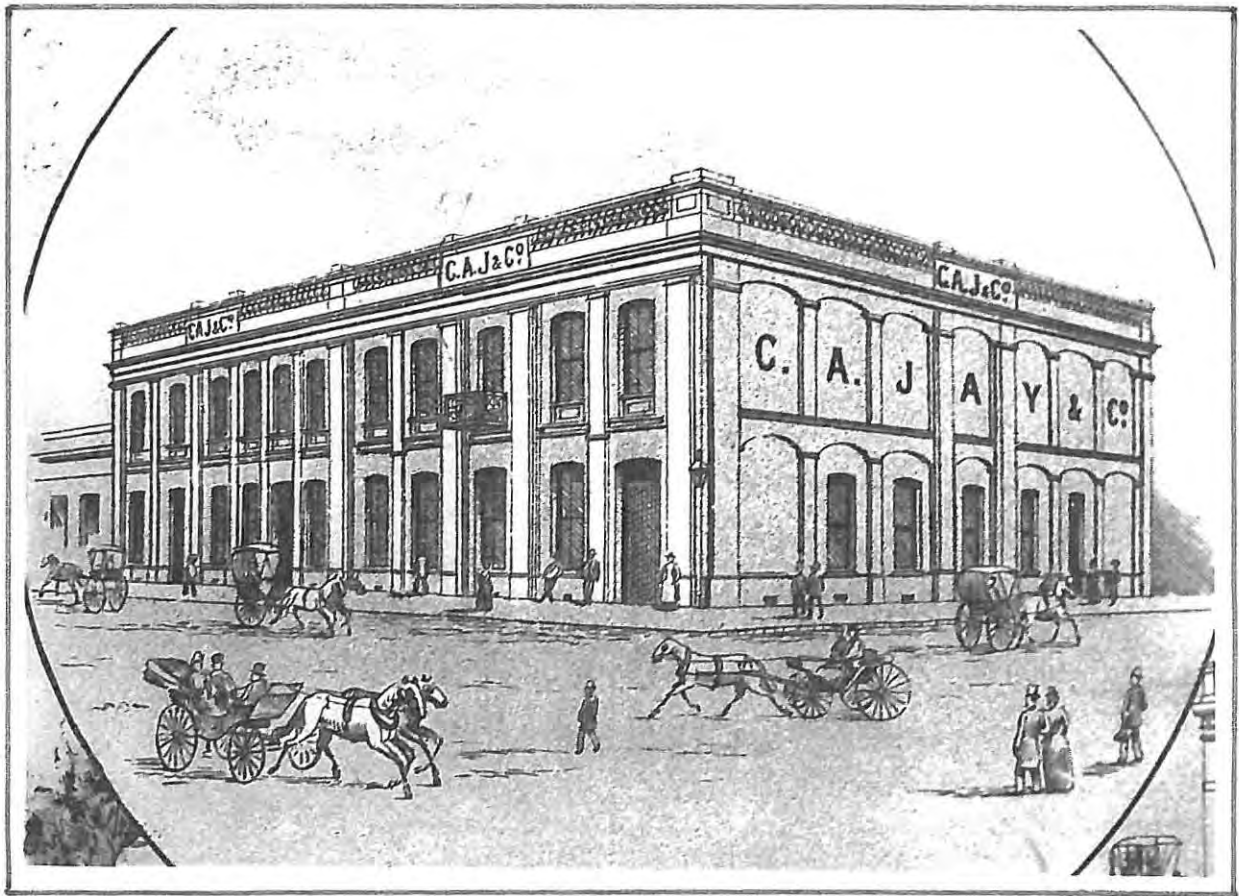
Depictions of King William's Town buildings from a Cape Mercury supplement on November 1894, contrasted with photographs of the same buildings. The highly idealized portrayal of the town is noticeable - grand buildings, wide streets, long-legged horses and mid-Victorian costume. The reality was less romantic - dusty buildings, dirty streets, predominantly black pedestrians and less grand architecture.



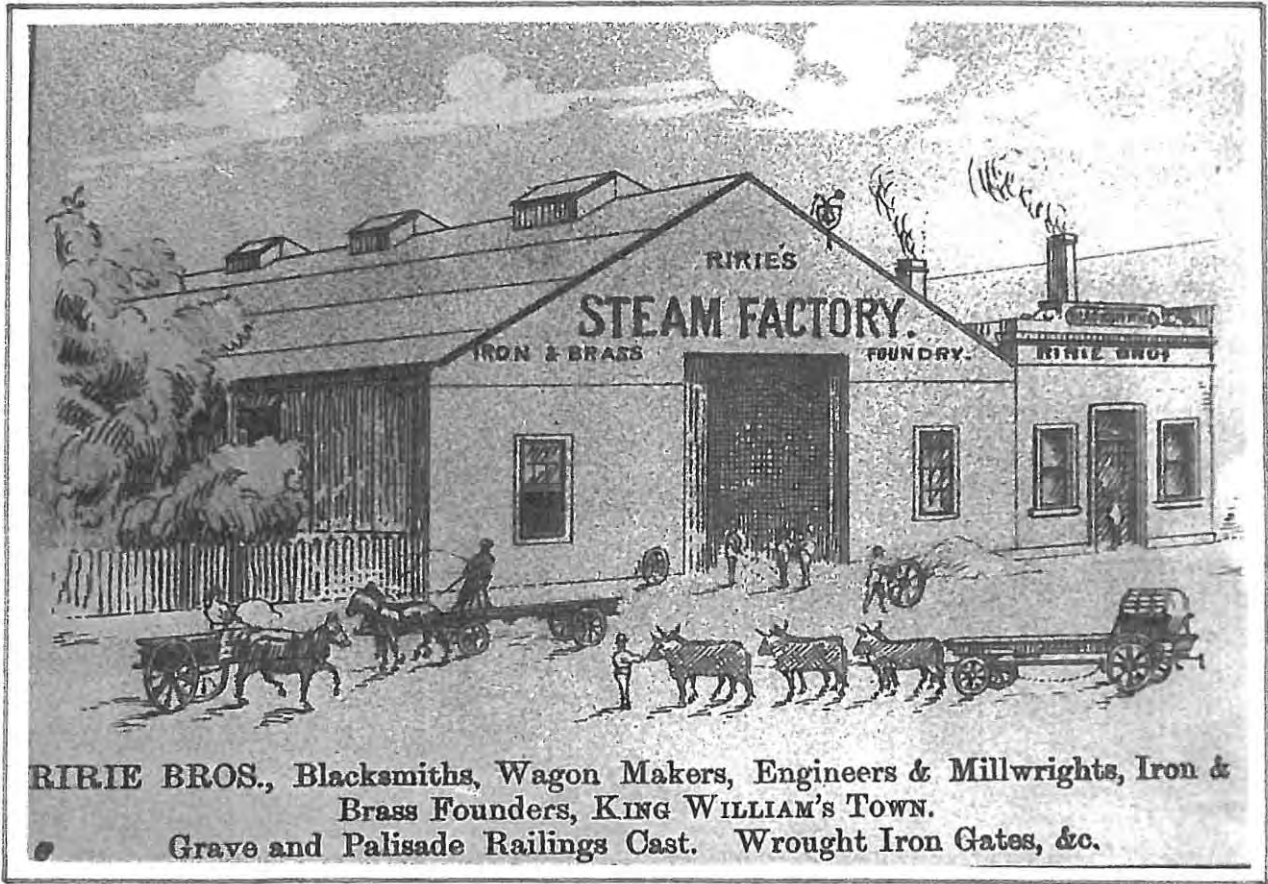
3 & 4. Dyer & Dyer.



5 & 6. Baker, Baker & Co.



7 & 8. Maclean Street and C. A. Jay & Co.



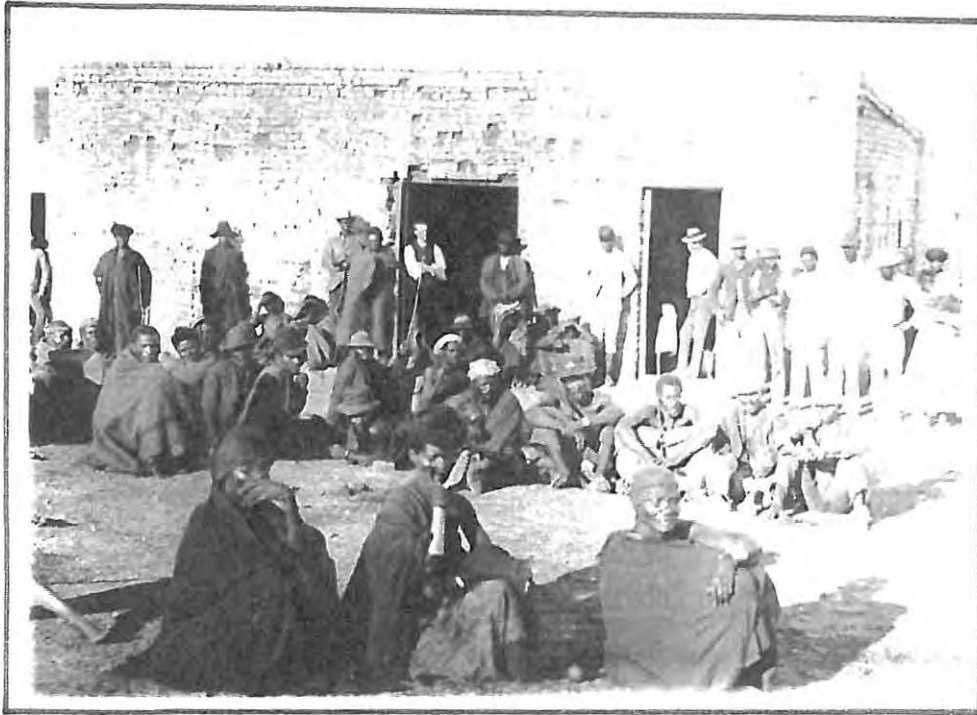
9 & 10. Ririe Bros.

FIGURES 11 - 18. PILLARS OF THE TOWN'S PROSPERITY.

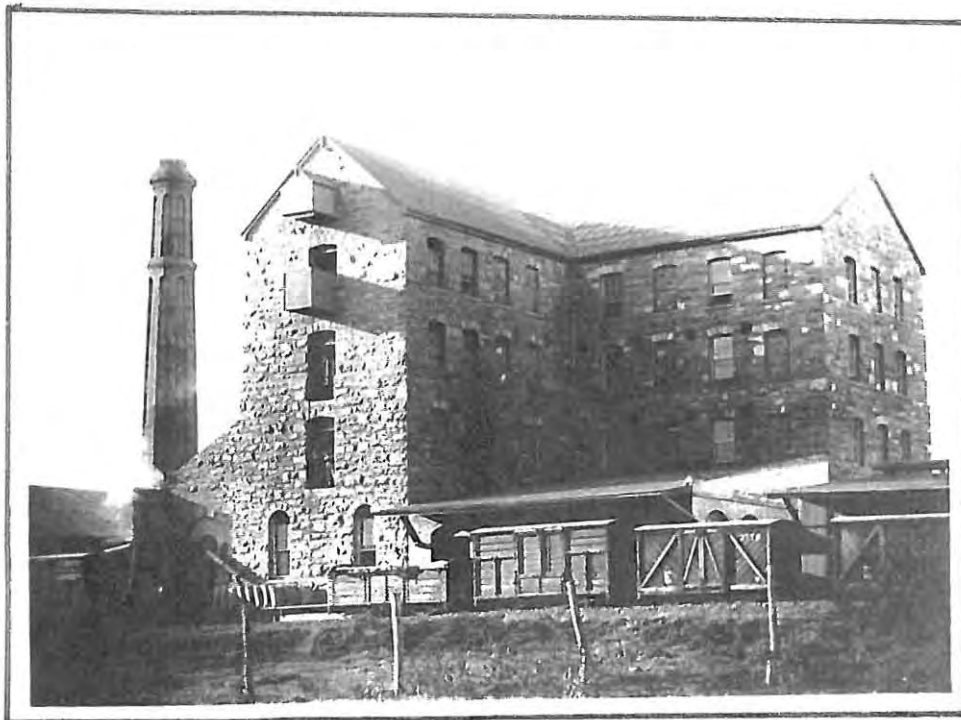
During this period the town's economy was shifting from one primarily based on trade with rural areas and the export of hides, skins and wool, to one based on manufacturing.



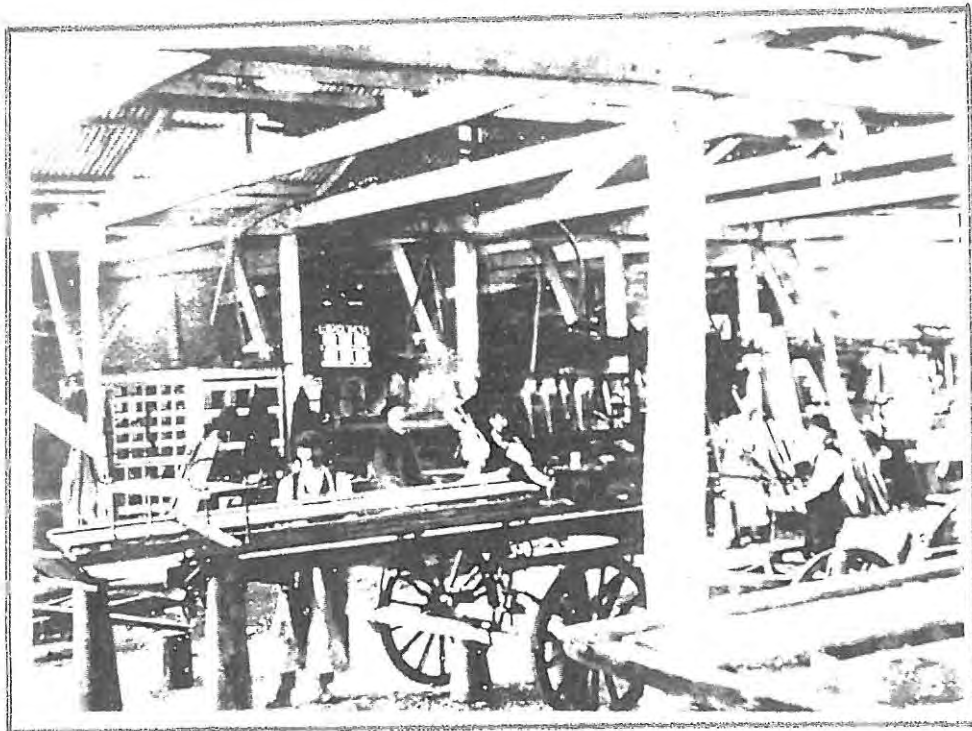
11 & 12. Wool-laden wagons outside the premises of merchants. "The wool season is now on ... the chief thoroughfares present scenes of busy life ..." (*Cape Mercury*, 14/4/1898).



13. An example of a trading station, the link between the wholesale merchants and the black peasant producers.

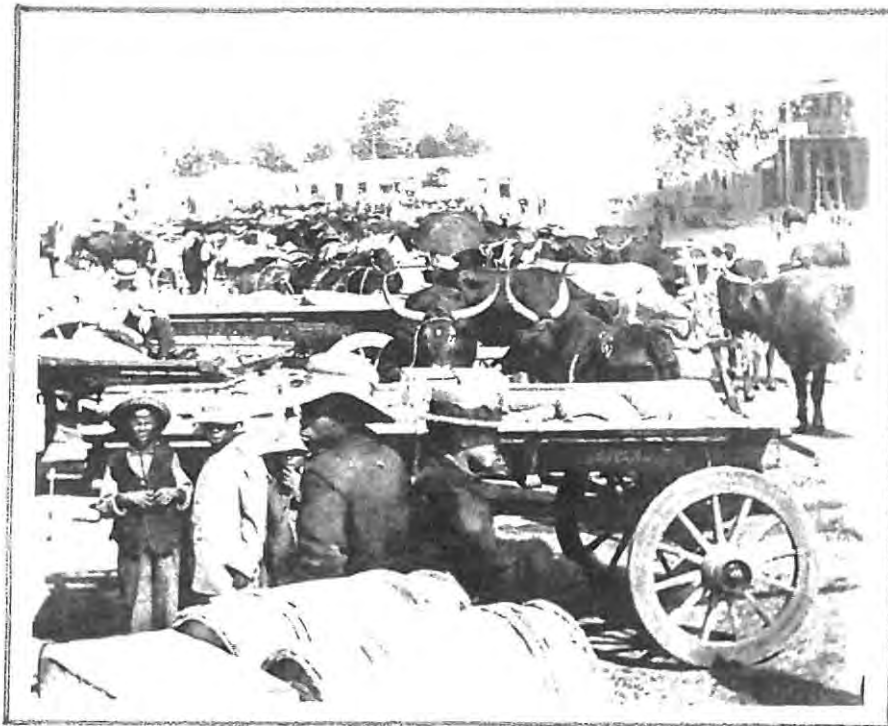


14. The Kaffrarian Steam Milling Co.



15 & 16.

Symon's Buffalo Wagon and Coach Works.

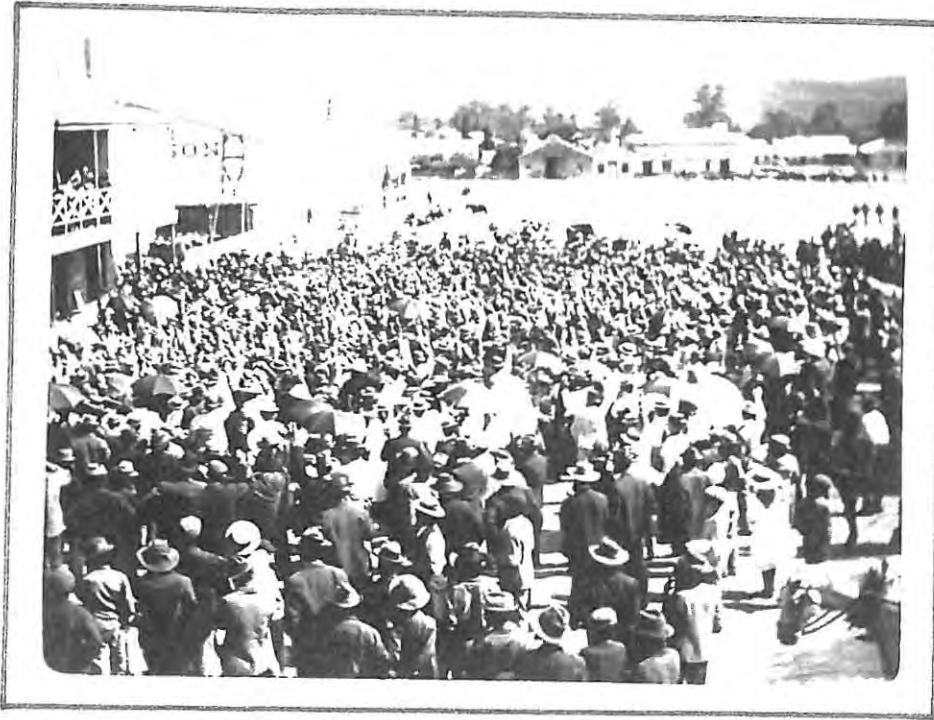


17 & 18.

The King William's Town produce market. "Native agriculturalists were again to the fore with produce and firewood." (*Cape Mercury*, 14/7/1898). Black agriculturalists were the backbone of the King William's Town produce market. Paul Xiniwe's Temperance Hotel is the double storey building facing the market square.

FIGURES 19 - 23. UPHOLDING THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Residents of the town and district contributed to the war effort in different ways.



19. Political meeting on the market square in support of the policies of Sir Alfred Milner.



20. Cycle Section of the King William's Town Town Guard.



21. Recruits for the District Mounted Rifles.



22. Recruits for the military labour contingents.

MARTIAL LAW NOTICE.

LABOR AGENTS AND OTHERS.

Until further notice and until the the Military demands for Native labor are completed passes will not be granted to Labor Agents.

And even when Military demands have been met, and from this date Contractors are not to be allowed to pay more than £2 (two pounds), per month with rations for Native labor.

Any infringement of this law persons will be dealt with under Martial Law Regulation No. 26.

By order,

H. LOUIS BOURN,
Captain.

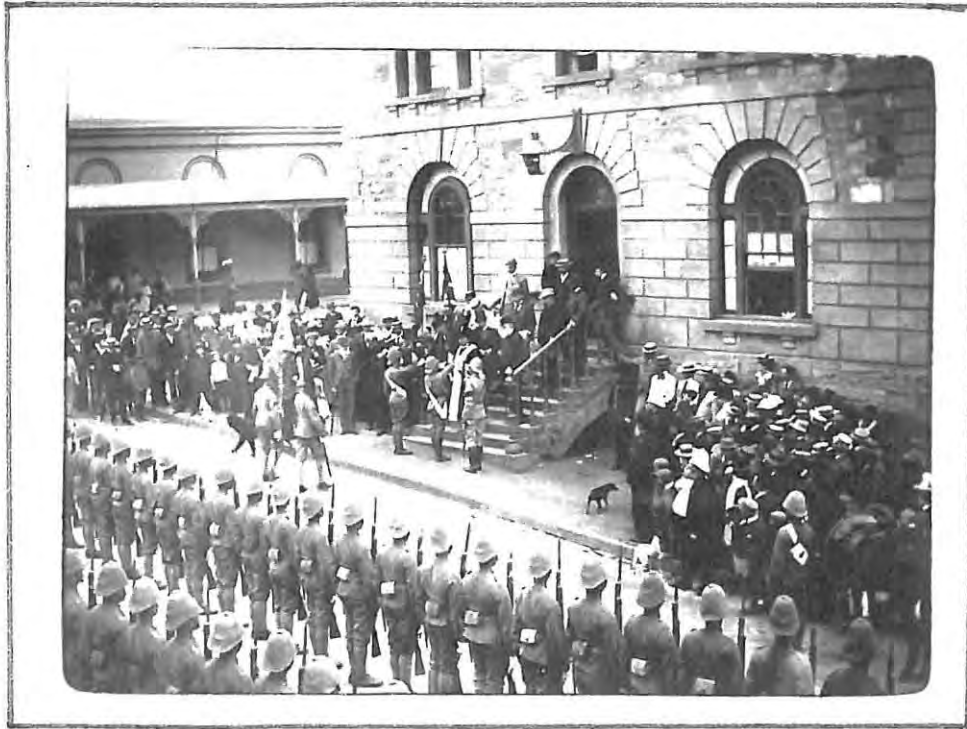
S. O. Administrator,
No. 2 Area.

Office of the Administrator, No. 2 Area,
King William's Town,
11th February, 1902.

ADMINISTRATOR No. 2 AREA
12 FEB 1902
For your info
H.L.B.

FIGURES 24 - 25. CIVIC FUNCTIONS.

The Borough Council provided leadership in times of peace and war. Public affairs swirled and eddied around the Council.



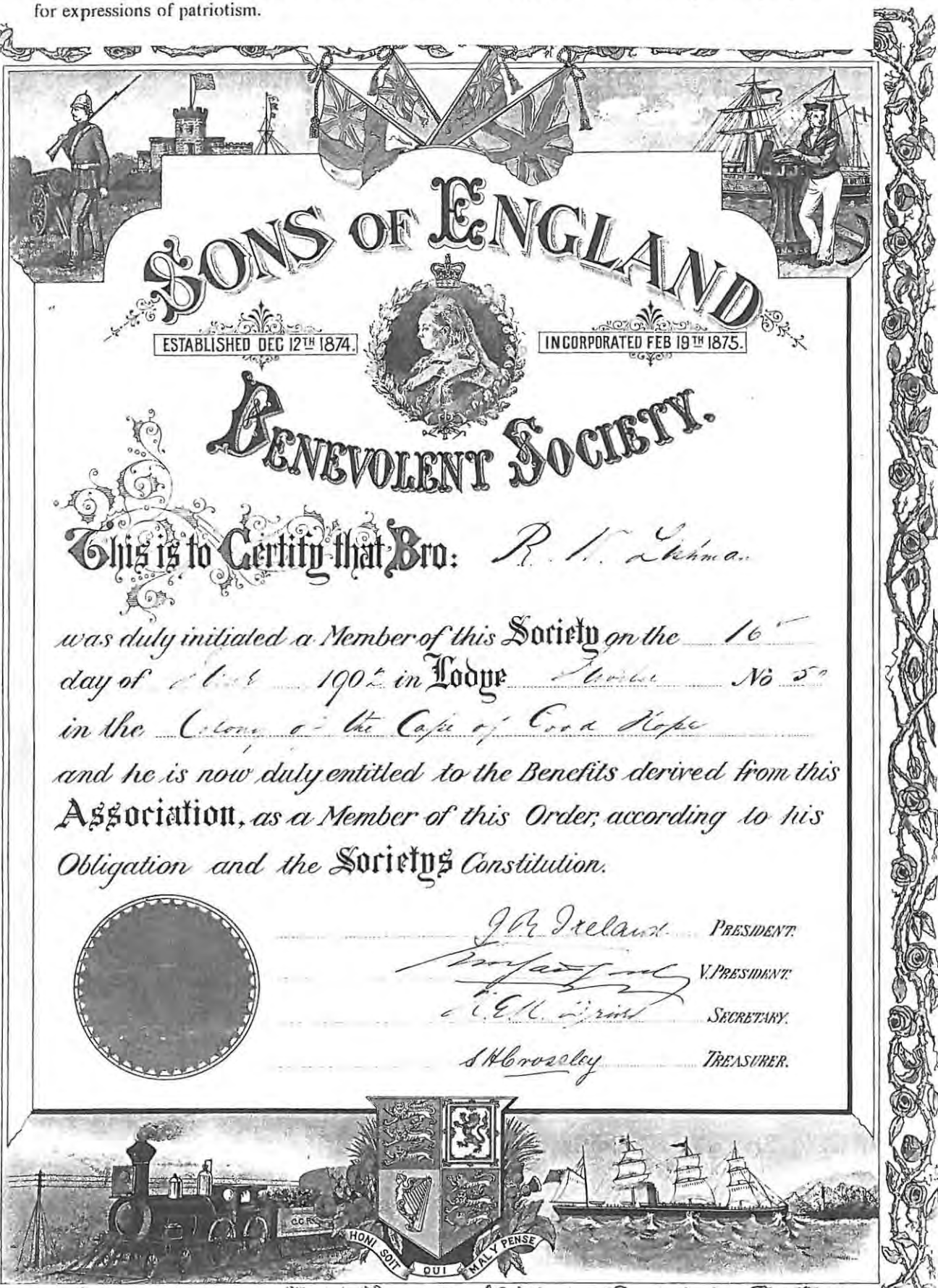
24. The garrison regiment depositing their Colours in the town hall for safe keeping prior to departing for the Stormberg front.



25. The proclamation of King Edward VII from the town hall steps.

FIGURE 29. THE BENEFITS OF LOYALTY.

Membership Certificate of the Sons of England Benevolent Society. Ostensibly a benevolent society, the Sons of England provided its members with funeral and medical benefits, whilst also providing a platform for expressions of patriotism.



SONS OF ENGLAND

ESTABLISHED DEC 12TH 1874.

INCORPORATED FEB 19TH 1875.

BENEVOLENT SOCIETY.

This is to Certify that Bro. *R. N. Lehman.*

was duly initiated a Member of this Society on the 16th day of April 1902 in Lodge No 50 in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope and he is now duly entitled to the Benefits derived from this Association, as a Member of this Order, according to his Obligation and the Societys Constitution.



J. G. Ireland PRESIDENT.
W. J. ... V. PRESIDENT.
W. E. ... SECRETARY.
S. H. ... TREASURER.





FIGURE 30. REINFORCING SOCIAL DIVISIONS.

"Representative Citizens of King William's Town." A composite photograph of members of the elite in town on the eve of the war. The absence of blacks and women is obvious.

CHAPTER 6 : "SPHERE-SHAKING QUESTIONS THAT DISTURB CIVIC BOSOMS" - MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS

The study of municipal government - the "civic gospel" as Asa Briggs has called it¹ - is central to any understanding of an urban community in the nineteenth century. King William's Town first received municipal status in 1861. Ordinance No. 1 of 1861 defined the boundaries of the town, established a Council and an election mechanism, laid down voting qualifications and procedures and set out the powers and responsibilities of the new Council.² These responsibilities included providing water; preventing nuisances; building roads, streets and bridges; establishing and managing a market; regulating the slaughtering of animals; regulating the use of the commonage; and preventing "furious riding" in the town.³ To give effect to these the Council was empowered to raise money from the issuing of trading licenses; the levying of rates on immovable property; the imposition of tolls and dues on roads, bridges and the market; and by selling, mortgaging or leasing municipal land with the consent of the Governor.⁴

A new Ordinance was issued prior to the incorporation of British Kaffraria into the Cape Colony in 1865. Ordinance 9 of 1864 repealed the 1861 Ordinance. It retained the general contents, but spelled aspects out in more detail.⁵

In addition, subsequent legislation was enacted to extend the Council's powers to raise money by borrowing to establish botanical gardens, public baths and recreation grounds.⁶ One of the most important additional

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1. A. Briggs, Victorian Cities, (Odhams, London, 1963), p. 195.
 2. King William's Town Gazette and Kaffrarian Banner, 15/2/1861, "Ordinance No. 1, of 1861".
 3. King William's Town Gazette and Kaffrarian Banner, 15/2/1861, "Ordinance No. 1, of 1861".
 4. King William's Town Gazette and Kaffrarian Banner, 15/2/1861, "Ordinance No. 1, of 1861".
 5. Anon., Town Office, King William's Town (No publication details), "Ordinance 9 of 1864, British Kaffraria Ordinance to Repeal the Laws Relating to the Corporation of King William's Town, and to make other provisions in lieu thereof".
 6. J. Foster, H. Tennant & E. M. Jackson (Eds.), Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 1652 - 1886, Vol II (W. A. Richards & Sons, Cape Town, 1887), pp. 1951 - 1952: Act 17 of 1869, "Act to Enlarge the Powers of the Borough Council of King William's Town to Borrow Money"; H. Tennant & E. M. Jackson, (Eds.), Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 1887 - 1895, Vol III (J. C. Juta & Co., Cape Town, 1895), pp. 3332 - 3336: Act 12 of 1894, "Act to Grant Further Powers

pieces of legislation was Act 21 of 1881, which gave the Council wide-ranging control of the Buffalo River for the purposes of drawing water.⁷ It was under the 1864 Ordinance and these additions that King William's Town was administered at the outbreak of the South African War. The municipal ordinance and the various laws of the Cape Colony enforced within the Borough were promulgated in terms of the amended Bye-Laws for the Borough, promulgated in 1873.⁸ These covered the details of market regulations, tolls, pounds, "Native" locations, water laws and other general matters. Additional Bye-Laws were promulgated in the same year for sanitation and in 1893 to prohibit beer brewing by blacks and to prohibit black non-voters from carrying sticks in town.⁹

6.1 The Municipal Council and the Borough

In terms of Ordinance 1 of 1861 the town was incorporated as a Borough.¹⁰ This was continued in the 1864 Ordinance and subsequent pieces of legislation generally re-affirmed this status:

"The word 'borough' in this Act shall mean the borough of King William's Town as established by the said Ordinance of British Kaffraria No. 9 of 1864 ..."¹¹

Ordinance 9 of 1864 divided the town into five wards, each with two representatives, elected annually. In the 1898-99 municipal year the Council consisted of:

- WARD I : J. J. Whitaker - Managing Director, Kaffrarian Steam Mill Co.
J. J. Ashenhurst (resigned August 1898) - builder
T. W. Heywood (elected 4 October 1898) - auctioneer
- WARD II: H. Cole - hotel keeper
J. Leighton - nurseryman

to the Borough Council of King William's Town".

7. J. Foster, H. Tenant & E. M. Jackson (Eds.), Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, Vol II, pp. 1952 - 1960: Act 21 of 1881, "Act to enable the Borough Council of King William's Town to provide the Inhabitants of that Town with Water, and for that purpose to take water from the Buffalo River and ... waterworks".
8. Anon., Town Office King William's Town, Proclamation 49 of 1873.
9. Anon., Town Office King William's Town, Proclamation 75 of 1873; Notice 1,175 of 1893.
10. King William's Town Gazette and Kaffrarian Banner, 15/2/1861, "Ordinance No. 1, of 1861".
11. J. Foster, H. Tennant & E. M. Jackson (Eds.), Statutes of Cape of Good Hope, Vol. II, p. 1960: Act 21 of 1881.

- WARD III: G. Whitaker - merchant
W. Behr - wine & spirit merchant
- WARD IV: J. Newing - retired merchant
T.N. Dyer (Mayor) - merchant
- WARD V: G. Fox - produce buyer & commission agent
F. Ginsberg - manufacturer

The business interest, especially the mercantile one, predominated and the councillors all stemmed from amongst the elite of the town. As can be expected, the vested interests councillors brought to the Council were represented in some of its dealings. H. Cole, whose family appears to have run two butcheries, was sensitive to the Sanitary Inspector's criticism of slaughterhouses and went to great lengths to criticise him.¹² J. J. Whitaker, for example, jealously guarded the interests of the merchants and millers when it came to water charges.¹³ That the Council represented the elite was not lost on some of the town's residents. Frederick Campbell, a commission agent, questioned the expenditure of public money on matters that only benefitted the elite.¹⁴ Another letter, from "Down with TAMMANY", complained of the preferential treatment merchants received whilst ordinary residents were subjected to the full force of municipal regulations.¹⁵

In general the councillors identified the interests of the town with their own interests. In other words, progress for manufacturing for Ginsberg was progress for King William's Town. Sometimes this led to a clash of interests. When J. J. Whitaker and G. Whitaker (representing the mercantile interest, which was on the decline at this time) lost a motion opposing Ginsberg (representing the manufacturing sector, which perceived itself to be increasing in significance) both Whitakers resigned. The motion related to increasing the municipal debt by £10 000 for public works.¹⁶ The individual concerns of councillors were frequently

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12. Kaffrarian Watchman, 8/2/1899, "Borough Council".
13. Cape Mercury, 8/12/1898, "Borough Council".
14. Cape Mercury, 28/5/1898, Letter to Editor by F. Campbell.
15. Cape Mercury, 15/2/1898, Letter to Editor by "Down with TAMMANY".
16. Cape Mercury, 14/9/1899, "Borough Council"; Kaffrarian Watchman, 24/3/1899, Editorial, "Mr. G. Whitaker's Defeat". Other cases can be found in Cape Mercury, 20/7/1899, Sub-editorial, "Mr. G. Whitaker's Reply"; Cape Mercury, 20/7/1899, "Borough Council".

manifested in petty squabbling over minor points of personal interest. In August 1898 J. J. Ashenurst petulantly resigned after his plan for raising a municipal loan was not adopted.¹⁷ Tension in the Borough Council between the so-called Progressives and the conservatives spilled over into the Press in 1900. The issue was Fleet Ditch and sanitation. Councillor W. Behr, by insinuating the rest of the Council were "noodles and unprogressives", sparked a heated response from Councillor J. J. Yates.¹⁸

Whatever the interests and motivations councillors brought to municipal government, all were imbued with a sense of civic pride and the importance of the town. This chauvinism may well have been a defence mechanism in the face of the town's declining prestige in relation to East London. It manifested itself in numerous ways. During this period the Council went to great pains to obtain a municipal coat of arms since, "We know of no important city in England which is not in possession of its distinctive crest".¹⁹ The town also frequently harked back to its heyday as the capital of British Kaffraria to enhance its status and establish its significance above other towns in the area. This was a constant theme running through municipal affairs. Whenever an opportunity presented itself this was trotted out, such as the address presented to the Duke and Duchess of York (later King George V and Queen Mary) in Cape Town in August 1901:

"We the undersigned, representing the Burgesses and townspeople of the Borough of King Williamstown, capital of the former Crown Colony of British Kaffraria, desire respectfully to convey ..."²⁰

It was therefore no accident that the Borough Council went to considerable trouble to obtain the use of the old British Kaffraria badge as part of the municipal crest.²¹ The badge depicted four Xhosa huts. It involved some debate in Council whether the coat of arms should include the "old style Kaffir Hut" or "the

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17. Cape Mercury, 6/8/1898, "Borough Council".
 18. Cape Mercury, 13/3/1900, Letter to Editor by W. Behr; Cape Mercury, 14/3/1900, Letter to Editor by J. J. Yates.
 19. Cape Mercury, 2/6/1898, "'King' and its Mayor".
 20. Cape Mercury, 13/8/1901, "The Borough Address".
 21. Daily Watchman, 21/2/1900, "Borough Council"; CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/26, Letter: Farquhar (ex-Town Clerk) - Town Clerk, King William's Town, [?] March 1902.

new or Fingo Hut". Eventually the former was chosen, with the motto, in Xhosa: "I Qonce Malicume".²² The use of Xhosa and Xhosa huts proved to be ironic given the Council's building of the latter in its effort to segregate the town and their shabby treatment of blacks at the time. In terms of heraldic convention the coat of arms was not acceptable and the motto was (and still is) grammatically incorrect. It should read, "eQonce".²³

The town's civic pride and self-importance manifested itself in other ways as well. One of these was the manner in which it rattled off messages of condolence or congratulations to important people in all parts of the globe. As can be expected, royal events such as the death of Queen Victoria, called forth telegrams which were formulated with all solemnity and published in the local Press, as were the stereotyped answers they evoked.²⁴ With a greater sense of their own importance than of perspective, the Borough Council sent a message to King Edward VII which, after the formal greeting, read:

"King William's Town hails the King. We swear fealty to the British Crown and Constitution, our allegiance to the Sovereign, our loyalty to the State, and pray God Save the King".²⁵

The Council also sent messages of sympathy to the American government on the assassination of William McKinley and congratulations to Theodore Roosevelt on his assuming the Presidency of the United States.²⁶ These telegrams had the obvious effect of boosting the self-importance of the town and bringing its leading citizens to the notice of whoever was the recipient. The rather ridiculous situation of this small town, situated in a remote corner of the British Empire, foisting itself on the world stage does not appear to have occurred to anyone in King William's Town.

22. CAD, 3/KWT 1/1/15, p. 66, Council Minutes, 22/4/1901; Imvo, 26/3/1900, "General"; Cape Mercury, 21/3/1900, "Borough Council".

23. Kaffrarian Museum File, K.W.T. Municipal & General, A - E, Mercury newspaper cutting, Letter to Editor by H. H. A. Mdledle, 9/12/1971.

24. For example, Cape Mercury, 28/1/1901, "The Dead Queen".

25. CAD, 3/KWT 1/1/15, p. 49, Council Minutes, p. 49.

26. Cape Mercury, 2/10/1901, "Borough Council".

Another aspect of the civic pride displayed by some of King William's Town citizens was the issue of Borough status. This was something about which the English-speaking townsfolk were inordinately proud. By the eve of the South African War a myth had developed to the effect that King William's Town had received its municipal charter at the hands of Prince Alfred in 1861 and that this had conferred special Borough status on the town. This obviously made King William's Town significant, since its status came directly from the hands of one of Queen Victoria's children. J. E. Grindlay, in a brief history of the town he produced in 1902, provided a good summary of how residents viewed the town's history. Beginning by saying that the history of the town "is indissolubly bound up" with that of British Kaffraria, "of which it was the capital", he claimed it had grown from a mission station,

"... to its present important position as one of the largest and busiest centres in the Cape Colony - a result wholly owing to the energy and business capacity of its inhabitants".²⁷

He added that Prince Alfred, the Sailor Prince, visited the town in 1860,

"As a result of this visit King William's Town was raised to the dignity of a Borough - a dignity which it has ever worthily upheld".²⁸

At its most extreme, in a later period, the town was even elevated to the dazzling heights of "Royal Borough" which made it even more important.²⁹ The myth, which was paraded on important occasions and served to boost townspeople's self image, was accepted without question.³⁰

A seat on the Borough Council, especially the office of mayor, carried a lot of prestige in the town. The Council provided the leadership in times of crisis and celebration. Public meetings, to discuss important events, such as establishing a Town Guard and defence of the town, the celebration of the Relief of Mafeking, mourning the death of Queen Victoria and general political matters, were convened and chaired by the mayor. The councillors and mayor, as leading citizens, took precedence in ceremonies and parades.

27. J. E. Grindlay, The King William's Town Directory, Visitors' Guide and Residents' Handbook (King Printing Co., King William's Town, 1902), p. 10.

28. J. E. Grindlay, The King William's Town Directory, p. 12.

29. J. A. Bateman, The Borough of King William's Town A Century of Public Service (Progress Printing Co., King William's Town, 1961), p. 23.

30. Cape Mercury, 3/6/1901, "Events of the Year", speech by J.F. Lonsdale. J. Bateman, in a lengthy pseudo-historical analysis attempts to explain the origins of the Borough status. See J. A. Bateman, A Century of Public Service, pp. 6 - 7, p. 23.

The mayor also served as honorary president of a number of societies such as the Art and Camera Club, the Children's Home, the Golf Club and the Church Boys Brigade.³¹ Much of the status and acceptability the Borough Council enjoyed in this period appears to have been the result of the exceptional character of T. N. Dyer, who occupied the mayoral chair from 1896 to 1903.

The prestige of the Borough Council notwithstanding, the Council and individual councillors were not exempt from public criticism, especially on questions of public health, finances, roads and drains.³² The Cape Mercury, took the 1898 - 99 Council to task for its failure to provide adequate water and lighting:

"In a word the Town Council is a trifle too conservative in its ideas and seems too much inclined to shirk its natural responsibilities in its endeavours to avoid anything that might savour of recklessness".³³

The "Progressive" group in the Council, led by Franz Ginsberg, got their way and a large loan was raised to provide better sanitation and drainage.

Some burgesses felt councillors no longer represented the interests of their wards.³⁴ Others felt that certain councillors interfered in the work of municipal officials:

"There is too much of that kind of work going on and the sooner a stop is put to it the better it will be ... the sooner a few of our Councillors get a lesson in municipal government the better it will be".³⁵

The newspapers proved to be very effective pressure groups in themselves. The councillors believed that they did not react to such criticism. But time and again it was clear that a judicious exposé or comment in the Press - whether it was revelations about slaughterhouses, comments on dead trees or a mocking comment on rat catchers - the Council generally reacted sharply.³⁶

31. Discussed more fully in Chapter 8.

32. For example, Cape Mercury, 9/7/1898: Letter to Editor by R. Irvine,; 3/9/1898, Letter to Editor by R. Symons.

33. Cape Mercury, 15/11/1898, Editorial, "Wanted: Water and Light".

34. Cape Mercury, 13/9/1900, Letter to Editor by "Burgess".

35. Cape Mercury, 19/9/1900, Letter to Editor by "Market".

36. Kaffrarian Watchman, 8/2/1899; Cape Mercury, 21/3/1901, "Under Martial Law".

At times councillors were carried away by their own self importance. In October 1901 the Council lost a case in the Resident Magistrate's court against a local contractor, Kramer (also spelled "Kramman"), for violating commonage regulations. Filled with indignation the councillors railed against Kramer for daring to challenge their authority. In ill-guarded comments, Ginsberg suggested the Council should retaliate and "persecute" Kramer. The rest of the Councillors joined in a general condemnation of Kramer.³⁷ This episode was seized upon by the East London Dispatch to poke fun at the town and its Council.³⁸

In general the municipal Council reflected the attitudes and concerns of most of the white community. This is most obvious in two major themes of municipal government during this period: public health and measures relating to blacks in the municipal area. Other aspects - water, roads and drains, policing, finance, and the commonage all slot into these.

6.2 Public Health and Sanitation

It is difficult not to lose historical perspective when discussing sanitation in Victorian towns. Every town seems to have been most insanitary and primitive.³⁹ This probably stemmed from the universality of the problems of sanitation and public health caused by urbanization, rather than specific local issues. The problems were not restricted to South Africa, but were common in Britain and other colonies in the nineteenth century.⁴⁰ In the case of King William's Town, although modern sensibilities may be offended by the state of affairs, the town was a leader in some respects. The nightsoil removal system introduced in 1897-98 was one of the most modern in the Colony.

37. Cape Mercury, 16/10/1901, Sub-editorial "Mr. Kramer".

38. Cape Mercury, 25/10/1901, "The Case of Mr. Kramen" (sic).

39. See for example, K. P. T. Tankard, "The Development of East London Through Four Decades of Municipal Control 1873 - 1914" (PhD Thesis, Rhodes University, 1990), pp. 473 - 515; R-M. Sellick, "A Study in Local History: Grahamstown 1883 - 1904" (MA Thesis, Rhodes University, 1983), Chapter 5.

40. A. Briggs, Victorian Cities, p. 291.

The old system of private contractors using any kind of receptacle was replaced with a Council-run scheme. Urine was emptied into tank carts and nightsoil was removed in standard buckets. Removal was weekly in specially designed nightsoil carts.⁴¹ The system was backed up by bye-laws which laid down certain minimum standards for privies and by inspections by the Sanitary Inspector. In 1899 it was further refined with the introduction of a separate Infectious Diseases Van.⁴² The system appears to have worked well, but was by no means perfect. The pails were sometimes emptied and replaced without being washed or disinfected.⁴³ The nightsoil removal work was performed by what the Town Clerk referred to as "the low type of 'poor white'" without much intelligence.⁴⁴ The King William's Town nightsoil removal scheme worked sufficiently well for the East London Council to show an interest in it.⁴⁵ Grahamstown, by way of comparison, was still using a rather ineffective contractual system of nightsoil removal in 1903.⁴⁶

The nightsoil system for all its success, was not universally applied. The locations, for example, were excluded. The privies provided for Brownlee Location, were primitive in the extreme and indicate the particular double standards whites applied in this matter. The other locations were apparently not provided with latrines.

Slop water removal was non-existent. At best it was thrown into the streets, the yards or open drains where it formed stagnant pools to the discomfort of all. Much of the slop water found its way into a large ravine, known as Fleet Ditch, which ran through the town. The Medical Officer of Health of the town chose slop water for special mention in his 1897-98 report:

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41. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1898 (H. D. Blewitt, King William's Town, 1898), pp. 12 & 23.
 42. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1899 (Kaffrarian Steam Printing Co., King William's Town, 1899), p. 32.
 43. Cape Mercury, 5/9/1899, Letter to Editor by "A Watchful Night Owl".
 44. CAD, 3/KWT 3/1/1/26, Letter: Town Clerk - OC Army Service Corps, 22/2/1899.
 45. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/23, Letter: Town Clerk, East London - Gammon, King William's Town, 28/1/1901.
 46. R-M. Sellick, "A Study in Local History", p. 128.

"It is my opinion the most urgent sanitary need of the town, and its absence is responsible for a great proportion of the sickness that exists".⁴⁷

The scattering of slops in backyards was the cause of "typhoid, diphtheria, diarrhoea or what not (sic) diseases that swell death rates".⁴⁸

The focus of dissatisfaction in health matters was Fleet Ditch. It would, argued the Medical Officer of Health, "always be a blot upon the sanitary cleanliness of the town until it is properly channelled and flushed".⁴⁹

The Ditch was variously referred to as "that ancient death-trap"; King William's Town's "Whitechapel" and "the sewer".⁵⁰ The evils of Fleet Ditch were a constant theme of complaint. Particularly heavy outbreaks of enteric fever in 1897 and 1898 appear to have spurred the Council to action. Numerous efforts at piecemeal repairs were attempted. Finally, in 1899, on the motivation of Ginsberg, the Council got public approval for raising a loan of £10 000 to completely overhaul Fleet Ditch and for improving drains generally. The work included lining Fleet Ditch with concrete and covering it over where it passed the front of businesses in Fleet Street and the market square.⁵¹ Raising the money was delayed by the outbreak of the war, but was eventually accomplished in 1900. Work proceeded relatively smoothly. By late in 1901 it was completed.⁵² The Borough Council could rightly feel satisfied at having combatted one of the major sanitary problems of the town.

47. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1898, Health Report, 1898, p. 22.

48. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1898, Health Report, 1898, p. 23.

49. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1898, Health Report, 1898, p. 22.

50. Cape Mercury, 29/9/1898, Editorial, "Local Municipal Affairs"; Cape Mercury, 15/3/1898, Letter to Editor by R. Irvine; Cape Mercury, 23/4/1898, "'Town and District'".

51. Kaffrarian Watchman, 28/8/1899, Editorial, "A Householder's Question"; Cape Mercury, 2/9/1899, "The £ 10,000 Loan".

52. Cape Mercury, 31/10/1901, "An Admirable Work".

In other aspects of public health, the Borough Council was less efficient. The absence of municipal slaughterhouses was a serious health hazard. Each butcher had his own slaughterhouse on the commonage to the south-east of the town. These were dirty, ramshackle and without running water. The water used to wash carcasses and to clean up offal and blood was taken, with considerable difficulty, from the river. As a result not much was used.⁵³ The water used in the slaughterhouses was drawn from stagnant pools in times of drought, downstream of where clothes washing was done and below where the slops and effluent from the tannery and woolwashes flowed into the river. Dogs and pigs were allowed to roam about devouring the offal and refuse. Shanties for the accommodation of the slaughterhouse labourers were built near the slaughterhouses. Sometimes between six and ten people were found sleeping in a shanty. Others often slept in the slaughterhouses.⁵⁴ The blood tubs were seldom properly cleaned and were supposed to be emptied twice a week. An investigation by the Kaffrarian Watchman in 1899 revealed extremely insanitary conditions, including barrels of congealed and evil smelling blood, riddled with maggots.⁵⁵

Even after sporadic inspections by the Sanitary Inspector and the Medical Officer of Health the situation did not improve. The solution was simple. The municipality needed to build a central slaughterhouse with a good supply of water, an impenetrable floor and good drainage and forbid slaughtering anywhere else in the town.⁵⁶ This was proposed time and again.⁵⁷ The mayor used the extensive work on Fleet Ditch as an excuse for the delay in the work.⁵⁸ The war and the bubonic plague outbreaks may also have distracted the Council from the project, but ultimately, it simply did not enjoy the same priority amongst councillors

53. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1898, Health Report, p. 23.

54. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1899, Health Report, p. 31.

55. Kaffrarian Watchman, 11/1/1899, "Our Note Book".

56. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1898, p. 23

57. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1899, p. 31; Cape Mercury, 26/9/1900, "Borough Council".

58. Cape Mercury, 26/9/1900, "Borough Council".

as, for example, the segregation of the town. It was only in 1905 that proper abattoirs were constructed.⁵⁹ They were located right next to the sanitary trenches and the Plague Camp.⁶⁰

The problem of washerwomen washing clothes in the Buffalo River below the point at which some of the town's pollution entered the river was generally ignored by the Council, except in times of drought. During periods of acute water shortages municipal officials harassed the women and tried to stop them washing in the river altogether. This led to successful defiance by the washerwomen after the Borough Ranger prevented them from collecting dry cow dung and dead wood from the commonage and prohibited them washing on the banks of the river. In 1901 between 60 and 70 women, representing washerwomen from all four locations, congregated in the street outside the premises of attorneys Innes and Hutton, whom they engaged to obtain redress.⁶¹ The episode is significant in that it appears to have been the only clearly successful challenge posed to the Borough Council's repression of blacks, and it was made by the women of the locations, not the men.

An investigation by the Sanitary Committee of the Council in May 1899 found that some of the washing was being done at the very spot in the river where the drain from the Military Reserve emptied. The committee recommended the establishment of municipal wash houses.⁶² The idea was repeated periodically, but here, too, the Council failed to translate its intentions into action.

59. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor for the Three Mayoral Years Ended ... 1907 (King Printing Co., King William's Town, 1907), pp. 19 - 21.

60. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1907, pp. 19 - 21; and fieldwork. The abattoir site remained in use until the 1980s. The site of the plague camp was pinpointed by S. E. Caldwell, "The Course and Results of the Plague Outbreaks in King William's Town, 1900 - 1907" (Honours Article, University of South Africa, 1987), pp. 16 - 17.

61. Cape Mercury, 17/6/1901, "'King' Day by Day".

62. CAD, 3/KWT 1/4/1/3, Sanitary Committee Minutes, 4/5/1899.

In October 1899, without any public explanation, the Council decided to discontinue the sweeping of one of the busiest areas in the town, Maclean Square.⁶³ Refuse removal to the tip site at the edge of town was usually performed by two ash wagons. A third was brought into service during the plague scare in 1901.⁶⁴ The work was generally done in a slapdash manner. Only in June 1901 was a tarpaulin provided for one wagon to prevent the rubbish from blowing all over town.⁶⁵ The main town dump, on the hill above Brownlee Station, was situated with callous disregard for the health and comfort of the residents of the location. In 1898 the Rev. J. Harper complained on behalf of the residents of the inconvenience of the town's refuse being dumped near the station:

"Very often the rubbish is set on fire and the smoke and smell from the burning refuse is most objectionable. When the wind is in the east the inconvenience is very great, one cannot open door or window without the house being filled with the smoke and smell of burning refuse".⁶⁶

No refuse removal was provided for the locations, although on a few occasions the Council considered trying to force the residents of Brownlee Station to remove their own refuse.⁶⁷ Here too, the typical double standards applied by the Council surfaced. The people of Brownlee Station were expected to carry rubbish, but when the troops of the Military Reserve needed a tip site, to save transport costs, a site much closer to Brownlee was chosen. It represented an even greater danger to the health of the residents than the town dump:

"We inhabitants of Brownlee Station are made to suffer much trouble and annoyance by the Town Council deposition the rubbish in close proximity to the Station. This is done notwithstanding a notice board stands near forbidding the deposit of rubbish there. For some days past the rubbish heap has been burning, giving of (sic) great volumes of smoke and evil smelling odours".⁶⁸

63. CAD, 3/KWT 1/1/14, p. 425, Council Minutes.

64. CAD, 3/KWT 1/1/15, p. 63, Council Minutes, 26/3/1901.

65. Cape Mercury, 12/6/1901, "Borough Council".

66. Cape Mercury, 27/10/1898, "Borough Council".

67. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/31, Enclosure to Letter: J. Harper - S. Scott, Town Clerk, 9/2/1898.

68. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/31, Letter: J. Harper - S. Scott, Town Clerk, 23/11/1899.

Infectious diseases and the causes of disease were something of a pre-occupation with municipal authorities in the nineteenth century.⁶⁹ This is understandable in the light of the problems posed by urbanization. How municipalities coped with the problems is one aspect. Equally important is how they defined and understood the problems. In the case of King William's Town enteric fever and typhoid were major issues. A summary of the outbreaks of infectious disease in the 1898-99 municipal year is provided in Table 6.1. It would seem that the Council's concern, and that expressed by the residents from time to time, was justified. Strict records were kept of the death rates by the Registrar of Births and Deaths and by the King William's Town Burial Board. Residents and officials perceived King William's Town to be a particularly unhealthy place.⁷⁰ This was especially so after the annual meeting of the Burial Board in 1900, when the Rev. Hugo Gutsche drew attention to the high mortality rate in King William's Town, especially for infants.⁷¹

In an effort to address the problems, the authorities groped towards several theories as to the transmission of diseases. They latched onto three theories: the contaminated air theory, the waterborne theory and the contaminated soil theory. Each theory was held to be the correct one at different times and with differing degrees of conviction. In attempting to explain the problems of urban sanitation and mortality in terms of these theories the Council was, of course, by no means unique.

Although the precise origins of epidemics were not known, the connection between concentrations of humanity and disease was obvious. The idea of airborne infection by smells led to the theory of "putrid miasmata" - the idea that infection and disease originated in the "noxious gasses emitted from decaying

69. See for example treatments of the topic in M. Gibbens, "Two Decades in the Life of a City Grahamstown 1862 - 1882" (MA Thesis, Rhodes University, 1982), Chapter 5; K. S. Hunt, "The Development of Municipal Government in the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope with Special Reference to Grahamstown (1827 - 1862)", Archives Year Book for South African History (Government Printer, Cape Town, 1963), Chapter 5; R-M. Sellick, "A Study in Local History: Grahamstown 1883 - 1904" (MA Thesis, Rhodes University, 1983), Chapter 5; N. D. Southey, "A Period of Transition: A History of Grahamstown, 1902 - 1918" (MA Thesis, Rhodes University, 1984), Chapter 5.

70. Cape Mercury, 5/6/1899, Editorial, "The Borough Council".

71. CAD, 3/KWT A1/2, Annual Report, 1900.

TABLE 6.1 INFECTIOUS DISEASES NOTIFIED DURING THE 1898-99 MUNICIPAL YEAR, KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

LOCALITY	TYPHOID		DIPHThERIA		ENTERIC		SCARLET FEVER	
	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B
Alexandra Road	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	-
Alice Street	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Albert Road	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Amatola Row	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Barracks	-	-	1	-	54	-	-	-
Brownlee Location	-	3	-	-	-	5	-	-
Buffalo Road	2	-	-	-	2	1	-	-
Beasley Location	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Cambridge Road	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
Durban Street	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
Louisa Street	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Mount Street	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Market Square	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
Napier Street	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Peters Street	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Queens Road	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-
Reserve	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Smith Street	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Taylor Street	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tsolo Location	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
Victoria Street	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
TOTALS	10	5	4	0	71	11	1	0

Source: Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1899 (Kaffrarian Steam Printing Co., King William's Town, 1899), p. 24.
 Abbreviations: W = Whites B = Blacks

matter".⁷² This view is reflected in a number of ways in King William's Town in this period, especially in the minds of the ordinary public. In 1900 Baker, Baker & Co. sent a detailed complaint about the gutters in Downing Street. The result of the poor gutters

"is that a most diabolical stench arises from the gutter, endangering the health of the town ... it is our opinion that the drain in question has had much to do about the typhoid which has afflicted a number of our staff".⁷³

The link between rotten smells and disease was also propounded by Councillor W. Behr, a member of the Council Sanitation Committee, "I can safely say that but very few people know the number of these filthy drains reeking with disease".⁷⁴

This view was also held by the Medical Officer of Health in 1901 when he gave evidence in a case the Council was prosecuting against a butcher for soaking hides on his premises:

"I consider the smell arising from these casks injurious to health. I attended two cases of typhoid fever on either side of his house and such a smell is likely to give rise to it".⁷⁵

The idea that the town's defective water supply could be the problem occasionally took hold. This is reflected in the Sanitary Inspector's detailed schedule of the outbreaks of typhoid, diphtheria, enteric and scarlet fever in 1899. In each case he set out whether the residence in which the disease occurred was supplied from the high level or low level reservoir.⁷⁶

This theory was, however, supplanted by the contaminated soil theory in the minds of the King William's Town medical fraternity. This is well illustrated by the lengthy report of the Acting Medical Officer of Health, Draper Bishop, on the enteric outbreaks in the Military Reserve. He concluded that the disease was

72. E. Gouldie, Cruel Habitations A History of Working-Class Housing 1780 - 1918 (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1974), p. 74.

73. Cape Mercury, 11/7/1900, "Borough Council".

74. Cape Mercury, 31/8/1899, Letter to Editor by Behr.

75. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/320, Case 442, 8/7/1901.

76. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of his Worship the Mayor ... 1899, p. 34.

caused by an accumulation of contamination in the soil.⁷⁷ This theory also led the Medical Officer of Health in 1900, Dr H. M. Chute, to actively undermine the Council's efforts to establish a prisoner of war camp for 2 500 Boers in the middle of town, next to the Buffalo River.⁷⁸

In fact, enteric, like typhoid, was associated with poor sanitation and the water supply. The town's water supply was a cause of concern well prior to the outbreak of the war and nothing was done to improve the situation during the war years. Water was drawn from two points on the Buffalo River a few miles upstream. It gravitated to two reservoirs on the northern slopes above the Military Reserve, the High Level Reservoir and the Low Level Reservoir. From there it was distributed through the town by gravitation. The capacity of the water supply had not kept pace with the increase in the size of the town. During the summer months, when good rains fell, the problem was ignored. During the winter months and in times of drought townspeople became conscious of the problem. Various solutions were proposed, only to be shelved when the rains came:

"This water question has again reached the acute phase for about the tenth time, and everyone seems to have again rediscovered the fact that something should be done. It is a positive insult and injury to the town that every summer should find us in these ever-recurring straits".⁷⁹

It was particularly galling for residents that King William's Town, situated on the banks of the Buffalo River, should be at the mercy of the seasons to such an extent:

"It is worse than a crime - it is a wicked blunder - that a town so favourably situated should be in such ridiculous straits".⁸⁰

Both 1898 and 1899 were years of drought and hardship. Water for irrigation was stopped. Residents were only supplied with water for two hours a day. The municipality was reduced to joining up the pools of standing water in the Buffalo River with trenches for fifteen miles to get water. The Council also investigated possible places to sink boreholes.⁸¹

77. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/41, Letter: Draper Bishop, M.O.H. - Borough Council, [no date, 1899?].

78. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/41, Letter: Chute, MOH - Mayor & Councillors, 13/9/1900.

79. Cape Mercury, 21/12/1899, Sub-editorial, "Water".

80. Cape Mercury, 22/12/1898, "The Water Question".

81. Cape Mercury, 1/8/1900. "Borough Council".

The inadequate supply of water had serious repercussions. No water for irrigation meant vegetables could not be grown. Fetid slop water in the drains could not be flushed away. Clothes were washed in stagnant pools in the Buffalo River. Butchers used the same sort of water for washing carcasses. Domestic consumption was curtailed and industries suffered. One of the woolwashers pleaded with the Council in 1900 after his water was cut off:

"Will you please see if you cannot afford some relief to the woolwashers and millers at the present time. I have not done any work at my woolwash since Friday owing to want of water".⁸²

Similarly, R. Symons, who ran a cartage business and wagonmaking works complained in December 1899 that he had a hundred mules and horses to water every day and the taps ran at a dribble, and that he could not put iron tyres on the wagon wheels without water.⁸³

The Council was well aware of the significance of the water supply to the town and its industries. As early as 1896 the members of the Waterworks Committee noted:

"The Members of your Committee have earnestly considered the very momentous questions that have been submitted to them in regard to the water supply of the town and they are fully alive to the fact that the questions involved are of vital importance to the present and future prosperity of King William's Town ..."⁸⁴

The problem, as the committee defined it, was that large quantities of water flowed passed their doors into the Indian Ocean daily. It was lost because of "defective and inadequate hydraulic arrangements".⁸⁵

By 1898 it was abundantly clear that the quantity of water in the existing system was decreasing while demand was growing. In 1891 the municipality drew 307 000 gallons per day. In 1896 this had decreased to 271 800 gallons per day. In 1897 this had further declined to 227 000 gallons per day. Since 1890 over 400 new irrigation leadings had been taken out of the supply and 200 new connections had been made for

82. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/10/9, Letter: McPhearson - Town Clerk, 24/4/1900.

83. Cape Mercury, 22/12/1899, "Borough Council".

84. CAD, 3/KWT 1/4/1/2, Waterworks Committee Minutes, 23/10/1896.

85. CAD, 3/KWT 1/4/1/2, Waterworks Committee Minutes, 23/10/1896.

domestic use.⁸⁶ The quality of water was also declining, largely due to more intensive cultivation in the catchment area of the dam. This had obvious implications for the health of residents as the water was not filtered.⁸⁷ The effects of this were especially felt in 1898 and again in 1902 when two people committed suicide in the reservoir. In August 1898 the body of a suicide victim was found in the Upper Reservoir some time after he had disappeared. The water - some 450 000 gallons - was drained and lost and the town was threatened with water restrictions.⁸⁸ In October 1902 the body of a man who had disappeared in July was found in the town's water storage dam. The Cape Mercury probably understated the feelings of the consumers when it reported:

"The fact that the body has been lying in the dam, the water from which is used for domestic purposes in town, is not pleasant to think of ... "⁸⁹

The quality of the water supply and the need for proper filtration were problems which the town's Medical Officer of Health brought to the attention of the Council.⁹⁰ One aspect of which he could not have known was lead poisoning. The pipes carrying water to consumers in the town were joined with lead, often in excess quantities. The Council had a regular programme of scraping the pipes to remove freshwater mussels and other encrustations. This yielded large quantities of lead. As much as twelve and a half pounds was removed from one pipe and twenty-four and a half from another.⁹¹ The effect of lead contamination on the townspeople, if any, is unclear.

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86. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1899, p. 3.
87. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1898, Health Report, p. 22.
88. Cape Mercury, 13/8/1898, "The Strange Disappearance".
89. Cape Mercury, 30/10/1902, "The Mysterious Disappearance".
90. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1898, Health Report, p. 22.
91. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1899, p. 3.

The water supply problems were not adequately addressed by the Council in this period. It was only in 1905, during Ginsberg's term of office as mayor, that the Borough Council raised a loan for the large-scale project which became known as the Maden Dam. The twin motivation at that stage was the provision of a good supply of water for new houses which had been built by the town's elite on the hill to the east of the town and which could not be properly supplied by the old system; and the provision of water to industries in King William's Town.⁹²

One of the striking features of municipal government in King William's Town at the turn of the century was the singular inability of successive Borough Councils to provide long-term solutions for the universal problems of urbanization facing them: the provision of adequate water supplies, the efficient removal of refuse and slops, the provision of proper facilities for the slaughter of animals and for the washing of clothes and the construction of durable streets and gutters. In part this may have been because the councillors involved lacked foresight and experience in dealing with urbanization. But a large part of the answer lies in the time and resources expended in controlling blacks in locations and in trying to establish segregated residential areas. Genuine sanitation solutions such as improving water supplies and the removal of slops were set aside in the pursuit of ideological solutions. The pursuit of a racially segregated town, under the impetus of the sanitation syndrome, was at the expense of real sanitation issues associated with urbanization.

6.3 Locations : Better Order and Progress in Social Ways

Although there were no legal restrictions on blacks living in King William's Town on the eve of the South African War, most of them lived in the locations attached to the town. Two of these, Brownlee Station and Ridsdel, were located on the northern periphery of King William's Town next to the Military Reserve. Brownlee was the oldest and largest of the black residential areas in King William's Town. It seems to have attracted a fairly heterogeneous population. It served as a residential area for the lower classes generally, rather than as a black location. Its population was largely black in so far as these categories tended to overlap to a large degree in colonial society. From the municipal burial registers it is clear that amongst those

92. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1907, pp. 7 - 18.

residing at Brownlee Station were (in the classification and terminology of the day): Hottentots, Natives, Kaffirs, Fingos, Indians, Bechuanas and Dutch.⁹³ Brownlee residents may even have taken in and given shelter to homeless whites. In January 1900 Lazarus Prodbresky, a penniless and homeless Russian Jew, was taken in by Hottentots on the outskirts of the town.⁹⁴

Brownlee Station, for the most part, was built on land that was claimed by the London Missionary Society. Ridsdel, on the higher ground alongside Brownlee, was intended for "a better class" of black. The huts had to be square and have at least two rooms. Brownlee and Ridsdel had a combined population in 1897 of 1 070 people.⁹⁵

The other two locations, Tsolo and Bidhli (sometimes also known as Beasley), were situated across the Buffalo River away from the town. Tsolo appears to have been started in about 1895. By 1897 it had a population of some 559 residents. Bidhli had 167 residents in 1897.⁹⁶ The total number of location inhabitants in 1900, according to Council estimates, was 2 175.⁹⁷

Each location was subjected to some sort of religious influence. The London Missionary Society operated at Brownlee Station. The Salvation Army worked amongst the residents of Ridsdel, Tsolo and Bidhli. The Rev. John Harper, the resident missionary of the London Missionary Society, lived at Brownlee Station. Captain Aikin, a female representative of the Salvation Army lived at Tsolo. She stayed in a "mean hut amongst Natives" with a black female companion, teaching children the three Rs, and visiting sick

93. King William's Town Borough Council, Burial Register, Jan. 1898 - Dec. 1905; Cape Mercury, 25/10/1901, "'King' Day by Day".

94. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/312, Case 63, 27/1/1900.

95. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1898, p. 18.

96. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1898, p. 18.

97. Cape Mercury, 21/11/1900, "Borough Council".

people.⁹⁸ The Presbyterians, through the Rev. D. L. Erskine, were also involved in Tsolo, but details are sketchy.⁹⁹ When the Rev. Peter Lisa of the Ethiopian Church applied for a site to build a church at Tsolo the Council initially granted his request. Then, much to the approval of John Tengo Jabavu, it rejected the application, since Ethiopianism "was at present giving a great deal of trouble in South Africa".¹⁰⁰

The interaction of sanitation issues with racial attitudes in the minds of whites at the turn of the century has been characterised as the "sanitation syndrome" by Maynard Swanson.¹⁰¹ Examples of municipal officials and councillors expressing themselves in the manner that Swanson highlighted are numerous:

"The sanitary condition of our Locations is of great importance. We have a large number of native servants in town, and the risk of contagion is very great, and I am sure anything which tends to lessen the risk will heartily commend itself ..."¹⁰²

Taking the analysis further, Vivian Bickford-Smith linked Swanson's "sanitation syndrome" to class:

"Sanitation rhetoric, in the colonial context the 'sanitation syndrome' explored by Maynard Swanson, demanded that a cordon sanitaire should protect a dominant class characterised by its 'whiteness' from the threat of disease presented by the inherently unrespectable lower classes characterised by their 'other than whiteness'. Such rhetoric incorporated, of course, a rationalisation of class position based on racial criteria".¹⁰³

The Council's handling of location matters was characterised by a high-handed paternalism, by neglect and by double standards. Councillors tended to dictate what measures were necessary. The wishes of the location residents were generally disregarded. Although expecting high standards of sanitation from the location residents, the Council supplied inferior services when these were supplied at all. There was no

98. Cape Mercury, 29/9/1898, "Life in the Locations".

99. Cape Mercury, 23/7/1898, "Day by Day".

100. Imvo, 21/8/1899, no heading.

101. M. W. Swanson, "The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900 - 1909", Journal of African History, XVIII (3) 1977, p. 387.

102. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1898, p. 19.

103. V. Bickford-Smith, "A 'Special Tradition' of Multi-racialism? Segregation in Cape Town in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries", in W. G. James & M. Simons (Eds.), The Angry Divide. Social and Economic History of the Western Cape (David Philip, Cape Town, 1989), p. 55.

refuse removal in the locations. When new bye-laws for municipal locations were being prepared in 1898, the Reverend J. Harper at Brownlee suggested that places be demarcated for the deposit of rubbish. These, he argued, should be a reasonable distance from the location as the residents would have to transport everything by hand.¹⁰⁴ No running water was supplied to Tsolo, Ridsdel or Bidhli. The problems with the water supply had been brought to the attention of the municipality as far back as 1888. At that stage there was only one tap in Brownlee, despite the fact that the pipe supplying King William's Town passed the Station. The tap, which was outside Harper's house away from the main part of the location, served between 800 and 900 people.¹⁰⁵ The only supply at Brownlee in 1899 was to a central cement tank, the surroundings of which were frequently a polluted mass of mud.¹⁰⁶ The Council, when alerted to the muddy surroundings of the cement tank responded in characteristic fashion. The people of Brownlee should "keep the tank clean, otherwise the water should be cut off".¹⁰⁷

The only available source of water for the residents of Tsolo and Bidhli was the Buffalo River. These locations were situated at a point below where the slops from Fleet Ditch and the effluent from the tannery entered the river. In June 1898 the Council briefly contemplated supplying running water to these locations. The laying of a three inch main along the bank of the river was investigated. A survey of the residents of the locations to see if they were prepared to pay a small charge for water revealed that only 30 out of 600 people living there were prepared to pay 2/6 per annum. The idea was abandoned "as this is not sufficient to pay the interest on the amount required to undertake the work".¹⁰⁸ It could, however, be argued that the Council was collecting revenue in the form of hut rent and dog tax from the locations and that very little was being put back.

104. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/31, Enclosure to Letter: Harper - S. Scott, Town Clerk, 9/2/1898.

105. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/31, Letter: Harper - Town Clerk, 6/11/1888.

106. Cape Mercury, 3/8/1899, "Borough Council"; Cape Mercury, 10/10/1900, "Borough Council".

107. Cape Mercury, 3/8/1899, "Borough Council".

108. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1899, p. 13.

TABLE 6.2 REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE, KING WILLIAM'S TOWN LOCATIONS, 1897-98 AND 1898-99.						
YEAR	REVENUE			EXPENDITURE		
	£	s	d	£	s	d
1897-98	111	3	3	88	12	10
1898-99	97	17	2	112	10	9

Source: Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1898, pp. 44 - 45; Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1899, pp. 44 - 45.

TABLE 6.3 REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE, GRAHAMSTOWN LOCATIONS, 1897-98 AND 1898-99.						
YEAR	REVENUE			EXPENDITURE		
	£	s	d	£	s	d
1897-98	296	14	4	129	0	1
1898-99	238	0	0	75	14	4

Source: R-M. Sellick, "A Study in Local History: Grahamstown 1883 - 1904", p. 153.

Table 6.2 provides a comparison of the income and expenditure for the locations in this period. Table 6.3 is a statement of income and expenditure of the Grahamstown Council on locations in the same period. By way of comparison, the King William's Town Council was not blatantly exploiting its locations, as its counterpart in Grahamstown was doing, but the expenditure figures are misleading in that they also cover social control - the headmen's expenses and accommodation. The Council's expenditure of £140-18-7 on a reception for the Governor of the Cape Colony in 1898 puts their expenditure on the locations in perspective.¹⁰⁹ In the end, expenditure on social control enjoyed a higher priority. In the month following the decision not to install water pipes, money was spent appointing a Native Constable as Headman of Tsolo and in erecting a guard room, "in order to ensure a better condition of things".¹¹⁰

109. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1898, p. 44.

110. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1899, p. 13.

All this was not lost on some of the residents of the town. "Skim" criticised the Council for generally neglecting the social welfare and moral improvement of the locations:

"They seem to regard these places merely as sources of revenue and labour supply for the towns; not as places where some of the people have come to stay and make their homes".¹¹¹

Tsolo location from all the reports of beer drinking and apparent lawlessness appeared to be "the very Sodom of modern times". The Council came in for some strong criticism for supposedly countenancing beer brewing and prostitution, but also for collecting hut rents and not spending money on improvements in the locations. Asking the rhetorical question, what do location people get for their rents, he answered:

"Nothing"; not even a glass of pure water in the case of Tsolo and Bidli (sic) Locations".¹¹²

The municipality not only neglected to supply water to the locations, it also attempted to restrict the residents' access to the river. During the drought of 1899 the Council prohibited bathing and the washing of clothes in the Buffalo River below Brownlee Station. This meant residents had nowhere at hand to bathe and that women had to walk long distances carrying bundles of linen to places where they could wash.¹¹³ An indignant "Black Briton" quite correctly pointed out that the situation at Brownlee was bad enough without the Council taking water away instead of providing it:

"The sanitation at the Station is bad enough and this prohibition makes it worse ... As cleanliness, which is next to godliness, cannot be preserved without the use of this precious liquid, I am afraid that this prohibition will encourage uncleanness amongst those who do not care to go such long distances for washing".¹¹⁴

The letter also referred to the recent cases of typhoid and enteric, adding that the Council's actions would not improve the situation.¹¹⁵

111. Cape Mercury, 14/1/1902, Letter to Editor by "Skim".

112. Cape Mercury, 14/1/1902, Letter to Editor by "Skim".

113. Cape Mercury, 8/7/1899, Letter to Editor by "A Black Briton".

114. Cape Mercury, 8/7/1899, Letter to Editor by "A Black Briton".

115. Cape Mercury, 8/7/1899, Letter to Editor by "A Black Briton".

A petition signed by the Brownlee Station Committee was sent to the Council in August 1899, appealing for the lifting of the restrictions.¹¹⁶ A recommendation by the Borough Ranger, who was responsible for all commonage matters, that the Council grant the petitioners' requests was hotly followed by a demands from a group of whites who resided near Brownlee, demanding that the restrictions be maintained.¹¹⁷

Brownlee Station appears to have been the only location the Council deigned to supply with latrines. The system adopted in 1898 consisted of a series of trenches, with a moveable structure of wood and corrugated iron erected on a trench. The latrine was moved along as the trench filled, and earth was thrown on the contents daily.¹¹⁸ The Sanitary Inspector, in a statement that epitomised the double standards applied to location matters stated, "The system is most repulsive to a European".¹¹⁹ Yet, he was bold in his praise of the "new and improved kind" of latrine at Brownlee:

"I see no other improvement to be made in this direction as the Natives will only use this kind of privy".¹²⁰

This was, in fact, patently untrue. The residents of Brownlee found the latrines highly objectionable. They were unlike anything else in operation in the town, were dangerous, undignified and dirty. The Rev. John Harper pointed out:

"I find on conferring with some of the leading men here that their reluctance to use such conveniences arises from the unsuitable character of the latrines now provided. They declare that they are most objectionable further disgusting (sic). They consist I am told of a trench with a bar across in front. The whole is open & exposed and often the floor or standing place is used by people and the whole place is repugnant to cleanly people as the Kaffirs are in this particular matter. Such places will never be acceptable to them".¹²¹

116. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/45, Petition: Brownlee Station Committee - Council, 1/8/1899.

117. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/45, Letter: Schroeder et al - Mayor, August 1899.

118. CAD, 3/KWT, 1/4/1/3, Location Committee Minutes, 9/9/1898.

119. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1898, Sanitary Report, p. 31.

120. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1899, Sanitary Report, p. 31.

121. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/31, Letter: J. Harper - S.W. Scott, Town Clerk, 10/2/1898.

Instead, the residents wanted latrines of a similar kind to those in use for blacks at the office of the Special Magistrate. The residents themselves penned their objections a few days later:

"Places put up for this purpose, are very objectionable - are filthy dangerous, and not in any way resemble the ordinary closets".¹²²

So much for the Council's much-vaunted new system which could not be improved. The Sanitary Inspector was either wilfully misleading the Council or performed his duties in such a way that he simply assumed what was best for the residents. Not much attention appears to have been paid to the residents' objections. In 1902 the Council was still trying to refine the system.¹²³

The locations were all on the town commonage and administered as part of the town by the Borough Council. In all the locations except Brownlee Station the residents paid a tax on the site they occupied, not the hut itself. They were subject to various bye-laws, which were usually enforced by the Borough Ranger, the Borough Police or the Headmen.¹²⁴

The bye-laws they enforced included a prohibition on beer brewing, regulations on the chopping of wood, limits on the number of animals allowed, and restrictions on hunting on the commonage, bathing and washing clothing in the river. They also observed and reported on outbreaks of illness and any other irregularities. It is in the Headmen's role as observers that the key to location administration lay. They served as the eyes and ears of the Council amongst the location residents.

Other measures went so far as to control the clothing visitors wore in the locations, although this might have been an example of the Borough Ranger's excessive enthusiasm rather than deliberate Council policy. In 1900 he reported, "I know every Native male, as well as females, have the necessary garments and must wear them when visiting".¹²⁵

122. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/31, Enclosure to Letter: J. Harper - S. Scott, Town Clerk, 14/2/1898.

123. CAD, 3/KWT 1/4/1/4, Sanitary Committee Minutes, 20/2/1902.

124. See Chapter 7 for fuller discussion.

125. Cape Mercury, 5/12/1900, "Borough Council".

Social control of the residents of Brownlee and Tsolo received a much higher priority than the provision of water, refuse removal and acceptable latrines. The Headmen were appointed by the Council from the ranks of the Borough Police, the cost being shared by the government. Captain, the Headman of Brownlee in 1899, was a fifty year old Zulu, with the rank of Native detective. He earned £54 per annum and had enlisted in 1892.¹²⁶ The Headmen, although living in the locations, were not part of the location communities. This was partly the result of the function they performed and also the consequence of deliberate Council policy. Both the Brownlee and Tsolo Headmen lived in hired huts until November 1899, when iron "houses" were erected for them. This was ostensibly because staying in hired huts lowered their esteem in the eyes of those they were supposed to supervise.¹²⁷

The Headmen do not appear to have enjoyed much legitimacy amongst their fellow location residents. Brownlee Station had its own Station Committee, which in 1899 consisted of John Ross Kota, James Ntshona, Klaas Botha, Toise Zondani, Faltani Jonah and Bikani Soga.¹²⁸ From internal evidence it appears to have consisted of both mission-educated and illiterate blacks. Of these Kota (a schoolmaster), Ntshona (a printer), Soga (a storeman), Zondani (a packer), and Bovana (a coachman) were registered voters.¹²⁹ The Headman of Brownlee was not a member of the committee.

The Headman of Brownlee, or at least his wife, evoked the open hostility of one of the residents on at least one occasion. Whilst assaulting her, a man by the name of Charlie made the telling statement that even the wife of a Headman could be beaten.¹³⁰ The Headmen who did not represent the interests of the Council to the satisfaction of the municipal officials received short shrift. Kobus, the Headman of Tsolo, and the

126. CAD, AG 736, Enclosure, "Record of Service of Borough Police of K Wtn," in Letter: Acting Resident Magistrate - Secretary Law Department, 24/3/1899.

127. Cape Mercury, 8/11/1899, "Borough Council".

128. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/45, Petition: Brownlee Station Committee - Borough Council, 1/8/1899.

129. Cape of Good Hope, List of Persons Residing in the Electoral Division of King William's Town ... 1899 ... Qualified to Vote (W. A. Richard & Sons, Cape Town, 1899), pp. 33 - 69.

130. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/321, Case 600, 19/9/1901.

Borough Ranger became embroiled in a dispute in 1899.¹³¹ In April 1902 the Council decided to engage Bearshank, a white, to supervise Tsolo, Bidhli and the newly-established Ginsberg location. He was also to assist in policing the commonage, all for 6/- a day.¹³² The main motivation appears to have been better supervision of the locations during the plague outbreak.

The question of the administrative control of Tsolo, Bidhli and Ridsdell was fairly straightforward. It was municipal land and the Council granted sites for the building of huts and collected rent. Prospective residents seeking a building site had to apply to the Council for a site and for permission to build a hut. The fact that residents paid tax on the site and not on their buildings led to problems for the Council. In Tsolo in 1899 there were 114 huts, but only 90 sites on which rent was collected.¹³³ This was something the Council sought to change when new bye-laws were being considered at the end of 1898. Brownlee, however, was the subject of an ongoing dispute between the Council and the Rev. John Harper, the resident missionary. Harper maintained that part of Brownlee was owned by the London Missionary Society and that the other part, eight acres, had been specifically reserved for the Society from the control of the Council by Sir George Grey.¹³⁴ Harper claimed the right to allocate plots and grant permission to build huts at Brownlee. In the latter part of 1897 and the first months of 1898, the Council attempted to tighten its control of the locations through new bye-laws. These would, inter alia, allow the forcible removal of people who kept "disorderly huts", allow the confiscation of their huts, give municipal officials free entry into any huts (i.e. without a warrant), provide severe penalties for arrears in rent, compel residents to register livestock, restrict the entry of strangers into the locations, and enforce refuse removal and the use of latrines.¹³⁵

Harper, whilst seeking to ameliorate some of the harsher points, welcomed the increased social control the new regulations promised:

131. CAD, 3/KWT 1/1/1/14, p. 421, Council Minutes, 10/10/1899.

132. CAD, 3/KWT 1/4/1/4, Sanitary and Locations Joint Committee Minutes, 8/4/1902.

133. Kaffrarian Watchman, 26/4/1899, "Borough Council".

134. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/31, Letter: J. Harper - S. Scott, Town Clerk, 9/2/1898.

135. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/31, Letter: J. Harper - S. Scott, Town Clerk, 9/2/1898.

"I shall welcome the more extended rule of the Council over the Station I have long wished to see some such system of rules as are now proposed which I hope will tend to the better order & progress of the people in social ways".¹³⁶

But he also tried to use his acceptance of the regulations to bolster his own position and gain the Borough Council's recognition of the London Missionary Society's dominant role. Amongst the preconditions he set were that all applications for residence at Brownlee would be made to the resident missionary; and that the rules would be amended as he suggested. The exception was the rent ("hut tax"), which had to be dropped as it could not be collected on mission-owned property. He later engaged attorneys to press his views.¹³⁷

For their part, the Brownlee residents sought nothing more than the same treatment that other burgesses received. They wanted the same type of latrines used in town; they wanted to pay rates rather than hut taxes; and they wanted shops, just like the rest of King William's Town. The existing trading station at Brownlee, enjoyed a monopoly and was unacceptable:

"Shops.- Locations should be placed in the same position as town. Council ought not to interfere, but parties desirous of trading should get licenses the same as in town".¹³⁸

One of the issues that most frequently raised the ire of the councillors and municipal officials was the question of beer brewing in the locations.¹³⁹ This, perhaps more than anything else, indicated the limitations of their power. At the same time, beer brewing was associated, at least in the minds of most whites and mission-educated blacks, with licentious behaviour and the debilitation of the workforce. The women of Tsolo were the most active in brewing beer, although the women of Brownlee also did so. That beer brewing was a traditional cultural activity and the result a nutritional, wholesome drink, was of no consequence if it was ever considered.¹⁴⁰ A steady stream of cases appeared before the Resident Magistrate, the result of beer raids by the Borough Police and the Borough Ranger.

136. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/31, Letter: J. Harper - S. Scott, Town Clerk, 9/2/1898.

137. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/31, Letter: J. Harper - S. Scott, Town Clerk, 9/2/1898.

138. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/31, Enclosure to Letter: J. Harper - S. Scott, Town Clerk, 14/2/1898.

139. See Chapter 3 for detailed discussion.

140. P. la Hausse, Brewers, Beerhalls and Boycotts (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1988), pp. 7 - 9.

Occasionally residents physically resisted beer raids, which only served to confirm the Council's worst fears about the breakdown of law and order unrestricted beer brewing caused.¹⁴¹ In November 1901 residents of Tsolo resisted a Borough Police raid. Two women and four men were arrested and charged with beer brewing and resisting arrest. The women were found guilty and each received sentences of £2 fines or 14 days hard labour. The men each received sentences of a fine of £4 or one month hard labour.¹⁴² The Borough Ranger, somewhat alarmed at the location residents' audacity in defending themselves, advised the Council:

"This resisting the police is becoming a frequent occurrence, making it unsafe to visit the Tsolo on business, and some plan should be brought into force to get rid of the ring leaders".¹⁴³

The Council suffered a temporary setback in its crusade in April 1900. A case against Emily Tonise of Tsolo was dismissed on a technicality. She had been charged with contravening Borough bye-laws framed in accordance with Act 12 of 1893. The Acting Resident Magistrate believed that this had been suspended or superseded by Act 28 of 1898. Before proof of mere possession of beer could be accepted, proof had to be given that an authorised search in terms of the Act had occurred.¹⁴⁴ Three other cases were similarly dismissed and the Council was thrown into confusion.¹⁴⁵ But the respite was temporary. The Resident Magistrate soon started accepting the indictments again.

The highpoint in location matters, at least in the Council's estimation, was the creation of "a model location", Ginsberg location, alongside Tsolo in 1901. The bubonic plague outbreak played an important part in motivating the councillors in this direction.¹⁴⁶ What Sharon Caldwell found in her research substantially undermined what was until then the received version of the establishment of Ginsberg. Bateman argued it

141. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/313, Case 198, 2/4/1900.

142. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/322, Cases 730 - 732, 15/11/1901.

143. Cape Mercury, 27/11/1901, "Borough Council".

144. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/313, Case 198, 2/4/1900.

145. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/313, Cases 261, 262 and 263, 10/5/1900.

146. S. E. Caldwell, "The Course and Results of the Plague Outbreaks", p. 40.

was established by the Council in 1891 to house people who were to be removed from Brownlee Station.¹⁴⁷

The bubonic outbreak provided the catalyst for the creation of the new location. It was in fact the culmination of several earlier calls for the segregation of the town. The plague precaution measures instituted in 1901 provided a convenient pretext to establish the location and force black residents out of the town.¹⁴⁸

In this the Council was singularly unsuccessful. The reasons for its failure to segregate the town on residential lines are worth exploring, especially since this happened at a time when other urban centres successfully enforced similar measures.¹⁴⁹ The genesis of what came to be called Ginsberg location lay in a meeting the Council's Sanitary Committee had with the Commissioner of Crown Lands, Dr T. W. Smartt, and the government plague expert, Prof. Simpson, on 5 April 1901. The meeting was to discuss anti-plague measures. At this meeting, the issue of "Prohibiting Kaffirs living in Town" was raised.¹⁵⁰

According to the Minutes:

"The Comm. of Crown Lands advised that the Council provide accommodation at the Locations, and the Col. Secy. would he thought grant the necessary authority to prevent the Natives from living in town"¹⁵¹

This very neatly slotted into the Council's thinking and into demands which had been made in 1898 by white burgesses. The Council seized upon the statement. Not only would blacks be excluded from town, but, as Councillor Leighton pointed out, he was in favour of the Council erecting the huts and thereby becoming landlords. In this way the Council could exercise greater control over the locations.¹⁵²

147. J. A. Bateman, A Century of Public Service, p. 35.

148. S. E. Caldwell, "The Course and Results of the Plague Outbreaks", p. 40.

149. C. Saunders, "The Creation of Ndabeni Urban Segregation and African Resistance in Cape Town", in C. Saunders (Ed.) Studies in the History of Cape Town, Vol. I, (University of Cape Town, Cape Town, 1979), p. 142; J. F. Kirk, "The African Middle Class, Cape Liberalism, and Resistance to Residential Segregation at Port Elizabeth, South Africa, 1880 - 1910" (PhD Thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1987), Chapter 3.

150. CAD, 3/KWT 1/4/1/3, Sanitary Committee Minutes, 5/4/1901.

151. CAD. 3/KWT 1/4/1/3, Sanitary Committee Minutes, 5/4/1901.

152. CAD, 3/KWT 1/1/1/15, p. 68, Council Minutes, 19/4/1901.

It was initially planned to construct 50 huts, each on a site 50 feet by 50 feet. The huts were to be of wattle-and-daub, seventeen feet in diameter, with walls six feet high. Each hut was to have two windows and a door.¹⁵³ The estimated cost was £1-13-4 per hut and the Council proposed charging 10/- per month for each hut. If required, a small six cubic foot kitchen structure would be added to the hut, for a total rent of 12/6 per month.¹⁵⁴ Within seven months the first forty huts were available for leasing. To the Council's surprise and dismay, applications were not from blacks residing in town, but from residents of other locations.¹⁵⁵

The Cape Mercury described the new location in glowing terms in an article called, "The Town and Its Possessions" (sub-titled "A Question of Public Health"). It praised the efforts to segregate the town as "one of the most practical and common sense schemes" undertaken by the Borough Council in recent years.¹⁵⁶

It firmly justified the establishment of Ginsberg location in terms of the sanitation syndrome:

"Under the climatic conditions prevailing in this country, the congregation in towns of great numbers of coloured persons, whose habits are characteristically opposed to European ideas of cleanly comfort, constitutes a very real danger to the public health ... "¹⁵⁷

The article, a clever and well-written piece of propaganda for the Council's new location, is resonant with racial stereotypes and paternalistic assumptions. The aim of the new location, it claimed, was to provide "better housing" for blacks. The site chosen away from town was chosen "for the salubrity and convenience of its situation". The huts were constructed of "the time-honoured wattle-and-daub". To stop overcrowding, the number of occupants was limited to six per hut.¹⁵⁸ This, as much as anything, reveals the double standards at work. In terms of the Council's bye-laws sleeping accommodation had to allow at least 300

153. CAD, 3/KWT 1/4/1/3, Sanitary & Locations Committee Minutes, 19/4/1901.

154. CAD, 3/KWT 1/4/1/3, Sanitary & Locations Committee Minutes, 19/4/1901; 3/KWT 1/4/1/3, Sanitary & Locations Committee Minutes, 6/5/1901.

155. Cape Mercury, 30/10/1901, "Borough Council".

156. Cape Mercury, 15/11/1901, "The Town and Its Possessions".

157. Cape Mercury, 15/11/1901, "The Town and Its Possessions".

158. Cape Mercury, 15/11/1901, "The Town and Its Possessions".

cubic feet for each adult.¹⁵⁹ In the Council's model location, designed to stop overcrowding, this was conveniently forgotten. Furthermore, the Council's efforts were a failure, even judged in terms of its own standards. As Sharon Caldwell has shown, the 1901 estimate was that 700 blacks were living in town. Even if the Council's huts in Ginsberg were fully occupied, only a maximum of 300 people would have been accommodated. Since the figure of 700 was probably below the real number of blacks in town, the Council's efforts were hopelessly inadequate.¹⁶⁰

While whites may have been taken in by the combined propaganda campaign of the Cape Mercury and the Council, black residents of King William's Town were not. At a loss, the Council approached the Administrator of No.2 Military Area in the hope of enforcing the removal of blacks from the town under martial law regulations. Resorting to half-truths and fabrications it stated that the Commissioner of Crown Lands, during his visit in April 1901 had promised that should the Council erect a suitable location outside the town, a proclamation would be issued calling on all blacks (except registered voters and land owners) to live outside the town. But because of "the temporary suspension of parliament" this action would be delayed:

"The Borough Council has erected a Model Location and, given sufficient encouragement, is prepared to extend the principle, but so far has experienced some difficulty in getting the Location already erected tenanted voluntarily by the town Natives".¹⁶¹

After detailing complaints about the conduct of blacks residing in the town, and admitting its inability to cope with "the evil", the Council raised the issue of martial law:

"It is hoped that something might be done by yourself under Martial Law whereby Coloured persons could be compelled to reside outside the precincts of the town in Locations to be provided by the Council".¹⁶²

159. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/310, Case 670, 30/11/1899.

160. S. E. Caldwell, "The Course and Results of the Plague Outbreaks", pp. 41 - 42.

161. CAD, 3/KWT 3/1/1/28, Letter: Town Clerk - Administrator No.2 Area, 28/2/1902.

162. CAD, 3/KWT 3/1/1/28, Letter: Town Clerk - Administrator, No.2 Area, 28/2/1902.

The Administrator was either unwilling or unable to extend martial law to enforce segregation. The Council's next recourse was to the Under Colonial Secretary, to whom they should have appealed in the first place.

Here, too, the Council elevated its collection of wattle-and-daub huts to a "Model Location". What the councillors requested was not blatant discrimination on the grounds of colour, but the "Suggested Removal of Coloured Persons to Model Location Outside King William's Town",¹⁶³ The Under Colonial Secretary was not taken in. After consulting the Native Affairs Department he wrote back:

" ... under existing legislation there is no power by which effect could be given to the Borough Council and the Coloured Population compelled to take up its residence outside the Town".¹⁶⁴

In short, there was no legal basis for enforcing urban residential segregation in King William's Town in April 1902.

6.4 Successes and Failures

By the end of the war the Council was faced with a situation where it had established a new location, but was unable to achieve its goal of segregating the town and establishing a greater measure of control over black residents. Other problems that went unsolved or projects that were unsuccessful in this period were the provision of a better water supply for the town, the construction of municipal slaughterhouses and the erection of municipal wash houses.

The inadequate water supply and the poor general sanitation situation in King William's Town had a particularly negative impact on the town when the imperial authorities bypassed the town as the site for a prisoner of war camp. In September 1900 the Council was approached by the imperial army for a site for a camp for 2 500 Boer prisoners of war. The presence of so many mouths to feed, together with their

163. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/1/3/7, Letter: Under Colonial Secretary - Town Clerk, King William's Town, 28/4/1902.

164. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/1/3/7, Letter: Under Colonial Secretary - Town Clerk, King William's Town, 28/4/1902.

guards, would have provided a much-needed boost to the economy of the town. The Council immediately made land available near the Agricultural Show Grounds above the river.¹⁶⁵ All looked set to occur when the Medical Officer of Health, Dr. H. M. Chute, submitted a report in which he expressed "a strong adverse opinion of the establishment of a camp of prisoners" on the grounds that it would have disastrous consequences on the health of the town.¹⁶⁶ The Council tried to bypass Chute's objections and the Chamber of Commerce intervened with strong support for the camp, but the damage was done. Although arrangements had been agreed to, the imperial authorities decided to build the camp elsewhere.¹⁶⁷ In 1902 the leading townsmen tried to salvage the situation by having a concentration camp located at Fort Murray, but this too came to nothing and it was built at Kabusie near Stutterheim.¹⁶⁸

In other respects, the Council ended the war years on a more successful note. The raising of a £10 000 loan in 1900 enabled the municipality to effectively deal with the sanitation problem posed by Fleet Ditch and inadequate drainage.¹⁶⁹

From January 1902, the Borough Police force was taken over by the Cape government, which undertook to bear the entire cost of policing the town. Prior to that the Council had borne half the cost of the Borough Police force, a constant drain on the town's finances. Although it meant that the Council would no longer have so direct a role in policing the town, the move was generally welcomed.¹⁷⁰

165. CAD, 3/KWT 1/1/1/15, Council Minutes, 11/9/1900; 3/KWT 1/4/1/3, Minutes of Finance Committee, 12/9/1900.

166. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/41, Letter: Chute, MOH - Mayor and Councillors, KWT, 13/9/1900.

167. CAD, 3/KWT 1/1/1/15, Council Minutes, 14/9/1900; Cape Mercury, 22/9/1900, Sub-editorial, "Mistaken".

168. Cape Mercury, 9/1/1902, "Divisional Council"; Cape Mercury, 18/2/1902, Sub-editorial, "Concentration Camp".

169. Cape Mercury, 1/8/1900, "Borough Council".

170. Cape Mercury, 8/1/1902, "Borough Council".

Towards the end of 1902, the Council began moves to upgrade the rather second-rate town hall. The King William's Town town hall, built in 1866, had been an embarrassment to the proud burgesses since the late 1870s.¹⁷¹ The squat stone building did not embody the importance and prosperity of the town. The decision to alter and extend the town hall may have been motivated by faith in the town's continued significance. It was also in response to the magnificent town hall built in East London. If anything symbolised the altered relationship between the two urban centres, it was their town halls. In trying to enlist public support for the idea, T. B. King told a meeting of residents, to loud applause, that the old capital of British Kaffraria deserved far better. The town halls of Grahamstown, Cradock, East London and Queenstown were finer.¹⁷² The alterations and extensions the King William's Town Council cautiously began to consider in 1902 only come to fruition in 1904.¹⁷³

More significantly, after much procrastination and many false starts, the Council signed a contract with a local company to provide the town with electric lighting. The inadequate street lighting and the Council's lacklustre efforts to provide electricity (especially after East London had done so) were constant causes of criticism. Together with the water issue, these were momentous questions for the burgesses. They meant the difference between decline and progress:

"We still have hopes that before long the Borough Council will begin to realise that one part of their duties is to make the town habitable and attractive. It may be subordinate - in their estimation - to the sphere-shaking questions that disturb the civic bosoms at the fortnightly meetings, but it is none the less there ... water and light mean a great deal for any town. They are the first two steps towards municipal prosperity".¹⁷⁴

The contract to produce electricity, more than most things, was taken as evidence of progress rather than the decline many were predicting. The company was a local one, with capital of £24 000 raised locally.¹⁷⁵ However, the matter was not so straightforward. Electricity was eventually installed in 1904. The next year

171. J. A. Bateman, A Century of Public Service, p. 30.

172. Cape Mercury, 3/12/1902, "The Town Hall".

173. J. A. Bateman, A Century of Public Service, p. 32.

174. Cape Mercury, 8/12/1898, "Out of the Depths".

175. Cape Mercury, 18/2/1902, "A Capital Scheme", Cape Mercury, 25/3/1902, "Electric Light Co".

the King William's Town Electric Light and Cold Storage Company was taken over by the Borough Council.¹⁷⁶

Towards the end of the war, the municipality underwent a significant change in status. It would seem that many of the problems experienced by the Council stemmed from the ordinance under which the town had been incorporated in 1864 (Ordinance 9 of 1864). The Municipal Bill of 1895, for example, enabled the East London Council to formulate a series of repressive measures for dealing with its black residents.¹⁷⁷ This was an area in which the King William's Town Council made little headway. It also experienced problems trying to generate municipal revenue by selling land. In 1899 the Council applied to the Colonial Secretary for sanction to sell land and open up new areas for housing. Prior to this land sales had apparently been approved without problems. But this time the government refused to sanction land sales until the Borough Ordinance was amended.¹⁷⁸ This coincided with a general move to revise other municipal regulations, which had been dragging on throughout the war years. In March 1901 the Council instructed its parliamentary agents to prepare a private Bill, to be placed before parliament at the next session.¹⁷⁹ The war and the postponement of parliament interfered with this idea. A year later the mayor called a public meeting to consider the question of the town being placed under the General Municipal Act (Act 45 of 1882).¹⁸⁰ There were two main advantages to this. The Council would be empowered to sell land and frame bye-laws; and Act 30 of 1896 and Act 41 of 1899, ("two very useful Acts") would be applied, thus extending the powers of the General Act. The meeting, which was poorly attended, unanimously approved of the motion.¹⁸¹ A subsequent objection by J. J. Yates, an attorney and a former councillor, drew attention to possible dangers inherent in the change. The repeal of the existing Borough laws, including the

176. J. A. Bateman, A Century of Public Service, p. 57.

177. K. P. T. Tankard, "The Development of East London", p. 405.

178. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1898, p. 15.

179. Cape Mercury, 7/3/1901, "Private Bill".

180. Cape Mercury, 15/3/1902, Editorial, "General Municipal Act".

181. Cape Mercury, 15/3/1902, Editorial, "General Municipal Act".

Water Acts, would place in jeopardy the rights secured by the Water Acts. These water rights were, in his view, "priceless assets, and upon them the present and future prospects - I add the very existence - of the Borough depend."¹⁸² His primary concern was that East London would wrest from King William's Town control of the Buffalo River to its sources. Instead, Yates favoured a consolidated Act which would contain extracts of the General Municipal Act, the Municipal Acts of the larger towns in the Colony, and the Borough Ordinance and Water Acts.¹⁸³ In his reply the mayor revealed that the Council had little alternative but to opt for the General Municipal Act. There was no chance of getting the private Bill through parliament in the session sitting at the time. The repeal of the Borough Ordinance, he had been advised, would in no way jeopardize the King William's Town Water Supply Act (Act 21 of 1881).¹⁸⁴ Thus, soon after the end of the war, the Council prepared to change the town's municipal status. It was to lose its unique and historic ordinance to be incorporated under the General Municipal Act of the Cape Colony.

6.5 Overview

King William's Town received municipal status in 1861. On the outbreak of the war the town was incorporated in terms of Ordinance 9 of 1864, which gave it borough status. The Council and its middle class and upper middle class supporters were inordinately proud of the borough status. This formed the basis of how they defined the town in relation to the wider world. For them, the Empire was a concrete reality, especially in wartime, and they lost no opportunity in projecting the town onto the world stage by sending messages of condolence or congratulations on important occasions.

The Council tended to reflect the concerns and prejudices of the group from which its members were drawn. Although individual councillors sometimes brought with them personal biases, councillors were imbued with a sense of civic pride and they tackled the structural problems of urbanization such as sanitation, street lighting, the provision of adequate water supply and the construction of roads from within the bounds of

182. Cape Mercury, 19/9/1902, Letter to Editor by J. J. Yates.

183. Cape Mercury, 19/9/1902, Letter to Editor by J. J. Yates.

184. Cape Mercury, 23/9/1902, Letter to Editor by T. N. Dyer.

knowledge of their time. In some of these the Council enjoyed modest success. One of its greatest achievements was the overhauling of Fleet Ditch, the open sewer which ran through the centre of the town. In other matters it was less successful, such as in the provision of proper slaughterhouses, the construction of municipal wash houses, and the provision of a good supply of water. Its failure in these matters rested, in large measure, on the time and resources expended on ideological sanitation issues - attempts to establish residential segregation and control black residents in the name of public health. The Council's treatment of black residents in the four municipal locations, although possibly better than the treatment East London blacks received from their Council, was nonetheless characterised by indifference, neglect and double standards. The outbreak of bubonic plague during the course of the war was a great psychological blow to the town in so far as it cast a shadow over the residents' image of the town as a healthy place in which to live. The outbreak of plague provided the pretext for the creation of a "model location", Ginsberg. But even in this the Council's achievements were indifferent. The councillors discovered that there was no legal basis for forcing black residents out of town into the new location. This, and the difficulties the Council experienced with revising the bye-laws and selling municipal land to increase revenue eventually led to a decision to abandon the unique ordinance under which the town was governed. As 1902 drew to a close the Council prepared to relinquish the legal status the town had enjoyed since 1864 and to be incorporated in terms of the General Municipal Act of 1882.

CHAPTER 7 : A CULTURE OF CONTROL AND DOMINATION - CRIME, LEGISLATION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Crime and social control are not aspects which have elicited much interest amongst South African historians. The University of Cape Town Studies in the History of Cape Town series has produced some notable exceptions. Robin Hallett's examination of violence and social life in Cape Town in the early 1900s stands out as a pioneering study.¹ Katherine Elks, in a thesis and a contribution to the series, provided a penetrating study of crime and social control in Cape Town in an earlier period, with particular reference to alcohol consumption.² Some studies have been done by Honours students at the University of Cape Town.³ Don Pinnock, utilising oral history, has produced a number of studies of gangs and society in Cape Town.⁴ The Wits History Workshops, to a more limited extent, have examined some aspects of crime and society.⁵ The best example of the study of crime to illuminate hidden corners of society remain Charles van Onselen's excellent two volumes on the social and economic history of the Witwatersrand.⁶ The success of these probably owes as much to Van Onselen's scintillating style of writing as to the manner in which he focuses on unusual facets of society to illuminate broader economic and social trends.

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1. R. Hallett, "Violence and Social Life in Cape Town in the 1900s", in C. Saunders & H. Phillips (Eds.), Studies in the History of Cape Town, Vol. II (University of Cape Town, Cape Town, 1980), pp. 126 - 176.
 2. K. Elks, "Crime and Social Control in Cape Town, 1830 - 1850", in C. Saunders et. al. (Eds.), Studies in the History of Cape Town, Vol. VI (University of Cape Town, Cape Town, 1988), pp. 25 - 43; K. Elks, "Crime, Community and Police in Cape Town 1825 - 1850" (MA Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1986).
 3. See for example, P. van der Spuy, "Women and Crime: The Involvement of Women in Violent Crime as Processed by the Institutions of Justice in Cape Town 1860 - 1879" (Honours Article, University of Cape Town, 1989).
 4. For example, D. Pinnock, "From Argie Boys to Skollie Gangsters: The Lumpen-proletariat Challenge of the Street-corner Armies in District Six, 1900 - 1951", in C. Saunders & H. Phillips (Eds.), Studies in the History of Cape Town, Vol. III (University of Cape Town, Cape Town, 1980), pp. 131 - 174.
 5. See for example, D. Pinnock, "Stone's Boys and the Making of a Cape Flats Mafia"; and J. Guy and M. Thabane, "The Ma-Rashea: A Participant's Perspective", in B. Bozzoli (Ed.), Class, Community and Conflict (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1987), pp. 418 - 435 and 436 - 456 respectively.
 6. C. van Onselen, Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand, 1886 - 1914, Vol I, New Babylon (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1982); C. van Onselen, Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand, 1886 - 1914, Vol II, New Nineveh (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1982).

Criminal records represent a rich lode which can be effectively mined, not just for information on crime, but also for information on the underclass in society, on labour relations and on a host of related issues.⁷ The criminal records for King William's Town provide insights into the power relations in the small urban community, into just what sort of society existed during the war. They reveal much about the tensions, the cleavages and the points of friction. The most useful material is contained in the Criminal Record Books (the official register of trials) and the Criminal Proceedings (the magistrates' often verbatim notes of evidence heard in cases).⁸ The latter are extremely useful since it is through them that we frequently hear those on trial speak. Unfortunately, the Cape Archives Depot has "weeded" much of the Proceedings beyond 1901. The weeding process is based on a formula issued by the Director of Archives in conjunction with the Department of Justice and was necessitated by the cost of housing such voluminous material.⁹ The extant material serves to emphasise just how tragic a loss this is. It also highlights the need for a re-evaluation of the guidelines utilised by state archives to determine what material is destroyed. Christopher Saunders recently drew attention to the destruction of this material, as well as the fact that the archive services have remained deaf to the entreaties of professional historians for their retention.¹⁰

In addition to the criminal records in the Cape Archives Depot, crime statistics on King William's Town in this period can be found in a number of publications. The annual Mayoral Minutes, published by the Borough Council, provided details on crimes committed in the town in the municipal year under review.¹¹

7. See for example Chapters 2 and 3.

8. Examples of these are CAD, 1/KWT 1/2/1/1/21 Criminal Record Books 1898 Jan - 1899 Sept; 1/KWT 1/1/1/310 Records of Proceedings, 1899 Aug - Oct.

9. Letter: Chief, CAD - D. A. Webb, 10/4/1992.

10. C. Saunders, "Methodological Issues in South African Urban History" (Unpublished draft report for the H.S.R.C., 1990), p. 43.

11. For example, Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of his Worship the Mayor ... 1898 (H.D. Blewitt, King William's Town, 1898), Borough Police Report, pp. 28 - 29.

Additional statistics appear in the annual reports of the Commissioner of the Cape Police for the King William's Town District and in the Annual Statistical Registers, both published by the Cape Parliament.¹²

These records are, of course, not without certain problems. The crime statistics need to be treated with caution. Not every crime was reported or came to trial, so the tendency to view the crime statistics as a record of crimes committed at a particular time should be avoided. The records are, moreover, essentially negative. They shed light on the cleavages in society, on the less savory side of human nature. They say very little about good neighbourliness, co-operation and happy co-existence.¹³ The sheer volume of the material constitutes a flood of information. If one is to balance impressionistic evidence with analysis, computer-aided sorting is a necessity. Processing, sorting, checking and putting the material into a usable form is an extraordinarily time-consuming procedure.

These weaknesses notwithstanding, the criminal records are most useful in that they illuminate power relationships within a given society in a way that no other sources can equal. This is particularly useful in adapting some of the ideas of Michel Foucault to the study of Cape Colonial society in the late nineteenth century. For Foucault, the notion of power is at the centre of Western civilization. "Culture is studied through technologies of power - not class, not progress, not the indomitability of the human spirit."¹⁴ Such an analysis has particular relevance for urban historians as Haines and Buijs argued in 1985.¹⁵ The notion of social control is not without its problems. Gareth Stedman Jones, for example, has criticised it as a conceptual framework historians have borrowed from sociology.¹⁶ At the heart of his objections is the

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12. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G. 35 - '99. Cape of Good Hope. Attorney-General's Ministerial Division, Report ... The Commissioner of Police, King William's Town ... 1898"; Statistical Register of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope ... 1902 (Government Printer, Cape Town, 1903), pp. 282 - 292.
 13. R. Hallett, "Violence and Social Life", p. 176.
 14. P. O'Brien, "Michel Foucault's History of Culture", in L. Hunt (Ed.), The New Cultural History (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1989), p. 34.
 15. R. Haines & G. Buijs (Eds.), The Struggle for Social and Economic Space : Urbanization in Twentieth Century South Africa (University of Durban-Westville, Durban, 1985), p. ix.
 16. G. Stedman Jones, Languages of Class Studies in English Working Class History 1832 - 1982 (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983), p. 79.

incompatibility of the term with Marxist explanation.¹⁷ In a sense what Stedman Jones perceives as a weakness is also a strength. It allows for a fresh approach to analysing any given society.

The criminal records also enable the historian to discover episodes and fragments of the life, language and culture of people who normally escape the historian's magnifying glass:

"... here one can catch the sound of people talking, though the words most often reported are drawn from the vocabulary of abuse, learn something of the casual employment the poor live by, penetrate into brothels or boarding houses, sense the tension generated on occasion when people of different cultural groups come into violent contact one with another, catch if one's nostrils are sufficiently sensitive, the very stench, the piss and odure of poverty."¹⁸

Historians sensitive to the nuances of the cases in the Proceedings will find a rich treasure trove for reconstructing aspects of the past. It is, however, a process that calls for a fine balance between analysis and breathing life into the characters who populate the stage of history, as Robin Hallett has so eloquently argued:

"The historian who thinks of his task, as contemporary fashion demands, only in terms of 'analysing' the past, stands to miss a great deal. He must also be a resurrection man, resurrecting those long dead, catching for a few brief moments their very voice and presence. Yet the historian who ignores analysis risks depriving his work of serious intellectual content."¹⁹

The study that follows is based on the criminal records of the King William's Town magistrate's court. The civil records and the documents such as inquests into accidental death also provide useful avenues to explore. The emphasis in this case is largely on the urban area of King William's Town. Cases in rural areas have been excluded, except where these shed light on an aspect of urban life. The study focuses on the period from 1899 to 1902. Effects of the war on King William's Town society have been noted where these emerge. To really assess the effect of the war on, for example, common assault cases, one would need to study a longer period than is covered in this thesis.

17. G. Stedman Jones, Languages of Class Studies, p. 80.

18. R. Hallett, "Violence and Social Life", p. 128.

19. R. Hallett, "Violence and Social Life", p. 129.

7.1 Criminal Activity in King William's Town

During the years from the beginning of 1899 to the end of 1902 at least 2 546 individuals appeared before the courts on criminal charges. Table 7.1 provides a synopsis of the incidents of crime in King William's Town in this period.

TABLE 7.1: INCIDENTS OF CRIME BROUGHT BEFORE THE COURTS, KING WILLIAM'S TOWN, 1899 - 1902.					
NATURE OF CRIME	1899	1900	1901	1902	TOTAL
CRIMES AGAINST PERSONS (murder, rape, assault, man-slaughter, petty assault)	50	42	58	54	204
CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY (theft, fraud, forgery, vandalism, damage to property)	72	77	100	101	350
CRIMES AGAINST THE STATE (treason, sedition)	-	1	1	-	2
CRIMES INVOLVING SOCIAL CONTROL (drunkenness, trespassing, municipal regulations like beer brewing, shouting and screaming, masters & servants relations)	525	356	582	441	1 904
COMMERCIAL CRIMES (hawking, selling adulterated goods, Stamp Act infringements)	7	5	3	2	17
OTHER CRIMES (breaking of Police Discipline Codes, Railways Offences)	11	13	31	14	69
TOTAL	665	494	775	612	2 546
Source: Calculated from CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/306 - 1/KWT 1/1/1/322 and 1/KWT 1/2/1/1/24.					
Comment: Figures reflect the number of people charged, not the verdict reached.					

At least 204 incidents of violence or crimes against persons occurred in the town. This included five people charged with murder, five prosecuted for culpable homicide and five preliminary examinations for rape.²⁰ Serious crimes were tried by the Circuit Court after preliminary examinations by the magistrate. The following examples serve as illustrations of the type of serious crime which occurred in the town. In October 1899 Private James Bedborough, a soldier in the Royal Berkshire Regiment garrisoned at King William's

20. Calculated from CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/306 - 1/KWT 1/1/1/322 and 1/KWT 1/2/1/1/24.

Town shot and killed a child a black woman was carrying on her back. It appears that the woman was walking from Brownlee to Tsolo when she felt a blow on her back and saw the child bleeding. Her companion saw Bedborough, carrying a rifle, run around the corner of a building. He claimed to have been shooting pigeons and pleaded not guilty when he was eventually tried for culpable homicide. The jury found him not guilty, to loud applause from spectators in the court.²¹ While Bedborough's case could be attributed to the presence of a military garrison in the town, the other cases had nothing to do with the war. In July 1901 two white storemen, Charles Engle and Christian Severt, were charged with murdering a black domestic servant whom they had taken to the reservoir for sex. They, too, were found not guilty as it could not be proved that the woman died from injuries she received in the assault.²² A few months later William Danti, a labourer, was charged with murder after he was found to have killed his girlfriend, Ellen Makezwa. The details of the case were "too horrible for publication." He was found guilty of culpable homicide and given five years imprisonment with hard labour.²³ Another murder trial was that of Sarah Nefalt, a 21 year old servant who killed her new-born baby. She admitted, "I have done it. I did it in fear of my master and mistress."²⁴

At the same time 189 individuals were charged with assault in King William's Town. Of these, only three were cases of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.²⁵ The rest were common assault. Although rape cases appear to have been more common in the district (at least twelve cases of rape or attempted rape, all involving blacks) only one case occurred in the town. In 1900 Annie Tshatshu, a young domestic servant was raped by Hokile Komeni, with the assistance of two of his friends, in the Buffalo River where she had been bathing with fellow domestic servants. Komeni received a sentence of five months imprisonment with

21. Cape Mercury, 10/10/1899, "Miscellaneous"; CAD, GSC 1/2/1/84, Case 3, 10/3/1900; Cape Mercury, 12/3/1900, "The Circuit Court".

22. Cape Mercury, 4/7/1901, "The Circuit Court".

23. Cape Mercury, 22/1/1902; CAD, GSC 1/2/1/89, Case 2, 20/3/1902.

24. CAD, GSC 1/2/1/79, Case 2, 9/3/1899.

25. Calculated from CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/306 - 1/KWT 1/1/1/322 and 1/KWT 1/2/1/1/24; and GSC 1/2/1/79 - GSC 1/2/1/90.

hard labour.²⁶ It would thus appear that although King William's Town was a violent society, the violence was restricted to stick fights and common assault. Assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm was less prevalent. In the absence of similar studies of other urban areas in this period it is difficult to assess the nature of violence in town, but it would appear that King William's Town was not a particularly violent society as regards serious crimes. This is in marked contrast to Cape Town where most violent crimes were perpetrated with knives.²⁷

Only one case of sedition (against a German farmer, Andreka) and one charge of treason (against a Dutch-speaking speculator, H. B. Potgieter) were investigated during this period. The Potgieter case proved to be groundless and did not come to trial.²⁸ Andreka received a fine of £30 or four months imprisonment with hard labour for making anti-British statements.²⁹

Theft and crimes involving the appropriation of the property of others were widespread in King William's Town. Between 1899 and 1902 at least 322 individuals were charged with theft; four were prosecuted for fraud; eleven charged with forgery and uttering a forged instrument; and five with obtaining goods on false pretences. A further seven were charged with robbery and one person was prosecuted for receiving stolen goods.³⁰ Most of the thefts were of a petty nature, involving small amounts of money, clothing and food. Typical examples include Jim Nyingwashe, a labourer, who was charged with stealing clothing and cash valued at £1-3-0; Ned Gord, a black labourer who stole two tins of meat and a bar of soap valued at 3/6; and Maria Mdiniso who stole a tin of biscuits valued at 5/6 from a general dealer.³¹ Many of the thefts

26. CAD, GSC 1/2/1/84, Case 9, 10/3/1900; 1/KWT 1/1/3/115, Preparatory Examination 46 of 1900.

27. R. Hallett, "Violence and Society", p. 175.

28. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/317, Preparatory Examination 178, 28/3/1901.

29. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/314, Case 781, 12/7/1900. See Chapter 5 for a fuller discussion.

30. Calculated from CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/306 - 1/1/1/322 and 1/KWT 1/2/1/1/24.

31. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/309, Case 250, 12/4/1899; 1/KWT 1/1/1/310, Case 525, 14/8/1899; 1/KWT 1/1/1/317, Case 134, 9/3/1901.

appear to have been by employees from their employers, such as Billy Nobuthener, a black labourer, who stole two pounds of coffee, valued at 2/- from Dyer & Dyer.³²

Very few of the cases of theft were sufficiently serious to be tried by the Circuit Court judge rather than the Resident Magistrate. Only six such cases involving King William's Town were transferred to the Circuit Court. These included Ernest Cohen and John Baker, two carpenters, who were given lengthy sentences for storebreaking and theft; Edward Mgidi and Ben Mgidi who were charged with assaulting and robbing a black man, and Max Statisky, a horse dealer who was charged with fraudulent insolvency.³³

Almost 75 % of crimes committed in King William's Town involved what could be called social control - infringements of restrictions on drunkenness, disturbing the peace, commonage regulations, the prohibition of beer brewing, traffic control measures and infringements of laws on vagrancy, hawking, labour relations and the like. It is these cases which need to be closely examined.

7.2 The Parameters of Society

Cape Colonial society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was characterized, amongst other things, by a formidable array of legislation and restrictions that, at least potentially, governed almost all aspects of the daily life of the inhabitants of the Colony. These were the parameters of society, established by the dominant group to define and regulate acceptable behaviour. In practice the battery of laws, which had been assembled and finely tuned by the Cape parliament throughout the nineteenth century, enabled the ruling elite to maintain dominance over the rest of society. The relevance of social control for urban historians was succinctly stated by Haines and Buijs in their brief discussion of Foucault, which points out that he discerned the emergence at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries,

32. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/306, Case 14, 9/1/1899.

33. CAD, GSC 1/2/1/81, Case 2, 11/9/1899; GSC 1/2/1/88, Case 6, 9/9/1901; GSC 1/2/1/88, Case 9, 9/9/1901.

"of new modes of social and familial behaviour, through which the educated or professional elite takes control of the popular / dangerous classes, moralizes and disciplines them, in order to subject them to the needs of the productive apparatus."³⁴

The town or city is the key site in this campaign, becoming a highly developed centre of discipline due to the various techniques of social control, from the gaol to the school. The urban centre, then, becomes not a place of production as in Marxist conceptions, but "is pre-eminently a place of power."³⁵ Power, however, does not generally proceed from the State in his view.

"Rather it is Foucault's contention that societies are maintained not by the army, police, and a centralized, visible state apparatus, but precisely by those techniques of ritual, discipline, and diffused power at work in 'carceral' institutions."³⁶

While there is undoubted merit in all of this, it remains true of society in the Cape Colony in the nineteenth century that power relations were not the sole preserve of urban centres. The rural areas were the scene of some of the bitterest contests of power.³⁷ In the King William's Town district white farmers used the wide powers provided by various pieces of legislation to control their workers, stop people wandering near their farms and arrest people simply suspected of wanting to steal stock. Given that many blacks were sharecropping or farming on the half for whites, this provided plenty of scope for abuses of various kinds.³⁸ Secondly, while Foucault is correct in identifying the all-pervading influence of various institutions in exercising power, it is equally true that legislation and state apparatus cannot be ignored. Indeed, they should provide a starting point for any such examination.

The battery of legislation was reinforced at a local level by municipal bye-laws. Since these were framed in terms of several of the laws of the Colony, an examination of the latter suffices to cover restrictions and regulations imposed at a municipal level.

34. R. Haines & G. Buijs (Eds.), The Struggle for Social and Economic Space, p. viii.

35. R. Haines & G. Buijs (Eds.), The Struggle for Social and Economic Space, pp. viii - ix.

36. R. Haines & G. Buijs (Eds.), The Struggle for Social and Economic Space, p. ix.

37. See for example, W. Beinart and C. Bundy, Hidden Struggles in Rural South Africa (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1987).

38. See for example, Cape Mercury, 10/1/1900, "Magistrate's Court", how a white farmer attempted to use social control legislation to control a sharecropping tenant.

The laws most frequently invoked by the authorities to exercise social control in King William's Town were the Suppression and Punishment of Certain Offences Act (Act 27 of 1882), the Masters and Servants Act (Act 18 of 1873), the Liquor Act (Act 28 of 1898) and clauses in the Local Bodies Increased Powers Act (Act 12 of 1893), the Contagious Diseases Act (Act 39 of 1885) and the Prevention of Vagrancy and Squatting Act (Act 23 of 1879).

Act 27 of 1882, better known by its short title (the Police Offences Act), was the keystone in the edifice of social control. Its exceedingly comprehensive clauses provided the authorities with interventionist powers in almost all spheres of the life of inhabitants of the Colony. Part I of the Act contained a list of thirty categories of activities which were punishable under the Act. All were specifically aimed at cities, towns and villages. The Act represented a significant step in attempts to regulate urban life in the Colony. Amongst the clauses most frequently invoked to channel the conduct of the town's inhabitants within the narrow parameters of accepted behaviour were: creating a disturbance by shouting or screaming; fighting in a public place; using obscene language; using threatening or insulting language; being drunk and incapable in a public place; malicious damage to property; malicious injury to animals; breaking a pane of glass; gambling; urinating in public; polluting a river by swimming naked in it; allowing a dog to attack other dogs; resisting arrest; blocking a pavement; having sex in a public place; soliciting for the purposes of prostitution; and being insufficiently clothed or indecently exposed.³⁹ In addition, Part I of Act 27 of 1882 allowed for the prosecution of persons who mischievously rang bells, knocked on doors or removed signboards; rode horses or vehicles on the pavement; neglected to keep sluice gates in good order; damaged water courses; deposited rubbish including orange peel in public places; sang any obscene song or ballad in public, committed certain traffic offences such as driving on the right hand side of the road or leaving a wagon and oxen unattended; allowed rainwater to drip off the eaves of houses onto a public footway; put up unauthorized placards or scribbled on walls; or rolled a cask, flew a kite or played a game "to the annoyance of any person in a public place."⁴⁰

39. These examples are a selection from cases appearing in CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/306 to 1/KWT 1/1/1/322; and 1/KWT 1/2/1/1/24.

40. J. Foster, H. Tennant & E. M. Jackson (Eds.), Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 1652 - 1886. Vol II (W.A. Richards & Sons, Cape Town, 1887), pp. 2255 - 2265: Act 27 of 1882, "Act to Provide for the Suppression and Punishment of Certain Offences".

Part II of the Act basically extended similar measures to the rest of the Colony, that is, the rural areas and the Transkeian territories. Part III gave the authorities (municipalities, Resident Magistrates, Justices of the Peace and the Police) wide-ranging powers to inspect private property, demand entrance into dwellings and houses and detain and search anyone found carrying a bundle or parcel between sunset and sunrise.⁴¹

Thus it was that Jacob Koopman, a "Hottentot" labourer, was charged with riotous conduct for fighting with two women in Fleet Ditch; that four white youths, Charlie Crossman, Stephen Crossman, Gert Goosen and Rudolph Wambach were prosecuted for shouting and creating a disturbance in a public place; and that John Anderson, another "Hottentot" labourer, was sentenced to a 7/- fine or seven days imprisonment with hard labour for saying "Buggers go to Hell."⁴² Mary Ann Rochussen, a white housewife living in Smith Street was charged with using threatening and abusive language after she claimed, "I will cut out my husband's balls and cut his prick off", and James Brown, a white labourer was found guilty for being drunk and incapable in Smith Street at 17h20.⁴³ George Hatch and Joseph Buckley, two white labourers were charged with breaking a pane of glass at Doble's chemist; and a hapless black labourer, Willie, was found guilty of urinating with the door of the public urinal open.⁴⁴ Norham West, a white youngster, was charged with polluting the river after he and his friends were caught swimming naked in the Buffalo River; John Mlinda was hauled before the magistrate and charged with obstruction for standing on the pavement; and Susan Cross, a prostitute, and George Elijah, a well-known character who frequently appeared on charges of drunkenness, were prosecuted after they were found having sex in Fleet Ditch at 17h15.⁴⁵ Hannah, also

41. J. Foster, H. Tennant & E. M. Jackson (Eds.), Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, Vol II, pp. 2255 - 2265: Act 27 of 1882, "Act to Provide for the Suppression and Punishment of Certain Offences".

42. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/306, Case 6, 4/1/1899; 1/KWT 1/1/1/311, Case 697, 8/11/1899; 1/KWT 1/1/1/309, Case 347, 1/5/1899.

43. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/309, Case 430, 26/6/1899, 1/KWT 1/1/1/320, Case 496, 31/7/1901.

44. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/321, Case 462, 18/10/1901; 1/KWT 1/1/1/319, Case 390, 19/6/1901.

45. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/321, Case 668, 19/10/1901; 1/KWT 1/1/1/311, Case 795, 18/12/1899; 1/KWT 1/1/1/308, Case 176, 20/3/1899.

known as Mungi, a poverty-stricken, senile old woman from Brownlee Station was found guilty of wandering about with insufficient clothing for decency. For her crime she received a week in gaol with hard labour.⁴⁶

Act 27 of 1882 was also utilized against trespassing in urban areas. Between the beginning of 1899 and the end of 1902, at least 104 individuals were charged with trespassing at night within enclosed premises.⁴⁷ In some cases it appears that those prosecuted were members of the underclass seeking a place to sleep in winter, such as Ida, a prostitute, who was found in the wood room of a house in August. Others may well have been prostitutes looking for a convenient place to transact business. Annie Blaai, a low-class prostitute, and July Nyelani, were prosecuted for trespassing in enclosed premises together.⁴⁸ But the Act most often afforded employees the opportunity to enforce their notions of morality on servants by curtailing visits from friends and partners. Lizzie Gada was prosecuted for trespassing at night within enclosed premises of Alexander MacDowell in Cambridge Road after she was found in bed at 21h45 with his black servant.⁴⁹ Similarly, David Sokoto was prosecuted after he was found by the owner of the premises lying drunk in a servant's bed.⁵⁰

The Act was also a convenient way of evicting employees whose services had been abruptly terminated, but who had yet to move out. Henry Zondo was dismissed by J. Dexter and then charged under the Act for trespassing.⁵¹

This legislation was also utilised by the municipality to prevent the residents of municipal locations chopping firewood and kraaling material on the commonage. Nineteen such prosecutions were made. Fifteen of those

46. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/310, Case 664, 25/10/1899.

47. Calculated from CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/306 - 1/KWT 1/1/1/322 and 1/KWT 1/2/1/1/24.

48. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/310, Case 541, 22/8/1899; 1/KWT 1/1/1/321, Case 663, 15/10/1901.

49. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/317, Case 168, 26/3/1901.

50. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/312, Case 9, 3/1/1900.

51. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/312, Case 13, 4/1/1900.

prosecuted were women like Esther and Harriet Soga, who were charged with cutting down and removing trees from the commonage.⁵²

The Masters and Servants Act, Act 18 of 1873, was another significant weapon in the authorities' arsenal for social control. The Act theoretically afforded masters on one hand, and apprentices and servants on the other, recourse to law if certain contractual obligations were not met. In effect, its protection largely favoured employers. The major part of the Masters and Servants Act consisted of two separate lists of actions by apprentices and workers which were criminalized. The first section dealt with eight aspects: failure or refusal to commence service; being absent from the masters' premises without leave; becoming drunk during work hours; neglecting to perform duties or performing them carelessly; utilising the master's property (such as his horse or his clothes) without permission; refusing to obey any command given by the master; brawling or creating a disturbance in the place of employment; and using abusive or insulting language to the master or his wife.⁵³

The second category, defined as being of a more serious nature and carrying a heavier penalty, listed another five actions which were considered criminal behaviour. These were mostly concerned with protecting property and included damaging the master's property through negligence, refusing or omitting to take certain actions to protect the master's property and departing from the master's service without lawful excuse.⁵⁴ Only two clauses, inserted far less explicitly, protected employees. Servants or apprentices could take legal action if an employer withheld wages unlawfully or refused to return property belonging to employees; or refused to provide food, bedding and other articles stipulated in the contract of employment.⁵⁵ The Act required written contracts for at least a year's duration, but this seems to have been a shadowy area.

52. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/310, Case 377, 1/6/1899.

53. J. Foster, H. Tennant & E. M. Jackson (Eds.), Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, Vol. II, pp. 1614 - 1622: Act 27 of 1882, "An Act to Amend the Laws regulating the relative Rights and Duties of Masters, Servants and Apprentices".

54. J. Foster, H. Tennant & E. M. Jackson (Eds.), Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, Vol. II, pp. 1614 - 1622: Act 27 of 1882.

55. J. Foster, H. Tennant & E. M. Jackson (Eds.), Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, Vol. II, pp. 1614 - 1622: Act 27 of 1882.

Farmers and domestic employers seemed to have favoured lengthy contracts. These emerged as a major protection for employers and a useful tool in preventing workers seeking more remunerative or less exploitative conditions. This was especially the case when recruitment for the military labour contingents led to an increased demand for labour in the town.⁵⁶ Not unexpectedly, workers favoured weekly contracts.

The workings of the Masters and Servants Act in King William's Town are well illustrated by a few examples. Joseph, an Indian refugee from the Transvaal, worked as a monthly servant for Frederick August Deutschmann (a general dealer and boarding house keeper). He received £3 a month plus food. His wife stayed with him and was employed as a waitress. He went to East London to see if his name was down to return to the Transvaal, but was charged by Deutschmann with departing from service without lawful excuse and given a £1 fine or 14 days imprisonment with hard labour.⁵⁷ Sam Ncingane, a labourer, was also charged with departing from service by his master, Johannes Devantier. He received a similar sentence. He had overstayed his leave.⁵⁸ Cabarea, an Indian cook who worked for S. Salomen's chicory works as a weekly servant at 30/- a week, wanted to move to Gleeson's Hotel. After giving notice his wages were raised to 35/- a week. When he departed he was charged under Act 27 of 1882.⁵⁹

In one of the few cases of employers brought before the Resident Magistrate, John Edward Page (a tobacconist) was charged by his white employee, W. T. Townsend, with withholding wages. The case was withdrawn before a verdict was reached.⁶⁰ In another such case, John Bangani unsuccessfully charged Fred Cross with withholding his wages. Bangani had been employed as a monthly general servant from 14 June. He was promised 12/- a month, but could not get on with Mrs Cross. Fred Cross then asked him if he

56. See Chapter 3 for detailed discussion of this.

57. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/316, Case 563, 18/10/1900.

58. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/320, Case 525, 13/8/1902.

59. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/320, Case 525, 13/8/1901.

60. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/306, Case 104, 23/2/1899.

would like to leave and when he indicated he would like to do so, he was given no wages for the two weeks he had already worked.⁶¹

The manufacturing sector - and the Ginsberg factories in particular - utilised the Masters and Servants Act to the fullest extent. Nicholas, a white labourer employed by Gustav Ginsberg on a weekly basis gave notice and left the factory after Ginsberg made him pay for a saw he had not taken. He was nonetheless charged with departing from service and given a sentence of 2/6 or one day in gaol.⁶² Jim, a black labourer at Ginsberg's candle factory, was employed on a weekly basis for between 10/- and 11/- a week. He was ill on a particular day, but neglected to send a message and was charged under the Act.⁶³ Kohliwe, another weekly labourer at the match factory, was charged with departing from service when he was absent for a morning. In his defence he claimed the white foreman had assaulted him.⁶⁴ Johnnie, a black labourer at the same factory, was also charged with departing from service. He was employed as a weekly labourer at 7/- a week and started work at 06h00. He did not arrive one morning and was arrested at 10h00 the same day, while on his way to be inoculated.⁶⁵

Even convictions under the Act did not necessarily free workers from the clutches of employers. In many cases "To return to service" was added to their sentence. At the same time employers wishing to escape from contractual obligations could utilise the Act to their advantage by having contracts cancelled. The overall effect of the Masters and Servants Act was to provide employers of labour with the power to enforce exploitative labour practices, to ensure continued service and to maintain positions of dominance.

The Liquor Act (Act 28 of 1898) and clauses in the Local Bodies' Increased Powers Act (Act 12 of 1893) provided the basis of liquor prosecutions in King William's Town. The 1893 Act was intended to give

61. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/320, Case 473, 22/7/1901.

62. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/317, Case 116, 4/3/1901.

63. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/318, Case 203, 9/4/1901.

64. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/320, Case 426, 2/7/1901.

65. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/321, Case 649, 8/10/1901.

authorities in urban areas increased powers over two aspects: suppressing or preventing the making, buying, selling, dealing in and conveying of "Kaffir" Beer; and the prohibition or restriction of the carrying of knobkerries, cudgels and bludgeons by "natives". The latter clause excluded black registered voters and the term "native" was defined as "Kaffirs, Fingoes, Basutos, Hottentots, Bushmen, and the like." The carrying of sticks in the King William's Town municipal area was not as great an issue as the brewing of beer. The Act gave local authorities wide powers to suppress beer brewing. Any agent of the Council or policeman was empowered to enter any house or hut and search it on suspicion of there being beer on the premises. Any beer found was to be considered sufficient evidence of the guilt of the owner or occupier.⁶⁶ With two minor exceptions (two cases of blacks selling brandy),⁶⁷ the legislation was used in an attempt to prohibit the brewing of traditional beer by black inhabitants of the locations. Between 1899 and 1902 121 individuals were prosecuted for beer brewing. The brunt of the raids and the restrictions fell upon women in the locations. A typical example is Notana, a woman from Brownlee, who was charged with brewing 35 gallons of beer. She was one of five women prosecuted after raids by the Borough Police on huts in Brownlee and Tsolo locations.⁶⁸ The locations were under the control of the Borough Council and suppressing beer brewing was a major focus of the activities of the Borough Ranger, the Borough Police and the Council-appointed Headmen at Brownlee and Tsolo. The level of emotion the continued brewing raised in white officials is probably best explained in that this, more than any other aspect of location administration, emphasised the limits of the Council's powers of social control.⁶⁹

The Contagious Diseases Act (Act 39 of 1895) was yet another piece of legislation that further entrenched domination and control. The Act was intended to prevent the spread of venereal diseases. It gave magistrates wide powers to summons or arrest women who were suspected of being prostitutes, to order

66. H. Tennant & E. M. Jackson (Eds.), *Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 1887 - 1895, Vol. III* (J. C. Juta, Cape Town, 1895), pp. 3152 - 3153: Act 12 of 1893, "Act to Give Municipal, Borough and Town Councils, and Village Management Boards further Power to make Bye-Laws and Regulations".

67. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/311, Case 791, 18/12/1899.

68. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/317, Case 78, 11/2/1901.

69. Discussed more fully in Chapters 3 and 6.

regular medical examinations and, if they were carriers of venereal diseases, to have them registered and treated. The Act allowed for magistrates to summons women on the basis of reports from third parties, thus allowing for a wide degree of abuse. The very act of registering the names of prostitutes was in itself a powerful form of control. Women suffering from venereal disease could be incarcerated for treatment for up to six months.⁷⁰

The Act appears to have been less harshly applied in King William's Town than in Cape Town, where the examinations and treatment were done in a cruel and demeaning manner. The Act certainly gave scope for some males to dominate vulnerable females, as happened in the case of Cape Town.⁷¹ In King William's Town eighteen women were charged under the provisions of the Act in this period. One, Julia Hendricks, was prosecuted for contravening Lock Hospital regulations.⁷² The others were prosecuted for failing to report for examinations. May, for example, was found guilty of refusing to attend the Lock Hospital for a medical examination. In her defence she claimed she had sent a message to say she could not attend.⁷³ Maria Mdiniso received one month imprisonment on spare diet, even though she was probably not in King William's Town when she was required to report.⁷⁴

Prostitutes sometimes moved between East London and King William's Town to avoid examinations. In 1900 the Medical Inspector of King William's Town Lock Hospital remarked that,

"There has been an exodus to East London of the women partly owing to an increased garrison there & partly owing to excessively heavy spare diet sentences on convictions of Drunkenness."⁷⁵

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70. J. Foster, H. Tennant, E. M. Jackson (Eds.), Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, Vol. II, pp. 2384 - 2396: Act 39 of 1885, "Act for the better prevention of certain Contagious Diseases".
 71. E. van Heyningen, "Prostitution and the Contagious Diseases Acts: The Social Evil in the Cape Colony, 1868 - 1902", in C. Saunders et al (Eds.), Studies in the History of Cape Town, Vol. V (University of Cape Town, 1983), pp. 98 - 99.
 72. CAD, 1/KWT 1/2/1/1/24, Case 132, 2/4/1902. Chapter 3 has a fuller discussion of prostitution.
 73. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/318, Case 325, 21/5/1901.
 74. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/310, Case 533, 16/8/1899.
 75. I am indebted to Sharon Caldwell for this reference. CAD, CO 7244, Return of Females Examined by the Medical Inspector of King William's Town, April 1900.

A fourth piece of legislation that proved to be useful for the purposes of social control was the Prevention of Vagrancy and Squatting Act (Act 23 of 1879), which was intended to "suppress idleness and vagrancy" in the Colony. The definition of vagrancy provided the authorities and property holders with scope for curtailing a wide variety of behaviour:

"Every person found without lawful excuse (the proof of which excuse shall lie on such person) wandering over any farm, or loitering near any dwelling-house, shop, store, stable, out-house, garden, vineyard, kraal, or other enclosed place, shall be deemed and taken to be an idle and disorderly person ..."⁷⁶

The Act also enabled the dominant group to foist its ideas of morality on the rest of society by providing for the arrest of people deemed to be insufficiently clothed:

"Every person found wandering or being in any street or road ordinarily used by the public, or in any place of public resort, or in view thereof respectively, without sufficient clothing for the purposes of decency, shall be deemed and taken to be a disorderly person, and guilty of an offence ..."⁷⁷

An amendment to this Act, passed in 1889, added to the definition of disorderly persons by including anyone loitering on any road crossing a farm, or loitering near a hut or building or a farm.⁷⁸ Thus, by an Act of parliament, to be idle or to be sedately seated near a building without the owner's permission was to be guilty of a criminal offence.

Act 23 of 1879 was aimed specifically at rural areas to appease farmers concerned about stock thefts and shortages of labour, but Section 2 of the Act was used to good effect in urban areas like King William's Town. Between 1899 and 1902 fifteen people were prosecuted under Section 2 of the Act. Of the fifteen, nine were whites like Thomas Smith, a vagrant who was charged with wandering about without visible means of support; and given fourteen days in gaol with hard labour.⁷⁹ Another was John Cowen, who wandered about town for six weeks and was found at the Public Buildings trying to commit suicide. He had no money

76. J. Foster, H. Tennant & E. M. Jackson, (Eds.), Statutes of the Cape Colony, Vol. II, pp. 1614 - 1622, pp. 2763 - 2768: Act 23 of 1879, "Act for the Prevention of Squatting".

77. J. Foster, H. Tennant & E. M. Jackson (Eds.), Statutes of the Cape Colony, Vol. II, pp. 1614 - 1622, pp. 2763 - 2768: Act 23 of 1879.

78. J. Foster, H. Tennant & E. M. Jackson (Eds.), Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, Vol. II, pp. 2676 - 2677: Act 27 of 1889, "Act to amend the Law for the Prevention of Vagrancy and Squatting".

79. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/311, Case 710, 15/11/1899.

in his possession. He was charged under the Act and given fourteen days imprisonment.⁸⁰ Some, like Seti and Thomas Carrington, were "canteen loafers"; others were genuinely destitute.⁸¹ In effect, to be poor and homeless was a criminal offence. The harsh manner in which the dominant group in society dealt with such matters is well contrasted in the way Lazarus Podbresky was treated by members of the underclass. Podbresky, a Russian Jew, was charged with wandering about with no visible means of support. At his trial it emerged he had been wandering the streets of King William's Town for nearly a month. He had no money, but had been taken in by "Hottentots" on the outskirts of town.⁸²

It was within the framework of laws such as these that the ruling elite were able to define and set parameters on the type of society they were trying to create and maintain in the Cape Colony. The laws alone were, however, insufficient. They had to be supported by an efficient and comprehensive network of agencies to enforce them.

7.3 Agencies of Control and Domination

The parameters of society were patrolled and maintained by various agencies of control and domination who monitored transgressions and tracked down, prosecuted, sentenced and punished offenders. These agencies in King William's Town were represented by the Borough Council and its officials, the various property holders who had vested interests in the sort of society they had created, Justices of the Peace, the Borough Police, the Cape Police, the Special Police, the various magistrates and court officials, the Circuit Court judges and officials, and by the staff of the gaol and Lock Hospital.

The Borough Council, through the enforcement of various bye-laws, which had been framed in terms of the laws of the Cape Colony, was an important component of the network of agencies. Matters that received particular attention included the brewing of "Kaffir" Beer, the cutting of wood on the commonage, bathing

80. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/312, Case 118, 20/2/1900.

81. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/309, Case 230, 6/4/1899; 1/KWT 1/1/1/306, Case 55, 6/2/1899.

82. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/312, Case 63, 27/1/1900.

and the washing of clothes in the Buffalo River, the distribution of dairy products in the town, the condition of privies and backyards, and the number of people in each dwelling ("overcrowding"). In the case of transgressions of such bye-laws, the prosecutions were performed by the Council officials, thus reinforcing the Borough Council's role as an agency of control.⁸³

Much of the Council's effectiveness in this regard depended on its powers of surveillance. Officials such as the Sanitary Inspector, the Borough Ranger and the Headmen of the locations were empowered to penetrate even the most private recesses of the houses of residents of the town on searches and raids. Effective surveillance had the dual effect of discouraging transgressions of the bye-laws (in effect, internal policing) and of easy detection.

The major burden of the enforcement of the laws defining acceptable behaviour in King William's Town rested on the Borough Police. The cost and administration of the Borough Police was shared by the Borough Council and the government. This arrangement continued until January 1902, when the Borough Police force was completely taken over by the government, under the local control of the Resident Magistrate.⁸⁴ The strength of the Borough Police fluctuated slightly during the war years. In 1899 it consisted of a superintendent, four sergeants, fifteen white constables and two black constables (the Headmen). Of these, one sergeant, one white constable and a black constable were employed as detectives. Two white constables manned the charge office. This meant that the number of police available for patrolling the town and its locations amounted to three sergeants, twelve white constables and a black constable at Brownlee Station. Patrols were stronger at night.⁸⁵ On the basis of the 1891 Census, the ratio of police on duty to the population was 1 to every 1 208 inhabitants in the day and 1 to every 805 at night.⁸⁶ The police worked eight hour shifts and, in a town with 65 streets, had considerable difficulty fulfilling all their tasks. In the

83. See for example CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/310, Case 670, 30/11/1899.

84. Cape Mercury, 8/1/1902, "Borough Council".

85. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor, ... 1899 (Kaffrarian Steam Printing Co., King William's Town, 1899), p. 22.

86. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor, ... 1899, p. 24.

superintendent's view, at least ten more white policemen were needed.⁸⁷ An analysis of the composition of the Borough Police in 1899 reveals six were German, three were black and thirteen were English. Of the latter, two were Welsh and one was Scottish. Of the English-speaking policemen, only one was colonial born. The salary of the lowest ranking white constable was more than double that of a Native Constable.⁸⁸

While the Borough Police operated in the town itself, the Cape Police were responsible for the rural areas and villages in the district. The Cape Police, funded and organized by the Cape government, were divided into three districts in the Colony: King William's Town, Kimberley and Cape Town. The Commissioner for the King William's Town District, Henry L. Davies, believed the Cape Police in his District to be severely understaffed. The authorised strength was 43 officers, 754 white non-commissioned officers and men, and 362 Native Privates, but there were 76 vacancies in 1898 for white privates. The reason for this, in Davies's estimation, was "mainly due to the lack of inducement to suitable men to join."⁸⁹ Men were only recruited from within the Colony because of the necessity of a knowledge of local languages, but the pay was not sufficient to compensate for the high cost of living and rough service conditions.⁹⁰ The King William's Town District comprised 161 stations throughout the eastern Cape, and area of 56 645 square miles. This meant that there was roughly one man to every 50 square miles.⁹¹

87. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor, ... 1899, p. 22.

88. CAD, AG 736, Record of Service of Borough Police, King William's Town, 24/3/1899.

89. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.35 - '99, Cape of Good Hope, "Attorney-General's Ministerial Division. Report of (1) The Commissioner of Police, King William's Town ... 1898", p. 3.

90. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.35 - '99, pp. 3 - 4.

91. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.35 - '99, p. 4.

Once war broke out most of the Cape Police in the King William's Town District were transferred to the scene of hostilities and normal police work all but ceased. Where any police work was done, it was directed at implementing martial law and assisting the military authorities.⁹² It appears that hastily organized Special Police were also recruited in the King William's Town district to fill the gap left by some of the Cape Police who were transferred away to the front. Their numbers seem to have fluctuated during the period. In December 1899 the authorised strength was one sergeant, nineteen white privates and twenty black privates. In January the authorised strength increased by another six white privates and thirteen black policemen.⁹³

Not all policing of the town depended on the Borough Council or the Police. Residents of the town, particularly property holders and employers, were responsible for bringing a large number of the social control cases to court. The only example of a prostitute charged for soliciting during the period of this study arose after John Adkins took exception to Mary Andriet sitting on his doorstep.⁹⁴ The large number of cases tried under the Masters and Servants Act were the result of actions taken by employers.

Offenders, once they had been apprehended, generally appeared before the Resident Magistrate or the Assistant Resident Magistrate. A third magistrate, the Special Magistrate, appears to have been responsible for cases involving blacks in rural locations.⁹⁵ It would seem that the court buildings were segregated, as a report in the newspaper in August 1899 referred to the "European section".⁹⁶ The magistrates' jurisdiction included trying all cases except serious crimes. In the latter case, they conducted preliminary examinations. Serious crimes were heard before the biannual Circuit Court. The Resident Magistrate also served as the Civil Commissioner. As the most senior representative of the government in the town, the

92. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.76 - 1900, Cape of Good Hope, "Attorney-General's Ministerial Division. Reports of (1) Commissioner of Police, King William's Town ... 1899", pp. 1 - 2; Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.42 - 1901, Cape of Good Hope, "Attorney-General's Ministerial Division. Reports of (1) Commissioner of Police, King William's Town ... 1900", p. 3.

93. CAD, AG 834, Letter: Acting Resident Magistrate - Secretary Law Department, 23/5/1900.

94. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/320, 1/1/1/320, Case 420, 1/7/1901.

95. See for example CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/307 where the cases all refer to villages under black headmen.

96. Cape Mercury, 31/8/1899, "Notes of the Day".

position carried great social prestige and elevated him to the upper echelons of society. A key figure in the whole process was the court interpreter. In 1901 the court interpreter was George Wayland Tyamzashe, who had previously been at Maraisburg.⁹⁷ During the war a black refugee from Johannesburg, the Reverend Edward Tsewu, acted as an interpreter.⁹⁸

The enrolment of the Special Police in place of the regular Cape Police during the war had the unforeseen consequence of increasing the workload of the Resident Magistrate and Civil Commissioner.⁹⁹ The overtime work occasioned by this and by martial law work pushed the court staff to their limits. They worked overtime daily and an extra three hours on Sundays and holidays.¹⁰⁰

King William's Town fell within the Eastern Division of the Supreme Court. The Circuit Court judge and his officials visited in March and September each year to try serious crimes, ranging from murder, rape and robbery to stock theft. Between 1899 and 1902, 65 cases were tried by the Circuit Court in King William's Town. Of these, eleven were for crimes committed in the town.¹⁰¹ The judge also used the opportunity to review cases recorded in the Criminal Record Book and to assess the number and condition of prisoners in the gaol.

The last link in the chain of agencies effecting control and domination were the Lock Hospital and the gaol. The former was a particularly decrepit stone building located at the bottom of Smith Street. It had originally been constructed as Fort Mackinnon, a blockhouse, during the War of Mlajeni (1850-53). It had also served for many years as the town's gaol. It was under the control of the keeper of the Lock Hospital, but the District Surgeon played the most important part in that he conducted the examinations and treatment.

97. CAD, AG 921, Letter: Civil Commissioner - Secretary Law Department, 16/4/1901.

98. Imvo, 16/4/1901, "King Notes".

99. CAD, AG 834, Letter: Acting Resident Magistrate - Secretary Law Department, 23/5/1900.

100. CAD, AG 1000 Pt. II, Letter: Resident Magistrate - Secretary Law Department, 3/1/1902.

101. Calculated from CAD, GSC 1/2/1/79 - GSC 1/2/1/90.

The gaol, also a formidable stone building, was the old military gaol, located in Reserve Road. The gaol population varied. At any given time it was a mixture of prisoners awaiting Circuit Court trial, prisoners sentenced in King William's Town, prisoners sent to the King William's Town gaol from elsewhere, soldiers from the garrison who had committed breaches of discipline and lunatics and paupers.¹⁰² Women undergoing hard labour sentences were usually required to do so within the precincts of the gaol. Male prisoners doing hard labour were utilized for heavy labour around the town, such as the quarry.¹⁰³ Whether races were kept separate in the prison is not clear from the gaol returns. In Cape Town, de facto segregation of prisoners occurred.¹⁰⁴

The agencies of control and domination were, in the final analysis, not completely efficient in operation. This was not a particular consequence of the war, but seems to have been a general characteristic. The Borough Council's enforcement of health and sanitation regulations was, at best, sporadic. It was usually only after some outbreak of disease or after public complaints in the Press that the Council was stung into action. Similarly, the police and gaolguards were not always in tune with the dominant elite in enforcing certain measures.

The calibre of the police and gaol guards in general was not particularly high. The Commissioner of the Cape Police and, to a much lesser extent, the superintendent of the Borough Police were accepted in the ranks of the elite. But the rank and file were not members of the ruling elite and had no vested interest in maintaining some of the parameters of society. Instances of policemen breaking the law are surprisingly high. Between 1899 and 1902 45 transgressions of various Acts and Ordinances governing police conduct came before the magistrate. These included insubordination, neglecting duties, allowing prisoners to escape and desertion from the police. Of the 21 Borough Policemen in 1899, seven of them committed offences of one kind or another including being asleep on beat, drunk on parade, absent from their beat, drunk on

102. See for example CAD, GSC, 12/1/84, Return of the KWT Gaol, March 1900.

103. See for example, CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/306, Case 30, 21/1/1899; 1/KWT 1/1/1/306 Case 34, 23/1/1899; 1/KWT 1/1/1/320, Case 523, 12/8/1901.

104. J. V. Bickford-Smith, "Commerce, Class and Ethnicity in Cape Town, 1875 to 1902" (PhD Thesis, Cambridge University, 1988), p. 297.

duty, neglecting duty and disobeying orders.¹⁰⁵ In addition to offences against regulations on police conduct, at least nineteen incidents of other crimes committed by policemen, gaolguards or headmen appeared before the resident Magistrate. These included seven cases of assault; theft; drunkenness; riotous behaviour; using threatening and insulting language; being absent from place of work without leave and perjury.¹⁰⁶ One case of police torture was reported in the newspapers. In 1898 a Cape Policeman, J. S. Kelly, and a black constable at Izeli outside King William's Town were discovered to have suspended a black suspect from a beam and burnt his feet with a hot iron.¹⁰⁷

The administration of justice was often neither fair nor equal, and was almost always harsh. The magistrates sometimes exhibited their own personal prejudices and biases. Fred Whitam appears to have been particularly zealous in sentencing people for drunkenness. The difference between his sentences and those of R. J. Dick, who sometimes stood in for him, are most noticeable. Whitam sentenced Rose Hendrick to a £1 fine or 14 days imprisonment with spare diet for eight days; and John Jansen received a £1 fine or 14 days in gaol with hard labour.¹⁰⁸ Dick sentenced Piet Jack to a 5/- fine or five days in gaol with hard labour for the same offence.¹⁰⁹ Even when cases were heard by the same magistrate the sentences were sometimes inconsistent. On 5 July 1900 Tyani was sentenced to a ten shilling fine or seven days imprisonment with hard labour for cracking a whip unnecessarily in public. Two days before Samuael Makuzeni had been given a £1 fine or 14 days in gaol with hard labour for a similar offence.¹¹⁰ The most outstanding example of the personal prejudices of magistrates influencing sentences emerged in 1901 when

105. CAD, AG 736, Record of Service of Borough Police, King William's Town, 24/3/1899.

106. See for example, CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/306, Case 99, 20/2/1899; 1/KWT 1/1/1/315, Case 400, 4/8/1900; 1/KWT 1/1/1/315, Case 406, 10/8/1900; 1/KWT 1/1/1/315, Case 416, 10/8/1900.

107. Cape Mercury, 10/12/1898, "Notes of the Day".

108. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/313, Case 313, 7/6/1900; 1/KWT 1/1/1/313, Case 320, 12/6/1900.

109. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/313, Case 346, 30/6/1900.

110. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/314, Case 353, 5/7/1900; 1/KWT 1/1/1/314, Case 349, 3/7/1900.

Bright embarked on a personal crusade to stop desertions from service by imposing outrageously stiff penalties.¹¹¹

Cases heard before the Circuit Court were tried by jury. Jury members were always male and always white, a pattern which did not alter during the war. The juries, at least theoretically, were impartial, but it is doubtful if this always worked in practice. One of the striking aspects of the Circuit Court proceedings is the rather lenient view taken by the all-white, all-male juries to the rape of black women. For example, Nkosingana, a black agriculturalist, was charged with raping Nofenti. From the preliminary examination it is clear that he raped her. He even tried to pay her husband at the time, yet he was discharged.¹¹² The case of the trial of a British soldier, Bedborough, for the murder of a black child is another illustration in this regard. The trial occurred at the outbreak of the war and a wave of jingoism was sweeping the town. The crowd broke into applause when Bedborough was acquitted.¹¹³ But in other cases the jury seems to have acted relatively impartially. In September 1901 Wilhelm Frederich Ludwig Schwartz, a German farmer, was charged with assaulting and attempting to rape two black women on two successive days. The jury consisted of Paul Meier (German trader), A. J. M. Trenchard (clerk), Ernest Hodgkinson (farmer), Frederick Breetzke (German farmer), August Grunewald (German farmer and trader), Carl Durow (German farmer), Edward Gernetsky (German trader), Thomas Brooks (mason) and Carl Pape (German farmer). Six were fellow Germans and five were fellow farmers. Schwartz was found to be of unsound mind and confined to an asylum at the Governor's pleasure.¹¹⁴

In all of these agencies of control and domination, in peace and in wartime, women had no part and blacks played a marginal role. The legislation was formulated in an all-white male environment (what Jack and Ray

111. Cape Mercury, 4/11/1901, Editorial, "The Servant Question", Cape Mercury, 4/11/1901, "Magistrates Court".

112. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/3/115, Preliminary hearing,; GSC 1/2/1/84, Case 4, 10/3/1900.

113. Cape Mercury, 12/3/1900, "The Circuit Court".

114. CAD, GSC, 1/2/1/88, Case 1, 9/9/1901.

Simons called the "parliament of masters"¹¹⁵) and its execution was in the hands, by and large, of white males. The burden, however, fell most heavily on blacks, especially females.

The most serious challenge to the agencies of control and domination in this period was presented, not by locals, but by refugees from the Rand. Elizabeth van Heyningen and Keith Tankard have examined the impact of refugees from the Rand on Cape Town and East London respectively; and Dianne Cammack has provided a general overview of the refugee saga.¹¹⁶ The first trainloads of refugees, mostly women and children, began arriving in King William's Town in September 1899.¹¹⁷ In common with other centres, the King William's Town residents soon established a Refugee Relief Committee which distributed locally-generated assistance and funds from the Mansion House relief fund.¹¹⁸ The number of white refugees in King William's Town was relatively low compared to the ports. Cape Town had an estimated 20 000 to 25 000 refugees and East London experienced an influx of approximately 5 000.¹¹⁹ The exact number of refugees in King William's Town is unknown, but only 584 white refugees received assistance in one form or another.¹²⁰ The number of black refugees is even more difficult to calculate since they received neither sympathy nor assistance. Reports on black refugees in the Press are brief in the extreme. From the reports

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115. J. Simons & R. Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa 1850 - 1950 (IDAF, London, 1983), p. 23.
116. E. van Heyningen, "Refugees and Relief in Cape Town, 1899 - 1902", in C. Saunders & H. Phillips (Eds), Studies in the History of Cape Town, Vol. III (University of Cape Town, Cape Town, 1980), pp. 64 - 113; K. P. T. Tankard, "The Anglo-Boer War and its Effects on East London, 1899 - 1902, with Particular Reference to the Uitlander Refugees and the Boer Concentration Camp" (Paper presented at 13th Biennial conference of South African Historical Society, Pretoria, 1991), pp. 1 - 21.; D. Cammack, The Rand at War 1899 - 1902 (James Currey, London, 1990), Chapters 6 and 9 particularly. The paper by Keith Tankard drew on his thesis, "The Development of East London Through Four Decades of Municipal Control 1873 - 1914" (PhD Thesis, Rhodes University, 1990).
117. Cape Mercury, 7/9/1899, "The Exodus"; Cape Mercury, 16/9/1899, "Notes of the Week"; Cape Mercury, 21/9/1899, "Notes of the Day".
118. CAD, BWR 12, "Final Report of the Refugee Relief Committee", 20/12/1902; R-M. Sellick, "A Study in Local History: Grahamstown 1883 - 1904" (MA Thesis, Rhodes University, 1983), pp. 241 - 242; K. P. T. Tankard, "The Anglo-Boer War and Its Effects on East London", pp. 2 - 15.
119. E. van Heyningen, "Refugees and Relief in Cape Town", p. 74; K. P. T. Tankard, "The Development of East London", p. 5.
120. CAD, BWR 12, "Final Report of the Refugee Relief Committee", 20/12/1902.

of the Refugee Relief Committee it is clear none received assistance.¹²¹ Given the fact that the King William's Town had one of the highest black populations in the Colony and that migrant labour was common; and given that the Borough Council expressed concern at the overcrowding of municipal locations even though most of the black refugees were returning to their rural homes; then the number must have been quite substantial.¹²² There also appear to have been Indians amongst the refugees in King William's Town.¹²³

What is of concern here is not the general treatment of refugees, but the impact of their presence on King William's Town society. Initially their presence hardly caused a ripple in the town. The residents obviously expected an increase in crime, but in November the Daily Watchman was forced to admit,

"King Williamstown (sic) is, considering its size and the recent advent of strangers, one of the best behaved towns in the Colony."¹²⁴

A few weeks later, the same newspaper was moved to warn that,

"some strangers from the Rand at present in King Williamstown (sic) make it a practice of hunting on the commonage ..."¹²⁵

But beyond this, and a number of incidents of drunkenness, possibly involving refugees, the general crime rate did not increase remarkably.¹²⁶ Except for the dramatic events of December 1899.

The Cape Mercury introduced the incident involving the refugees to its readers with the statement that

"On Saturday night the whole of Newtown was aroused by the noise of an affray which alarmed the whole neighbourhood and ended seriously."¹²⁷

121. CAD, BWR 12, "Final Report of the Refugee Relief Committee", 20/12/1902.

122. Cape Mercury, 25/10/1899, "Borough Council"; Cape Mercury, 19/10/1899, "Notes of the Day".

123. Cape Mercury, 19/10/1900, "Magistrate's Court".

124. Daily Watchman, 10/11/1899, "The Day's Doings".

125. Daily Watchman, 1/12/1899, "Notes and News".

126. CAD. 1/KWT 1/1/1/311, Case 717, 18/11/1899. In this case the occupation of the accused was given as "miner"; but in most cases it is not possible to ascertain if the accused were refugees.

127. Cape Mercury, 18/12/1899, "A Stabbing Affray".

It claimed about fifteen brawlers, "mostly strangers to the town", attacked the Borough Police. A local chemist, Mr. Doble, was also attacked and a policeman was stabbed in the arm.¹²⁸ In fact the Wodehouse Street affray centred on the conduct of five Cornish miners who had been part of a crowd singing and playing the piano in a house in Wodehouse Street. A policeman rather timidly tried to intervene and this set off a chain of events in which the policeman was assaulted, ran away for help, three more policemen were assaulted when they cautiously investigated, a large crowd gathered, civilians were called upon to assist the police and at least one revolver was pointed at a member of the police. Civilians, especially railway workers, joined in the street fight with enthusiasm. In the case of Doble, the elderly chemist, a policeman called upon him to help (which he was legally obliged to do), but when he did so, the policeman ran away and left him to be severely assaulted.¹²⁹ Women from the refugee household intervened to stop the assault. One of the police reinforcements was stabbed in the arm. The affray lasted a long time and took place in three stages. The evidence given at the trial of five of the miners was conflicting, as can be expected in so confusing an affair. The police appear to have exaggerated the revolver incident and tried to introduce anti-British sentiments. Police Constable Edward Eva gave evidence that the accused had revolvers and that they had said "You bastards if you dont (sic) go we will lay you out. You are for the Queen and we are for the Transvaal." Arthur Wright, in his evidence, probably reported more accurately, that the miner shouted, "Clear off or I'll blow your bloody brains out."¹³⁰ All five of the accused were found guilty of assault. The sentences ranged from £20 fine or 6 months imprisonment with hard labour to a £2 fine or 14 days gaol with hard labour.¹³¹

On one level the incident is quite amusing: the police ran away, a street brawl took place, a piano tinkled away in the background and the mother of one of the miners intervened to stop her son being beaten. But on another level the affair was a serious challenge to the established authority in the town. The Resident Magistrate, the Council and the newspaper editors certainly saw it this way. The Resident Magistrate

128. Cape Mercury, 18/12/1899, "A Stabbing Affray".

129. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/311, Case 790, 30/1/1900.

130. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/311, Case 790, 30/1/1900.

131. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/311, Case 790, 30/1/1900.

recommended an increase in the strength of the Borough Police by the addition of twelve white constables and a white sergeant, "by reason of the coming into town of a number of undesirable people who had recently taken up their residence here."¹³²

7.4 Sentencing and Punishment

The last steps in the enforcement of the parameters of society were sentencing and punishment. Sentences varied greatly. Convictions made under Act 27 of 1882 usually carried a fine of 7/- or seven days imprisonment with hard labour at the beginning of the war.¹³³ By mid-1900 sentences such as a £1 fine or 14 days in gaol with hard labour (for males) or 14 days in gaol with spare diet (for females) were being imposed.¹³⁴ By the end of the war sentences had generally become more lenient again, although harsher sentences were still rather erratically imposed, usually on the basis of race. A good example of this occurred on 27 June 1902. Andrew Williams, a "Hottentot" labourer, charged with drunkenness, was sentenced to £1 fine or 14 days imprisonment with hard labour. The very next case was that of Joseph Russel, a white labourer, charged with the same thing. He received a 10/- fine or 10 days hard labour.¹³⁵ Successive convictions led to progressively stiffer sentences. Lucy, a prostitute, was imprisoned for a year with hard labour after her fifth conviction for drunkenness.¹³⁶

Convictions of workers under the Masters and Servants Act usually carried far stiffer penalties than for offences such as drunkenness, riotous behaviour or even assault. Fokosi, a labourer, received a £2 fine or

132. Daily Watchman, 10/1/1900, Editorial, "Borough Police", see also Cape Mercury, 10/1/1900, "Borough Council".

133. For example CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/309, Case 424, 22/6/1899.

134. CAD. 1/KWT 1/1/1/314, Case 351, 3/7/1900; 1/KWT 1/1/1/313, Case 345, 29/6/1900.

135. CAD, 1/KWT 1/2/1/1/24, Case 249, 27/6/1902; Case 250, 27/6/1902.

136. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/311, Case 825, 29/12/1899.

14 days imprisonment with hard labour for departing from the service of his master. A few days before, Johnson, another labourer, was sentenced to a £1 fine or 10 days in gaol with hard labour for assault.¹³⁷

By November 1901, when the requirements of the military labour contingents were placing a premium on black labour, the magistrate, Bright, began sentencing workers who attempted to leave their employees to prison terms with hard labour, spare diet and solitary confinement without the option of a fine.¹³⁸

Masters, when they were found guilty at all, received rather more lenient treatment. Between 1899 and 1902 only twelve cases were brought against employers by employees. Of these, three were withdrawn, five cases ended in verdicts of not guilty and four were found guilty. Ben Nomvula, a coffee shop owner was sued for wages by a black female worker. He was required to pay a 10/- fine and 9/3 to the complainant. Christopher Timms, a wagonmaker, was successfully sued for withholding wages by George Risha. He was given a fine of £1 or seven days imprisonment with hard labour and had to pay Risha 15/- in wages plus costs.¹³⁹

Beer brewing, perhaps more than most other social control crimes, was harshly dealt with. Penalties were roughly based on the quantity of beer brewed, but were usually far higher than more serious crimes. Thus Noceti received a £2-10-0 fine or 30 days in gaol with hard labour for brewing six gallons; Noffice received a £3 fine or 30 days in gaol with hard labour for twenty gallons; and Lizzie got the same sentence for 30 gallons of beer.¹⁴⁰

Prosecutions under the Contagious Diseases Act carried relatively stiff penalties. For failing to report for treatment, Maria Pretorius, a "Hottentot", received a sentence of £1 fine or 14 days in prison with hard labour, to begin after her discharge from the Lock Hospital. Maria Ndiniso received one month hard labour

137. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/317, Case 169, 26/3/1901; 1/KWT 1/1/1/317, Case 157, 19/3/1901.

138. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/322, Case 712, 5/11/1901; 1/KWT 1/1/1/322, Case 761, 28/11/1901.

139. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/318, Case 218, 15/4/1901; 1/KWT 1/2/1/1/24, Case 449, 11/1/0/1902.

140. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/312, Case 104, 14/2/1900; Case 735, 16/11/1901; Case 736, 16/11/1901.

with no option of a fine for the same thing, also to begin after her discharge from the Lock Hospital.¹⁴¹

By way of comparison, Robert Bain, a butcher who endangered public health by neglecting to clean his slaughterhouse and remove offal and blood, received a 10/- fine.¹⁴²

Similarly, prosecutions of people wandering about without visible means of support tended to be relatively harsh. The usual sentence was 14 days imprisonment with hard labour, such as was meted out to Thomas Carrington and Thomas Smith. Blacks such as Seti were sentenced to three weeks in gaol with hard labour.¹⁴³

Gaol sentences were not the only means the agencies of control and domination used to maintain the parameters of society. Richard Evans, a white labourer charged with wandering around with no visible means of support was discharged when he agreed to go to East London. Lizzie de Beer, a prostitute, was told to leave town by the Borough Police Superintendent when she was released at the end of a prison sentence. There does not appear to have been any legal basis for this sort of action, but the Borough Police Superintendent freely admitted during the trial of Tillie Schwartz that he had turned her out of town since, "She was an undesirable."¹⁴⁴

The law was by no means applied equally across the racial and class spectrum. Members of the underclass and working class who were inebriated in the streets were obviously more likely to attract the attention of the authorities than the middle class burgesses who got drunk in their parlours. But aside from this, there are numerous examples of where whites and blacks, charged with similar offences, received different sentences.

141. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/306, Case 34, 23/1/1899; 1/KWT 1/1/1/308, Case 166, 15/3/1899.

142. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/309, Case 232, 7/4/1899.

143. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/306, Case 55, 6/2/1899; 1/KWT 1/1/1/311, Case 710, 15/11/1899; 1/KWT 1/1/1/309, Case 230, 6/4/1899.

144. Cape Mercury, 7/1/1901, "Magistrates Court".

In addition, whites were more likely to be able to afford defence lawyers in certain cases. The ratio of guilty verdicts to not guilty ones was extraordinarily high, far higher in the magistrates court than in the Circuit Courts. The chances of achieving an acquittal were enhanced by the presence of a defence lawyer. Whites also developed other strategies to exploit the situation. Whites charged with drunkenness frequently paid bail of 10/-, then failed to appear in court. The verdict was then entered as "bail estreated" rather than "guilty". This strategy was seldom adopted by blacks who were charged with public drunkenness, either because they were not granted the option of bail or because they could not afford it.

An examination of the race, class and gender of those charged under social control measures clearly demonstrates that the brunt of the restrictions was borne by those at the bottom end of the social scale, most of them blacks, with a large proportion being women. Certain measures acted to restrict women more than men, the Contagious Diseases Act and the regulations prohibiting beer brewing being two of them. Members of the middle class and of the elite in town very seldom appeared in the magistrates court to answer charges. When they did, it was generally from outside the solid phalanx of the English-speaking middle class burgesses: Germans like Frederic Kramann and Carl Pfitzer.

When a member of the town's elite was charged with a crime it was either dealt with in alternative ways or provoked a rumble of discontent. Two cases stand out. J. J. Yates, a solicitor and Borough councillor, was charged with assault. When the case was called the complainant failed to appear and Yates was discharged.¹⁴⁵ More sensationally, George Whitaker, a leading merchant and Borough councillor, was charged with selling adulterated coffee. The coffee had in fact been adulterated by Salomon in his chicory factory, but Whitaker was prosecuted on a technicality. The case provoked outrage amongst the elite and the matter of changing the law was taken up with the government by the Chamber of Commerce.¹⁴⁶

145. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/308, Case 190, 25/3/1899.

146. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/316, Case 570, 22/10/1900; Cape Mercury, 26/10/1900, "Chamber of Commerce".

Another way of removing undesirable elements from society was to have them committed to asylums for the insane. Here, as in the application of the Contagious Diseases Act, the medical profession played a pivotal role. The District Surgeon was responsible for deciding if the person was insane. Between 1899 and 1902, at least twelve people who came before the court on various charges were remanded for medical examination by the District Surgeon. Some, like Charles Begbie, who had been arrested for theft, were certified criminally insane.¹⁴⁷ Others, like Noncingani, a black female, were arrested for wandering about with no visible means of support. She slept amongst the rocks underneath the bridge and was certified insane by the District Surgeon.¹⁴⁸ The District Surgeon's competence in deciding on such matters was unquestioned.

7.5 Overview

The criminal records for King William's Town during the years from 1899 to 1902 provide a glimpse of the kind of society operating in the town. Like the rest of the Colony, it was a highly structured society, regulated by bye-laws and legislation governing a wide spectrum of behaviour. The legislation, especially legislation affecting social control, provided the parameters of society which channelled the behaviour of the inhabitants of the Colony in certain directions. The chief beneficiaries of this were members of the middle and upper middle classes, irrespective of their skin colour. The main burden of social control legislation fell upon the working class and the underclass in King William's Town. The demand for military labour, in particular, exerted an effect on King William's Town society. The increased mobility this offered led to harsher measures in the courts on "deserters" from service during the war.

The major legislation used for social control included the Police Offences Act, the Contagious Diseases Act, the Masters and Servants Act, the Squatting and Vagrancy Act and the Liquor Act. The laws were only the first step in the process of control and domination. Those transgressing the parameters of society were monitored, tracked down and punished by a host of agencies that included the Borough Council, the Borough Police, the Cape Police, ordinary property holders, the magistrates and the gaolguards.

147. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/311, Case 780, 14/12/1899.

148. CAD, 1/KWT 1/1/1/317, Case 14, 8/1/1901; Cape Mercury, 8/1/1901, "Magistrate's Court".

The war had two major effects on social control in King William's Town. Initially a group of refugees from the Rand posed the only serious challenge to be launched against the authorities. On the other hand, the imposition of martial law introduced a new category of restrictions on personal rights (travel, public assembly and freedom of speech amongst them) and a new agency of control and domination, the military authorities, was introduced.¹⁴⁹ Beyond these, society functioned much as it did before the war. In some ways, life went on much as normal for both those who enforced social control measures and those who were on the receiving end, especially when it came to incidents of drunkenness, trespass and similar transgressions.

It would seem, however, that the dominant group in King William's Town was not satisfied with the level of control it exercised. During this period its members made attempts to extend the parameters of control and domination by imposing residential segregation and forcing blacks out of town into a new location. They failed in their efforts, largely because the relevant legislation to enforce segregation in King William's Town was lacking.¹⁵⁰

149. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of martial law.

150. See Chapter 6 for discussion of the establishment of Ginsberg Location.

CHAPTER 8 : CULTURAL CONTOURS

The cultural contours of King William's Town on the eve of the South African War both revealed and reinforced the social, political and economic order of the town. Five inter-related themes run through the activities of religious institutions, the numerous clubs and societies, the forms of recreation and the events the townspeople chose to celebrate: how the social divisions were underpinned by the observance of certain public rituals; the extent to which the cultural imperative of colonists from Europe or of European descent drove them to transform their environment (both physical and intellectual) to recreate "Home"; how middle class blacks adopted European cultural pursuits in a conscious effort to gain acceptability; how the amount of time devoted to leisure activities reflected the prosperity of sections of the community which had the time to indulge in such activities; and how clubs and societies clearly delineated barriers between the genders and races and set aside certain public and private spaces for exclusive white masculine use.

8.1 Religion : Bishop Greenfields versus Long Sermons

Religion represented a pervasive and embracing cultural phenomenon in King William's Town. There were at least twelve Christian congregations in the town itself and five places of worship in the municipal locations. The former included Holy Trinity Anglican Church, All Saints Memorial Anglican Church, Sacred Heart Roman Catholic Church, St. Andrews Presbyterian Church, the Wesleyan Methodist Church, an English Baptist Church (Baptist Union), two German Baptist congregations, St. John's Lutheran Church, the Salvation Army, St. Chad's Native Church (Anglican) and a Native Wesleyan Church. The Brownlee Congregational Church and Salvation Army were in Brownlee Station and Ridsdell respectively. The Salvation Army was active in Tsolo and Bidhli and there were Anglican and Presbyterian congregations.¹ Although there were Dutch-speaking residents in town the Dutch Reformed Church does not appear to have had a place of worship. A request from the Ethiopian Church, an African Independent church, to build a church in Tsolo was denied by the Borough Council on the grounds that they were "trouble-makers".²

1. J. E. Grindlay, The King William's Town Directory, Visitors' Guide and Residents' Handbook (King Printing Co., King William's Town, 1902), pp. 34 - 36; Cape Mercury, 23/7/1898, "Day By Day"; Cape Mercury, 29/9/1898, "Life in the Locations".

2. Cape Mercury, 7/8/1899, "Borough Council".

Callum G. Brown recently identified three ways of measuring church adherence and practice. The simplest is to compare the number of churches (or more precisely the number of church seats) at different periods and relate this to population.³ He also suggests two other techniques for measuring the level of church adherence and practice in Britain - use of the well-known 1851 religious census and a mathematical technique he calls "regression analysis".⁴ Although religious adherence is reflected in the 1891 and 1904 Cape censuses, the census returns for individual census districts have not survived, and the possibility for embarking on the sort of study Brown suggests is restricted. At best, all we have is the general level of membership for specific denominations in the town and district in 1904. See Table 8.1 for the membership of various denominations in King William's Town in 1904, following the general classifications of the 1904 Census.⁵

The largest denominations amongst whites, in order of size, were the Anglicans, Baptists (German and English Baptists), Methodists, Roman Catholics and Presbyterians. The Anglican Church had far and away the most adherents. Amongst the black community in the town and the municipal locations, the denominations that had the most adherents were the Congregationalists (London Missionary Society), Methodists, Anglicans, Salvation Army and Presbyterians. In this regard the Congregationalists (London Missionary Society) had the biggest following.

It is also possible to use the figures to deduce other information. The 299 members of the Dutch Reformed Church are an indication of the number of Dutch-speaking white residents. The figures for Baptists and Lutherans provide an idea as to the large number of Germans in the town, even if we allow for the removal of one third of the Baptists (as an estimate of the English-speaking Baptists). Finally, the adherents of Islam, and the Buddhists and Hindus provide some indication to the number of Indians and so-called Malays in the

3. C. G. Brown, "Did Urbanization Secularize Britain?", in R. Rodger (Ed.), Urban History Yearbook 1988 (Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1988), p. 6.

4. C. G. Brown, "Did Urbanization Secularize Britain?", pp. 6 - 7.

5. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.19 - 1905, Cape of Good Hope, Census, 1904, pp. 166 - 167, Table XIV, "Religion of the People: Census District".

TABLE 8.1: RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS, KING WILLIAM'S TOWN, 1904

DENOMINATION	WHITE	BLACK	TOTAL
A. CHRISTIAN			
Church of England (including Episcopalians)	1 985	453	2 438
Methodist	731	882	1 613
Baptist	902	70	972
Congregationalist (including L.M.S.)	17	949	966
Roman Catholic	705	32	737
Presbyterian	519	177	696
Lutherans (including United Brethren and Rhenish)	481	32	513
Salvation Army	22	359	381
Dutch Reformed	299	17	316
Protestant (unspecified)	37	2	39
Missions (unspecified)	-	29	29
Free Church	1	17	18
Church of Christ	13	-	13
Miscellaneous	20	6	26
B. NON-CHRISTIAN			
Jews	120	-	120
Hindu	-	28	28
Buddhist	-	18	18
Confucian	-	17	17
Islam	1	6	7
Miscellaneous	1	-	1
C. NO RELIGION AND UNSPECIFIED			
No Religion	20	518	538
Unspecified	19	1	20

Source: Cape Parliamentary Papers, G. 19 - 1905, Cape of Good Hope, Census, 1904, pp. 166 - 167, Table XIV, "Religion of the People: Census District".

TABLE 8.2: GENERAL RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS IN THE KING WILLIAM'S TOWN DISTRICT, 1904.

DENOMINATION	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Protestants	21 857	24 666	46 523
Catholics	601	678	1 279
Other Christian	-	1	1
Jews	71	51	122
Islam	5	2	7
Other Non-Christian	63	1	64
No Religion	26 691	29 065	55 756
Unspecified	13	15	28
Object to state	3	1	4

Source: Cape Parliamentary Papers, G. 19 - 1905, Cape of Good Hope, Census, 1904, pp. 166 - 167, Table XIV, "Religion of the People: Census District".

town. "Miscellaneous" includes those listed as Native Church, Brethren, Greek Orthodox and Unsectarian (no denomination). Table 8.2 provides a summary of religious membership of the whole district. The large numbers under the heading "No Religion" are obviously intended to represent the so-called "heathen" or "pagan" Xhosa.

Of course, the number of churches in the town and the level of membership is not necessarily an indication of the religiosity or even of church attendance. This is much harder to pinpoint. The issue as regards urbanization and churchgoing is whether urbanization reduced religiosity. Asa Briggs, in discussing the power of religious observance in small communities argued that it rested "on the strength of a social system where people knew their place and other people knew what that place was. Religion reflected and reinforced such notions of hierarchy."⁶ In large cities, he argued, this was disrupted. This argument is best illustrated by the Census Report of the 1851 census in Britain which revealed, in the words of Horace Mann, the census official, "the alarming number of the non-attendants."⁷ Mann gave three reasons for this. The labouring

6. A. Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (Odhams, London, 1963), p. 60.

7. J. M. Golby, *Culture and Society in Britain 1850 - 1890*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1988) p. 40: H. Mann, "Report on the Religious Census".

population did not attend because religious services maintained class distinctions. Secondly, the poor felt alienated from the church because professing Christians showed little sympathy for alleviating their burdens of poverty, disease and ignorance. Thirdly, the labouring classes frequently misunderstood the motives of Christian ministers.⁸

This view in its various formulations has dominated debate on urbanization and religiosity. Callum Brown, however, recently challenged the generally accepted statements.⁹ He demonstrated conclusively that Mann's report was no more than impressionistic evidence and that the 1851 Census did not support his conclusions. At best, it was a "snapshot" of churchgoing levels at a particular moment.¹⁰ In the case of King William's Town, the three year period of the South African War offers too short a time to discern any trends in churchgoing one way or another.

Evidence in newspaper correspondence does, however, indicate that all was not well in the churches. Some of those who regularly attended church felt that the sermons and services were too long.¹¹ Others, especially the young, did not attend because the attractions of secular pursuits on Sundays were too strong; and others were put off by the gaudy displays of wealth through clothing and millinery in churches. Writing to the Cape Mercury, a correspondent claimed that "the present generation" did not see Sundays as a day for church, but for themselves; that people indulged till late on Saturdays knowing they would not have to get up early on Sundays; that many churches were "almost deserted" at the 11 a.m. services; and that King William's Town was one of the most irreligious towns on the frontier. The writer also complained that in South Africa the churches afforded the rich a chance to show off:

"Our churches ... are made into places for the exhibition of fine apparel by those who boast of wealth and manners."¹²

8. J. M. Golby, Culture and Society, pp. 41 - 42: H. Mann, "Report on the Religious Census".

9. C. G. Brown, "Did Urbanization Secularize Britain?", pp. 1 - 3.

10. C. G. Brown, "Did Urbanization Secularize Britain?", p. 2.

11. Cape Mercury, 29/10/1898, Letter to Editor by "Citizen".

12. Cape Mercury, 3/11/1898, Letter to Editor by "L.C.M."

This put off the working class:

"The fact is that our churches are so fluttering with birds of fine feathers that no bird of poor ordinary plumage enters in."¹³

One estimate was that ninety per cent of the young men in King William's Town stayed away from church, unless they were directly involved in the choir.¹⁴ This was disputed by another correspondent who nonetheless complained that people would sit through two and a half hours of entertainment in the town hall but "jib at doing half that time in their respective churches."¹⁵ Religion had lost its attraction, especially for young men, and the nature of the services did little to entice them:

"It is regrettable, perhaps to state so, but it is nevertheless a fact that the majority of young men in King William's Town do not go to church simply because it bores them to do so. Not that they are without religious [f]eelings or reverence for the Creator - far from it. They merely do not see that the sitting out of a long, dreary, uninteresting, sleep-provoking sermon in any way contributes to the worship of God."¹⁶

Wandering the banks of the Buffalo River or "Bishop Greenfields" was a more powerful attraction for young men.¹⁷

A different type of dissatisfaction was revealed in a letter by "Free Seat" which proposed radical measures:

"'Grave complaints require drastic remedies', and for the quarter-filled condition of many churches, I would suggest closing half of them, thus doing away with half the expense of keeping the whole going, and the necessity for charity bazaars, and the constant begging; get some really good men for the churches kept open, paying them high salaries, if they are not constrained to do their work for their (presumably) Master's sake ... "¹⁸

Even allowing for the hyperbole in most letters, it is clear that on the eve of the war, the churches were not attracting large congregations and that even amongst some church-goers the length of sermons and the re-enforcement of class privilege was objectionable. In particular, young men (possibly from amongst the numbers attracted to King William's Town to work in the mercantile houses) and members of the working

13. Cape Mercury, 3/11/1898, Letter to Editor by "L.C.M."

14. Cape Mercury, 5/11/1898, Letter to Editor by "Observer".

15. Cape Mercury, 15/11/1898, Letter to Editor by "Organ Blower".

16. Cape Mercury, 17/11/1898, Letter Editor by "Observer".

17. Cape Mercury, 1/12/1898, Letter to Editor by "Solomon".

18. Cape Mercury, 29/11/1898, Letter to Editor by "Free Seat".

class did not feel compelled to attend church regularly. A recent study of Berlin and other urban centres in Germany argues that the church had little or no appeal amongst the working class.¹⁹ This is an area of urban study that needs much attention in South Africa.

Despite the lack of religious appeal the churches held, they drew members because of the social status they offered. The Anglican Church, in the nineteenth century English-speaking communities in South Africa was the "established" church, although there was no official state church in the Colony. Respectability and religion were synonymous in Victorian Anglicanism.²⁰ This was especially the case in King William's Town where the main Anglican Church, Holy Trinity, was also the garrison church. The Anglican Church was undoubtedly the dominant denomination in the town. As the garrison church and with the Queen as its head, it provided a powerful symbol of the link with the English establishment, the Empire and the Crown. The building was centrally situated and architecturally imposing. The Anglican Church provided the focal point of much of the organized religious activities: church parades of the garrison and Town Guard; church services for societies like the Independent Order of Oddfellows and the British Kaffrarian Masonic Lodge; and thanksgiving services during the war. But even in these they did not enjoy a monopoly. The non-conformist churches also occupied places in civic and public life. Some of the town's leading liberal figures, J. W. Weir and R. W. Rose Innes, were members of the Presbyterian Church. T. B. King, elected to the House of Assembly in 1902, was a prominent figure in the Baptist movement, and the Rev. J. D. Don was a Presbyterian minister. One of the chaplains of the Sons of England in this period was the Rev. T. Perry, the minister of the English Baptist Church.

The Anglicans played an influential role in education through the Diocesan Grammar School for Boys, St. Peters School (run by the Sisters of the Order of the Resurrection) and St. Chad's School for blacks. The Anglicans, Wesleyans and Presbyterians, original founders of the Collegiate Girls School in 1873, each

19. H. MacLeod, "Fin de Siècle. Is God Dead? Irreligion and the Masses, 1870 - 1914", *History Today*, 42, October 1992, p. 23.

20. A. Badham, "'The Badge of Respectability': Anglicanism in Turn-of-the-Century Woodstock", in C. Saunders et al (Eds.) *Studies in the History of Cape Town, Vol. VI* (University of Cape Town, 1988), p. 84.

contributed three members to the school's committee.²¹ The Roman Catholics ran the Convent of the Sacred Heart, and St. Joseph's Girls School and St. Joseph's Boys School in Durban Street and a Deaf and Dumb Institute.²² The Presbyterians were active in the Poor School in James Street, which was intended to "bring education home to the children of the 'poor white' class" who could not afford other schools.²³ The black Wesleyan Methodist congregation ran a "Native" school linked to their church in Cathcart Street.²⁴

Greg Cuthbertson, in his study of the non-conformist churches and the South African War, examined the responses of the Wesleyan Methodists, Congregationalists, Baptists, Quakers and Presbyterians in South Africa and Britain. He argued that as non-conformity "became secularized through its predominantly middle-class membership", it no longer criticised imperial policy, "and succumbed to the forces of imperialism, militarism and capitalism." As a result, the majority of the non-conformists supported the war against the Boers.²⁵

Certainly the advent of the war seems to have been generally welcomed by the King William's Town churches that chose to make public statements. In February 1900 the Presbytery of King William's Town adopted a resolution in support of imperial policy:

"The Presbytery consider that no settlement will be satisfactory that does not ensure the maintenance of British supremacy over the whole of South Africa."²⁶

But by June 1901, the Rev. J. D. Don, the local Presbyterian minister, had become more than a little disenchanted with the conduct of the local military. In a critical sermon he took the Town Guard authorities to task for arranging manoeuvres on a Sunday. Referring to the "desecration of the Lord's Day", he called

21. J. E. Grindlay, The King William's Town Directory, p. 58.

22. J. E. Grindlay, The King William's Town Directory, p. 58.

23. J. E. Grindlay, The King William's Town Directory, p. 59.

24. Cape Mercury, 12/2/1898, "Local School Statistics".

25. G. C. Cuthbertson, "The Non-Conformist Conscience and the South African War 1899 - 1902" (PhD Thesis, University of South Africa, 1986), p. iv.

26. Cape Mercury, 14/2/1900, "The Church and the War".

the parade a "military picnic" and questioned the authorities' right to order a man to parade against his conscience.²⁷ Seen in its wider context, the episode illustrates how attitudes to the war evolved as it progressed. By mid-1901 the Town Guard was at a low ebb, general apathy had set in and the war was no longer as popular as it had been at the outset. The Town Guard parade on a Sunday had been a miscalculation on the part of the military. It had been arranged in an attempt to overcome apathy to the war effort:

"... the whole affair was got up as a social to try to rekindle interest in our local Defence Corps - grace versus force. One cannot but regret that such things should be done under the cloak of militaryism (sic) ... "²⁸

The King William's Town Church Council, which included at least the white ministers, appears to have conducted its affairs amicably enough, but religious rivalry was not far below the surface. In 1898 the Rev. B. E. Holmes, the Anglican rector, was rash enough to make several unguarded comments at the Diocesan Grammar School prize-giving. This provoked angry comments from the parents of Dale College pupils, revealing both the rivalry between the two schools and the religious sensibilities involved.²⁹

The war widened cleavages between denominations, as emerged in a much more heated controversy which broke out towards the end of the war when the Anglican archbishop of Cape Town, in his zeal to drum up financial support for a new cathedral in Cape Town, proposed that it be erected as a national memorial to those who fell in the war.³⁰ The Church Councils in Natal took exception to the idea as evidence of efforts to extend and advance one denomination in South Africa as "the Church of the Empire."³¹ The Church Councils of King William's Town and East London, acting on the Natal example, also passed resolutions condemning the archbishop's proposal, but the King William's Town council, under the influence of the Rev.

27. Cape Mercury, 10/6/1901, "The Town Guard".

28. Cape Mercury, 11/6/1901, Letter to Editor by "Veritas".

29. Cape Mercury, 5/7/1898, "Rev. B.E. Holmes".

30. Cape Mercury, 4/7/1901, Editorial, "That Great Church".

31. Cape Mercury, 28/6/1901, Editorial, "That Great Church".

T. Perry, a Baptist Minister who was Secretary, condemned it in terms that gave offence and aroused indignation:

" ... the effort to commemorate the event by the erection of a building identified with the Anglican denomination only is calculated to wound the feelings of the Great Church to which the majority of those who took up arms against us belong and would be unworthy of the Empire."³²

The Church Council's objections to the memorial proposed by the Anglican archbishop rested on four points: there was no State church in South Africa; the Anglican church only represented one portion of the ruling community in South Africa; English-speakers had rallied to the defence of the Empire irrespective of creed and a purely Anglican memorial would be inappropriate; and a national memorial to the fallen should be in the form of a hospital or Home for soldiers or sailors.³³

Politics and religious rivalry merged in this case. The Baptist minister's reference to "the great Church" was the Dutch Reformed Church and this, more than religious rivalry, inflamed passions. The Cape Mercury seized on the point to belabour the hapless minister. The Church Council's argument was well reasoned and objective, but it found little sympathy in a jingoistic community under martial law.

The Cape Mercury singled out Perry for criticism and his efforts to explain the decision in a letter to the Editor only inspired the Cape Mercury editor to greater criticism:

"In spite of our correspondent's explanation we still regard the action of the local Church Council as not merely reprehensible, but as an outrage of the most serious kind upon the feelings of the community at large."³⁴

The resolution, in the opinion of the Cape Mercury, did not express the views of the community or even of the general church membership of the town. Indeed, it was directly opposed to the views of the town.³⁵ How the Cape Mercury could claim this is not clear, but the controversy finally died down when the

32. Cape Mercury, 28/6/1901, "That Great Church".

33. Cape Mercury, 28/6/1901, "Memorial Cathedral".

34. Cape Mercury, 2/7/1901, Editorial, "That Great Church".

35. Cape Mercury, 2/7/1901, Letter to Editor, Editorial Postscript.

Anglican hierarchy in South Africa tried to explain away their archbishop's utterances with the rather lame excuse that he had been a little zealous in stating the case for a new cathedral.³⁶

The churches in King William's Town perpetuated the social divisions on racial lines. The Anglicans, for example, ran two churches for whites (Holy Trinity and All Saints Memorial) and a separate church in Leopold Street for black Anglicans (St. Chad's Native Church). Similarly, the Wesleyan Methodists had a church for whites in Alexandra Road and the black Wesleyan Methodists had their church in Cathcart Street. There is no evidence to indicate that the congregations mixed socially or on religious occasions. The respective ministers of the black churches did not serve on the Burial Board like their white counterparts. Although they were leading members of the black community, they do not appear to have enjoyed much status in the eyes of most whites. It was only on unusual occasions, like the funeral of Paul Xiniwe, that whites and blacks attended the same church services.³⁷

8.2 Clubs, Societies and Associations

One of the most striking aspects of King William's Town society in the late nineteenth century is the large number of clubs, societies and associations. These basically fell into six categories, although there is a measure of overlap: religious, patriotic and ethnic, benefit or friendly societies, social and recreational, educational and scientific, and sporting. The organization, membership and activities of these associations underscored many of the gender, race and class features of King William's Town society.

The organizations of a primarily religious nature in King William's Town included the Church Temperance Club, the Church Boys Brigade, the St. Vincent de Paul Society and the Ladies Benevolent Society. The Independent Order of Grand Templars could also be counted amongst these.

36. Cape Mercury, 4/7/1901, Letter to Editor by Archdeacon Lightfoot.

37. Cape Mercury, 2/4/1902, "Late Mr. Paul Xiniwe".

The Church Boys' Brigade (or Church Lads' Brigade as it was also known), was a conscious effort to establish an institution from "Home", bolster the position of the Anglican church and inculcate obedience and loyalty amongst the youth. It was an Anglican institution, organized along military lines, for providing physical, mental and moral training.³⁸ This was done through a military-style uniform and discipline. The King William's Town branch was formed in February 1898 at the instigation of the Rev. B. Holmes. An attempt had been made in 1894 to start a branch but this had failed. The Church Boys' Brigade movement began in England in 1891. By the late 1890s some 60 000 boys were members and the Duke of Connaught was President.³⁹ The organization had obvious paternalistic overtones. The King William's Town launch was attended by about 50 boys and a considerable number of "prominent citizens". The Mayor, T. N. Dyer, agreed to be President, and the Civil Commissioner, the Commissioner of the Cape Police and the commanding officer of the garrison regiment were Vice Presidents. The branch started off with high ideals: the boys would have to attend four drill sessions before they could apply for membership, they had to have their parents' signed consent; they would compete for medals; a drum and fife band would be organized and a summer camp would be arranged for three days or a week; and there would be ambulance and signal classes, cricket, football and boxing clubs. The uniform would have to be kept tidy and the boys were expected to have tidy hair, clean nails, learn to walk properly and behave respectfully. The emphasis was quite clear as the Mayor pointed out. They would learn obedience and how to behave respectfully and, he hoped, "they would be useful members of the brigade now, and die useful citizens in after years."⁴⁰ The Brigade was an obvious attempt by the establishment in King William's Town to copy an English institution to mould the youth, a conscious effort at social engineering on a generational level. Theoretically the training the boys received would have been useful during the war. But it did not live up to all the ideals, and seems to have succumbed to apathy and to the outbreak of the war which focused interest on other issues.

38. Cape Mercury, 19/2/1898, "Church Lads' Brigade".

39. Cape Mercury, 19/2/1898, "Church Lad's Brigade". See also, M. D. Blanch, "British Society and the War", in P. Warwick & S. B. Spies (Eds.), The South African War The Anglo Boer War 1899 - 1902 (Longman, Harlow, 1980), p. 211 and p. 230.

40. Cape Mercury, 19/2/1898, "Church Lads' Brigade".

Amongst the welfare bodies, the most prominent was the Ladies Benevolent Society, established in 1868. An interdenominational society, its committee members in this period were the wives of the German Baptist, Wesleyan and Lutheran ministers and the wives of the town's leading citizens.⁴¹ The society provided an outlet for the wives of the town's leading merchants and civil servants to involve themselves in charity work and public life. Their benevolence, however, was tempered by sectarian interests. Assistance was only provided to those who were recognized as their own, and Dutch-speaking residents, however needy, were neglected:

"The Ladies Benevolent Society is supported entirely by English people, and I fancy there is a tendency to only relieve persons of their own nationality to the exclusion of any Dutch people."⁴²

After refugees from the Rand began arriving in large numbers in King William's Town in September moves were set afoot to establish a relief agency.⁴³ The Refugees Relief Committee was established on the instigation of the mayor, T. N. Dyer, after a public meeting in the Town Hall on 16 October 1899. It ceased operations in November 1902.⁴⁴ It had no formal links with organizations like the Ladies Benevolent Society, but was nonetheless a vehicle for the philanthropic and patriotic urges of the elite. The committee consisted of wives of the upper middle class in the town, but the mayor served as Treasurer.⁴⁵ Money and contributions in kind were raised locally, but the Committee depended on the Mansion House Fund for the bulk of its assistance to refugees. Altogether 584 refugees, all of them white, received assistance.⁴⁶ Not all the assistance was material. In some cases the Committee helped both men and women find work. Some

41. See for example, J. E. Grindlay, The King William's Town Directory, p. 60.

42. CAD, CO 7338, Fol. 150, Letter: Resident Magistrate - Under Colonial Secretary, 2/2/1900. I am grateful to Sharon Caldwell for this reference.

43. See Chapter 7 for additional discussion of refugees.

44. CAD, BWR 12, "Final Report of the Refugee Relief Committee", 20/11/1902.

45. CAD, BWR 12, "Final Report of the Refugee Relief Committee", 20/11/1902; Cape Mercury, 17/10/1899, "Relief Committee".

46. CAD, BWR 12, "Final Report of the Refugee Relief Committee", 20/11/1902; BWR 12, Letter: T. N. Dyer - Hon. Secretary, Central Committee, Mansion House Fund, 17/2/1900; BWR 51, "List of Refugees at Present requiring relief".

of the refugees only stayed in King William's Town briefly en route elsewhere.⁴⁷ By way of comparison, over 2 000 refugees received assistance in November 1899 in East London, and 3 000 in December.⁴⁸ In terms of centres receiving money from the Mansion House Fund, King William's Town ranked eighth, after Grahamstown.⁴⁹

The Church Temperance Club was interdenominational, although the President was the Rev. B. E. Holmes of Holy Trinity Anglican Church. The object was to encourage temperance and to provide entertainment such as singing, recitals, cards and billiards in an environment free of alcohol. The meetings were less conspicuously class conscious than other societies. On the occasion of a visit by the Premier of the Cape, Sprigg, the Cape Mercury noted that "The charm of these gatherings is the absence of stiffness and formality."⁵⁰ About sixty members attended the annual general meeting at the club room in Cathcart Street in August 1898, but a year later the club had collapsed.⁵¹

The Kaffrarian Good Hope Lodge of the Independent Order of Grand Templars was not a purely religious organization, although temperance was an ideal it shared with some of the churches. Functions were held in the Temperance Hall in Market Street. In August 1900, when the new committee of the Independent Order of Grand Templars was inducted and the comment made:

"We are glad to state that this Lodge is still flourishing despite the fact that several of its most zealous members being still at the front."⁵²

The temperance movement was one of the few areas blacks and whites co-operated and acted in unison with a common goal, albeit with different motives. It essentially embraced two aspects. The first was a personal

47. CAD, BWR 12, "Final Report of the Refugee Relief Committee", 20/11/1902.

48. K. P. T. Tankard, "The Development of East London Through Four Decades of Municipal Control 1873 - 1914" (PhD Thesis, Rhodes University, 1990), pp. 229 - 230.

49. K. P. T. Tankard, "The Development of East London", p. 227, Table 16.

50. Cape Mercury, 11/1/1898, "Town & District".

51. Cape Mercury, 16/8/1898, "Church Temperance Club"; Cape Mercury, 11/9/1900, no heading.

52. Cape Mercury, 20/8/1900, "I.O.G.T."

commitment to temperance habits, involving membership of the Church Temperance Club, the Independent Order of True Templars and the Independent Order of Grand Templars. The second was a public commitment to enforcing temperance on others and centred on agitation to restrict the sale of alcohol to blacks and to restrict the operations of licensed premises in King William's Town. The latter activity involved members of the temperance clubs, but also drew in people who were otherwise happy to consume alcohol themselves. The battle between the temperance and non-temperance factions in the town tended to focus on the biannual Licensing Court, which sat to renew licenses and set hours and conditions of trade. Despite the activities of the temperance lobby the licensing interest more than held their own.⁵³

Black modernisers tended to embrace temperance as a way of differentiating themselves from their traditional counterparts. J. T. Jabavu frequently utilized the columns of Imvo and the political organization of the Imbumba to propagate temperance ideas. His views brought him into alliance, not only with the religious leaders of King William's Town who were the backbone of the so-called Temperance party,⁵⁴ but also into alliance with the farming interest who sought to impose restrictions on the sale of liquor to blacks for purely selfish motives. The popular view was that restrictions on the sale of liquor to blacks would be a civilising influence, would stop stock theft and would lead to a more productive labour force.⁵⁵ Drink and demoralisation were synonymous, as was clearly stated by a correspondent to the Cape Mercury in 1900. Blacks were "known to destroy themselves body and soul by the use of brandy. In their case use and abuse are synonymous." As a consequence, "the ruin of the labour market follows."⁵⁶

Jabavu identified himself with these views in his efforts to promote temperance:

53. Cape Mercury, 15/3/1900, "Farmers Association"; Cape Mercury, 7/3/1901, "Under Martial Law".

54. Cape Mercury, 5/3/189, Editorial, "The Licensing Court".

55. Cape Mercury, 7/3/1900, Editorial, "Liquor"; Cape Mercury, 6/3/1901, "Licensing Court".

56. Cape Mercury, 14/2/1900, Letter to Editor by A. Wilmot.

"For it is clear that if the Natives are to be civilised ... and with a view of making a good useful peasant and labouring class of them, they must be kept from liquor which degrades and unmans them."⁵⁷

In his all-out offensive against drink prior to the March 1900 sitting of the Licensing Court he attempted to influence public opinion with no less than five temperance articles in English in one issue of Imvo.⁵⁸ In 1901 Jabavu, as General Secretary of the Imbumba, orchestrated a petition calling for harsh restrictions on the sale of liquor to blacks. The petition signed by supporters from Burnshill, Pirie, Peelson, Mngqeshe and King William's Town, contained 3 763 signatures.⁵⁹

The war proved a boon to the temperance movement. The imposition of martial law in 1901 led to the prohibition of the sale of liquor to blacks. Although the actual workings of this were not as effective as some would have liked, this was generally welcomed by the temperance movement. It also gave them a platform from which they could launch a new offensive calling for total prohibition. At a conference in Fort Beaufort in July 1902 black delegates unanimously resolved that martial law restrictions upon the sale of liquor to blacks should be retained.⁶⁰ The government responded to the pressure by agreeing to introduce a Bill dealing with the subject, but this was delayed and parliament adjourned in November 1902 without the Bill reaching finality.⁶¹

Amongst the patriotic and "ethnic" associations were the Sons of England, Caledonian Society; the Allgemeine Deutscherhuelfsverein (sic) or German Club; Irish Association, the Lancashire and Yorkshire Association and West Country Association. These were all aimed at male inhabitants of the town. But in 1901 a King William's Town branch of the Loyal Women's Guild was formed.⁶² The Sons of England,

57. Imvo, 12/2/1900, Editorial, "The Licensing Court".

58. Imvo, 19/2/1900, "Innes Liquor Act"; "The Temperance Alliance"; "Pertinent"; "A Temperance Move"; and "The Petition".

59. Imvo, 11/2/1901, "Sale of Liquor"; Cape Mercury, 6/3/1901, "Licensing Board".

60. Imvo, 25/10/1902, Editorial, "Total Prohibition".

61. Imvo, 20/11/1902, "Current Notes".

62. CAD, 3/KWT 1/1/15, p. 119, Council Minutes; Cape Mercury, 5/8/1901, Advertisement, "Corporation Notice No. 53 of 1901".

in addition to bringing together Englishmen, was also a benefit and friendly society. It provided members with sick or death benefits, had regular weekly meetings which were arranged around a certain ritual.⁶³ The other ethnic associations were not entirely of this order. They were social meeting places of Europeans or people of European descent where they could meet others of the same ethnic background. Of these, the Caledonian Society was probably the oldest and most established. St. Andrews' Night and Burns Night were the two main events that brought the members together.⁶⁴ The Irish Association was the least formalised and efforts to establish an organized association of Irishmen only got off the ground in March 1900, although the celebration of St. Patrick's Day was a regular event.⁶⁵ An effort to establish a Welsh Association during the war seems to have met with no success, even though local Welshmen celebrated St. David's day in the customary way. There was a good deal of overlap in the membership of the Sons of England with, for example, the West Country Association and the Lancashire and Yorkshire Association.⁶⁶ The ethnic associations illustrate, at the most basic level, the wide diversity of origins of the town's white population.

Some of these ethnic associations owed their formalisation to the war. Others got renewed vigour in the patriotic fervour surrounding the war. The celebrations were usually in the form of banquets which were characterised both by the large number of courses and the length and number of patriotic toasts and speeches. They also held "carnival evenings" where programmes included songs, recitation and humorous sketches.⁶⁷ The central theme running through the speeches was loyalty to the Queen and Empire and it is perhaps one of the triumphs of the British Empire that it could make people from the British isles conscious of their ethnicity, but loyal to the Empire. The Irish met on St. Patrick's Day 1900 to celebrate the "magnificent work" of the Irish generals and Irish soldiers in the war.⁶⁸ On occasion the patriotic toasts entered the party

63. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733C, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1889 - 1898, 7/1/1895, 30/9/1895, 10/1/1898.

64. Cape Mercury, 3/12/1900, "St. Andrews Night"; Cape Mercury, 30/4/1898, "Town and District".

65. Cape Mercury, 3/3/1900, "St. Patrick's Day".

66. See for example, Cape Mercury, 22/11/1900, "West Country Association"; Kaffrarian Museum, W4733G, S.O.E. Attendance Register, 1/4/1887 - 31/10/1904.

67. Cape Mercury, 28/4/1898, "Red & White Roses".

68. Cape Mercury, 7/3/1900, "St Patrick's Day".

political field. At the annual general meeting of the West Country Association in November 1900, Thomas Burnham King, a local merchant and a noted liberal, launched a vicious attack on John X. Merriman (another West Country man), branding him "a recreant son of the West as we feel sure impartial history will gibbet him as a political traitor to his Queen and Country (cheers)."⁶⁹ The associations also made it their business to despatch telegrams of loyalty, support and congratulations whenever the moment seemed opportune. On the occasion of the Afrikaner Bond's Volkskongres in Worcester in 1900, the Sons of England, the Caledonian Association and the Lancashire and Yorkshire Association sent messages of support to Milner.⁷⁰

Membership of these societies appears to have been quite large in comparison to other societies. Thirty "gentlemen" attended the Lancashire and Yorkshire Association smoking concert and meeting in July 1898.⁷¹ Membership was exclusively male, although some events were attended by "lady friends" such as the Caledonian Society social in April 1898.⁷² The impact of the war on these societies was not universally positive. The Caledonian Society, for example, suffered at the outbreak of the war:

"... owing to the unsettled state of affairs in the country during the past year, the Association has not been so lively as heretofore."⁷³

A banquet was not held on St. Andrew's night in 1900 as men were away at the front and "there was a feeling of depression towards the latter end of November which was not favourable to the holding of a banquet."⁷⁴

The King William's Town branch of the Loyal Women's Guild came into being after the Mayor chaired a public meeting for women in the Town Hall in August 1901.⁷⁵ Only eleven "ladies" attended and, although

69. Cape Mercury, 22/11/1900, "West Country Association".

70. Cape Mercury, 10/12/1900, Editorial, "Counterblast".

71. Cape Mercury, 23/7/1898, "Local and General".

72. Cape Mercury, 30/4/1898, "Town & District".

73. Cape Mercury, 27/10/1900, "Caledonian Association".

74. Cape Mercury, 27/10/1900, "Caledonian Association".

75. CAD, 3/KWT 1/1/15, p. 19, Council Minutes.

a branch was formed, it was far from being a success. At the general meeting in February 1902, only fifteen women were present. The guild was dominated by the small clique of the wives and daughters of the elite who tended to appear in the Ladies Benevolent Society, the golf club and wherever else refined ladies could be involved. Meetings were held on weekday mornings, thus effectively excluding many women who would otherwise have liked to have displayed their loyalty. This conflation of class with loyalty drew a sharp response from one woman. In a letter to the newspaper, "F.G.J." questioned why meetings were held at 10h30:

"A great many of us ladies, the business women, who work either through necessity or because they desire to stand on their own feet and be independent, cannot possibly attend at that time of day."⁷⁶

She went on to question the motivation for this: "Should it be intentional? Should it be a case of class distinction? I hope not."⁷⁷ Beyond a rather lame reply, the Loyal Women's Guild did nothing to accommodate women outside the immediate circle of the wives and daughters of the elite.⁷⁸

Unlike the purely ethnic associations, the patriotic associations like the Sons of England and the Loyal Women's Guild had links with a central organization which directed policy to some extent.

The German Club or Allgemeine Deutscherhelfsverein (sic) was established in about May 1899 and although essentially an ethnic association, it was also akin to the other social clubs such as the King William's Town Club. The initial aim was to create a fund out of which persons in distressed circumstances could be assisted.⁷⁹ From an initial membership of 23 its membership rose to 86 by August, meetings were held on four evenings of each week in the club room in Cambridge Road. Activities included skating, card parties, music, putting up English and German flags on special occasions and displaying portraits of the German

76. Cape Mercury, 20/2/1902, Letter to Editor by "F.G.J."

77. Cape Mercury, 20/2/1902, Letter to Editor by "F.G.J."

78. Cape Mercury, 25/2/1902, Letter to Editor by M. Blenkins.

79. Cape Mercury, 19/8/1899, "Allgemeine Deutscherhelfsverein".

royal family.⁸⁰ The club illustrates the duality of the identity of Germans in King William's Town. Amongst other things, they celebrated the Kaiser's birthday in January 1900.⁸¹

The social or recreational clubs and societies in King William's Town included the King William's Town Club, a typical Victorian "gentleman's club" and a number of music and drama organizations. The King William's Town Club, which was situated in Maclean Square, was an exclusively male domain. Amongst the important services it provided was a meeting place for some of the town's "gentlemen" and a place where the latest newspapers and journals from "Home" could be read. Such was the novelty when women were allowed to attend a special garden party at the Club during the 1898 mayoral congress, that the Cape Mercury went out of its way to comment on it.⁸² In common with other societies in the town, the committee was drawn from the upper echelons of the professional, business and civil service sectors.⁸³

Two institutions stand out amongst the music societies and serve to highlight how racial separation was socialised. The King William's Town Amateur Music and Dramatic Society (KAMADS) catered for whites and the Native Harmonic Society was composed of black members of the middle class in town. KAMADS, established in 1897, specialised in Gilbert and Sullivan operettas - another transplantation of the culture of "Home".⁸⁴ Its fortunes fluctuated. Although it was an extremely active society in terms of productions, only nine members attended the 1898 annual general meeting.⁸⁵ The Native Harmonic Society received very little publicity in the white-controlled press. Amongst the prime movers were Paul Xiniwe (a local businessman and rival of J. T. Jabavu) and his wife.⁸⁶ The society was a manifestation of the aspirations

80. Cape Mercury, 19/8/1899, "Allgemeine Deutscherhelfsverein".

81. Cape Mercury, 29/1/1900, "The Kaiser's Birthday".

82. Cape Mercury, 8/3/1898, "Our Visitors".

83. J. E. Grindlay, The King William's Town Directory, p. 64.

84. Kaffrarian Museum, W3303B, Minute Book of KAMADS, 23/8/1897 - 11/7/1899, Annual Report, 23/8/1898.

85. Cape Mercury, 27/8/1898, "K.W.T. Amateur Society".

86. Cape Mercury, 12/1/1901, "The Native Concert".

of black modernisers in the town. Significantly, both societies attracted female and male members, providing one of the few opportunities for women to participate in clubs with men.

The town also possessed a band on the eve of the war, but this was dissolved in June 1898. The 70 instruments and cash balance of just over £6 were taken over by the Council to keep in trust should another band be started.⁸⁷ The war had the unforeseen effect of reviving interest in a town band. The general enthusiasm for a Town Guard in the early stages of the war led to the establishment of a Town Guard Band in July 1900 to provide marching music to enhance the status of the King William's Town Town Guard.⁸⁸ The enthusiasm was short lived. By September the same year the Town Guard band had disbanded.⁸⁹ The rump formed themselves into a town band, the Kaffrarian Band.

The Victorian Age was, amongst other things, a time when a faith in science and education as agents of progress was implicit in many facets of life. Science, education, art, natural laws and industrial development were all related. This was neatly encapsulated in Prince Albert's speech at the Lord Mayor's banquet in London in 1850:

"Science discovers the laws of power, motion, and transformation. Industry applies them to raw matter, which the earth yields us in abundance, but which becomes valuable only by knowledge. Art teaches us the immutable laws of beauty and symmetry, and gives to our productions forms in accordance with them."⁹⁰

In attempting to replicate the culture and society of "Home" in the colonies the people of King William's Town, perhaps unconsciously, reflected many of these characteristics in institutions they recreated on African soil. Membership of the various societies was a clear statement of the inhabitants' world view.

Educational and scientific societies in King William's Town, that is those primarily directing their efforts towards the dissemination of knowledge, included the Library Society, Naturalist Society (which became the

87. Cape Mercury, 9/6/1898, "Borough Council".

88. Cape Mercury, 26/1/1900, no heading.

89. Cape Mercury, 26/9/1900, "Borough Council".

90. J. M. Golby, Culture and Society, p. 2.: Speech by Prince Albert, 1850.

King William's Town Museum), the Frontier Acclimatization Society, the Literary and Debating Society, the King William's Town Art and Camera Club, the King William's Town Agriculture and Industrial Society and the King William's Town Horticultural Society. Not all of these were purely educational or scientific. The Frontier Acclimatization Society could also be classified as a sporting society. Likewise the Library did not perform a solely educational role.

The King William's Town Naturalists Society was probably the most purely scientific of all these organizations. Established in 1894 with the specific aim of studying all the different branches of natural history, its members collected natural science specimens (and to a lesser extent, ethnological artifacts) and presented talks on various aspects of science. The interest was strongly utilitarian from the outset. A talk by a local dispensing chemist focused on a variety of plants used in pharmacological preparations. On another occasion the Society contacted over a hundred farmers for information and specimens of insect pests in order to find ways of preventing or reducing the ravages of such pests.⁹¹ Within three years the Society's collection had outgrown the space provided in the Council Chamber and the cases were moved to a room in the Library.⁹² By 1895 the Society had moved into three rooms in the Library and agitation for a permanent museum to house the display began.⁹³ Plans for a new museum building were finalised in 1897, which was partly paid for by a loan of £2 500 at 2½ % interest from the British Kaffrarian Savings Bank, local donations and a grant of £1 000 from the Cape government.⁹⁴ The government also agreed to provide an annual grant for the running of the museum. In July 1898 the first Curator, twenty year old Frank Pym was appointed.⁹⁵ The new building was officially opened on 5 October 1898.⁹⁶ The museum was directly affected by the outbreak of war when Pym, a member of A Company of the Volunteer Medical

91. B. M. Randles, A History of the Kaffrarian Museum (Kaffrarian Museum, King William's Town, 1984), pp. 2 - 3.

92. B. M. Randles, A History of the Kaffrarian Museum, p. 4.

93. B. M. Randles, A History of the Kaffrarian Museum, p. 8.

94. B. M. Randles, A History of the Kaffrarian Museum, p. 11 and p. 15.

95. B. M. Randles, A History of the Kaffrarian Museum, p. 14.

96. B. M. Randles, A History of the Kaffrarian Museum, p. 15.

Services Corps, left for the front in November 1899. He only returned in July 1900.⁹⁷ By February 1901 there had also been a general decrease in the number of subscribers to the museum. Only after a concerted effort was this pushed up to 110 by May.⁹⁸ From the outset the museum committee attempted to obtain more than just a £250 per annum grant from the Cape government, but it was only in 1902 that Parliament agreed to increase the grant to £400.⁹⁹ It is perhaps a measure of the calibre of the first curator that Pym, whilst on service at Modder River, collected reptiles for the museum.¹⁰⁰ The museum was a very popular institution in the town. It received regular support from the town's middle class residents and in the local Press (including articles listing recent donations), received regular donations of specimens from the public and was well patronised in terms of subscribers and visitors. In 1897 the annual reports claimed that the museum had 70 subscribers, which was more than Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown Museums combined and the average daily visitorship in 1900 was 25.¹⁰¹

The Library was the oldest institution of its kind in King William's Town, originating in 1861 and acquired its impressive building in 1877. A large reading room was added in 1896. Although it was run as a society to which members subscribed, it also received an annual grant from the Cape government. Noble, in his 1896 guide to South Africa, ranked it amongst foremost public libraries in the Cape. After the South African Library in Cape Town (with 47 000 volumes), he listed the Port Elizabeth Library (20 166 volumes), the Grahamstown Library (with 10 000 volumes), the King William's Town Library (13 000 volumes) and the Lovedale Library (6 438 volumes). East London, by way of comparison, had 4 421 volumes.¹⁰² The Library was a significant cultural institution in the town, as Georgina Lister noted in her Reminiscences, it

97. B. M. Randles, A History of the Kaffrarian Museum, pp. 18 - 19.

98. B. M. Randles, A History of the Kaffrarian Museum, p. 19.

99. B. M. Randles, A History of the Kaffrarian Museum, p. 19.

100. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.5 - 1901, Cape of Good Hope. "Report of the Committee of the Public Museum, King William's Town ... 1900", p. 2.

101. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.22-'98, Cape of Good Hope. "Report of the Committee of the Public Museum, King William's Town ... 1898", pp. 2 - 3; G.5 - 1901, Cape of Good Hope. "Report of the Committee of the Public Museum, King William's Town ... 1901", p. 2.

102. J. Noble, Illustrated Official Handbook of the Cape and South Africa (J. C. Juta & Co., London, 1896), p. 214.

was a great attraction and her family could always enjoy the latest books as well as the classics.¹⁰³ Its significance was symbolised by its solid neo-classical building, which was both physically imposing and situated on one of the main intersections of the town, where it dominated the landscape. But it was not only the books that were the attraction. It was also a meeting place where people came to read the latest papers from "Home". A female columnist in the Cape Mercury noted in 1901:

"And the Library is more popular than ever. 'Tis here the young men and maidens, the old men and children, meet to enjoy themselves in their own way ... "¹⁰⁴

She visited it in the evening to read the illustrated papers, but its role as a place to meet rather than a place with books may have been more attractive to some. The use of the library recesses by young lovers ("Angelinas" and "Edwins") for romantic assignations was so extensive that it provoked a bachelor in town to complain about the courting couples:

"The library is arranged in a series of recesses which lend themselves to any amount of mild and unmild flirtations."¹⁰⁵

This sort of behaviour flew in the face of how middle class youth ought to conduct themselves in the Colony:

"Juveniles in England are generally found in their homes; in the Colony it seems to me the opposite custom prevails."¹⁰⁶

The complaint is revealing in another way as well. Its long, rather idealised picture of romantic flirtations amongst the books reflects an aspect of the culture of a rather elite group. The sordid couplings of two German boys with black domestic servants at the reservoir, or a man copulating with a prostitute in the cattle pens in broad daylight represent a less idealised picture of the town. Susan Cross, a prostitute, plying her trade in Fleet Ditch, not half a mile away from the Library, could just have well been in another world.¹⁰⁷

103. G. Lister, Reminiscences of Georgina Lister (Africana Museum, Johannesburg, 1960), p. 96.

104. Cape Mercury, 22/6/1901, "M.A.W."

105. Cape Mercury, 11/2/1902, Letter to Editor, "A Bachelor's Growl" by "Sufferer".

106. Cape Mercury, 11/2/1902, Letter to Editor, "A Bachelor's Growl" by "Sufferer".

107. CAD, GSC 1/2/1/88, Case 7, 9/9/1901; 1/KWT 1/1/1/313, Case 147, 7/3/1900; 1/KWT 1/1/1/308 Case 176, 20/3/1899.

Membership of the library was divided into various classes, based on the subscription paid. The first three categories, at least, seem to have been well beyond the means of the average worker.

1. First Class, £2 p.a., entitling the Subscriber to 3 sets of books and 2 periodicals at one time, use of the newsroom and two votes at meetings.
2. Second Class, £1.10s. p.a., entitling the Subscriber to 2 sets of books and a periodical at one time, use of the newsroom and one vote at meetings of Subscribers.
3. Third Class, £1 p.a., entitling the Subscriber to 1 set of books at a time, and one vote at meetings of subscribers.
4. Fourth Class, 10s. p.a. entitling the subscriber to access to the newsroom only.¹⁰⁸

The committee, as can be expected, tended to reflect the male elite of the town, with strong representation of the church ministers. The Civil Commissioner of King William's Town was President of the Library and the mayor and senior minister of each denomination were Vice-Presidents.¹⁰⁹

The number of subscribers in the first three categories in 1898-9 was 180, with a further 27 Reading Room subscribers. There were a further 152 visitors, although nearly 50 % failed to sign the Visitors Book.¹¹⁰

The number of subscribers remained almost constant throughout the war, with only a slight increase.¹¹¹

Annual meetings were, however, exceedingly poorly attended. In 1899, only 20 men, mostly committee members, attended.¹¹² In 1901, the attendance was even poorer, with only 15 men present.¹¹³ In 1901-02 the number of subscribers in the first three classes was 216, with another 15 Reading Room only ones.

108. C. E. Vaughan, 1899 Catalogue of Books in the King William's Town Public Library (Kaffrarian Steam Printing Co., King William's Town, 1899), pp. i - ii.

109. C. E. Vaughan, 1899 Catalogue of Books, p. iii.

110. King William's Town Public Library, Minutes of King William's Town Public Library, 25/10/1899 - 13/3/1914, Annual Report 1899, p. 4.

111. King William's Town Public Library, Minutes of King William's Town Public Library, 25/10/1899 - 13/3/1914, Annual Report 1901, p. 4; Annual Report 1902 (sic), p. 5.

112. King William's Town Public Library, Minutes of King William's Town Public Library, 25/10/1899 - 13/3/1914, Annual Report 1899, p. 1.

113. King William's Town Public Library, Minutes of King William's Town Public Library, 25/10/1899 - 13/3/1914, Annual Report 1901, p. 1.

The number of volumes in the shelves was 16 596.¹¹⁴ The most popular books of the year were The Farringtons by E. T. Fowler, Red Pottage by Mary Cholmondeley, Master Christian by Marie Corelli, Cupid's Garden by E. T. Fowler, David Harman by Voyes Westacott, By Order of the Company by Mary Johnson and Purple Robe by Joseph Hocking. The war provoked a strong demand for war literature, the two most popular being Pretoria from Within by the Rev. H. J. Batts and Ian Hamilton's March by Winston Churchill.¹¹⁵

The subscribers were all white and this situation was maintained through social pressure, rather than legislation. When a black resident applied to become a member in 1901, it threw the committee into a quandary. A monthly subscription had been accepted pending a ruling by the Committee which tried to find a reference to the matter in the Rules and Regulations of libraries supported by the government. Failing to find any guidelines and since the black subscriber had not renewed his monthly subscription, the matter was allowed to stand over until "further cases crop up."¹¹⁶

The Library provided its subscribers with a huge array of magazines and periodicals enabling them to keep abreast of the news in South Africa and the news and culture from "Home". During 1901 - 02 at least 63 periodicals were available. These included a few South African newspapers such as The Alice Times, Cape Mercury, Cape Argus, East London Dispatch, Eastern Province Herald, Izwi Labantu, Natal Mercury, Umtata Herald, The Veldt and the Queenstown Representative; and many English periodicals such as the British and South African Export Gazette, Navy & Army, Westminster Budget, Harper's Magazine, Scribner's Magazine, Strand, Pearson's, Blackwood's, The Graphic, The Illustrated London News, the Army List and Punch. Amongst the scientific journals was Scientific American. Children were catered for by the

114. King William's Town Public Library, Minutes of King William's Town Public Library, 25/10/1899 - 13/3/1914, Annual Report 1901, p. 4.

115. King William's Town Public Library, Minutes of the King William's Town Public Library, 25/10/1899 - 13/3/1914, Annual Report, 1901, p. 5.

116. King William's Town Public Library, Minute Book of King William's Town Public Library 25/10/1899 - 13/3/1914, Minutes of Committee Meeting, 17/9/1901.

Boys Own Paper. Specific publications for women included The Woman at Home, Ladies' Real, The Gentlewoman, and Ladies Pictorial.¹¹⁷

During 1902-3 The average number of people entering the library daily was 210. The most popular novels of the year were Stanley Weyman, Count Hannibal; Hall Caine, Eternal City; and H. Seton Merriman, The Vultures. The war seems to have fuelled the martial appetite of the Library's subscribers. In the "more serious class of literature" there was a great demand for Lord Rosebery, Napoleon, John Morley, Oliver Cromwell and Sir Harry Smith's Autobiography. Amongst the most popular war books were Words by an Eyewitness and the Times' History of the War.¹¹⁸

The King William's Town Agricultural and Industrial Society and the King William's Town Horticultural Society can also be considered under the heading of educational and scientific societies. The objectives included the dissemination of knowledge that would lead to better production and better domestic animal breeds. The Agricultural and Industrial Society was resuscitated in 1894 after a long period of inactivity. It was dominated by the leading merchants and manufacturers of the town.¹¹⁹ The main aim was to promote agriculture and industry through the organization of agricultural shows, such as the one held in King William's Town during March 1899.¹²⁰ Other shows, such as the King William's Town Dog Show in March 1898, were also held under the auspices of the Agricultural and Industrial Society.¹²¹ The main aim was to encourage the more scientific breeding of dogs. The war hampered the general operations of the society and no shows were held during the war.¹²² Although a Dog and Poultry Show was held in June

117. King William's Town Public Library, Minutes of the King William's Town Public Library 25/10/1899 - 13/3/1914, Annual Report 1901, p. 8.

118. King William's Town Public Library, Minute Book of King William's Town Public Library 25/10/1899 - 13/3/1914, Annual Report 1902, p. 5.

119. Cape Mercury, 30/7/1898, "Agricultural Society"; J. E. Grindlay, The King William's Town Directory, p. 55.

120. Kaffrarian Watchman, 10/3/1899, "The Agricultural Show".

121. Cape Mercury, 12/3/1898, "The Dog Show. Full Special Report".

122. J. E. Grindlay, The King William's Town Directory, p. 55.

1900, the 1901 show was postponed because of martial law restrictions on travel and because of the outbreak of bubonic plague at Imvani.¹²³

The King William's Town Horticultural Society started in 1898. A Cape Mercury editorial, in a lengthy report on its formation, called its committee "men of standing in the community, practical and experienced."¹²⁴ This was certainly the case. Amongst its members were the editor of the Daily Watchman, the District Forest Officer, some of the leading merchants, the Curator of the Botanical Gardens and a nurseryman (who was also a municipal councillor).¹²⁵ The major thrust of the society's activities appears to have been the holding of shows. The first of these, the Flower Show and Art Exhibition, was held in April 1898.¹²⁶ Amongst the categories adjudicated were flowers, needlework, potplants, cookery, art and wood carving.¹²⁷ Talks were occasionally given, such as the one by James Leighton on "Practical Hints at the Various Methods of Plant Propagation".¹²⁸ But the society was not quite as active as its members intended when they initiated it. The regular talks they envisaged do not seem to have materialised as nothing else appeared in the Press.

The Frontier Acclimatization Society, dedicated primarily to the hatching of trout and the stocking of local streams, grew out of the Naturalist Society in 1894.¹²⁹ The prime mover was the auctioneer, sportsman and big game hunter, J. D. Ellis. Such was his popularity and involvement in the public life of the town that on his death in October 1899, flags were flown at half mast.¹³⁰ The Frontier Acclimatization Society

123. Cape Mercury, 6/6/1900, "Dog and Poultry Show"; Cape Mercury, 5/7/1901, "'King' Day By Day".

124. Cape Mercury, 8/11/1898, Editorial, "A Hopeful Association".

125. Cape Mercury, 8/11/1898, Editorial, "A Hopeful Association".

126. Cape Mercury, 19/4/1898, "Horticultural Show".

127. Cape Mercury, 19/4/1898, "Horticultural Show".

128. Cape Mercury, 8/2/1898, "Town & District".

129. Cape Mercury, 1/2/1898, "The Trout Hatchery".

130. Cape Mercury, 3/10/1899, "Obituary".

was established to acclimatize "trout and other British fish as well as birds and animals in South Africa." A grant of £500 per annum was obtained from the Cape government's Agricultural Department and the ova of trout, perch, tench and carp were imported and hatched.¹³¹ Perhaps more than anything else the Frontier Acclimatization Society indicates the extent to which English settlers and their descendants were prepared to go to replicate aspects of the cultural environment of "Home" in Africa, even to the extent of transforming the physical environment.

Rivers and dams stocked by the Frontier Acclimatization Society from their Pirie hatchery included the Buffalo, Keiskamma, Rabula, Toise, Wolf, Thomas, Klipplaats, Greyton, Gonubie and Kabusie rivers; and dams at Carnarvon and near Dordrecht. In 1895 100 000 trout ova were imported from Scotland in three shipments, but the mortality rate was high.¹³² At the end of June 1898 the Cape government took over the running of the Pirie Hatchery, although the Frontier Acclimatization Society did not cease to promote trout fishing in the region.¹³³ Despite the great delays in shipping caused by the war, the hatching of trout continued throughout the period.¹³⁴ Trout fishing clearly appealed to members of the town's elite, as is reflected in the composition of the 1898 committee. Unlike some of the other committees which reflected the elite of the town, the Frontier Acclimatization Society had a high proportion of civil servants in its committee: E. Garcia (magistrate), R. J. Dick (magistrate), B. E. Chute (medical practitioner, Medical Officer of Health and District Surgeon) J. Storr Lister (conservator of forests), T. N. Dyer (mayor and merchant) J. Henkel (forester) and J. D. Ellis (auctioneer).¹³⁵ In 1902 the Committee was much the same, except for the replacement of Garcia with W. G. Blenkins (the new magistrate) as President and the addition

131. Cape Mercury, 1/2/1898, "The Trout Hatchery".

132. Cape Mercury, 1/2/1898, "The Trout Hatchery"; Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.67 - '96, "Report ... on progress 1895 in Acclimatisation of Trout", pp. 1 - 2.

133. Cape Mercury, 1/2/1898, "The Trout Hatchery".

134. Cape Mercury, 24/1/1900, Sub-editorial, "Trout".

135. Cape Mercury, 1/2/1898, "The Trout Hatchery".

of the Rev. Gladstone Hawke (Anglican minister and headmaster), J. D. Ellis jun. and W. T. Trollip (District Inspector of the Public Works Department).¹³⁶

The King William's Town Art and Camera Club, unlike other educational and scientific organizations in the town, encouraged both male and female membership. It originated at a preliminary meeting on 4 August 1898, attended by nine men, mostly chemists, senior military men and medical practitioners.¹³⁷ This was followed by a public meeting on 16 August, attended by some 73 people, at which the club was launched. The attendance list reads like a directory of the town's leading citizens.¹³⁸ The club established contact with the Cape Town and Johannesburg Photographic Clubs.¹³⁹ The aims of the club were to improve the knowledge of amateurs in photography, to assist them in their difficulties, to bring new methods to their notice, to provide apparatus for those to whom it would not normally be accessible, to provide "healthy competition" amongst members and to bring together those interested in "this most useful and interesting hobby."¹⁴⁰ The club made a special effort to attract female members. Of the 73 people at the inaugural meeting, at least 20 were women, although it is doubtful if they participated fully in the discussion. Judging by the names, photography was a popular hobby for the daughters of the well-to-do. During discussion a motion was carried to the effect that "ladies" should be invited to join the club and attend meetings.¹⁴¹

Meetings generally included a talk on some aspect of photography, lantern slide shows or demonstrations of enlarging apparatus. Initially meetings were well attended, but attendance soon dropped from about 22

136. J. E. Grindlay, The King William's Town Directory, p. 28.

137. Kaffrarian Museum, Minutes of King William's Town Art and Camera Club, 4/8/1898, p. 1.

138. Kaffrarian Museum, Minutes of the King William's Town Art and Camera Club, 16/8/1898, p. 2, insert.

139. Kaffrarian Museum, Minutes of the King William's Town Art and Camera Club, 16/8/1898, pp. 2 - 3.

140. Kaffrarian Museum, Minutes of King William's Town Art and Camera Club, Annual General Meeting, 4/9/1899, pp. 13 - 19.

141. Kaffrarian Museum, Minutes of King William's Town Art and Camera Club, General Meeting, 16/8/1898, p. 3.

members per meeting to eight or nine.¹⁴² Outings to the Fort Murray Drift and to the Yellowwood Falls for photography were poorly attended. The reasons for the decline in the Club included the failure to provide dark room facilities as planned, the poor attendance at meetings which were sometimes postponed without business having been transacted, and the lack of support for outings. It seems to have collapsed in September 1899, just a year after it was founded.¹⁴³

The Literary and Debating Society was active on the eve of the war. Weekly meetings were held on Wednesdays and topical matters were discussed. Discussion topics on 6 July 1898 included the "Cape Government Railway System" and the "Cape Colony - its climate, scenery and physical conditions." Attendance at this particular meeting was 14 members.¹⁴⁴ Political topics were also aired, such as "Ought Britain to take the Transvaal", during which speakers spoke for and against the topic.¹⁴⁵ By mid-1901, however, the Literary and Debating Society had virtually collapsed. The committee which tried to re-organize the society attributed its condition chiefly to the war.¹⁴⁶ A year later, however, its fortunes had not improved significantly and one of its supporters was bemoaning the fact that it was so poorly supported and that the general apathy was a poor reflection on King William's Town.¹⁴⁷

Amongst the friendly, benefit and benevolent societies in King William's Town in this period were the British Kaffrarian Masonic Lodge, the Kaffrarian Celtic Lodge, the Ancient Order of Foresters, the Native Burial Society, the Independent Order of Oddfellows (Manchester Unity), the Railway Benefit Society, the Royal Antedeluvian Order of Buffalos, and the Sons of England Benevolent Society. The term "friendly" or

142. Kaffrarian Museum, Minutes of King William's Town Art and Camera Club, 2/11/1898, p. 7; Annual General Meeting, 4/9/1899, p. 13.

143. Kaffrarian Museum, Minutes of King William's Town Art and Camera Club, 2/11/1898, p. 7; Annual General Meeting, 4/9/1899, p. 14.

144. Cape Mercury, 7/7/1898, "Local & General".

145. Cape Mercury, 1/9/1898, "Debating Society".

146. Cape Mercury, 17/5/1901, "Literary & Debating Society".

147. Cape Mercury, 13/5/1902, Letter to Editor by "Supporter".

"benefit" society was usually used in the context of societies which provided sick or funeral assistance to members. These were generally aimed at the lower classes:

"The members of Friendly Societies are generally workmen, artisans, mechanics and such like, who combine together for the relief of those who may fall sick, and for the decent burial of the dead."¹⁴⁸

The larger societies, however, had members from "all stations in life", both as financial and honorary members.¹⁴⁹ In essence, the Friendly Society was "the working man's Insurance Society, just as the ordinary Life Insurance office is the Insurance Society of the wealthier classes."¹⁵⁰ Benevolent and semi-benevolent societies on the other hand, tended to be vehicles through which the wealthy satisfied their philanthropic instincts. The view that local societies (as opposed to those affiliated to a larger order) "may be considered the special field for the exercise of the benevolence of the better-to-do classes in promoting thrift among their poorer fellow-citizens" was not one which received official encouragement in the Cape Colony.¹⁵¹

Generally speaking, friendly societies collected a contribution from members, either on a graduated scale of contributions, on a fixed contribution irrespective of age, or on a sliding scale of entrance fees. All of these had inherent problems. The benefits granted were usually a certain amount per week during sickness and a payment on the death of a member or of a members' wife.¹⁵² Concern regarding the running of these societies and possible financial mismanagement led the Cape Colony to lay down special requirements in the Cape Friendly Societies Acts of 1882 (No. 7) and amendments in 1892. Amongst other things, societies were encouraged to be registered with the Attorney-General and practice a certain level of bookkeeping. The main justification for the 1892 amendment was that benefits conferred by societies, almost without exception,

148. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G. 64 - 1901, "Report on Friendly Societies for the Years 1899 and 1900", p. 1.

149. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.64 - 1901, p. 1.

150. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.64 - 1901, p. 2.

151. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.64 - 1901, p. 4.

152. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.64 - 1901, p. 1 and p. 4.

exceeded what was justified by their contributions received.¹⁵³ The majority of societies outside the mainstream did not register. The 1899-1900 list of registered societies in King William's Town only included three: Loyal Kaffrarian Lodge (Oddfellows), Court Royal Oak (Foresters) and Jubilee Lodge (Sons of England).¹⁵⁴ Amongst the reasons for societies not registering were that the Acts allowed for voluntary and not compulsory registration, societies did not want to increase their fees as the government suggested and, finally, many were jealous of any outside interference in their activities.¹⁵⁵

It would, however, be a mistake to attribute all the attraction of these societies to the benefits paid out. The sick and death benefits were certainly a strong attraction. But they also provided useful points of reference for people in urban areas, especially for young new arrivals. The convivial atmosphere, regalia and ritual and frequent social events provided a sense of belonging. A case study of the Oddfellows is a case in point.

Oddfellowship originated in England, possibly in the early eighteenth century. Part of the myth surrounding the society, however, dates the origins of Oddfellowship to ancient Greece.¹⁵⁶ In 1812 the numerous autonomous societies combined under the title Independent Order of Oddfellows (Manchester Unity) after a conference at Manchester.¹⁵⁷ Oddfellowship in South Africa started in Cape Town on 31 July 1849.¹⁵⁸ From there it expanded to the rest of South Africa. Development was, however, sporadic. It was only in 1898, at the initiative of J. W. Maclean of the Kaffrarian District, that a conference was arranged to discuss unifying the various districts. At the time five districts existed: the South African District (i.e. the Western

153. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.64.-1901, p. 7.

154. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.64.-1901, p. 10.

155. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.64.-1901, p. 7.

156. Kaffrarian Museum, W1229, Minutes of Oddfellows Conference ... Cape Town, 30/5/1898 (Cape Town, 1898), p. 14.

157. Kaffrarian Museum, W1229, Minutes of Oddfellows Conference ... Cape Town, 30/5/1898 (Cape Town, 1898), pp. 15 - 16.

158. Kaffrarian Museum, W1229, Minutes of Oddfellows Conference... Cape Town, 30/5/1898 (Cape Town, 1898), p. 2.

Cape), Kaffrarian District, Eastern Province District, Natal District and Transvaal District. Attempts at a formal unification failed, although the desirability of closer co-operation was acknowledged.¹⁵⁹

The Loyal Kaffrarian Lodge of Oddfellows in King William's Town had both junior and senior branches. The Rules spelt out the aims: to pay a sum of money on the death of a member towards defraying funeral expenses; the payment of an allowance during sickness or as result of an injury, and the provision of medical attendance during sickness.¹⁶⁰ The Juvenile Branch was restricted to males between eight and eighteen years of age. The benefits included an endowment upon reaching the age of eighteen that would enable the juvenile member to join the proper lodge. The Committee of the Juvenile Branch, was under the paternalistic control of senior Oddfellows. It consisted of six members of the main lodge who were over 21 years of age.¹⁶¹ Meetings were held every alternate Friday evening. A lodge surgeon was appointed for the specific purpose of examining all candidates for admission and for treating members who fell ill in the town.¹⁶²

Like the senior lodge, the juvenile branch had an initiation process. Membership was largely drawn from apprentices and young artisans. The candidate was required to indicate his trade on his application form.¹⁶³ Entrance fees ranged from 2/6 for the age group 8 - 13 years and 5/- for those between 13 and 18 years of age. Weekly contributions ranged from 4d to 8d depending on the age of the member. Sick benefits were

159. Kaffrarian Museum, W1229, Minutes of Oddfellows Conference ... Cape Town, 30/5/1898 (Cape Town, 1898), p. 2.

160. Kaffrarian Museum, Bye-Rules of the Loyal Kaffrarian Lodge No. 5, 210. Juvenile Branch (King William's Town, 1894), p. 1.

161. Kaffrarian Museum, Bye-Rules of the Loyal Kaffrarian Lodge No. 5, 210. Juvenile Branch (King William's Town, 1894), p. 1.

162. Kaffrarian Museum, Bye-Rules of the Loyal Kaffrarian Lodge No. 5, 210. Juvenile Branch (King William's Town, 1894), p. 3.

163. Bye-Rules of the Loyal Kaffrarian Lodge No. 5, 210. Juvenile Branch (King William's Town, 1894), p. 6.

medical attendance and medicine for the youngest age group, and an additional weekly allowance for the older age group. Members were also entitled to a funeral benefit.¹⁶⁴

The lodge procedure and ritual involved in the senior lodgers was not as elaborate as the masonic rituals. The members - "brethren" - enjoyed similar titles such as G.P., V.P., D.P.G.M., P.G.M., P.P.G.M., Tyler, Supporter, Secretary and Lodge Beadle.¹⁶⁵ The oath at the initiation ceremony, however, reveals something of the thinking at the time. The principle upon which Oddfellowship stood were based on "the two holy commandments: 'Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land' and 'Do unto others as you would they should do unto you.'"¹⁶⁶

The Court Royal Oak Lodge, No. 5. 836 of the Ancient Order of Foresters seems to have attracted a similar membership to the Oddfellows, except that the Foresters were possibly more sports-orientated.¹⁶⁷ Amongst the most public of their activities was the annual Forester's Athletic's meeting.¹⁶⁸ Some idea of the King William's Town lodge can be gleaned from the 25th anniversary celebrations held on Whit Sunday 1898. A special church service was held at Holy Trinity Anglican Church. This had been preceded by a procession of 85 adult and juvenile Foresters behind the Royal Berkshire band. The sermon dwelt on "the principles of fraternity, of thrift and benevolence which united them" Afterwards a social dance was held until the early hours of the morning.¹⁶⁹

Membership of the friendly and benefit societies was confined to whites, although some societies existed amongst the black community. The 1899 - 1900 report on friendly societies mentioned societies that existed

164. Bye-Rules of the Loyal Kaffrarian Lodge No. 5, 210. Juvenile Branch (King William's Town, 1894), p. 6.

165. Kaffrarian Museum, W1226, "Loyal Alfred Junior Lodge. No.1. "Instructions for Lodge Procedure".

166. Kaffrarian Museum, W1226, "Loyal Alfred Junior Lodge. No.1. "Initiation Ceremony".

167. See, for example profile of member in Cape Mercury, 15/2/1898, "Town & General".

168. Cape Mercury, 29/3/1898, "Sport & Pastime".

169. Cape Mercury, 31/5/1898, "Foresters' Anniversary".

amongst "coloureds" in the Cape.¹⁷⁰ The only information on such a society in King William's Town is a letter to the Editor of the Cape Mercury by "A Member" who described the formation of a Native Burial Society at Brownlee Station in February 1899. The aim was twofold: to perform ordinary burial society functions, and to encourage thrift amongst blacks. When a member died, the society bore the funeral expenses. For this, members paid weekly and monthly sums into the funds of the society. The social aspect was, however, not lacking. At the end of the year there was "a disbursement of the moneys which have accumulated to the respective members, which enables them to meet any debt or other liability which they may have incurred."¹⁷¹ Indeed, this aspect gives the society the appearance of a stokvel. The Native Burial Society also intended to assume a benevolent aspect, and set aside funds for relieving cases of extreme poverty or distress. This aspect was, however, not yet in operation as the funds were too small to embark on this. Rather disingenuously, the letter ended by appealing for help from the broad community:

" ... the members will gladly receive any contributions which friends outside its membership may be disposed to make in the way of encouraging such efforts of self-help as this."¹⁷²

Unfortunately details of membership and of the executive committee are lacking.

Yet another friendly society was established in the town in 1898. The Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffalos opened a lodge on 11 August 1898. The first meeting, held at the Railway Hotel, was attended by about 20 members of the East London Lodge.¹⁷³ Unlike many of the other societies which began in King William's Town and then established themselves in East London, the Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffalos was established in King William's Town from East London.

The Sons of England Benevolent Society, despite its name, was more of a benefit society than a benevolent one. It also manifested attributes of a patriotic society. But in terms of emphasis, during the period under review the main thrust of its activities was in the direction of providing benefits for its members. This is

170. Cape Parliamentary Papers, G.64 - 1901, p. 7.

171. Cape Mercury, 10/8/1899, Letter to Editor by "A Member".

172. Cape Mercury, 10/8/1899, Letter to Editor by "A Member".

173. Cape Mercury, 13/8/1898, "Local & General".

notwithstanding its jingoistic activities on various fronts. It was only in 1903, possibly as a direct result of the patriotic fervour engendered by the war, that "Patriotic" was added to the name, making it the Sons of England Patriotic and Benevolent Society.¹⁷⁴ The issue of the society's emphasis was not merely academic. In October 1902 J. B. Byrne sparked off a debate when he complained that "there was too much patriotic and enough benevolent", but not enough benefit to members.¹⁷⁵

The Sons of England, as an order, originated in Canada in 1874. The Jubilee Lodge in King William's Town was founded in 1887, the jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign. The total world membership in 1901 was about 15 000. The Jubilee Lodge in 1901, had a membership of close to 150.¹⁷⁶ The Sons of England appear to have drawn quite heavily on masonic ritual and friendly societies like the Independent Order of Oddfellows for their organization, ritual and style of meetings. Upon initiation, candidates were instructed in the "signs & wink & grip."¹⁷⁷ In another instance, the typical initiation ceremony was described as follows:

"Mr. E. F. Jenkins was here introduced by the 1st Guide and initiated by the W.P. assisted by the brethren, after receiving instructions in the grips, signs and passwords of the society from Actg W.P.P. the newly initiated brother retired and worked his way into the Lodge, he was then addressed by the W.P. and received by the brethren in the usual manner."¹⁷⁸

The initiation involved an oath. When the Rev. B.E. Holmes rejoined he "advanced to the Altar and renewed his obligations."¹⁷⁹ Passwords were given for each quarter.¹⁸⁰

The members might have all been "brethren", but like most of the other friendly societies and masonic lodges, there was a strict hierarchy of officials each with it his own cryptic title. These included the W.P.,

174. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898-1905, 2/3/1903.

175. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898-1905, 6/10/1902.

176. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898-1905, Address to Governor, 29/1/1902.

177. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898-1905, 7/1/1895.

178. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898-1905, 9/11/1896.

179. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898-1905, 9/11/1896.

180. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898-1905, 2/2/1903.

W.P.P., Secretary, Treasurer, W.Chap., 1 Con. up to 6 Con, I.G., O.G., 1st Guide and 2nd Guide and Lodge Surgeon (who was not necessarily a member).¹⁸¹ There were two levels of membership within the Sons of England, the White Rose and Red Rose degrees. The former appears to have served as an inner circle. When a dispute arose in 1896 it was decided to appoint an arbitration committee, but this was postponed as there were not enough White Rose Degree members present.¹⁸²

Originally the Sons of England in King William's Town met every Monday in the Oddfellows Hall. In 1896 they expanded and took a lease on a suite of rooms. Later they bought premises as a lodge. The meetings generally assumed the following format. At about 20h10 the Lodge was opened and roll call was taken. If the meeting was a quarterly summoned meeting (as opposed to a routine meeting) those absent without apology were fined. The minutes of the previous meeting were then read and confirmed. Business, such as correspondence, accounts, greetings from other lodges, introduction of new members and resignations, was attended to. The meetings generally lasted about an hour and ended with the singing of "God Save the Queen".

Potential members proposed for the Sons of England had to undergo a medical examination by the Lodge Surgeon before full admission was decided. Subscriptions appear to have been based on the age of the member. Country membership was available to those not living in King William's Town itself.¹⁸³

The benevolent aspect did not loom large in the activities of the Jubilee Lodge, despite the title of the society. When it did, it was aimed at Englishmen, such as when "two needy Englishmen" were provided with 6/- worth of bed and breakfast from the Benevolent Fund on 21 February 1898.¹⁸⁴

181. Abbreviations in Attendance Register. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733G, Attendance Register, 1/4/1887 - 31/10/1904.

182. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733C, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1889 - 1898, 20/1/1896.

183. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898 - 1905, 3/10/1898; 17/11/1902.

184. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898 - 1905, 21/2/1898.

Sometimes a "social" or dance was held after the regular meeting. In such cases as a dance a "friend" (i.e. a woman) could be invited. The socials appear to have been jolly affairs with singing.¹⁸⁵ A typical entry in the minutes on a social gathering is,

"After closing of Lodge a couple of hours were spent in social inter course (sic) enlivened by songs etc. kindly rendered by some of the visitors and BB, and proceedings were brought to a close at 11 p.m. with a verse of the National Anthem."¹⁸⁶

The cold winter's evenings adversely affected attendance at the meetings. In April 1899 it was suggested that Musical Evenings be held during the winter months to "help keep up the interest of members."¹⁸⁷ But even in the warmer seasons, attendance at meetings fluctuated.¹⁸⁸

The Sons of England had a clear association with the Anglican Church. Installation services were held in Holy Trinity. The church services were held annually at the time of the installation of new officers, but the link was not restricted to the Anglican Church. It depended on the denomination of the lodge chaplain. In June 1902 the Baptist Church was chosen.¹⁸⁹ The religious question was important in so far as Roman Catholics were concerned. A minor controversy erupted in 1902 when the issue of a member marrying a Roman Catholic was raised. Under the old constitution Rule 4 specifically required that the wife of a member had to be a Protestant. In the new constitution there was no reference made to the religion of a member's wife.¹⁹⁰

An analysis of the membership of the Sons of England, as reflected in the attendance registers, indicates that members were spread broadly amongst the English-speaking middle and upper middle class Protestants in the town. As regards ethnicity, the Sons of England appears to have attracted more than just pure Englishmen. From the Scottish names such as Weir and Welsh ones like Llewellyn, it is clear that the term

185. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898 - 1905, 6/2/1899.

186. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898 - 1905, 17/7/1899.

187. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898 - 1905, 17/4/1899.

188. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733G, S.O.E. Attendance Register, 1/4/1887 - 31/10/1904.

189. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898 - 1905, 16/6/1902.

190. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898 - 1905, 15/9/1902, 6/10/1902.

"England" was interpreted broadly. The Empire and England were synonymous and the link with England was more of a psychological one than a direct association.

The Jubilee Lodge did not attract a large attendance at meetings, although it claimed to have a large membership. At the installation of new office bearers on 1 July 1898, only six officers and twelve members were present, plus the installing officer. The retiring W.P. Bro. J. P. Byrnes,

"regretted the BB had not attended in large numbers at the regular meetings it was hardly fair to leave all the business to the officers and he trusted that during the year now commencing BB would tender their loyal support ..."¹⁹¹

Declining membership and poor attendance at meetings was a consistent thread running through the minutes during the war and appears to mirror the phases of jingoism, panic and apathy that gripped the town. In November 1900 one of the members suggested forming a small social club to bring the members together as "it was disheartening to come evening after evening and find only the same few faces present."¹⁹² The 6 May 1901 meeting could not be held as there were not sufficient members present to constitute a quorum.¹⁹³ In September 1901 the St. George's day banquet was cancelled due to insufficient interest.¹⁹⁴

While the progress of the war was responsible for some of the apathy, it was not the only cause. Before the war, attendance was not much better and the decline continued after the war. During the initial stages of hostilities, enthusiasm and patriotism ran high and as the war tediously continued, apathy set in. Another reason for the decline was the lack of direction from the Grand Lodge, which did not sit as a result of the dislocation caused by the war. Petty squabbles over procedural and constitutional matters became more common as the war ground on.¹⁹⁵ By 1902 members were even beginning to question whether the Grand

191. Kaffrarian Museum, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1889-1898, 1/7/1898.

192. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898 - 1905, 19/11/1900.

193. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898 - 1905, 6/5/1901.

194. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898 - 1905, 16/9/1901.

195. For example, Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898 - 1905, 15/9/1902, 6/10/1902 and 17/11/1902.

Lodge still existed and the issue of continuing to pay a contribution to the Grand Lodge was raised.¹⁹⁶ Military exigencies were blamed for Grand Lodge's failure to meet.¹⁹⁷ By January 1903 the sale of lodge premises to buy something more central was being contemplated in order to revive the flagging interest of members.¹⁹⁸ In March 1903 the Grand Lodge finally held a meeting, two and a half years after its previous one.¹⁹⁹

The war also affected the Sons of England in so far as members enlisted in various military units. On the outbreak of the war a strong motion of support for members who enlisted was adopted:

" ... members of Jubilee Lodge highly appreciated the patriotic action of the BB who had proceeded to the front to assist in upholding the dignity of the Flag."²⁰⁰

Only one member of the Lodge appears to have been killed in action, although the Jubilee Lodge was requested to contribute £5-16-0 for the funeral expenses of a member of the St. Albans Lodge.²⁰¹

It could be expected that a society such as the Sons of England, which proclaimed its loyalty so vociferously, would have been practically involved in the defence of the imperial interest. In the end the Jubilee Lodge claimed that 85 out of 150 members had been accepted as volunteers by the imperial army for active service and in local defence forces.²⁰² These figures are, however, not as impressive as they might seem since they include those involved in the local Town Guard.

196. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898 - 1905, 6/10/1902.

197. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898 - 1905, 16/12/1901.

198. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898 - 1905, 3/1/1903.

199. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898 - 1905, 2/3/1903.

200. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898 - 1905, 4/12/1899.

201. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898 - 1905, 4/3/1901 and 3/6/1901.

202. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898 - 1905, 21/4/1902, Address to Governor 29/1/1902.

The Jubilee Lodge of the Sons of England was more active in expressing loyalty and jingoism in ways that were both enjoyable and involved little sacrifice. Examples abound: celebrating St George's Day with a banquet, holding a social on the Queen's birthday, parading in full splendour when Queen Victoria's statue was unveiled in May 1899, calling for the formation of town defence units in October 1899 and celebrating the relief of Mafeking in April 1900.²⁰³ Some of the expressions were overtly political, but since the interests of England and the Empire were inextricably linked in the minds of the members, it is doubtful whether any distinction between loyalty and political sentiments was made. In June 1899 a motion was carried to send a telegram to Cecil John Rhodes welcoming him on his arrival in the Colony.²⁰⁴ On Rhodes death in 1902 a message of condolence was sent to his relatives which extolled Rhodes as one "who had done so much for Englishmen."²⁰⁵ In December 1900 the Sons of England plunged into the orgy of anti-Bond feeling in King William's Town after the Bond's Worcester Congress had challenged Milner's policies. The content of the telegram of support to Milner reveals the feeling of the Lodge officials in no uncertain terms. They placed absolute faith in Milner "as representing Her Majesty in South Africa and in the policy of Justice and Liberty you have from the first advocated." They went on to

"heartily desire & earnestly pray that you may have the strength and courage to continue the good work to which you have set your hand and that you will not withdraw until an united and peaceful South Africa under the Old Flag of England is an established and recognised fact."²⁰⁶

On hearing of the declaration of peace in 1902, the Sons of England in King William's Town sent off a telegram to Milner which again reveals the attitude of the members:

"Our Society desires respectfully offer their heartiest congratulations on the termination of hostilities and wish to express their admiration of your firm & dauntless attitude throughout the long, and, arduous struggle. May you be equally firm in your settlement of country (sic)."²⁰⁷

203. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898 - 1905, 16/10/1899; 19/3/1900.

204. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898 - 1905, 5/6/1899.

205. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898 - 1905, 17/4/1902.

206. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898 - 1905, 17/12/1900.

207. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898 - 1905, 16/6/1902.

Telegrams of loyalty were an easy way of expressing patriotism. When it come to more labour intensive activities the Sons of England in King William's Town did not always meet the standards they set themselves. At the outbreak of the war the Jubilee Lodge decided to raise the Union Jack each day over the Lodge premises until the crisis was over.²⁰⁸ This was only half-heartedly done and by November 1900 the Brother responsible found it impossible to attend to the flag daily and requested to be relieved of his promises.²⁰⁹

Similarly, the contribution to the Mafeking celebration was less than glorious. After lengthy planning which stretched from 19 March to 2 April, the Sons of England decided to spend £5 on decorations and the illumination of club premises. On the night of the celebrations some of the curtains in the lodge caught alight. Thanks to the action of an alert policeman the damage was minimal.²¹⁰

The Freemasons also represent a notable feature in the cultural landscape of the town. Two constitutions were present, the English tradition and the Scottish one. The former was represented by the British Kaffrarian Lodge (No. 853) and the Memorial Lodge (No. 1800); and the latter was the basis of the Kaffrarian Celtic Lodge (No. 631). Masonic activity in King William's Town originated in 1856 when a group of army officers formed the Fordyce Lodge. This was disbanded two years later, but was replaced in 1861 with the British Kaffrarian Lodge.²¹¹ Such was the interest in Freemasonry in the burgeoning town that two more lodges followed. Both the Kaffrarian Celtic Lodge and the Memorial Lodge were established in 1879.²¹² During the 1880s and 1890s, however, masonic activity dropped off dramatically. In the case of the British Kaffrarian Lodge, the number of initiations and enrolments was lower than the number of deaths and resignations.²¹³ In February 1898 the two English constitution lodges, the Memorial Lodge

208. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898 - 1905, 16/10/1899.

209. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898 - 1905, 3/9/1900 and 19/11/1900.

210. Kaffrarian Museum, W4733D, S.O.E. Minute Book, 1898 - 1905, 2/4/1900 and 5/6/1900.

211. G. Ross Spencer, British Kaffrarian Lodge No. 853 & Its Connections ... (Progress Printing Co., King William's Town, 1912) pp. 3 - 7.

212. G. Ross Spencer, British Kaffrarian Lodge, pp. 70 - 71; Kaffrarian Museum File, Clubs and Societies, List: Right Worshipful Masters Kaffrarian Celtic Lodge.

213. G. Ross Spencer, British Kaffrarian Lodge, p. 75.

(with 74 members and the British Kaffrarian with 53) were amalgamated.²¹⁴ The amalgamation was accompanied by a degree of tension, possibly along generational lines. The Memorial Lodge appears to have represented "young blood".²¹⁵ Within the two main lodges were also higher degree lodges.²¹⁶

The hierarchy of Freemasons, at least in 1900, does not appear to have been so overtly dominated by the minority of members of the upper class elite who tended to dominate other clubs and societies. This is borne out by an analysis of the members who joined the British Kaffrarian Lodge between 1899 and 1902. Representatives of the lower middle class were present in solid numbers.²¹⁷ The war and the decline of King William's Town relative to East London caused masonic activity to drop off slightly. Aside from the decrease in membership numbers, the war sometimes affected day to day operations. In the case of the British Kaffrarian Lodge a regular meeting called for 1 March 1900 was adjourned when news of the Relief of Kimberley was received.²¹⁸ Expressions of condolences were made to the widows and relatives of brethren killed in the war and in October 1900 it was resolved that the fees of all brethren serving at the front be remitted from the declaration of war to the time of discharge.²¹⁹ But all in all, the impact of the war was relatively mild. Unlike the Sons of England, the British constitution lodges did not allow the war to disrupt the broader national organization. The annual meeting of the District Grand Lodge (Eastern Division) was held in King William's Town in September 1901.²²⁰

214. G. Ross Spencer, British Kaffrarian Lodge, p. 76.

215. Cape Mercury, 23/4/1898, "Craft Freemasonry".

216. Donaldson & Hill's Eastern Province (Cape Colony) Directory 1900, (Johannesburg, [Temporarily Durban], 1900), p. 437.

217. G. Ross Spencer, British Kaffrarian Lodge, pp. 99 - 100; occupations from directories and political voters rolls.

218. G. Ross Spencer, British Kaffrarian Lodge, p. 79.

219. G. Ross Spencer, British Kaffrarian Lodge, p. 79.

220. Cape Mercury, 12/9/1901, "Masonry".

8.3 Sport: A School for Character

Sport and recreation are almost invariably treated by historians as quaint sidelights or curiosities.²²¹ Yet they can be studied to reveal something of how the sense of community and social structure was re-enforced in a particular place.²²² Put another way,

"sport can be a microcosm of society, in that gender roles, class structures and racial attitudes can be reflected ..."²²³

André Odendaal has produced pioneering work in rescuing sport from obscurity and placing it in its proper context in the cultural history of the country.²²⁴ Team sports in Britain, under the influence of the public schools, assumed an important position towards the middle of the nineteenth century. Exercise that appealed to endurance, team spirit and manly qualities were considered beneficial. In short, "Sport became a school for character."²²⁵ Competition and fair play in matches were important and the submission to rules was believed to have moral and disciplinary value, in addition to providing refreshing exercise.²²⁶

Social division in the new sports were, however, as clearly demarcated as in the old ones. Among the gentlemen's games were cricket (an ancient game that acquired new prestige), rugby football, golf (imported from Scotland in 1869), rowing (after the Oxford and Cambridge boat race became an annual event in about 1856), polo (from about 1870), athletics (which started at Oxford in about 1850), and croquet (which became fashionable at about the same time).²²⁷ Lawn tennis, which was invented in 1874, was codified shortly after by the Wimbledon All England Croquet and Lawn Tennis Club. By the end of the nineteenth century

221. E. C. Black (Ed.), Victorian Culture and Society (Harper & Row, New York, 1973), p. x.

222. E. C. Black (Ed.), Victorian Culture and Society, p. x.

223. P. Vamplew, Pay up and Play the Game. Professional Sport in Britain 1875 - 1914 (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988), p. 13.

224. See for example, A. Odendaal, "South Africa's Black Victorians: Sport, Race and Class in South Africa Before Union" African Perspective, 1 (7&8), 1989, pp. 72 - 93.

225. F. Bédarida, A Social History of England 1851 - 1975 (trans. A. S. Forster, Methuen, London 1979), p. 34.

226. F. Bédarida, A Social History of England 1851 - 1975, p. 34.

227. F. Bédarida, A Social History of England 1851 - 1975, p. 34.

tennis and bicycling were the great recreations of the middle class.²²⁸ The favourite game of the working class was association football (or "soccer") which outstripped rugby in popularity. The Football Association was established in 1863 and, as was the case with rugby, rules were standardized all over Britain.²²⁹ The character of the game changed:

"So, instead of the spontaneous and brutal anarchy of old-time sport where individual prowess counted, games took their place among disciplined activities which submitted to a code of collective conduct. Rational and social controls checked the impulses of instinct, and the individual voluntarily integrated himself into the group. In short, civilized sport took the place of undisciplined sport."²³⁰

European settlers brought with them, along with all their other cultural baggage, an attachment to sport. In an effort to replicate the institutions of "Home" on African soil and re-establish familiar cultural landmarks, numerous sporting activities were pursued. Amongst these were cricket, association football, rugby, athletics, horse racing, polo, gymkhana, gymnastics, boxing, tennis, croquet, golf, cycling and rifle shooting. The participation of residents of King William's Town in these sports, to one degree or another, as spectators or players, was significant at the turn of the century. In the case of team sports, the town boasted a number of clubs.

The sports with the largest following in King William's Town were cricket, rugby and football. An idea of the size of the clubs can be gained from the three main clubs. Alberts Cricket Club had about 70 members in 1902; the Pirates Rugby Football Club had 100, and the Pioneer Soccer Club had about 80 members.²³¹ During the 1897 - 98 municipal year some 50 football and 50 cricket matches were played on the Victoria Grounds.²³²

228. F. Bédarida, A Social History of England 1851 - 1975, p. 34.

229. F. Bédarida, A Social History of England 1851 - 1975, pp. 34 - 35.

230. F. Bédarida, A Social History of England 1851 - 1975, p. 35.

231. J. E. Grindlay, The King William's Town Directory, pp. 47 - 49.

232. Corporation of the Borough of King William's Town, Minute of His Worship the Mayor ... 1898 (H.D. Blewitt, King William's Town, 1898), p. 19.

Whether or not Bédarida's argument about cricket and rugby being "gentlemen's games" and soccer being popular with the working class holds true for colonial society is difficult to assess empirically. Cricket was certainly popular with the sort of male who was employed in the civil service and by the large merchant houses. So much so, that the banks and civil service were able to field a team against a Mercantile XI.²³³

The administration of club sport in the town was certainly firmly in the hands of the elite. The Alberts Cricket Club committee for 1902 was dominated by the leading civil servants, merchants, manufacturers and ministers of religion. But what emerges is not only a class dimension, but also a generational one. The senior positions on the committee were dominated by the elderly elite. The active participants in the sport were led by their sons.²³⁴

A similar situation manifested itself in the Pirates Cricket Club in 1902.²³⁵ The rugby club committees consisted of many of the same people.²³⁶ Pirates Football Club administration effectively had two committees. One, presided over by J. W. Varder, featured many of the elite of the town. The other, a "General Committee" featured men who appeared to be players.²³⁷

The Pioneer Association Football Club, judged by its 1902 committee, was more working class, or at least lower middle class. Although the President was T. N. Dyer (the mayor), the captain was Parish (possibly a printer) and the Vice Captain was Hedding (a clerk). The rest of the committee consisted of G. Cook (a

233. Cape Mercury, 5/4/1898, "Sport and Pastime".

234. J. E. Grindlay, The King William's Town Directory, p. 47.

235. J. E. Grindlay, The King William's Town Directory, p. 47.

236. J. E. Grindlay, The King William's Town Directory, p. 48.

237. J. E. Grindlay, The King William's Town Directory, p. 48.

chemist), Gardner (a clerk), W. Cook (occupation unknown), Turnbull (a salesman), Johnson (either a bookkeeper, clerk or carrier) and Daniels (a tailor).²³⁸

There was a lot of overlap in the various committees. An indication of the overlap can be seen in A. B. Gordon. He was Vice-President of the Alberts Cricket Club, President of the Alberts Rugby Football Club and Vice-President of the Cycling Club.²³⁹ T. N. Dyer may well have served on various committees by virtue of his position as mayor, but in 1902 he was president of the Kaffrarian Pirates Cricket Club, the King William's Town Cricket Union, the Pioneers Association Football Club, the Golf Club and the Gymnastic Club.²⁴⁰

In all but four cases, sports were the strict preserve of the men of the town. The exceptions were cycling, lawn tennis, croquet and golf. Cycling for women was, however, essentially recreational and not competitive. It was only in lawn tennis, croquet and golf that women could participate fully, and all three of these were associated with the middle class and upper middle class in the town. Here, too, a certain amount of discrimination is evident. The Southern Cross Lawn Tennis Club and Lorraine Tennis Club both had all male executive committees. The small Spes Bona Club (with only 16 members) was the only tennis club to have women on its committee.²⁴¹ Golf appears to have been reasonably popular amongst the wives and daughters of the men who played.

Sport in King William's Town was not, however, the sole preserve of the whites in the town. Black members of the middle class participated in various sports. As with many aspects of life in the black community in the town, their sporting activities paralleled those of their white fellow townsmen and seldom met. It was almost as if two societies operated side by side, the one a rather poor image of the other.

238. J. E. Grindlay, The King William's Town Directory, pp. 48 - 49; Cape of Good Hope, List of Persons Residing in the Electoral Division of King William's Town, ... 1903 (Government Printer, Cape Town, 1903).

239. J. E. Grindlay, The King William's Town Directory, pp. 47 - 49.

240. J. E. Grindlay, The King William's Town Directory, pp. 47 - 49.

241. J. E. Grindlay, The King William's Town Directory, p. 49.

André Odendaal has described the significance of black participation in sporting activities. Sport, like other western cultural activities, reflected new forms of socialisation amongst black modernisers, based on Victorian and Colonial models.²⁴² Blacks became ardent followers of cricket. In so doing they demonstrated

"their ability to adopt and assimilate European culture and behave like gentlemen, and by extension to show their fitness to be accepted as fellow citizens in Cape society."²⁴³

Cricket amongst blacks in the eastern Cape was placed on a co-ordinated footing as early as 1885 when teams from the main urban centres - East London, King William's Town, Queenstown, Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth - began playing inter-town tournaments. The King William's Town Champion Cricket Club, which was the first of such championships, went on to beat the King William's Town side which took part in a white inter-town tournament.²⁴⁴ J. T. Jabavu later presented the Jabavu Cup for inter-town cricket competitions. He was president of both the Frontier Cricket Club and the Oriental Lawn Tennis Club. Other committee members were also well-known names including Paul Xiniwe, W. D. Soga, J. K. Bokwe and Peter Kawa. Political rivalry, according to Odendaal, does not seem to have manifested itself in black sporting circles.²⁴⁵

Facilities for black sports teams were minimal. In 1895 the Oriental Tennis Club approached the Borough Council for permission to use a piece of vacant land as a tennis court. The letter, written by the Vice-Captain, R. B. Mlilwana, requested:

"On behalf of the 'Oriental (Native) Lawn Tennis Club' I beg most respectfully to ask if the Town Council will allow the club the use ... of the vacant space of ground at the foot of Napier street ..."²⁴⁶

It would appear that the Borough Council simply chose to ignore the letter. Unlike other incoming correspondence it bears no rubber stamp indicating that it was answered.

242. A. Odendaal, "African Political Mobilisation in the Eastern Cape, 1880 - 1910" (PhD Thesis, Cambridge University, 1983), p. 292.

243. A. Odendaal, "African Political Mobilisation", p. 294.

244. A. Odendaal, "African Political Mobilisation", p. 296.

245. A. Odendaal, "African Political Mobilisation", p. 299.

246. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/45, Letter: Mlilwana - Town Clerk, 22/2/1895.

Paul Xiniwe was a particularly active cricket player. But over and above that, he also supplied sports equipment. The letterheads of his shop advertised,

"Impahla yonke ye Cricket ne Football - Itshipu mpela, itatshwa apa."²⁴⁷

There were obviously enough black sports teams to warrant Xiniwe stocking sports kit, but this is not the impression one gets from the lack of coverage of black sports in the Cape Mercury and Kaffrarian Watchman. Black sport, as far as the white residents of King William's Town were concerned, existed in another universe.

8.4 Recreation, Entertainment and Celebrations : Gathering New Life for Work

Anyone taking the newspaper reports at face value would be forgiven for thinking that King William's Town on the eve of the South African War was one long round of hedonistic pursuits. A closer examination reveals, however, that recreation, entertainment and celebrations were important features of the cultural landscape of the town. These features took numerous forms: promenade concerts, smoking concerts, cinematograph shows, lectures and slide shows, dramatic productions, comedy shows, music recitals, military band performances, dances, balls, banquets and dinners. Holidays such as Easter, Whit Monday, St. Wiener's Day and Christmas provided opportunities for picnics and trips to the Pirie forests or the seaside. Routine events such as weddings, particularly those amongst the upper middle class in the town, were social occasions. Special events provided the pretext for arranging parades through the streets.

The garrison bands - initially from the 1st Middlesex Regiment and later the band of the Royal Berkshire Regiment - were an integral part of the social life of the town prior to the outbreak of the war. The bands performed at the barracks or in the botanical gardens.²⁴⁸ Promenade concerts in the gardens were especially popular amongst the middle and upper middle classes:

"Of course the chief feature of the programme is the presence of the splendid band of the 1st Middlesex Regt. in itself sufficient attraction, and under a bright moon the sylvan walks will doubtless be thronged."²⁴⁹

247. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/62, Letter: Xiniwe - Town Clerk, 21/1/1898.

248. Cape Mercury, 25/1/1898, "Town and District".

249. Cape Mercury, 5/2/1898, "Town and District".

The kind of European cultural heritage they were recreating in the town is reflected in a typical programme of a promenade concert:

March:	"Quatre Bros",	Dunn
Overture:	"Pique Dame",	Suppé
Selection:	"Faust",	Gounod
Valse:	"Star of Eve",	Imbusch
Selection:	"Bohemian Girl",	Balfa
Descriptive:	"A Hunting Scene",	Bucalossi
Selection:	"The Gondolier",	Sullivan
Polka:	"Ohie",	Wheeler

"God Save the Queen".²⁵⁰

Such was the popularity and significance of the military band for the upper echelons of King William's Town society that when the Middlesex Regiment was transferred from the town, Bandmaster Imbusch was presented with an ebony baton, "handsomely mounted in solid gold", suitably inscribed and in a leather case. The gift was bought with money raised by public subscription.²⁵¹ On arriving in King William's Town the commanding officer of the new garrison immediately endeared himself by offering the band of the Royal Berkshire Regiment for concerts in the botanical gardens one afternoon per week.²⁵² The time and the day of the week chosen emphasises the class of person attracted to the concerts - Monday afternoons at 15h00. Only members of the leisured class could attend at that particular hour.

Dances and balls were also extremely popular. This, perhaps more than anything else, illustrates the hectic *fin de siècle* pursuit of entertainment that characterised the town just prior to the tension leading to the outbreak of war. In 1898 no less than eleven dances were held. In February, a farewell dance was given by the sergeants of the Middlesex Regiment at the barracks. In May the Church Temperance Club hosted a "Cinderella Dance" and the non-commissioned officers of the Royal Berkshires gave a quadrille party. In June, a repeat of the Church Temperance Club "Cinderella Dance" was held, a ball was arranged by the Civil Service and a dance was arranged in the Alice Street Schoolroom. In July, the Old Diocessons held a dance in the Drill Hall; and the Royal Berkshire Regiment held a dance to celebrate the anniversary of one

250. Cape Mercury, 1/2/1898, "Town and District".

251. Cape Mercury, 1/3/1898, "Town and District".

252. Cape Mercury, 16/4/1898, "Town and District"; Cape Mercury, 14/5/1898, "Local and General".

of their battles in India. In September the Caledonian Association held their annual ball.²⁵³ The care-free gaiety of the social scene was aptly headed "BEGONE, DULL CARE!" by the Cape Mercury.²⁵⁴ But underlying the frivolous nature of the entertainment lay a clear reinforcement of the stratification of society. The Cape Mercury provided detailed lists of the "leading citizens" who attended.²⁵⁵ It would seem that the entertainments arranged by the non-commissioned officers attracted one type of resident, while the dances and balls patronised by the officers of the garrison attracted another. In a sense, the presence of the military re-affirmed the class distinctions in King William's Town. Black residents were ignored completely.

Smokers or smoking concerts were purely masculine forms of entertainment. The non-commissioned officers were chiefly the organizers of such events, while the officers acted as patrons for concerts or dances. A typical example was the farewell smoker arranged by the Sergeants' Mess of the Middlesex Regiment:

"Cigars, cigarettes, tobacco and liquor, all of the best, were served round with that lavish hospitality for which the Middlesex Sergeants' Mess has been proverbial in King William's Town."²⁵⁶

Amidst lots of toasts, vocal and instrumental entertainment took place.

Visiting performers and musicians provided a regular flow of entertainment prior to the outbreak of the war, usually in the Town Hall. The type and quality varied extensively. The travelling acts to visit King William's Town in the first six months of 1898 included: the Haviland-Lawrence Shakespearean and Dramatic Company; the Ellie Marx Concert Tour (violin recitals and musical concerts); the Leigh-Pierce Vaudeville Company; Mr. T. A. Conby ("the most popular of South African Impresarios") and Miss Nellie

253. Cape Mercury, 26/2/1898, "Town and District"; Cape Mercury, 10/5/1898, "Local and General"; Cape Mercury, 19/5/1898, "Local and General"; Cape Mercury, 28/5/1898, "Day by Day"; Cape Mercury, 7/6/1898, "Local and General"; Cape Mercury, 11/6/1898, "Thursday's Dance", Cape Mercury, 14/6/1898, "Local and General"; Cape Mercury, 2/7/1898, "Old Diocesan's Dance"; Cape Mercury, 28/7/1898, "Maiwand Day"; Cape Mercury, 17/9/1898, "Caledonian Ball".

254. Cape Mercury, 14/6/1898, "Local and General".

255. See for example Cape Mercury, 11/6/1898, "Thursday's Dance"; Cape Mercury, 2/7/1898, "Old Diocesans' Dance".

256. Cape Mercury, 1/3/1898, "Town and District".

Ganthon; the Flying Jordans (aerial performances and vaudeville); Miss Ada Delray and Company; Herr Albert Friedenthal ("the celebrated German pianist"); and the Wilmore Comedy Company.²⁵⁷

Unlike the balls, the shows in the town were open to all whites who could afford them. The newspapers generally provided larger-than-life reviews and advance publicity for the shows. The King William's Town public was, however, frequently more critical. Some shows, particularly the vaudevilles and comedies, were well supported. Others - especially concert recitals - were less well attended. Performances that did not meet audience expectations were sometimes disrupted by heckling and catcalls - a breach of etiquette which the Cape Mercury, bulwark of solid Victorian values, denounced as caused by "boisterous and unruly youths".²⁵⁸ After the outbreak of the war the number of visiting performances dropped off dramatically and it was only towards the end of the war that touring shows began to re-appear.²⁵⁹

Theatrical companies, vaudeville groups and musicians were not the only form of entertainment to visit King William's Town. In 1901, the Imperial Circus came to town. A special temporary building (with wooden walls and a tent top) was erected, to seat 2 000 people. The circus included 30 performers, a "magnificent stud of performing horses, two beautiful ponies and a donkey."²⁶⁰ Cinema, in its various early prototypes, also put in an appearance. Amongst those who called at the town were J. B. Fitt's Cinematograph and Concert Party; the Zenamatoscope; the American Moto-Photoscope and Photographic Company; and the Bioscope.²⁶¹

257. Cape Mercury, 22/1/1898, "Town and District"; Cape Mercury, 22/2/1898, "The Ellie Marx Concert Tour"; Cape Mercury, 17/4/1898, "Town Hall"; Cape Mercury 26/4/1898, "Town and District"; Cape Mercury, 28/4/1898, "Local and General"; Cape Mercury, 7/6/1898, "Local and General"; Cape Mercury, 16/6/1898, "Local and General".

258. Cape Mercury, 8/8/1899, "Saturday's Concert".

259. Cape Mercury, 28/8/1901, "The Sullivan Concert"; Cape Mercury, 19/2/1902, "King Day by Day".

260. Cape Mercury, 11/1/1901, "Imperial Circus".

261. Cape Mercury, 19/2/1898, "Town and District"; Cape Mercury, 22/2/1898, "The Cinematograph"; 12/3/1898, insert; Cape Mercury, 28/5/1898, "Local and General"; Cape Mercury, 31/5/1901, "'King' Day by Day".

The importance of these early motion pictures in providing a link with "Home" should not be underestimated. The Cinematograph show in February 1898 included the London Fire Brigade at work, scenes from the Henley Regatta and the Queen's Diamond Jubilee Procession. Praising the technology involved, the Cape Mercury noted:

" ... the result is to enable people here to witness scenes in progress at Home and abroad which hitherto they have only been able to read of, or see illustrated in the papers."²⁶²

The show struck a responsive chord in the audience which cheered and encored loudly. At one stage still pictures of the mayor, T. N. Dyer, and of Cecil Rhodes, were flashed on the screen. The audience greeted the former by singing "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow".²⁶³

As the war progressed, cinema shows with war action proved to be very popular. A show in September 1900 included "recent events" such as the surrender of Kroonstad, a skirmish near Kimberley, a war balloon crossing the Vaal River and Lord Roberts hoisting the Union Jack in Pretoria.²⁶⁴ In this respect, motion pictures were an important component of a propaganda offensive that emanated from Britain and spanned patriotic china, patriotic children's games, patriotic advertisements, popular songs and concerts.²⁶⁵ It played a significant role in bringing the "reality" of war to the populace who were removed from the actual fighting, but whose support was crucial. It was, however, a "reality" that was manufactured. Early cameras were too cumbersome to film live action. Scenes of fighting were either mock attacks by soldiers for the benefit of the cameramen, or complete enactments, far removed from the theatre of war. Film locations included London's Hampstead Heath and a garden on the outskirts of Bolton.²⁶⁶ These clumsy pieces of propoganda stereotyped the Boers as scruffy, unwashed and treacherous and the British soldier as heroic and kind.²⁶⁷ Despite the lack of subtlety, the motion pictures of war scenes certainly had the desired effect in

262. Cape Mercury, 19/2/1898, "Town and District"; Cape Mercury, 22/2/1898, "The Cinematograph".

263. Cape Mercury, 22/2/1898, "The Cinematograph".

264. Cape Mercury, 19/9/1900, "Wolfram's Cinematograph".

265. M. D. Blanch, "British Society and the War", pp. 230 - 235.

266. M. D. Blanch, "British Society and the War", p. 232.

267. M. D. Blanch, "British Society and the War", p. 232.

King William's Town. The large audience which witnessed the surrender of Kroonstad, a skirmish near Kimberley and Lord Roberts raising the flag in Pretoria responded most enthusiastically with applause.²⁶⁸

Entertainment organized by religious organizations of one type or another provide a constant theme running through the social life of the town. These included a Japanese Tea in May 1898, organized by the Wesleyan Ladies Guild in the Drill Hall, with the string band of the Royal Berkshire Regiment in attendance; the annual Presbyterian Church Picnic for 200 of the Sunday School pupils and their parents, held on Whit Monday; and a Church Bazaar, organized by the Anglican All Saints Church Work Association in June 1898, at which the band of the Royal Berkshires was again in attendance.²⁶⁹

Associations like the Church Temperance Club sought to provide entertainment that would rival events where alcohol was present. These were held on almost a monthly basis in 1898. The entertainment took the form of dances, concerts and music evenings with games:

"The Church Temperance Club has now started whiling away the long winter evenings by tournaments at billiards, chess, cribbage, draughts, euchre, and whist."²⁷⁰

These activities form part of a wider backdrop of the whole temperance movement in the town. In some cases, they deliberately set out to provide alternative entertainment to the events where alcohol was freely available. While the Middlesex Regiment Sergeants' Mess held a smoker where cigars, cigarettes, tobacco and liquor "all of the best" were lavishly served, the Church Temperance Club hosted, on the same night, a special event for "friends and co-workers in the Middlesex Regiment."²⁷¹

The rival social functions between the temperance and non-temperance groups in the town illustrate the complexity of white society. In a similar way to the manner in which the strong adherence of black members

268. Cape Mercury, 21/9/1900, "The Cinematograph".

269. Cape Mercury, 30/4/1898, "Town and District"; Cape Mercury, 7/5/1898, "Successful Function"; Cape Mercury, 31/5/1898, "Local and General"; Cape Mercury, 4/6/1898, "Local and General".

270. Cape Mercury, 14/6/1898, "Local and General".

271. Cape Mercury, 1/3/1898, "Town and District".

of the middle class to temperance ideals separated them from working class blacks who patronised the brewers of traditional beer and the canteens, the activities of white middle class temperance advocates differentiated them from some of the white working class entertainments.

King William's Town possessed seventeen licensed canteens and two bottlestores in 1900.²⁷² While some of them undoubtedly attracted middle class patrons (especially members of groups like sports clubs or patriotic societies), some of them were the regular watering holes of the town's working class whites. Attempts by the authorities to close down one such place, the Red Lion, in 1898 brought forth an indignant response from patrons who objected to being called low class and to having middle class clerics interfering with their recreation.²⁷³ Another letter defended the right of "working men" to drink there and attacked "busybodies" who tried to interfere.²⁷⁴ Map 6 provides details of the distribution of licensed premises in King William's Town.

Entertainment with religious affiliations involved women as both organizers and participants in contrast to other organized social events. Beyond these, the social outlets for women were limited. Calling was one of the chief pastimes amongst those who considered themselves "society" in the town:

"There were frequent rounds of calls to pay, as was the custom in those days, and sometimes one or two of the children would be taken and would sit waiting in the cape cart (sic) ... "²⁷⁵

Georgina Lister, the wife of the Conservator of Forests in the eastern Cape, was careful to list the families with which they mixed. They included the magistrate and his family (initially Mr. and Mrs. Ben Holland, and then the Garcia and Blenkins families); Surgeon Hartley, V.C., and his wife (Ellen Rose Innes); Colonel Davies and his wife (a Fuller); the Irvines; the Rushtons; the G. B. Christians; the family of Richard Rose Innes; the Dons; Mrs Baker; the Lonsdales and old Mrs. Birt (the widow of the Peelton missionary, the Rev.

272. CAD, 3/KWT 2/1/2/51, "Licensing Court".

273. Cape Mercury, 22/3/1898, Letter to Editor by "Ward No. 2."

274. Cape Mercury, 2/4/1898, Letter to Editor by "Justice".

275. G. Lister, Reminiscences, p. 90.

Richard Birt).²⁷⁶ The list is something of a who's who of the cream of the civil service, mercantile and religious elite of the town. It would seem to indicate that the elite, especially the female members of the elite, moved in rather small social circles in the town. It also emphasises how the small group was linked by ties of marriage.

The social aspirations of the small group of upper middle class residents who made up the white elite in the town led them to seek the company of those who could enhance their own status. The officers of the Cape Mounted Riflemen, the Cape Colony's defence unit, were befriended by the Listers. "Most of the Recruits", recorded Georgina Lister, "come from Great Britain and many were of the 'gentry' class."²⁷⁷ The same sort of imperative drove the residents of the town to associate with the officers of the Middlesex and Royal Berkshire regiments.

During the Mayoral Congress of municipalities in the Cape Colony, hosted in King William's Town in 1898, an "At Home" was held at the King William's Town Club. The affair was well attended, "every man and his wife" were out and about in Maclean Square. The band of the garrison regiment provided the usual entertainment, but the novelty of the women being allowed into the grounds of this hallowed male preserve was not lost on the Cape Mercury reporter:

"The fair sex were present in large numbers in the Club ground, and appeared to enjoy the novelty of exploring the haunt of the sterner sex."²⁷⁸

The Circuit Court, held twice a year, sometimes provided the pretext for socializing with distinguished people. In September 1899 the Resident Magistrate and Civil Commissioner, E. Garcia, and his wife provided a garden party on a Monday afternoon where "a larger number of the leading residents" were able to socialize with the Honourable Mr. Justice Solomon and his wife. Officers of the garrison and the

276. G. Lister, Reminiscences, pp. 89 - 90.

277. G. Lister, Reminiscences, p. 90.

278. Cape Mercury, 8/3/1898, "Our Visitors".

barristers of the Circuit Court also attended. Tennis and croquet were amongst the amusements at the party in the grounds of the Residency.²⁷⁹

Once war broke out much of the entertainment was curtailed. The situation diverted attention away from such frivolities, some of the men were away and performers could not travel as freely as before. One of the first casualties of the war was a performance by the Lilliputians Theatre Company, which was forced to cancel its King William's Town show on 25 October 1899 because the wardrobe and scenery were "locked up in Kimberley."²⁸⁰ Ethnic dinners, however, were one aspect which was not affected by the war. Indeed, such dinners became a vehicle for the public display of loyalty to the Queen and Empire in the wave of jingoism that gripped the town in the opening stages of the war.²⁸¹ Given the Cape Mercury's assiduous fostering of jingoism and all the public statements made at dinners and banquets by the town's middle class and upper middle class residents, one would expect concrete expressions of popular loyalty, at least in the form of parades through the streets. This is especially so in the case of events like the relief of Kimberley, the relief of Ladysmith and the relief of Mafeking. When such parades occurred, their organization is revealing.

Mary Ryan, in an analysis of American parades, offers four reasons for historians to examine parades closely. The parade documents a past culture, conjuring up "an emotional power and aesthetic expressions" that simple literary formulations lack. Secondly, parades record the actions as well as the words of the past, spelling out a common social identity. They also effect a high level of generality since they occurred before large audiences. Finally, many parades were predicated by a high degree of public consensus.²⁸² A parade, as defined by Ryan, is a "ritualized, collective movement through the streets" which was clearly

279. Cape Mercury, 12/9/1899, "News of the Day".

280. Cape Mercury, 25/10/1899, "The Lilliputians".

281. Discussed more fully in Chapter 2.

282. M. Ryan, "The American Parade: Representations of the Nineteenth-Century Social Order", in L. Hunt (Ed.), The New Cultural History (University of California, Berkeley, 1989), p. 133.

organized into separate marching units (each representing a pre-established social identity) and involved a large portion of the population.²⁸³

Celebrating British victories in King William's Town got off to a very subdued start. The relief of Kimberley was celebrated with a thanksgiving service in the Anglican church and a few flags on buildings.²⁸⁴ A letter by "Vox Populi" questioned the absence of public and patriotic celebration:

"Most people felt like having a procession or a public demonstration ... waving banners, and singing patriotic songs, but we showed our joy in a quiet way ... "²⁸⁵

When the next major victory came around, the surrender of Cronje and his commando a few days later, the town indulged in much more euphoric celebrations. Buildings were draped in bunting, flags were flown, the Town Guard paraded and crowds of residents "turned out to add to the glorification which they were bent on exhibiting." The day ended with a torchlight parade around the statue of Queen Victoria and a speech by the mayor.²⁸⁶ The celebrations seem to have been spontaneous and exuberant, providing a release from the depression of successive British defeats. "Majuba is completely wiped out", enthused the Cape Mercury reporter.²⁸⁷ News of the relief of Ladysmith, which was received a few days later, "sent King William's Town delirious with joy." As the word spread, businesses closed for the day, bunting and Union Jacks appeared and the West Countrymen Association met at the Central Hotel to toast Buller and the Queen.²⁸⁸ In the evening the "brightest demonstration ever made in this town" took to Maclean Square. A torchlight parade by the Town Guard and Bayly's Horse, fireworks and a speech by the mayor took place in front of the statue of the Queen. Messages of congratulations (which had been formulated beforehand) were put to the crowd for approval, to be sent to Milner, the Queen, the Governor of Natal, Lord Roberts, Buller,

283. M. Ryan, "The American Parade", p. 134.

284. Daily Watchman, 19/2/1900, "A Memorable Service".

285. Daily Watchman, 20/2/1900, Letter to Editor by "Vox Populi".

286. Cape Mercury, 28/2/1900, "Jubilation in King".

287. Cape Mercury, 28/2/1900, "Jubilation in King".

288. Cape Mercury, 2/3/1900, "Local Celebrations".

General White and to Chamberlain.²⁸⁹ The proceedings had, in fact, become a vehicle for a small group of the town's leaders - the Council and a few others - to assume control of the celebrations.

The relief of Mafeking celebrations were firmly taken in hand by the Borough Council. The mayor called a meeting as early as 19 March 1900 to appoint a provisional committee to plan celebrations for the expected relief of Mafeking. The day chosen for the celebration was laid down by the government as the first week day after the receipt of the news of the relief.²⁹⁰ A public meeting was then held to finalise the plans. The committee decided on a major procession. The order of the procession was significant. It was to include mounted policemen, the band, the Sons of England, the mayor and councillors (in carriages, escorted by the mounted section of the Town Guard), Bayly's Horse, the Town Guard, Cadets, the fire brigade, various societies, decorated wagons representing the town's economy (the candle factory, match factory, wagonmakers, coach builders, carpenters, woolwashers, agriculturalists) and cyclists in fancy costumes. School children were to sing "God Save the Queen" in Maclean Square and in the afternoon there would be a cricket match with one side in fancy dress. The day was to end with a torchlight procession and display of fireworks.²⁹¹

Celebrations had evolved from a thanksgiving service and a few flags (the relief of Kimberley) to exuberant displays of patriotism (the surrender of Cronje) to more stage-managed displays of loyalty (the relief of Ladysmith) to strictly controlled and planned celebrations under the control of the town's elite (the relief of Mafeking). The components of the Mafeking procession were a physical manifestation of King William's Town society and economy as the dominant group perceived them. The colourful pageantry of the parade undoubtedly contrasted sharply with the normal dusty drabness of the town's buildings and streets. The visual and aural impact of the parade was doubtless appealing. It clearly served as an opportunity to display loyalty. But it also served to reinforce the civic control of the councillors of the town and to provide a platform for the council to re-affirm its belief in the town's importance. At the same time, the pageantry

289. Cape Mercury, 2/3/1900, "Local Celebrations".

290. Cape Mercury, 20/3/1900, "Mafeking".

291. Cape Mercury, 21/3/1900, "Relief of Mafeking".

re-enforced ethnic, racial and class distinctions in King William's Town society. This was nowhere more evident than in the marginalisation of blacks when the celebrations were eventually held in May.

News of the relief of Mafeking filtered through to King William's Town on Saturday 19 May 1900. Some spontaneous celebrating, mostly in the form of flag hoisting, occurred.²⁹² The official celebrations took place on the following Monday, according to the prepared format.²⁹³ Although the celebrations went off as planned, they created tensions that revealed at least four cleavages in society: they enhanced tensions between English-speaking whites and some of their German neighbours, led to an outburst of anti-black racism, exposed tensions within black society and led to friction between East London and King William's Town.

In the first instance, the Cape Mercury editor embroiled himself in a dispute with the leader of the German community in the town, Franz Ginsberg, over flag waving and loyalty.²⁹⁴ In the second instance, a black teacher was verbally and physically abused by a white male while he and another black were standing on the pavement watching the relief of Mafeking celebrations. The incident provoked a flood of correspondence to the newspaper which revealed some of the stock racial phobias held by whites in King William's Town.²⁹⁵ But the incident not only revealed tensions between some whites and blacks in the town. It also encapsulated the split in black politics between the supporters of J. T. Jabavu and Imvo and the supporters of the Izwi group. A letter to the Cape Mercury in June 1900 sought to draw attention to how "loyal natives" had celebrated the eighty-first birthday of the Queen. The exercise, clearly organized by supporters of the Izwi group, possibly by Paul Xiniwe, was directed at showing up the "very small section" of the black community which had "Krugerian inclinations".²⁹⁶ The writer then went on to claim that the teacher had been kicked at the Mafeking celebrations because he had refused to uncover his head or join in the singing

292. Cape Mercury, 22/5/1900, "Mafeking Day".

293. Imvo, 21/5/1900, "Relief of Mafeking".

294. Discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

295. Discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

296. Cape Mercury, 6/6/1900, Letter to Editor by "African".

of the national anthem. This allegation was not supported by reports of the incident, and "African" rather clumsily, attempted to link the teacher with Imvo and Jabavu.²⁹⁷ In this way, cleavages in black society were revealed, even though blacks had been marginalised in the Mafeking celebrations.

The final cleavage revealed to the public by the Mafeking parade related to King William's Town's relationship with East London. King William's Town residents, keenly aware of the town's decline relative to East London, were constantly on the alert to boost their image at the expense of the port. The Cape Mercury seized on reports of the spectacular East London celebrations of the relief of Mafeking to criticise. The celebrations involved people dressed up as Boers, as black women and as Xhosa initiates. This was lambasted as a travesty of religion:

"We appeal to all right-thinking men and women to put an end to such scenes as took place in the name of religion at East London on Monday last."²⁹⁸

The incident illustrates the desperate lengths the town's self-appointed spokesman, the editor of the Cape Mercury, was prepared to go to try to boost the town.

Christmas, Easter, the Queen's Birthday and St. Wiener's Day were holidays in King William's Town, times when residents could indulge in relaxation and recreations. But recreation, for middle class Victorians, was inextricably linked to the work ethic. In 1872 the Leisure Hour advised its readers of the "real" purpose of holidays:

"And remember, too, that recreation is a vital element of the holiday ... In a true holiday we gather new life for work. We generate fresh steam in our boilers."²⁹⁹

Christmas time, for those who could afford it, was the time for a general exodus from King William's Town. Some residents went to East London to enjoy the seaside, others went to the Pirie forests. Merchants did not miss the opportunity for well-directed advertising. Under the heading, "FOR THE SEASIDE!" Owen

297. Cape Mercury, 6/6/1900, Letter to Editor by "African".

298. Cape Mercury, 23/5/1900, Editorial, "Blasphemy".

299. Quoted in J. M. Golby, Culture and Society, p. 218.

and Thompson publicised straw hats, serge jackets, drab drill jackets, crash trousers, soft felt hats and other items.³⁰⁰ But Christmas was not the only time King William's Town residents descended on East London. The St. Wiener's Day holiday in October and the Buffalo regatta provided an opportunity to take a few days holiday:

"A large number of people from King Williamstown (sic) have visited the Border Port during the past few days. Many went down by Saturday's train and were enabled to have three day's holiday, returning last night or early this morning."³⁰¹

While the white elite and middle class residents of the town pursued their various forms of entertainment and recreation modelled on European patterns, their black counterparts pursued their own, also modelled on European institutions. Their presence at parades was as spectators, and even then, it was barely tolerated by some whites, as was made abundantly clear at the Mafeking celebrations. Their cultural life paralleled that of white society, seldom intersecting. The parallel cultural tradition the black modernisers created centred on choirs and music.

In 1898 John Knox Bokwe arranged a concert to raise money for the "Native School Room" in Market Street and to help build other schools amongst "heathen kraals" in the district. The event was sufficiently rare for the Cape Mercury to note:

"It is some considerable time since a concert of this kind was given by Natives in King. African voices are usually rich in choral singing ..."³⁰²

The parallel cultural pursuits of the mission-educated and westernised blacks in town (themselves an elite within the black population) was largely ignored by the Cape Mercury and Kaffrarian Watchman. It was only on rare occasions when a concert made contact with some aspect of concern to whites - education or raising money for charity - that it rated a mention. An example of the latter was a concert organized by the Native Harmonic Society to raise funds for the Colonial Widows and Orphans Fund. The Society was particularly active in King William's Town and included in its membership Paul Xiniwe and his wife, Miss Pellem, Miss Ntshoko, Miss Mangcu, Mr. Albert Jonas and Mr. Mvambo. The concert attracted a large

300. Cape Mercury, 15/1/1898, Advertisement.

301. Cape Mercury, 11/10/1898, "St. Wiener's Day".

302. Cape Mercury, 23/6/1898, "Local and General".

and fashionable audience, but beyond this event, the Society received negligible publicity in the white-controlled Press of the town.³⁰³

8.5 Overview

The cultural contours of King William's Town were clearly delineated along class, racial, ethnic and gender lines. The townspeople enjoyed a wide variety of social activities, recreations, sports and entertainments and religious pursuits. The bulk of these were, however, controlled and enjoyed by the town's middle and upper middle class whites. In addition to providing opportunities for socializing, physical exercise and relaxation, many of these pursuits were utilised to recreate something of the cultural and physical environment of "Home" in the Colony, to reinforce social distinctions and to articulate expressions of loyalty and patriotism.

Opportunities for men to indulge in social intercourse in recreation and in sport were numerous. For women the opportunities were more limited. Those women with the means and sufficient leisure time could involve themselves in clubs such as the Choral Union, KAMADS, and the Art and Camera Club; in societies like the Ladies Benevolent Society and the Loyal Women's League, and in sports such as tennis, croquet, golf and, to a limited degree, cycling.

Without exception the cultural institutions run by whites were exclusively the preserve of white residents of the town. Only in one instance did a black resident attempt to join one of these institutions, the Public Library. The response was to ignore him and postpone a ruling on the matter. Social pressure rather than legislation kept the institutions the way they were.

At the same time, middle class blacks in the town developed and ran parallel cultural institutions catering for the needs of black modernisers anxious to prove their credentials as black Victorians. Their institutions, although seldom publicized in the white-controlled newspapers, mirrored those in the rest of the town. The Independent Order of True Templars, the Native Burial Society, the various sports clubs, like the Champion

303. Cape Mercury, 12/1/1901, "Native Concert".

Cricket Club and the Oriental Lawn Tennis Club, and the Native Harmonic Society were all manifestations of the vibrancy of urban life for black members of the town's middle class. Indeed, the vitality of these institutions was out of proportion to their small number in King William's Town. Except for isolated instances the two cultural traditions existed in King William's Town without intersecting.

Although the town boasted a wide ranging variety of cultural institutions, some of them, like the Church Boys Brigade, Horticultural Society, the Art and Camera Club, and the Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffalos were only established in 1898. King William's Town society on the eve of the war and the end of the millennium appears to have been suffering from a peculiar energy that led people to enthusiastically establish organizations and then to move on to something else. In a sense, it manifests a search for a new identity. The hectic pace of dances and other entertainment prior to the outbreak of the war are also a reflection of the fin de siècle mentality of some of the town's residents.

Many of the societies did not enjoy much public support. After brief flourishes in 1898 they became wracked by apathy, even before the outbreak of the war. In some cases, the war disrupted the proceedings of clubs. But others, especially the ethnic associations, received a fillip from the war.

CHAPTER 9 : CONCLUSION - KING WILLIAM'S TOWN SOCIETY AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR

Throughout the South African War King William's Town remained just beyond the periphery of actual hostilities. The closest the Boer commandos came to the town were the Winterberg and Katberg mountains near Seymour during the second invasion of the Cape Colony.¹ The only opportunity most townspeople had to glimpse the enemy was when eighteen Boers and three black helpers captured near Katberg were temporarily lodged in the King William's Town gaol.² The cost to the town in direct losses of men and material was slight. No property in the King William's Town area was looted or destroyed and no-one lost their lives in the district as a result of war. Nobody in the district went into rebellion.³ Farming operations were hardly disrupted. All this was in marked contrast to, for example, the Graaff-Reinet district.⁴ Only two King William's Town men were killed on active service.⁵ A King William's Town youth, George Peebles, won the Victoria Cross at Wepener for saving a wounded comrade.⁶ It would, however, be erroneous to assume that the town was untouched by the war. It may not have been occupied by the Boer forces like Barkly East and other north-eastern towns; it was not besieged like Kimberley or Mafeking, but the effects of the war on King William's Town society were nonetheless profound.

Any discussion of the war's impact needs to examine two aspects. On the one level, the conflict affected the town materially. On another, it influenced attitudes - the mentalité of the community - and conditioned actions. The significance of the atmosphere it engendered was succinctly stated by Bill Nasson (quoting a writer on the Spanish Civil War),

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1. Cape Mercury, 2/7/1901, Sub-editorial, "The Situation".
 2. Cape Mercury, 15/10/1901, "King Day by Day"; Cape Mercury, 17/10/1901, "King Day by Day".
 3. CAD, AG 1001, Part 1, Letter: R.M. King William's Town - Secretary Law Department, 20/12/1902.
 4. K. W. Smith, "From Frontier to Midlands. A History of the Graaff-Reinet District, 1786 - 1910" (PhD Thesis, Rhodes University, 1974), pp. 201 - 202.
 5. Cape Mercury, 24/1/1900, "Obituary"; Cape Mercury, 6/9/1900, "Obituary".
 6. Cape Mercury, 14/6/1900, "A Brave King Boy".

" ... never more than at a time of extreme social crisis does the atmosphere become a determining factor in the way people respond to events. For, however intangible, it is never abstract or distant. It is what people feel. And what people feel lays the ground for their actions."⁷

The "extreme social crisis" provoked by the war, especially the civil war nature of hostilities in the Cape Colony, merged with several long-term trends to affect King William's Town society.

On a political level the war had several consequences. The tension prior to the outbreak of hostilities saw the disruption of established political patterns. In particular, the small tradition of Cape liberalism, which had long found a home in King William's Town, disappeared. It had already been on the decline, due to its shrinking peasant base and the declining influence of the merchants, but what remained evaporated in the blast of jingoism which swept the town and district. The South African League emerged in East London and Kei Road in the King William's Town district. The League and the 1898 elections proved to be particularly divisive amongst the town's politically active English-speaking residents. For a brief moment the League blossomed in the town. It struck a chord which resonated through the English-speaking community. But its roots in King William's Town were shallow. After a brief flowering in 1898, it withered away. In 1904, the South African League still maintained branches in East London and the Border farming districts but no such organization existed in King William's Town.⁸

The organization of political activity during the war, chiefly in the form of public meetings orchestrated in support of Sir Alfred Milner's policies and the annexation of the Boer republics, was taken over by the Cape Town-based Vigilance Committee, under the presidency of Sir J. Gordon Sprigg, one of the East London representatives in the House of Assembly. Later, when the Vigilance Committee faded away, political demonstrations were orchestrated under the auspices of the Borough Council. As a result of these developments King William's Town emerged from the war politically marginalised.

7. B. Nasson, Abraham Esau's War A Black South African War in the Cape, 1899 - 1902 (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991), p. xix.

8. East London Red Book 1904 (Standard Printing Co., East London, 1904), p. 100.

The town was also marginalised in another way. At the same time that the merchants were losing their grip on political processes in the region, and the alliance between black modernisers and liberals was breaking up, organized black politics fragmented. The emergence of the Izwi Labantu / Congress grouping in opposition to the dominance of the Imvo Zabantsundu/ Imbumba group had consequences which extended to the weak opposition blacks offered to the franchise clauses in the South Africa Act which led to Union in 1910. On a local level, the split meant the centre of gravity of black politics in the region shifted from King William's Town to East London.

The town entered the post-war period in an isolated political position in other ways as well. Both the members of the House of Assembly for the division did little to further the interests of the town. T. Warren represented the Kei Road farming interest and F. X. Schermbrucker, although formerly a resident of King William's Town, was based in Cape Town and had little sympathy for the town and its inhabitants. The Cape Mercury clearly identified the problem when it accused Schermbrucker of being all talk and no action, showing more interest in the Indwe Collieries (of which he was a director) than his constituency.⁹ He also failed to command the respect of black voters, to whom he was "Shame-broke-her", a "so-called Progressive".¹⁰ In 1902 a King William's Town merchant, T. B. King, was elected unopposed to the House of Assembly seat for Victoria East. Although he did not represent King William's Town, he provided a tenuous link between the town and the Cape parliament. J. T. Jabavu summed up the town's weak position when he noted, "it is certainly not to the credit of the place that there should not be a single M.L.A. or M.L.C. in it."¹¹

The political impotence of King William's Town after the war was underscored by the influence of East London. Sir J. Gordon Sprigg, an East London representative in the House of Assembly, was Premier of the Cape Colony from 1900 to 1904.¹² The rising tide of black organized politics further emphasised the

9. Cape Mercury, 16/12/1899, Editorial, "Casual".

10. Cape Mercury, 1/2/1899, Letter to Editor by "Blackman".

11. Imvo, 25/10/1902, "Current Notes".

12. T. R. H. Davenport, South Africa A Modern History (Macmillan, Johannesburg, 1978) p. 405.

backwater into which King William's Town had drifted. It was possibly with this threat in mind that the town's leading white residents appealed to the Governor, Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, in 1902 to find a lasting solution to the "Native Question".¹³

On an economic level, King William's Town was profoundly affected by the war. It intensified the decline of the mercantile sector which had been the foundation of the town's prosperity. The decline, which had been noticeable since the 1890s, was attributed by residents to an outflow of capital and men to the Rand and to the steady seepage of business to East London. Problems resulting from the war - the loss of markets in the north-eastern parts of the Colony, the disruption of wool supplies from the same areas, the disruption of the developing trade with Rhodesia, restrictions on travel to the Transkei, long delays in the off-loading of cargo at the East London harbour, problems in obtaining transport from East London to King William's Town, the shortage of railway trucks to send merchandise to the interior, the problem of railway transport that only allowed wool from Kei Road to be loaded for East London and not for King William's Town, the delay martial law censorship caused in communications with European markets at a time when East London was free of martial law regulations - all of these exacerbated the deteriorating position in which King William's Town found itself. The East London merchants did not hesitate to exploit the situation the war caused in King William's Town.¹⁴

The decline of the merchants was perceived by many residents to mean the decline of the town as a whole. The Cape Mercury characterised these as "pessimists who appear to think that because East London is bound to advance King William's Town is bound to recede."¹⁵ The shift of businesses to East London, although perceived as "natural", was thought to be over by 1898.¹⁶ The prosperity of the town, it believed, rested

13. CAD, 3/KWT 1/1/1/15, p. 172, Council Minutes, Address. I am indebted to Richard Bouch for pointing out the additional meaning contained in the Address.

14. Cape Mercury, 9/6/1900, "Chamber of Commerce".

15. Cape Mercury, 1/9/1898, "The Proposed Municipal Loan".

16. Cape Mercury, 12/8/1899, Editorial, "Municipal Finance".

on two factors. The town was the centre of the "richest food-producing area in South Africa", and there was an abundance of cheap labour.¹⁷ The war proved the Cape Mercury to be wrong.

The townspeople responded to the decline of King William's Town relative to East London in different ways. One response was to elevate the town above such problems, to pretend that the King William's Town people were above the sordid "commercial" sentiments displayed by East London.¹⁸ Another response was to deny the threat altogether. Other residents sought solace in harking back to the town's former glories as the capital of British Kaffraria. The Cape Mercury, in particular, acted as champion for the "boosters" of the town. Every minor improvement of local houses or shops was given prominence, usually accompanied with the incantation, "business is not yet dead in King."¹⁹ Others tried to rationalise the problem away by using statistics on property values to "prove" the town was not going backwards.²⁰ The reality was, of course, that due to a combination of long-term factors and as an immediate consequence of the war, King William's Town lost ground to East London in terms of significance and political and economic influence. Its decline was relative to its urban neighbour.

One of the positive effects of the war on the town was the boost it gave to local industries. The wagonmaking industry, which had been languishing in the doldrums on the eve of the war, received a sharp boost.²¹ The steady demand for wagons and carts led to an increase in the price of colonial timber, a factor which adversely affected to government Sleeper Factory in King William's Town which could not compete with the wagonmakers for timber from the Pirie forests.²²

17. Cape Mercury, 12/8/1899, Editorial, "Municipal Finance".

18. Cape Mercury, 22/2/1901, Letter to Editor, "Originality".

19. Cape Mercury, 21/3/1901, "Under Martial Law". See also Cape Mercury, 4/6/1898, "Advance King! Central Hotel Extensions"; Cape Mercury, 30/7/1898, "Advance, King William's Town"; Kaffrarian Watchman, 20/2/1899, "'The Club' Improvements".

20. Cape Mercury, 31/8/1899, Editorial, "The Loan Scheme".

21. A. Mabin & B. Conradie (Eds.), The Confidence of the Whole Country (Standard Bank, Johannesburg, 1987) p. 459: General Manager's Report, 8/2/1899 and p. 482; A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony Illustrated (Standard Printing Co., East London, 1902), p. 101.

22. CAD, FCE 3/1/63, Letter: Storr Lister - Under Secretary of Agriculture, 21/1/1901.

Other industries also received a boost. At least two King William's Town factories received injections of capital. The tannery was taken over by Middlemore and Lamplough of Birmingham who embarked on a large mechanisation and expansion programme. The Ginsberg Match Factory was taken over by the Rosebank Match Company of Port Elizabeth, also resulting in mechanisation and expansion which placed the manufacture of matches in the town on a more industrialised footing.²³

These factors caused a shift in perceptions in the town. Increasingly the future of the town was seen to lie with manufacturing rather than the mercantile trade. When peace came, argued the Cape Mercury in January 1902, a "wave of prosperity" would sweep the country and King William's Town would be well placed to benefit. It would become "the hub" of manufacturing in the Cape Colony if not in the whole of South Africa.²⁴

This, of course, was not to be, but the shift in focus found immediate expression in public affairs. The manufacturers became more assertive. Franz Ginsberg, the town's leading industrialist, was able to push through a scheme for raising a £10 000 loan for public works on the basis of his optimistic vision of the town's future. The removal of mercantile firms to East London, was, he claimed, being replaced by new sources of prosperity.²⁵

The manufacturers were not the only ones to do well out of the war. It also had a beneficial effect on the labour market and on black peasant producers. The outbreak of hostilities brought in its wake an almost insatiable appetite for black labour. Thousands of men from the King William's Town district joined the military labour contingents. Within four months of the declaration of war 1 600 blacks had been sent to the

23. A. Macmillan, The Eastern Province of Cape Colony, pp. 122 - 123; Cape Mercury, 24/1/1902, Editorial, "Progress in 'King'"; Cape Mercury, 14/11/1902, "Local Industries".

24. Cape Mercury, 24/1/1902, Editorial, "Progress of 'King'"; See also, Cape Mercury, 11/12/1902, "'Good Old King'".

25. Cape Mercury, 29/8/1899, Letter to Editor by F. Ginsberg; Cape Mercury, 2/9/1899, "The £ 10,000 Loan".

imperial forces as labourers, transport riders and to perform other ancillary duties.²⁶ To a large degree the increased opportunities for employment provided by the war compensated for the disruption of the migrant labour system in the tension leading up to hostilities.²⁷ The combined effect of the increased demand for labour and better remuneration increased the mobility and bargaining power of black workers in the town. This provoked a backlash in 1901 which exacerbated racial cleavages. Domestic and commercial employers resorted to the provisions of the Masters and Servants Act to enforce exploitative labour practices.²⁸ The issue was clearly defined in racial terms by the Cape Mercury and employers. The newspaper editor, after fulminating against "boys" who refused to work asked, "for what good Kaffirs were ever invented."²⁹

The war also caused a massive demand for produce of all kinds and for animals such as horses, mules, oxen, sheep and goats. This stimulated black peasant producers. Agricultural production was specifically aimed at meeting army cash crop requirements.³⁰ Like black labourers, peasant producers were in a considerably enhanced position at the end of the war.³¹

Arthur Marwick has argued the case for war as an agent for social change.³² There is little evidence for this in King William's Town during the South African War. Of all the effects of the war, the improved position of the black peasants and labourers in the district is probably the only aspect which could be seen in this light and, as events transpired, this was a temporary improvement. Perhaps the King William's Town

26. Cape Mercury, 8/2/1900, "News of the Day".

27. Cape Mercury, 11/10/1899, "Countryside Notes".

28. Cape Mercury, 14/8/1901, Editorial, "Native Deserters from Service"; Cape Mercury, 17/8/1901, "Police Court".

29. Cape Mercury, 14/8/1901, Editorial, "Native Deserters from Service".

30. W. B. Nasson, "Black Society in the Cape Colony", p. 80.

31. CAD, AG 1001, Part 1, Letter: R.M. King William's Town - Secretary, Law Department, 20/12/1902.

32. A. Marwick, The Deluge British Society and the First World War (Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1986), p. 11. Richard Titmuss argued the same thing for the Second World War. See H. L. Smith, War and Social Change British Society in the Second World War (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1986), pp. viii - ix.

example illustrates that Marwick's contention ought to be examined in a series of local studies. East London emerged from the war far better off than King William's Town if contemporary views in King William's Town are to be accepted.

The perceived decline in King William's Town in the war years coincided with another external factor, the fin de siècle, which also influenced the mentalité of the community. The term, which was popular amongst Victorians, was characterised as a straining after pessimism on one hand and after novelty on the other.³³ That the fin de siècle was somehow a watershed in the affairs of humanity was something the Daily Watchman struggled to bring to the attention of its readers in King William's Town:

"It is a curious fact ... each change in the century, beginning with the close of the tenth and the commencement of the eleventh, has been marked by war, or wars, having a decided bearing on the welfare or woe of mankind."³⁴

The mood of pessimism was clearly evident in a number of ways in King William's Town. Not only was the town facing the end of the century, the end of the millennium, the decline in its significance and economy and a savage war, it was also struck by natural disasters in the form of drought and locusts. In this atmosphere, the Cape Mercury struck a particularly desperate note when, after reporting large swarms of locusts in the district, it plaintively cried, "The outlook is positively hopeless."³⁵

The search for novelty and the pursuit of pleasure were especially evident in King William's Town society on the eve of the war. This, more than anything, may account for the way in which activities were initiated and then dropped before they amounted to anything. It is also manifested in the hectic round of socializing - dances, smokers, concerts and other entertainments - on the eve of the war. The outbreak of the war cast a pall over all of these. King William's Town society, at least as far as entertainment went, became dull in comparison to the carefree days of 1898.

33. D. Read, England 1868 - 1914 The Age of Urban Democracy (Longman, London, 1979), p. 211.

34. Daily Watchman, 3/1/1900, "Winding up Centuries with War".

35. Cape Mercury, 10/11/1900, Sub-editorial, "Locusts".

The war affected other cultural activities as well. Many clubs and societies were inconvenienced by the war. Members were away at the front, travel restrictions limited sporting contacts with other towns and the general sombre atmosphere of the war discouraged frivolous activity. Most social clubs were less active, but a few received a fillip from the war, especially the ethnic and patriotic associations. They provided platforms from which males could seek solidarity with others from the same ethnic background and express patriotism and support of the war in a convivial atmosphere.

The temperance movement was also given impetus by the war. Prior to the conflict the loose alliance of temperance interests (which included white farmers, local churchmen and black modernisers) was ineffectual in pressurizing the Licensing Court to restrict the sale of liquor to blacks.³⁶ Under martial law regulations, the sale of liquor to blacks was prohibited.³⁷ On the basis of this experience the temperance alliance, especially the black temperance advocates and the Imbumba political organization under J. T. Jabavu, were emboldened to move beyond calls for restrictions to demand the outright prohibition of the sale of liquor to blacks. At a conference held in Fort Beaufort in July 1902 black delegates unanimously resolved that martial law restrictions on the sale of liquor to blacks should be retained.³⁸ The temperance movement approached the post-war period with sufficient momentum to pressurize the Sprigg ministry into promising an Act of parliament to meet their demands. The 1902 parliamentary session, however, ended before such legislation could be adopted.³⁹

On the military front, the war had several effects on King William's Town. The tension prior to the outbreak of hostilities and the fluctuating fortunes of the British forces provoked various mood swings in the town. The "Transvaal crisis" in 1898 and early 1899 provoked outpourings of jingoism as English-speaking residents rallied to the flag. The declaration of war was greeted with enthusiasm on the expectation of an early victory for the British. The succession of defeats inflicted by the Boers sowed alarm and then panic.

36. Cape Mercury, 15/3/1900, "Farmers Association"; Cape Mercury, 7/3/1901, "Under Martial Law".

37. Cape Mercury, 21/1/1901, "Martial Law".

38. Imvo, 25/10/1902, Editorial, "Prohibition".

39. Imvo, 20/11/1902, "Current Notes".

But even in this situation, local interests predominated. King William's Town was seen by residents as one of a few places in the Colony that required special protection.⁴⁰ The heightened atmosphere of the time led to cleavages in society. Fear and suspicion led to the victimisation of certain members of the German and Dutch-speaking communities. Spy scares and fears that the German farmers would side with the Boers proved groundless, but those communities nonetheless bore the brunt of the hostility of English-speaking inhabitants.

As the war became prolonged, interest turned to apathy. The panic of the first Boer invasion of the Colony in 1899 found expression in calls for the formation of a Town Guard. Although great interest was shown in the beginning, it failed to attract townsmen in large numbers once it got off the ground. Throughout the war it struggled to maintain its organization. Its military significance proved to be negligible. Some of the residents believed its existence had prevented a Boer invasion of the district but the Civil Commissioner was more realistic in his assessment. The Boers skirted the King William's Town district during the second invasion of the Colony because of the large number of black inhabitants who would have attacked them.⁴¹ In the end, the Town Guard's significance was political rather than military. It was, in effect, little more than "an exhibition of staunch patriotism."⁴²

One of the immediate responses in King William's Town to the outbreak of war was to despatch a medical company, the Volunteer Medical Staff Corps, to the front.⁴³ The unit was attached to the Highland regiments where it saw service at the battles of Belmont, Graspan and Modder River.⁴⁴ When the company left for the front it was given a parade and the mayor, T. N. Dyer, informed the members how

40. Cape Mercury, 18/10/1899, "A Call for Arms".

41. CAD, 1/KWT 5/1/1/1 Confidential Letter: Civil Commissioner, KWT - Commandant, KWT, 12/2/1901.

42. Cape Mercury, 12/1/1901, Editorial, "Town Guard".

43. Cape Mercury, 11/11/1899, "'Our Boys' For the Front".

44. Cape Mercury, 22/12/1899, "With 'A' Company".

proud the town was of the company and that it hoped they would soon be welcomed back.⁴⁵ Although it was the young men who were volunteering for active service, the war made patriots of the merchants who let them go. They were "highly commended for the loyal spirit" they displayed in allowing employees to go off to war.⁴⁶

Throughout the conflict recruiting for various irregular units occurred in King William's Town. It would seem, however, that those who enlisted mostly came from amongst the rural population and the refugees. King William's Town residents did not enlist with as much alacrity as the Cape Mercury would have liked. The resident who, after attending a meeting for the recruitment of volunteers for the Colonial Defence Force, clearly stated that he would not run the risk of losing his work just to go patrolling was probably articulating the views of many men in King William's Town in 1901.⁴⁷

This sentiment was justified by the treatment the returning volunteers received at the end of the war. Despite the mayor's assurances on the departure of the town's medical company, and despite the oft-stated intentions, no official welcome was organized for "Our Boys" when they returned from the war. As the war lost its appeal employers became less enthusiastic about having employees in volunteer units. When the volunteers eventually arrived in King William's Town many of them were so affected by their experiences that they had become "intemperate and dissipated" and were no longer suitable employees.⁴⁸ Other irregulars returned to unemployment. Embittered and disillusioned, one of them pointed out that those who had not gone to war had fared far better than those who had volunteered. The "gallant volunteer" had been fêted when he went off to fight, but once peace was established, he was shunned and forgotten.⁴⁹

45. Cape Mercury, 11/11/1899, "Medical Staff Corps".

46. Daily Watchman, 8/11/1899, "The Day's Doings".

47. Cape Mercury, 14/2/1901, "Under Martial Law".

48. Cape Mercury, 21/8/1901, "'King' Day by Day".

49. Cape Mercury, 23/8/1902, Letter to Editor by "Scout".

The shabby manner in which the volunteers were treated contrasted sharply with the official welcome afforded to members of the Royal Berkshire Regiment, the garrison regiment, when they returned from the front. The contrasting manner in which the imperial troops were treated and the constant statements at the beginning of the war that focused loyalty on the imperial rather than the Colonial government reveal the perception the English-speaking townspeople had of their position in the Empire. Allegiances were focused on the Queen and Empire, although political activity centred on the Cape parliament. In times of stress, as in the outbreak of the war, when English speakers did not feel that the government of the day represented their interests, the dichotomy of allegiance clearly surfaced.⁵⁰

This relates to a wider pattern of identity. English-speaking residents, especially the middle and upper middle class residents, maintained physical and psychological links with "Home" that would seem to indicate that they viewed their stay in Africa as a temporary sojourn. Both recent immigrants and Colonial-born Englishmen constantly referred to England as "Home" or the "Old Country". Frequent visits to England for those who could afford them were duly reported in the Press.⁵¹ The regular steamship link with Britain, the large variety of English publications in the library and bookshops, the presence of the imperial garrison and the transplanting of English institutions in the form of various clubs and societies reinforced this world view. Interest in English affairs was keen. The arrival of news from England was in itself news,

"THE ENGLISH MAIL, per C.R.M.S. Harwarden Castle, arrived by the train due here at 4.35 this morning."⁵²

The war, with all its stresses, did not alter this perception. If anything, it strengthened it. Residents were inspired to greater exertions of loyalty. But in the end, it was a route that led nowhere. It did not help the residents with the day to day problems facing the town at the end of the war and, in a Colony with so many loyal towns, it could not help them carve out a new identity for themselves.

50. Cape Mercury, 11/6/1898, Letter to Editor by "Admirer of Thomas Atkins"; Cape Mercury, 16/10/1899, Editorial, "Defenceless".

51. Cape Mercury, 8/1/1898, "Pers. Pars."; Cape Mercury, 7/4/1898, "Pers. Pars."; Cape Mercury, 23/4/1898, "Personal Pars."

52. Cape Mercury, 12/2/1898, "Town and District".

The South African War affected municipal matters in various ways. On a minor level, the outbreak of the war delayed efforts to obtain a loan for the improvements to Fleet Ditch, the open sewer which ran through town. This was eventually raised and work was completed in 1901. The conflict provided an excuse for inaction on other pressing municipal improvements, such as providing municipal slaughterhouses and central wash houses. More profoundly, the bubonic plague outbreak (in itself a consequence of the war) shook the King William's Town community.

The first incidence of plague in the Cape Colony occurred in 1901 at Izinyoka, just outside King William's Town. It is believed that the disease was brought to the area by a labourer returning from Modder River.⁵³ The stigma of the disease breaking out near the town and the criticism levelled by the East London Dispatch was very keenly felt in King William's Town. Against the wider backdrop of the rivalry with East London, it revealed much of the hurt residents of King William's Town were feeling.⁵⁴

The bubonic outbreaks had additional significance in that they provided the pretext for efforts to enforce residential segregation on racial lines. The Council established Ginsberg Location in an attempt to force black residents out of town. Unlike similar efforts in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth in the same period, it failed dismally. The attempt to segregate the town forms part of a larger pattern of increased racial tension in the town during the war. The strains of the decline of King William's Town, the challenging of traditional paternalistic relationships and the stresses imposed by the war found expression in deteriorating relations between blacks and whites. This was reflected in such incidents as the efforts to segregate the town, the refusal of the Dale College School committee to enrol the son of J. T. Jabavu as a pupil at the school, the public humiliation of a black school teacher at the Mafeking celebrations, the split between J. T. Jabavu and his liberal friends over his stance on the war and in numerous letters to the Press, especially on labour matters, which revealed much of the racist rhetoric of the day. The effect of the war on the traditional paternalistic relations between blacks and whites was encapsulated in a comment by a black writer to Imvo

53. S. E. Caldwell, "The Course and Results of the Plague Outbreaks in King William's Town, 1900 - 1907" (Honours Article, University of South Africa, 1987), p. 4.

54. S. E. Caldwell, "The Course and Results of the Plague Outbreaks", pp. 6 - 7.

who claimed whites were happy to trust blacks in times of quiet, but in "days of stress and strain" they felt threatened.⁵⁵ Both in wartime and in times of peace, King William's Town society was subjected to strong social control measures which were by no means applied equally across the racial and class spectrum.

The problems the Borough Council encountered during the war did not all originate in the conflict, but were certainly enhanced by it. The municipal ordinance under which the town was incorporated, Ordinance 9 of 1864, proved to be inadequate in dealing with some of the problems of the period. In particular, the sale of municipal land to generate revenue was obstructed by the government as an incentive to change the legislation. A private Bill, which would have enabled the Council to deal with this more effectively, was drawn up in 1901, but the failure of the Cape parliament to meet, because of the war, forced the Council to drop the private Bill in favour of incorporation under the General Municipal Act of the Colony.

Looked at in totality, the South African War produced various stresses on the fabric of King William's Town society. It exacerbated several long-term trends, most notably the transformation of the mercantile-dominated economy of the town, the rise of East London and the eclipse of King William's Town's political position. The town lost its old identity as the emporium of the region, the commercial and political leader of the Frontier. It emerged from the war considerably weakened in relation to its closest urban neighbour. King William's Town entered the twentieth century without a clear image of itself, without effective political patrons and without its former influence. In this way, the war changed the town immeasurably.

In a sense, it resembled the situation in Grahamstown in an earlier period. As Rose-Mary Sellick argued, Grahamstown reluctantly relinquished its identity as a commercial and military centre and developed a new image as an educational centre, especially after the establishment of Rhodes University College in 1904.⁵⁶ King William's Town was unable to carve out a new niche for itself in the first half of the twentieth century. Only in 1946, when the Industrial Development Corporation and an English multi-national corporation

55. Imvo, 5/2/1900, Letter Editor by "An Ardent Admirer of 'IMVO' and of Mr. Innes".

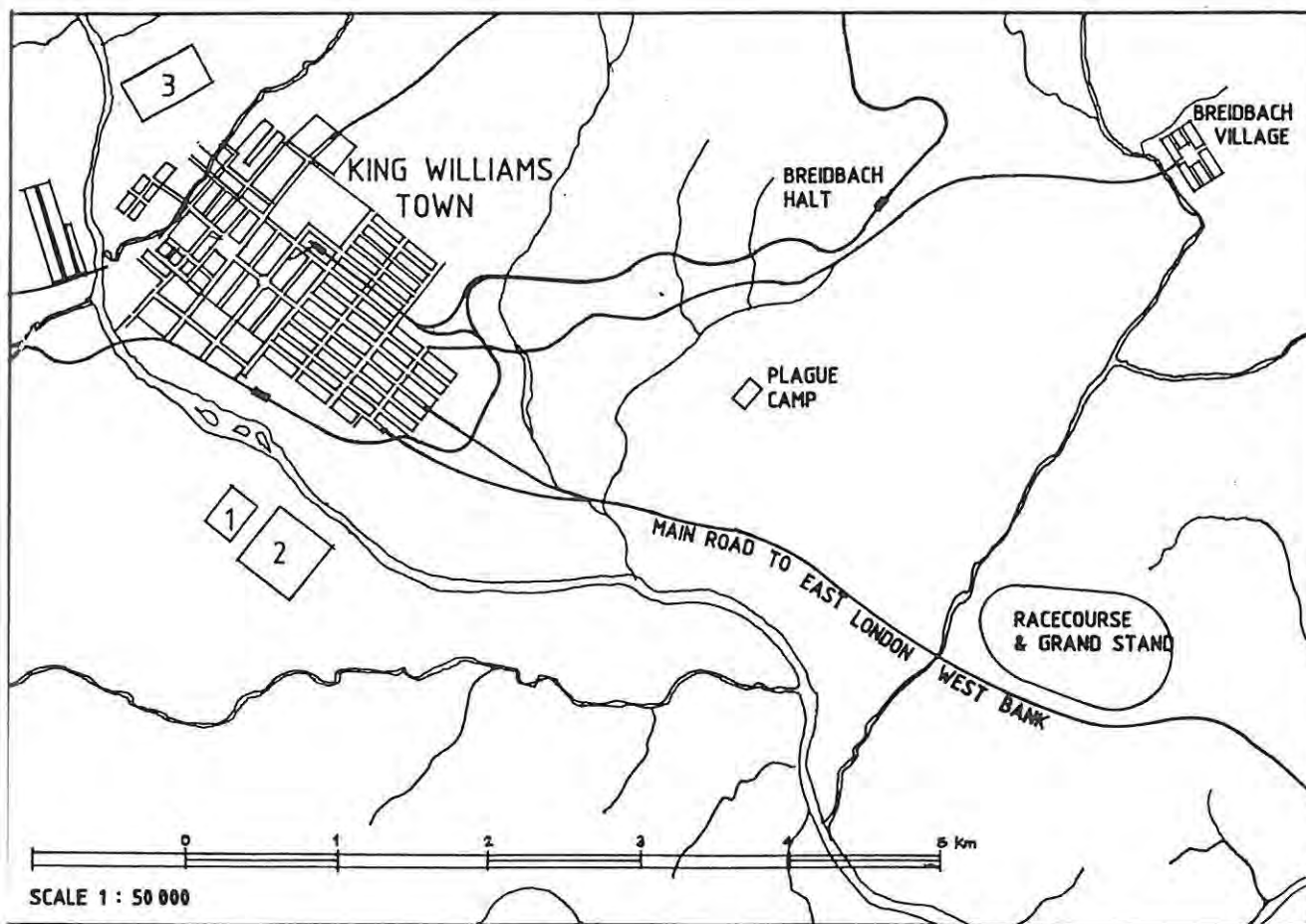
56. R-M. Sellick, "A Study in Local History: Grahamstown 1883 - 1904" (MA Thesis, Rhodes University, 1983), pp. 237 - 238.

established the first of the decentralised industries projects in King William's Town (creating Zwelitsha township as a by-product) did the town begin to develop a new identity.⁵⁷ This new identity became firmly embedded within the National Party government's macro-apartheid bantustan policies - but that is another phase in the town's history which awaits research.

57. D. Hobart Houghton (Ed.), Economic Development in a Plural Society (Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 1960), pp. 294 - 295. See also A. Mager, "Moving the Fence: Gender in the Ciskei and Border Textile Industry, 1945 - 1986", Social Dynamics, 15 (2), 1989, p. 48; G. Minkley, "'With Shouts of Afrika!': The 1952 Textile Strike at Good Hope Textiles, King William's Town", Social Dynamics, 16 (2), 1990, pp. 72 - 73.

Map 6

Map of King William's Town, showing municipal locations, 1902.



1. GINSBERG LOCATION
2. TSOLO AND BIDHLI LOCATIONS
3. BROWNLEE STATION & RIDSDELL

SOURCES

1. UNPUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

1.1 CAPE ARCHIVES DEPOT (CAD)

1.1.1 Archives of the Magistrate and Bantu Affairs Commissioner of King William's Town (1/KWT)

1/1/1/306 - 1/1/1/323 Record of Proceedings (1899 Jan - 1905).
1/1/3/112 - 1/1/3/117 Preparatory Examinations in Circuit Court Cases (1897 Dec -1906 Aug).
1/2/1/1/21 -1/2/1/1/24 Criminal Record Books (1898 Jan - 1903 Dec).
2/1/1/1/346 - 2/1/1/1/355 Civil Cases, Record of Proceedings(1899 Jan - 1907).
2/2/1/1/15 -2/2/1/1/16 Civil Record Book (1896 Jun - 1906 Jan).
4/1/4/1 Confidential Letters Received (1901 Jan - 1908 Oct).
5/1/1/1 Papers Despatched, Resident Magistrate and Civil Commissioner (1890 Oct - 1917 Jan).
5/2/1 Index to Letters Despatched (1900 Jan - 1912 Apr).
7/1/3/1 Title Book (1896 Nov - 1912 Sep).
7/6/1 Mortgage Bond Register (1888 Jun - 1927 Aug).
D1/1 Minutes of Liquor Licensing Court (1883 Sep - 1915 Sep).

1.1.2 Archives of the Secretary, Divisional Council, King William's Town (4/KWT)

1/1/1/6 Minutes (1899 Jan - 1907 March).
8/1 Voters' Roll (1908).

1.1.3 Archives of the Registrar, Deeds Office, King William's Town (DOT)

1/1/1/21 - 1/1/1/28 Letters Received (1898 Sep - 1903 Sep).
1/1/1/1/2 Indexes to Letters Received: Government Departments and Offices (1901 Jan - 1917 Dec).
4/1/86 - 4/1/111 Mortgage Bonds (1899 Jan - 1902 Dec).
8/2/2 Returns of Companies (1889 Jul - 1900 Jul).

1.1.4 Archives of the Eastern Cape Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa (GSC)

1/2/1/79 - 1/2/1/90 Records of Proceedings, Criminal Cases, Circuit Court (1899 - 1902).
1/4/1/18 - 1/4/1/19 Register of Criminal Cases Reviewed (1898 Dec - 1902 Feb).
2/1/2/1 Index and Register of Illiquid Cases (1865 - 1925).

1.1.5 Archives of the Conservator of Forests, Eastern Conservancy, King William's Town (FCE)

3/1/63 Correspondence, King William's Town Sleeper Factory (1894 Feb 16 - 1905 Oct 7).

1.1.6 Archives of Secretaries, Anglo-Boer War Relief Committees (BWR)

- 1 Minutes, Mansion House Fund, Central Committee (1899 Oct - 1902 Oct).
- 2 Rough Minutes, Mansion House Fund, Central Committee (1899 Oct - 1902 Oct).
- 3 - 5 Reports Received from Local Committees (1899 - 1902).
- 12 Correspondence Files (1899 - 1903).
- 51 Correspondence Files (1900 - 1903).

1.1.7 Archives of the Department of the Attorney-General of the Cape Colony (AG)

- 693 Papers Received, Police Commissioner, King William's Town (1899).
- 736 Papers Received, King William's Town (1899).
- 793 Papers Received, Police Commissioner, King William's Town (1900).
- 834 Papers Received, King William's Town (1900).
- 835 Papers Received, King William's Town (1900).
- 880 - 882 Papers Received (1901).
- 921 Papers Received, Magistrate, King William's Town (1901).
- 956 - 957 Papers Received (1902).
- 972 - 976 Papers Received, Police Commissioner, King William's Town (1902).
- 1000 - 1001 Papers Received, King William's Town (1902).
- 1267 Telegrams Received, Magistrate, King William's Town (1900).
- 1291 Telegrams Received, King William's Town (1901).
- 1315 Telegrams Received, King William's Town (1902).
- 2036 Papers Received, Anglo-Boer War and High Treason, King William's Town (1899 - 1903).
- 2084 Papers Received, Anglo-Boer War and High Treason, Persons Convicted of High Treason (1900 - 1905).
- 2137 Letterbook of the Royal Commission on Martial Law Sentences (1902).
- 3543 High Treason, Preliminary Examinations, King William's Town (1900 - 1904).
- 3634 - 3636 Military Courts, Cases Tried by Military Courts (1900 - 1902).
- 3637 Correspondence, Cases Tried by Military Courts (1900 - 1902).
- 3647 Register of Records of Military Courts (1901 - 1902).
- 3648 Index to Records of Military Courts (1901 - 1902).
- 3649 District Index of Military Court Records (1902 Nov).
- 3697 - 3698 Treason Commission, Eastern Districts Court (1901 - 1903).
- 3702 Cuttings Relating to Treason Trials.
- 3703 - 3704 Minutes, Martial Law Board (1901 - 1902).
- 3705 Index to Minutes, Martial Law Board (1901 - 1902).
- 3725 - 3727 Letterbook Martial Law Board (1901 Oct - 1902 Sep).

1.1.8 Archives of the Executive Officials Charged with Census and Statistics (CSS)

- 3/1/7 Returns Received, King William's Town (1904 Mar).

1.1.9 Archives of the King William's Town Municipality (3/KWT)

1/1/1/14 - 1/1/1/15 Council Minutes (1896 Feb - 1904 May).
1/1/3/1 - 1/1/3/3 Indexes to Minutes (1896 Feb - 1904 May).
1/1/5/1 Agenda (1905 Aug - 1906 Dec).
1/4/1/2 - 1/4/1/4 Standing and Special Committees Minutes (1893 Oct - 1903 Aug).
1/4/2/1 Indexes to Minutes (1897 Mar - 1901 May).
2/1/1/3/4 Letters Received : Government Departments.
2/1/1/3/7 - 2/1/1/3/8 Letters Received : Government Departments (1901 Jan - 1906 Dec).
2/1/1/9/1 Letters Received : Municipalities (1899 Jun - 1909 Jul).
2/1/1/10/9 - 2/1/1/10/12 Letters Received : Miscellaneous (1886 Sep - 1912 Apr).
2/1/1/11/1 Indexes to Letters Received (1861 Mar - 1898 Jan).
2/1/2/1 - 2/1/2/67 Letters Received, A-Z (1862 - 1909).
3/1/1/25 - 3/1/1/28 Letters Despatched : General (1898 Apr - 1902 Oct).
3/1/4/1 Letters Despatched : Private and Confidential (1902 Jul - 1919 Nov).
4/2/1 Correspondence Register (1891 May - 1920 Apr).
5/2/4/1 Town Engineer's Reports (1900 Jun - 1902 Jun).
7/1/3/2/3 Valuation Assessment Rolls, Ward 1 (1895 - 1908).
7/1/3/3/3 Valuation Assessment Rolls, Ward 2 (1895 - 1908).
7/1/3/4/3 Valuation Assessment Rolls, Ward 3 (1895 - 1908).
7/1/3/5/2 Valuation Assessment Rolls, Ward 4 (1895 - 1908).
7/1/3/6/2 Valuation Assessment Rolls, Ward 5 (1895 - 1908).
7/2/1 Diverse Real Estate Papers, Property Transfer Register (1883 - 1939).
9/2 Newspaper Cuttings (1902 Jun - Dec).
A1/2 King William's Town Burial Board, Minutes (1890 Jan - 1923 Oct).

1.1.10 Archives of the Defence Department (DD)

1/260 - 1/262 Registers to Papers Received and Dispatched (1898 Jun - 1902 Nov).
2/8 Papers Received and Correspondence, Cadets (1900 - 1903).
2/74 Returns and Requisitions, Cadets (1894 - 1907).
2/80 Returns and Requisitions, Cape Medical Staff Corps (1894 - 1913).
4/157 Paysheets, King William's Town (1899 - 1902).
7/12 Boer War Papers, Nos. 1 & 2 Divisions, Correspondence and Reports (1901 - 1902).
7/13 Boer War Papers, District Mounted Troops, Town Guards (1901 - 1904).
7/14 Boer War Papers, Town Guards, Telegrams & Returns (1901 Feb - May).
7/17 Boer War Papers, Miscellaneous Papers (1899 Oct - 1904 Jan).
7/131 Volunteer Attendance Registers, Volunteer Medical Staff Corps (1897 - 1898).
7/137 Volunteer Attendance Registers, Volunteer Medical Staff Corps (1899).
7/142 Volunteer Attendance Registers, Volunteer Medical Staff Corps (1900).
7/202 Returns, Rolls and States (1899 - 1913).

1.1.11 Maps and Plans

M1/250 Undated c. 1900 Division of King William's Town.
M1/2950 1902 King William's Town Plan Showing Position of Military and Barrack Stores.
M2/2042 Undated Map of King William's Town and Surrounding Area. Compiled by Intelligence Department.

1.2 KAFFRARIAN MUSEUM

1.2.1 Borough Band

W5831 Minute Book of Borough Band, 4 Oct 1900 - 30 Sep 1935.

1.2.2 King William's Town Amateur Music and Dramatic Society (KAMADS)

W3303B Minute Book, KAMADS, 23 Aug 1897 - 11 Jul 1899.

W4037 Minute Book, KAMADS, 14 Jul 1899 - 28 Feb 1906.

1.2.3 King William's Town Naturalists' Society/Public Museum

Annual Reports and Minutes of AGMs of King William's Town Naturalists' Society/Public Museum, 1898 - 1946.

Minute Book of King William's Town Naturalists' Society/Public Museum, 16 July 1884 - 13 Nov 1899.

Minute Book of King William's Town Public Museum, 11 Dec 1899 - 6 Mar 1910.

1.2.4 King William's Town Art and Camera Club

Minutes, King William's Town Art and Camera Club, 4 Aug 1898 - 4 Sep 1899.

1.2.5 Loyal Kaffrarian Lodge of Oddfellows

W1219 Loyal Kaffrarian Lodge, No. 5 210, Independent Order of Oddfellows, M.U., Surgeon's Certificate.

W1220 Loyal Kaffrarian Lodge, No. 5 210, Independent Order of Oddfellows, M.U., Surgeon's Certificate.

W1226 Loyal Alfred Junior Lodge, No. 1.

W1229 Minutes of Oddfellows Conference, ... Cape Town 30 May 1898 (Cape Town, 1898).

1.2.6 Sons of England Patriotic Society (SOE)

W4733C Minute Book, Sons of England Patriotic Society, Jubilee Lodge, No. 50, 21 Oct 1889 - 18 Jul 1898.

W4733D Minute Book, Sons of England Patriotic Society, Jubilee Lodge, No. 50, 1 Aug 1898 - 16 Oct 1905.

W4733G Attendance Register, Sons of England Patriotic Society, Jubilee Lodge, No. 50, 1 Apr 1887 - 31 Oct 1904.

W4733H Attendance Register, Sons of England Patriotic Society, Jubilee Lodge, No. 50, 14 Nov 1904 - 13 Oct 1930.

1.2.7 Ginsberg Papers and Scrapbooks

- Two boxes of papers, newspaper cuttings and letters.

W7001A Scrapbook, Parliament, 1903 - 1908.

W7001B Scrapbook, Borough Council, 1899 - 1908.

W7001C Scrapbook, Various, Education, Parliament, Chamber of Commerce.

1.2.8 Miscellaneous

Anon., Bye-Rules of the Loyal Kaffrarian Lodge, No. 5, 210. Juvenile Branch (Hay Brothers, King William's Town, 1894).

Anon., Loyal Alfred Junior Lodge, No. 1, I.O.O.F., Port Elizabeth, Instructions for Lodge Procedure (no date, no place).

Anon., Rules for the Government of the Kaffrarian District Branch of the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity, Friendly Society (Progress Printing Co., King William's Town, 1908).

Files: King William's Town Municipal and General.

Files: King William's Town Clubs and Societies.

1.2.9 Photographs

W2096 Historic Pictures of the War in and near King William's Town, South Africa, 1900 & 1901 by Dersley.

- Representative Citizens of King William's Town, 1899.

1.2.10 Maps and Plans

Plan of King William's Town Defences During the South African War.

Various Plans of King William's Town, Undated.

1.3 MUNICIPALITY OF KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

1.3.1 Burial Registers

Register of Burials, Public Cemetery, King William's Town, 1/1/1898 - 31/12/1908.

Register of Military Interments, Public Cemetery, King William's Town, 1865 - 1914.

1.3.2 Public Library Records

Minutes of King William's Town Public Library, 25/10/1899 - 13/3/1914.

2. PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

2.1 OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

2.1.1 Cape Parliamentary Papers

- A.2 - 1900 Papers Relating to Martial Law in Certain Districts of the Colony, July 1900.
- A.5 - 1900 Magisterial Reports Having Reference to the Occupation by the Enemy of ... the Districts Now or Recently Under Martial Law, August 1900.
- A.17 - 1900 Return in Compliance with a Resolution Adopted by the ... House of Assembly ... 25th September 1900 ... With Regard to Each Electoral Division ...
- A.3 - 1902 Return to a Resolution Adopted by the ... House of Assembly on the 21st August 1902 ... East London Cartage Contract ...
- A.4 - 1902 Report of the General Manager of Railways, dated 28th August, 1902, on the Completion and Opening of the King William's Town - Cookhouse Line.
- G.6 - '92 Cape of Good Hope, Census 1891.
- G.67 - '96 Report ... on Progress 1895 in Acclimatization of Trout.
- G.75 - '96 Preliminary Report of Registrar of Births and Deaths, 1895.
- G.81 - '96 Report on Friendly Societies, 1896.
- G.46 - '97 Preliminary Report of Registrar of Births and Deaths, 1896..
- G.47 - '97 Report of the Committee of the King William's Town Museum, 1896.
- G.60 - '97 Reports of Public Libraries, 1896.
- G.69 - '97 Reports (1) of the Commissioner of Police, District 1 King William's Town ..., 1896.
- G.1 - '98 Final Report of the Registrar of Births and Deaths for the year 1896.
- G.11 - '98 Preliminary Report of Registrar of Births and Deaths, 1897.
- G.18 - '98 Report of the Registrars of Deeds, Cape Town, King William's Town, Kimberley, and Vryburg, 1897.
- G.22 - '98 Report of the Committee of the Public Museum, King William's Town ... 1898.
- G.29 - '98 Reports of the Conservators of Forests, 1897.
- G.31 - '98 Reports (1) The Commissioner of Police, King William's Town ... 1897.
- G.49 - '98 Reports on the Colonial Forces, 1897.
- G.54 - '98 Reports of Public Libraries, 1897.

- G.90 - '98 Report on Friendly Societies, 1897.
- G.12 - '99 Reports of the Conservators of Forests, 1898.
- G.16 - '99 Report of the Registrars of Deeds, Cape Town, King William's Town, Kimberley, and Vryburg, 1898.
- G.26 - '99 Reports on the Working of the Government Sleeper Factories at Knysna and King William's Town for the Year 1898.
- G.34 - '99 Report of the Committee of the Public Museum, King William's Town, 1898.
- G.35 - '99 Reports (1) The Commissioner of Police, King William's Town ... 1898.
- G.42 - '99 Reports on the Colonial Forces, 1898.
- G.47 - '99 Reports of Public Libraries, 1898.
- G.55 - '99 Tabular Statements Relating to Marriages, Births, Still-Births, Deaths and Causes Thereof, 1896 - 98.
- G.72 - '99 Report of the Registrar of Births and Deaths, 1898.
- G.14 - 1900 Report on the Workings of the Government Sleeper Factories at Knysna and King William's Town for the Year 1899.
- G.24 - 1900 Reports of the Conservators of Forests, 1899.
- G.39 - 1900 Tabular Statements Relating to Marriages, Births, Deaths and Causes Thereof, 1897 - 99.
- G.58 - 1900 Cape of Good Hope Railways, Line of Railway from Somerset East to King William's Town.
- G.60 - 1900 Report of the Registrar of Births and Deaths, 1899.
- G.76 - 1900 Reports of (1) Commissioner of Police, King William's Town ... 1899.
- G.5 - 1901 Report of the Committee of the Public Museum, King William's Town ... 1900.
- G.23 - 1901 Reports of the Registrars of Deeds, Cape Town, King William's Town, Kimberley, and Vryburg, 1900.
- G.24 - 1901 Reports on the Working of the Government Sleeper Factories at Knysna and King William's Town for the Year 1900.
- G.34 - 1901 Tabular Statements Relating to Marriages, Births, Deaths and Diseases, 1900, With Summaries for Three Years.
- G.39 - 1901 Reports of the Conservators of Forests, 1900.
- G.42 - 1901 Reports of (1) Commissioner of Police, King William's Town ... 1900.
- G.54 - 1901 Reports of Public Libraries, 1900.
- G.55 - 1901 Return Shewing the Condition and Restrictions Imposed by the Various Liquor Licencing Courts of the Colony Upon the Sale of Liquor Under ... The Liquor Act of 1898.

- G.64 - 1901 Report on Friendly Societies for the Years 1899 and 1900.
- G.2 - 1902 Statement of the Revenue and Expenditure of Divisional Councils, 1900.
- G.3 - 1902 Report of the Committee of the Public Museum, King William's Town, 1901.
- G.30 - 1902 Reports on the Working of the Government Sleeper Factories at Knysna and King William's Town and the Sleeper Depot at Storms River for the Year 1901.
- G.80 - 1904 Preliminary Report of a Census of the Cape ... April, 1904.
- G.19 - 1905 Cape of Good Hope Census, 1904.

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Cape of Good Hope, Statistical Register of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope ... 1904 (Government Printer, Cape Town, 1905).

Cape of Good Hope, List of Persons Residing in the Electoral Division of King William's Town ... 1899 ... Qualified to Vote (W. A. Richard and Sons, Cape Town, 1899).

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2.1.2 Statutes of Cape Colony

Foster, J., Tennant, H. & Jackson, E. M. (Eds), Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 1652 - 1886, Vols. I - II (W. A. Richards & Sons, Cape Town, 1887).

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