

A PERIOD OF TRANSITION :

A HISTORY OF GRAHAMSTOWN 1902-1918

A thesis for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

by

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

AM	Albany Museum, Grahamstown
<u>AYB</u>	<u>Archives Year Book</u>
BWCMB	Board of Works and Lands Committee Minute Books
CA	Cape Archives Dept, Queen Victoria Street, Cape Town
CL	Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University, Cape Town
CMB	Council Minute Books
CPP	Cape Parliamentary Papers
<u>DSAB</u>	<u>Dictionary of South African Biography</u>
FCMB	Finance Committee Minute Books
<u>GDM</u>	<u>Grocott's Daily Mail</u>
<u>GPM</u>	<u>Grocott's Penny Mail</u>
<u>GTJ</u>	<u>The Grahamstown Journal</u>
HCMB	Health Committee Minute Books
ICS, CSP	University of London Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Collected Seminar Papers
<u>JAH</u>	<u>Journal of African History</u>
<u>LO</u>	<u>Local Opinion</u>
MCMB	Market Committee Minute Books. This abbreviation is used for the Market, Pound, Police and Sanitary Committee, which had diverse responsibilities.
R Sellick, <u>Grahamstown</u> <u>1883-1904</u>	R Sellick, <u>A Study in Local History: Grahamstown 1883- 1904</u> , M.A. thesis in the course of preparation at Rhodes University
SCMB	Special Committee Minute Books
<u>SESA</u>	<u>Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa</u>
SIC	Special Investigation Committee
WCMB	Water Committee Minute Books

PREFACE

This study of Grahamstown between the years 1902 and 1918 builds upon the foundations laid by three theses which examine the development of the city during the nineteenth century, all of which were completed at Rhodes University. K S Hunt's pioneering work¹ describes the activities of the Municipal Commissioners in an expanding frontier town and, in using the example of Grahamstown, examines the inter-relationship of the local administration and the central government. His thesis concludes with the achievement of full municipal status with its own Act of Incorporation in 1862. Melanie Gibbens² has taken the story through to 1882, when the General Municipal Act was passed by the Cape Parliament. Her work emphasizes civic development; but in examining political and economic trends as well, she views the city as a typical Victorian colonial community. Rose-Mary Sellick³ has continued this theme in her thesis on Grahamstown between 1883 and 1904, and has drawn together political, economic and racial threads to understand the attitudes of the late Victorian city. Her thesis concludes with the foundation of Rhodes University College in 1904, which institution was to become an integral part of Grahamstown's twentieth century development.

A Period of Transition : A History of Grahamstown 1902-1918 attempts to show that the trends begun in the nineteenth century were confirmed by developments in the first two decades of the twentieth century. In this period, Grahamstown was forced to abandon ideas of economic recovery and political importance, as it adapted to its role in the post-Union dispensation. The city has been firmly grounded in the wider environment, though comparison with towns of similar position and outlook has

1 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", AYB, 1961.

2 M Gibbens, Two Decades in the Life of a City : Grahamstown 1862-1882, unpubl. MA Thesis, Rhodes University, 1982.

3 R Sellick, Grahamstown 1883-1904

been impossible because of a lack of source material.⁴ It is clearly evident that Grahamstown was under pressure from the macrocosm; nonetheless, local initiatives and developments also lent clarity to broader trends. This is particularly clear in the emerging pattern of racial segregation in the City, to cope with the economic and social problems posed by a burgeoning black population. The limited financial resources of a corporation the size of Grahamstown restricted its effectiveness to improve schemes of public works and public health, and further underlined the dependence of the city on the government for assistance. Grahamstown's transition was predominantly one of acceptance of a changed political, social and economic environment.

The most valuable sources for this study were the newspapers. Both The Grahamstown Journal and Grocott's Penny Mail were published three times a week, on alternate days. Both published news of international, national and local interest, and the rivalry between them often illuminated issues. In 1920, The Journal was absorbed by the Penny Mail, which was thereafter titled Grocott's Daily Mail. A third newspaper, Local Opinion, appeared once a week between August 1911 and December 1917. It was published by the printer, H J Sole, and attempted to focus on matters of local interest; it had limited circulation, however, and was therefore forced into liquidation. The newspapers cast much light on prevailing attitudes, and provided vital information.

Municipal records and magisterial records of the Albany district were examined. The minute books of the city council and committees of the council, as well as cash, invoice, rate and letter books, surviving ledgers and journals all revealed much detail about the dealings of the municipality. Some committee minute books were missing: those of the market, pound, police and sanitary committee between 1904 and 1912, and those of the Board of Works between 1907 and 1909. Reports of the location inspector between 1913 and 1915, and the Medical Officer of

4 An original introduction, which examined themes of local government and imperial history, has been omitted in the interests of reducing the length of this thesis. Much of the detail discussed in it can be found in M Gibbens, Grahamstown 1862-1882, Chapter 1, and R Sellick, Grahamstown 1883-1904, Chapter 1.

Health, were of particular value. Files of the Colonial Medical Officer of Health, the Attorney-General, the Treasurer-General and the Department of Lands housed at the Cape Archives Depot yielded some information. The files of the Superintendent-General of Education contain a vast amount of information appertaining to Grahamstown schools, much of which was collected; a detailed account of Grahamstown's educational institutions, however, merits a separate study.

Voters' lists for the Grahamstown constituency before 1910 were particularly useful for purposes of identification of both white and black voters; attempts to trace voters' lists after 1910 proved unsuccessful. Endeavours to uncover constituency papers of Dr Jameson likewise did not bear fruit. Occasional contemporary pamphlets contain useful information. The minute book of the Citizens' Union, and mayoral minutes for five of the years under review, housed in the Albany Museum, were of particular interest.

Cape Government and Union census reports were consulted for social and demographic trends in Grahamstown. Cape Provincial gazettes contained adjustments to the municipal regulations. Official reports on Native Affairs and Rhodes University College were carefully researched. Where relevant, statute books and commission reports were examined.

All the official government, municipal and printed sources together provide a great deal of information on the history of Grahamstown. Much detail has had to be ignored of necessity, but all provide insights into the progress of a small community in transition.

CHAPTER 1

MUNICIPAL STATUS : A CHANGING FRAMEWORK

CHAPTER ONE

MUNICIPAL STATUS - A CHANGING FRAMEWORK

From 1902, the city of Grahamstown was governed under its own private act - Act No 18 of 1902, known more generally as the Grahamstown Municipal Act. This piece of legislation consolidated and amended the several nineteenth century acts that related to Grahamstown.¹ In terms of it, the boundaries of the municipality were defined,² and it was divided into four wards.³ The City Council was thereafter to consist of sixteen members, four from each ward.⁴ Any person "of full age", who was the owner or occupier of immovable property in any ward valued at not less than £100, was entitled to vote in municipal elections.⁵ Councillors had to own property valued at £250 before being eligible for office.⁶ The Act laid down procedures for the conduct of town council elections.⁷ The regulations governing the operation of the citizens' roll were set out,⁸ as well as those restricting the Mayor and town councillors.⁹ Provision was made for the appointment of two auditors for the Council, neither of whom was to be a councillor, treasurer, clerk or other officer of the municipality.¹⁰ The powers of the Council

1 Act 23 of 1869, Act 12 of 1878, Act 10 of 1885, Act 8 of 1891, Act 14 of 1894, Act 12 of 1896.

2 Act 18 of 1902, Clause 2.

3 Act 18 of 1902, Clause 3.

4 Act 18 of 1902, Clause 6.

5 Act 18 of 1902, Clause 7. This differed slightly from the franchise qualifications for parliament. Any male was admitted to the roll, irrespective of race or colour, who earned £50 a year or occupied property worth £75, and could sign his name and write his address and occupation.

See P Lewsen, The Cape Liberal tradition - myth or reality? in ICS, CSP, Vol 1, pg 72.

6 Act 18 of 1902, Clause 11.

7 Act 18 of 1902, Clauses 14-32.

8 Act 18 of 1902, Clauses 33-39.

9 Act 18 of 1902, Clauses 40-45.

10 Act 18 of 1902, Clauses 46-49.

were defined clearly and in detail,¹¹ as were penalties and fines for their infringement.¹² Council procedure, and the laws governing the functioning of committees, special committees and council employees, were dealt with in some detail.¹³ Rateable property was defined, and the regulations controlling the valuation of property were the next major subject for consolidation.¹⁴ Methods of raising finances for municipal funds were laid down.¹⁵ The municipal rate was fixed at 3d in the £, and only the sanction of a public meeting could enable the Council to alter it.¹⁶ The Council was empowered to take possession of any property on which rates had not been paid for five years, except in regard to properties in the Hottentot and Fingo Locations, or property held under quitrent tenure.¹⁷ Exempt from municipal rates were immovable property belonging to the King, any buildings used for public worship, burial grounds, police stations, alms-houses, state-aided hospitals, asylums or school or college buildings.¹⁸ Regulations regarding municipal and private land and property were laid down.¹⁹ Detailed duties of the fire brigade were set out.²⁰ An important clause was that which empowered the Council to borrow money up to £60 000, at an interest of no more than 6%, for the purpose of improving the water supply of the municipality, and also imposed a rate in order to pay off the interest and debt.²¹ Sums borrowed for such a purpose had to be sanctioned by the ratepayers at a public meeting.²² The Council was also empowered to obtain loans by overdraft on its current account, but no such overdraft was allowed to exceed half the previous year's income of the municipality.²³

11 Act 18 of 1902, Clauses 51-52, 86 and 87.

12 Act 18 of 1902, Clauses 53-64.

13 Act 18 of 1902, Clauses 65-75.

14 Act 18 of 1902, Clauses 76-85.

15 Act 18 of 1902, Clauses 88-103.

16 Act 18 of 1902, Clause 90.

17 Act 18 of 1902, Clause 98.

18 Act 18 of 1902, Clause 88.

19 Act 18 of 1902, Clauses 104-115.

20 Act 18 of 1902, Clauses 119-128.

21 Act 18 of 1902, Clause 129.

22 Act 18 of 1902, Clause 134.

23 Act 18 of 1902, Clause 135.

Act 18 of 1902 remained in force for the last eight years of the Cape Parliament. After Union on 31 May 1910, supervision passed to the Cape Provincial Council, by which it could be amended or repealed.

Provincial Councils in each of the four provinces were set up under the stipulations of the South Africa Act.²⁴ Each province of the Union had an Administrator, appointed for five years by the Governor-General in Council, and paid by Parliament.²⁵ He was empowered to summon the Provincial Council, prorogue it, prescribe the dates of provincial elections and promulgate provincial ordinances. The Cape Provincial Council was granted fifty-one members, the same number as the province's allocation of parliamentary representatives. The Council was elected by registered parliamentary voters. Once elected, the body was enabled to elect four members to form an Executive Committee with the Administrator of the Province. The Administrator presided over the Executive Committee and he had a deliberative casting vote; he was, however, unable to remove the Executive Committee. An important function of this Executive was to draw up financial estimates. The powers of the Provincial Councils were clearly set out.²⁶ Each Council could impose direct taxation within the province to raise revenue; money could be borrowed with the consent of Parliament; education (other than higher education) was to be controlled for eight years by the Province (and thereafter until otherwise provided for by Parliament); agriculture (again subject to Parliament's supervision); the establishment, maintenance and management of hospitals and charitable institutions; the administration of municipal institutions and divisional councils; local works (excluding railways and harbours, and other works extending beyond the boundaries of the province); responsibility for roads and bridges (other than those between the provinces); markets and pounds; fish and game preservation; the imposition of fines for the contravention of provincial laws and ordinances; and other matters considered of private value to the province. Provincial Councils were

24 Clauses 68-94 of the South Africa Act relate to the Provinces.

See also L M Thompson, The Unification of South Africa, pgs 248-260;
M Walker, The Provincial Council and Natal, 1924-1932, 1932,
Unpubl. MA thesis, University of Natal, 1976, Chapter 1

25 South Africa Act, Clause 68.

26 South Africa Act, Clause 85.

firmly subject to Parliament;²⁷ no federal checks on the supremacy of Parliament were permitted.

The first Administrator of the Cape Province was Sir Frederic de Waal, and he remained in this post until 1925. De Waal had been a prominent member of the Afrikaner Bond, and was M.L.A. for Colesberg from 1898 until 1910 in the Cape Parliament. He had served as Colonial Secretary in the Merriman Government of 1908-1910.²⁸

De Waal began to consolidate the many laws relating to the Cape, and one of his first major achievements was the Cape Municipal Ordinance, Ordinance 10 of 1912. This Ordinance was assented to on 16 September, and promulgated on 24 September. It was a detailed and comprehensive piece of legislation, designed to rationalize all the laws relating to the various municipalities of the Cape Province. It was not intended to apply immediately to those municipalities, of which Grahamstown was one, that were governed under their own private act.²⁹ The Ordinance was divided into twelve major sections. The first defined terms and limits. Part II dealt with the constitution and combination of municipalities. The Administrator had the power to establish new municipalities, alter and redefine boundaries, subdivide or redivide existing municipalities, and determine the number of wards and councillors.³⁰ Under the Ordinance, there were to be three councillors per ward, and a town council was to have a minimum of six members and a maximum of twenty-four.³¹ The Administrator was enabled to appoint a Chief Local Government Inspector to assist in the administration of the Ordinance; deputies to him could also be appointed. Each such Inspector was permitted access to any books or records of any municipality.³² The Administrator could also appoint

27 South Africa Act, Clauses 59 and 85.

28 DSAB, Vol II, pgs 189-190.

29 Ordinance 10 of 1912, Clause 3(2). The other such municipalities were Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Kimberley, Uitenhage, Kingwilliams-town, Queenstown and East London.

30 Ordinance 10 of 1912, Clause 10.

31 Ordinance 10 of 1912, Clause 9.

32 Ordinance 10 of 1912, Clause 27.

persons to conduct an inquiry into the affairs of any municipality that might need investigation.³³ Part III of the Ordinance was concerned with the conduct of elections and the voters' roll. Every person of full age was entitled to vote in accordance with a fixed scale. A voter had one vote if he owned immovable property valued between £100 and £500; two votes if his property was valued between £500 and £2000; and three votes if its value exceeded £2000. Any occupier of immovable property valued at over £200 was entitled to one vote.³⁴ Societies, firms, associations and companies owning property in a municipality were entitled to vote in accordance with the same rights and provisions.³⁵ Persons who had not paid rates were not entitled to exercise their vote.³⁶ Part IV laid down regulations governing the election of city councillors. Councillors had to be male owners of property valued at over £300 before being eligible for office.³⁷ Methods of nomination, election and procedures in cases of retirements and vacancies were set out in the remainder of the section. Part V dealt with the proceedings of the Council, and the appointment of Council officers, officials and employees. Part VI focussed on accounts and audits. Two auditors were to be appointed, one by the Council and the other by the Administrator; they were jointly to audit the municipal accounts, and were to be paid by the municipality in question.³⁸ The auditors were required to balance the books each half-year,³⁹ and also make surprise inspections of the books.⁴⁰ Part VII dealt with rateable property and valuations. All immovable property within any municipality, including that vested in the King, was liable to be rated.⁴¹ Exceptions were made in the case of gaols, docks, railways and railway buildings, land belonging to the King that had not been built on, buildings used for naval and military purposes, places of worship, schools, colleges,

33 Ordinance 10 of 1912, Clause 28.

34 Ordinance 10 of 1912, Clause 32.

35 Ordinance 10 of 1912, Clause 34.

36 Ordinance 10 of 1912, Clause 35.

37 Ordinance 10 of 1912, Clause 44.

38 Ordinance 10 of 1912, Clause 122.

39 Ordinance 10 of 1912, Clause 129.

40 Ordinance 10 of 1912, Clause 132.

41 Ordinance 10 of 1912, Clause 136.

libraries, museums, hospitals, asylums, orphanages, mining areas and slaughter houses.⁴² Procedures for the making of valuations⁴³ and for rating⁴⁴ were laid down. No general rating exceeding 4d in the £ on rateable property was permitted, and neither was a special rate allowed, unless agreed to by a majority of ratepayers.⁴⁵ The Council was allowed, however, to levy a special rate in areas of the municipality to pay for work of special benefit to that area.⁴⁶ Part VIII was concerned with municipal contracts,⁴⁷ and regulations governing municipal lands and property.⁴⁸ Part IX dealt with loans and set out regulations under which loans could be raised. Notice of what loans were intended for had to be given in the Provincial Gazette and in newspapers circulating in the municipality; a majority of the whole Council had to approve it; the Administrator also had to sanction any loan, and he had the power to appoint an inspector to make a public inquiry into the reasons for the loan.⁴⁹ The consent of the ratepayers had to be obtained, by public meeting or by poll, before the loan was approved.⁵⁰ The Council could borrow money to liquidate previous loans.⁵¹ Overdrafts were permitted but not to exceed the Council's previous annual income.⁵² Part X was concerned with the powers of Councils to make regulations; it also dealt with the rights of the Administrator, whose approval was required before any regulation could have the force of law, and who had the right to repeal regulations in whole or in part, should he deem them to be "ultra vires".⁵³ He also had the power to frame special regulations for dealing with matters outside the municipality, but affecting the inhabitants.⁵⁴

42 Ordinance 10 of 1912, Clause 137.

43 Ordinance 10 of 1912, Clauses 141-149.

44 Ordinance 10 of 1912, Clauses 150-152.

45 Ordinance 10 of 1912, Clause 150.

46 Ordinance 10 of 1912, Clause 151.

47 Ordinance 10 of 1912, Clauses 165-167.

48 Ordinance 10 of 1912, Clauses 168-178.

49 Ordinance 10 of 1912, Clause 179.

50 Ordinance 10 of 1912, Clause 180.

51 Ordinance 10 of 1912, Clause 181.

52 Ordinance 10 of 1912, Clause 182.

53 Ordinance 10 of 1912, Clauses 197 & 198.

54 Ordinance 10 of 1912, Clause 199.

Part XI set out the duties of town councils with regard to grants, hospital boards, sewerage and drainage works, the purchasing of lands, co-operation with other local authorities, cemeteries, pension funds, streets, dwellings for the poor, the establishment of pleasure resorts, fires, and the abatement of nuisances. Part XII, the final section, was entitled "miscellaneous", and tied up smaller issues not covered under previous sections of the Ordinance.

The promulgation of the Municipal Ordinance was an important factor in the ferment of municipal life that characterized Grahamstown from mid-1912 until mid-1914. This two-year span is the key to an understanding of municipal politics during the period under review. The Ordinance was not the original stimulus; its role was to prolong a bitter struggle between conservative and progressive factions on the City Council. Class divisions can also be detected in the dispute.

Grahamstown's municipal politics were generally quiet once Act 18 of 1902 came into force in the municipality. Two ratepayers' associations were formed, one in March 1905 in Ward 2,⁵⁵ and the other in Ward 1 in March 1907.⁵⁶ Neither had any permanence; indeed, the latter failed to agree on a candidate for the by-election it intended to fight,⁵⁷ and was heavily criticized by members of the ward.⁵⁸ Candidates for the City Council were often unopposed and rarely had to pledge themselves to any standpoint.

Incipient dissatisfaction with the City Council reached a climax in 1912. Calls for a ratepayers' association for the whole town were voiced by Grocott's Penny Mail, which criticized the Council's handling of financial issues.⁵⁹ It was on the initiative of H F Oliver, a former deputy-mayor of Grahamstown,⁶⁰ that such a ratepayers' association was formed. Oliver volunteered to take preliminary steps to form an association, if one hundred citizens each sent him one shilling to help cover expenses and as

55 GPM, 27 March 1905.

56 GTJ, 14 March 1907.

57 GPM, 15 March 1907.

58 GTJ, 21 March 1907.

59 GPM, 13 March 1912.

60 He resigned from the City Council in February, 1906.

a sign of their willingness to participate in such a venture.⁶¹ One week later, fifty people had already volunteered to participate in such an association, which was indicative of the new strength of feeling against the Council.⁶²

About sixty people met in the Council Chamber on 8 May to form a ratepayers' association.⁶³ It was agreed to name it the Grahamstown Citizens' Union. Mr Oliver was elected President, and Mr C W Whiteside became its Secretary/Treasurer. An executive of fourteen members, as well as two vice-presidents, was also elected.⁶⁴ An annual subscription of 2/6 was agreed upon. The executive was to formulate a constitution for the Union, and there would be a general meeting at least four times a year. The formation of the Citizens' Union was generally welcomed in the town,⁶⁵ although the Journal tempered its good wishes with the warning that it should assist the Council, not embarrass or sabotage it.⁶⁶

The first general meeting took place the following week, at which the constitution was approved.⁶⁷ A resolution was carried that candidates of the Citizens' Union elected to the City Council should carry out financial reform, "including inter alia a thorough reorganisation of the municipal staff and reduction of expenditure in salaries".⁶⁸ It was also agreed to bind members elected to the Council by a pledge to forward the objectives of the Citizens' Union; the plan was to form a corporate body on the Council under a chosen leader, which would act and vote together. Any

61 GTJ, 18 April 1912.

62 GTJ, 27 April 1912.

63 GTJ, 9 May 1912; GPM, 10 May 1912.

64 Vice-Presidents: E J Jardine; J R Shaw;

Executive: B Jacobson; J Goldstein; Rev S J Helm; H H Hart;
W D Hubbard; J Davidson; Prof G Cory; G V Webb;
Rev W G Dowsley; C Mackay; J W Bayes; A Shackleton; H J
King; J J Booth.

65 GPM, 10 May 1912.

66 GTJ, 9 May 1912.

67 GTJ, 14 May 1912.

68 GTJ, 14 May 1912.

member unable to abide by his pledge was required to resign from the Citizens' Union. It was felt generally that the only way to secure financial reform would be to "steamroller the Council".⁶⁹ Candidates were duly nominated for the forthcoming elections, and pledged themselves to the Union.⁷⁰ The Journal, while agreeing that financial reform was necessary, called for a sensible and sane approach, and condemned the tone of the meeting, saying that Grahamstown did not need "the rush of indiscretion of a bull at a gate".⁷¹ Candidates should be pledged to the consolidation of the municipal debt, the reform of Council fiscal policy and the reorganization of the debts of the municipality on a less costly and more efficient scale.⁷²

A bitter election campaign for the eight vacant seats on the City Council ensued. The contest in Ward 4 was sewn up fast; both Citizens' Union candidates, H J King and A J Connock, were nominated unopposed.⁷³ A large meeting was held in the City Hall on 30 May to hear the views of the candidates.⁷⁴ The three retiring candidates, C G Miles, C H Abbott and R R Stocks, were asked to speak first; two, however, were in Port Elizabeth for business reasons, and the third, R R Stocks, declared he had no intention of addressing the meeting and would speak to his Ward 2 constituents on another occasion. The Citizens' Union candidates were all well received. They attacked the Finance Committee and the Board of Works for excessive and unnecessary expenditure and for financial mismanagement. The elections resulted in a convincing victory for the Citizens' Union, for all its candidates won the contests in the three contested wards.⁷⁵

69 GTJ, 14 May 1912; the words are those of C W Whiteside.

70 GPM, 15 May 1912.

71 GTJ, 16 May 1912.

72 GTJ, 23 May 1912. Chapter 3 has more detail on municipal finance.

73 GTJ, 21 May 1912

74 GTJ, 1 June 1912; GPM, 3 June 1912.

75	<u>Ward 1</u>	<u>Ward 2</u>	<u>Ward 3</u>
	J Davidson 171	C S Webb 188	C W Whiteside 205
	W Y Stead 150	W Tarrant 173	J J Vroom 198
	C G Miles 62	R R Stocks 50	C H Abbott 125

The first two mentioned in each ward were thus elected.

LO, 8 June 1912.

At the first meeting of the new Council in July 1912, Clr Whiteside gave notice of a motion for the appointment of a special committee of inquiry into financial reform,⁷⁶ and moved it formally at the following meeting.⁷⁷ The Committee was empowered to "make a thorough inquiry" into the work of the whole municipal staff with a view to reorganisation, to investigate the system of bookkeeping used by each municipal department and, if necessary, to employ a qualified accountant to suggest improvements.⁷⁸ Clr Stead moved at the same meeting that a full and complete return of all revenue and expenditure of all the funds of the Council from 1 January to 30 June be laid on the table.⁷⁹

The Special Investigation Committee submitted its report to the City Council on 6 November.⁸⁰ Its recommendations were adopted after intense debate.⁸¹ The Committee recommended sweeping changes in the administration of the municipality and suggested drastic methods to save expenditure which included the reduction of salaries and the retrenchment of employees.⁸² A huge public meeting, at which the Journal claimed between 700 and 800 people were present, heatedly protested against the Council's adoption of the report,⁸³ while a meeting of the Citizens' Union endorsed it, by fifty-four votes to two.⁸⁴ A poll was called for; the Mayor granted the request, and fixed the date for 22 November.

76 GPM, 5 July 1912.

77 GTJ, 11 July 1912.

78 GTJ, 11 July 1912. The Committee appointed consisted of the Mayor (T B van der Riet) and Clrs Webb, Jardine, Webber, Davidson and Whiteside.

79 GTJ, 11 July 1912.

80 GTJ, 7 Nov 1912; GPM, 8 Nov 1912.

81 Clrs Wood, Ayliff, Knight and Orsmond voted against the recommendations of the report.

82 Fuller details of the report will be mentioned in Chapters 3, 5 and 6.

83 GTJ, 16 Nov 1912; GPM, 18 Nov 1912.

84 GPM, 15 Nov 1912.

The Citizens' Union was vigorously attacked by the newspapers. The Journal argued that, while the Council was within its rights to retrench workers, it would have been more just to have given employees three months' notice.⁸⁵ The newspaper also regretted the forcefulness of the Citizens' Union on the issue.⁸⁶ The "steamroller leadership" was similarly attacked by Local Opinion, and was accused of having "surrendered an Englishman's right of speech and action".⁸⁷ The Council was praised for its "extensive and informative report", but was strongly urged to reconsider its decision to execute the recommendations of the report in their entirety.⁸⁸

In a poll of 821 people, 451 endorsed the action of the Council and 367 called for reconsideration; there were three spoilt papers,⁸⁹ giving a majority of 84 in favour of the Council. Voters in three of the four wards supported the Citizens' Union; much the strongest vote came from Ward 4.⁹⁰ The Citizens' Union lessened the impact of the report, however, when Clr Whiteside moved at the Council meeting on 27 November that the report of the Special Investigation Committee should take effect from 1 March 1913, not 1 January.⁹¹

Despite this endorsement of the Citizens' Union's policy of retrenchment by the ratepayers, the newspapers maintained their hostility to the body. The Journal was quick to comment on the fact that enthusiasm for the Union had waned almost as fast as it had mounted. A meeting of the Union at the end of August 1912 to nominate two candidates for vacancies in Ward 4 had to be abandoned because only twelve members arrived, and

85 GTJ, 21 Nov 1912.

86 GTJ, 21 Nov 1912.

87 LO, 16 Nov 1912.

88 LO, 21 Nov 1912.

89 GTJ, 23 Nov 1912; GPM, 25 Nov 1912.

90	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Ward 1	82	87
Ward 2	85	112
Ward 3	116	97
Ward 4	84	155

91 GTJ, 28 Nov 1912.

hence there was no quorum.⁹² A meeting was held a week later and two candidates were nominated;⁹³ the original nominee, C G Grant, refused to bind himself to the pledge of the Union.⁹⁴ Ward 4 was again the scene of controversy when H J King resigned; eventually the Citizens' Union persuaded H F Oliver himself to stand for the seat,⁹⁵ but he withdrew from the contest almost immediately.⁹⁶

The Citizens' Union was attacked for maladministration and mismanagement; since it had taken control of the Council, "local government methods have deteriorated rather than improved".⁹⁷ The fact that "the caucus-ridden majority" had denied any expression of individual opinion was deplored, and the Union was charged with having neglected important matters such as the purity of the water supply and adoption of improved sanitary methods.⁹⁸ Local Opinion also continued its hostile attacks on the Union.⁹⁹

The Annual General Meeting of the Citizens' Union was held on 17 April 1913, and the meeting revealed a year of municipal activity not experienced for some time.¹⁰⁰ The total number of members was reported to be 258, of whom 232 had paid their subscriptions in full.¹⁰¹ There had been three resignations, leaving a total of 229 fully qualified members. Of these, there were eight ministers of religion, three medical doctors, two attorneys, six prominent educationalists, thirty

92 GTJ, 31 Aug 1912. Mr J Davidson remarked that "it was just like Grahamstown, everything started with a flare and then died out."

93 J A Tomlinson and B Jacobson.

94 GTJ, 10 Sept 1912.

95 GTJ, 31 Oct 1912.

96 GPM, 30 Oct 1912.

97 GTJ, 18 March 1913.

98 GTJ, 18 March 1913.

99 LO, 20 March 1913; LO, 26 April 1913.

100 GPM, 18 April 1913; GTJ, 19 April 1913.

101 The membership list of the Citizens' Union does not corroborate exactly with these statistics. There are 243 names on the list, of whom 232 had paid their subscriptions. AM, SMD 53(3).

storekeepers and managers of business, as well as master mechanics, clerks, gardeners, bookkeepers and householders.¹⁰² Over the previous year, there had been fifteen general meetings and fifteen executive meetings. The financial statement for the year revealed revenue of £31.1.6d and expenditure of £27.9, leaving a credit balance of £3.12.6d. A new executive was elected.¹⁰³ The issue of the pledge was again raised; Mr Whiteside moved its abolition, arguing that while it had been essential, its removal might now increase the membership, influence and power of the Union, and make the availability of candidates easier. The motion was lost 19-17, and the pledge was therefore retained.

The Citizens' Union made a major impact on the city's municipal affairs. Its immediate significance lay in the reordering of the city's administration; of no less importance was its consistent advocacy of adoption of the new Municipal Ordinance by Grahamstown, in the face of solid conservative opposition.

The publication of the draft Ordinance at the end of June 1912 provoked an immediate adverse response in Grahamstown. The chief objection voiced was the power conferred on the Administrator, as well as the fact that "the Ordinance may lead to much that is irritating and costly to local administration and central authority".¹⁰⁴ Local Opinion condemned the "practical surrender of control into the hands of the Administrator", which seemed to be "one of the chief objects of the ordinance, if not the main object".¹⁰⁵ Many aspects were nonetheless welcomed; matters surrounding finance, and the fact that there were ninety-eight proposed areas¹⁰⁶ in which the Council could frame by-laws, were

102 LO, 30 Nov 1912.

103 President: H F Oliver

Vice-Presidents: Prof G Cory and A W Wright

Secretary/Treasurer: H C Scaife

Executive: A Shackleton; Rev W G Dowsley; C C Mackay;
J Goldstein; W D Hubbard; H E Griffiths; A Gush; J W Bayes;
J J Booth; L Miles; E Nock; C H Wood; A Lang; A Raudiess.

104 GTJ, 2 July 1912.

105 LO, 29 June 1912.

106 Ordinance 10 of 1912, Section 194.

commented on in this regard.¹⁰⁷

The first detailed discussion of the draft Ordinance took place at a quarterly meeting of the Citizens' Union on 18 July.¹⁰⁸ Mr Whiteside was the main speaker, and he explained the Ordinance and its differences from Grahamstown's private act. The object of the Ordinance was to bring all municipalities of the Cape under one broad piece of legislation, but acceptance was optional for those corporations that had private acts. In the draft Ordinance, there were provisions that met exactly the objections of the Citizens' Union to the municipal government of Grahamstown in the previous ten or twelve years. In this period, the ratepayers had had no constitutional means of preventing the illegal expenditure and borrowing of money; the new draft gave the Executive Committee of the Provincial Council the power to veto anything improperly carried out by town councils. Whiteside argued that had such a provision been available in Grahamstown, the present heavy deficit of the Council would not have been so great, and neither would there have been illegal expenditure and borrowing of city funds.

Whiteside did speak against some of the provisions of the draft Ordinance. The clause setting the voting qualification for occupiers of property at £200 was attacked as depriving many people of the vote.¹⁰⁹ He examined the appointment of Council officers. In discussing the role of the Medical Officer of Health, Whiteside favoured the Ordinance, which provided for the protection of the officer from victimisation by the Council. He approved of the recommendation that one of the auditors be appointed by the City Council, and the other by the Province.¹¹⁰ The duties of the auditors were set out in the Ordinance, which the city's Act failed to do. Auditors had not only to satisfy themselves their finance balanced; they also had to ensure that finance was in accordance with resolution of Council, contract and law.

107 GTJ, 2 July 1912.

108 GPM, 19 July 1912; GTJ, 20 July 1912.

109 The city's colonial act stipulated ownership or occupation of property valued at £100 or more.

110 This would eliminate the current tendency, that auditors usually canvassed councillors, and were therefore obliged to them.

Whiteside approved of the regular inspection of books. Property valuation was a special feature of the Ordinance. It provided that two property valuers be appointed by the Council. Whiteside argued that these should rather be selected by the Province. He wanted to see more precise instructions laid down, and also the way in which valuations were to be fixed. He approved thoroughly of the proposed valuations' court, consisting of a third of the City Council, who had the right of appeal to the resident magistrate.¹¹¹ On the subject of rating, the Ordinance abolished the water rate. Total rating in Grahamstown was currently 4.25d in the £; under the Ordinance, total rating would be a maximum of 4d where valuation did not exceed £1 000 000, and 6d if it did.¹¹² A special rate could be levied by the Council, but only to cover the cost of work for the benefit of a particular locality, and was payable only by the residents of that locality. The residents in public meeting had the ultimate voice in matters of rating; they also had the power to sanction the borrowing of money by the Council, as did the Administrator. Any deficit that was incurred had to be eliminated in the following year. Councillors would be held personally responsible for any illegal borrowing.

Whiteside concluded that it would be in the interests of the city to accept the Ordinance, despite some disadvantages. He noted Grahamstown's concern over the powers of the Administrator, but they were no less than those of the Local Government Board in England, which supervised county councils. He added that the Citizens' Union, insofar as it had existed to put a brake on the spending of the Council, need no longer exist for that purpose; the executive in Cape Town would see that nothing illegal was done.

The meeting requested W H Pigott, the MPC for Albany, to secure certain amendments to the draft Ordinance in order that it be acceptable in Grahamstown.¹¹³ The first two requests were concerned with voting

111 Act 18 of 1902 laid down that appeals should go to the Eastern Districts' Court, an extremely expensive and laborious procedure (Clause 82).

112 The valuation of Grahamstown in 1912 was £866,905.

113 GPM, 22 July 1912; GTJ, 23 July 1912.

procedure. They desired that Clause 35(4) be eliminated¹¹⁴ on the grounds that a person's right to vote should not be dependent on the payment of rates. They also requested that the sum specified in Clause 32 be reduced to £100.¹¹⁵ Clarification on Section 150 was requested, in regard to the continuation of Grahamstown's water rate.¹¹⁴ Finally, the meeting queried whether or not the Mayor could call public meetings at the expense of the municipality to discuss public questions.

Mr Pigott's reply indicated that he was unable to carry out the requests of a body such as the Citizens' Union; such wishes had to be approved by the City Council.¹¹⁷ He pointed out that Clauses 32 and 35 had already been dealt with in committee, and hence he could no longer make alterations. The valuation was raised to £200 in order to disqualify an "undesirable class of people". He said that Grahamstown could levy a water rate without contravening the Ordinance. He hoped that the final amendment requested could be carried out. He emphasized that no municipality with its own act was compelled to come under the Ordinance.

The City Council confirmed the amendments proposed by the Citizens' Union,¹¹⁸ and also inserted an important addition, that the powers of the Administrator conferred by Sections 198 and 322 were too wide. These amendments were submitted too late, and the MPC informed the Council that as a result, nothing could be done.¹¹⁹ A scathing attack was launched on the City Council and the Citizens' Union by the Journal, for having "lamentably failed" in their duties with regard to the draft Ordinance. "Marked indifference" had been displayed by the Council, for only discussing the proposals when they were incapable of further amendment.¹²⁰

114 The clause prohibited people from exercising their vote had they failed to pay their rates.

115 The clause set the qualification for occupiers at £200.

116 The clause set the rate at a maximum of 4d.

117 GPM, 22 July 1912.

118 GTJ, 25 July 1912; GPM, 26 July 1912.

119 GTJ, 8 Aug 1912.

120 GTJ, 30 July 1912.

The Provincial Council was prorogued at the beginning of August, and this body was dismissed by the Journal as "a legislative machine of costly uselessness" and "as unnecessary as the fifth wheel of a coach". The outstanding feature of the session was the "anger and intolerance of the Cape Administrator" who, "with insolent ruthlessness", has "hectorred, badgered and steamrollered his pet party political schemes" through the Provincial Council.¹²¹ The Ordinance became law on 24 September and was attacked for its undemocratic voting qualifications, investing property with greater rights and voting power than the people; it was regarded as a "distinct step backwards".¹²²

The Citizens' Union clarified its stance in the first two months of 1913. Divisions in the city over the Ordinance were reflected in the bitter debates of the Union, as well as in the columns of the newspapers. Whiteside's motion at the first quarterly meeting of the Union, to the effect that Grahamstown be constituted under the Ordinance, whilst retaining all its own municipal regulations as well as the power given by Section 89 of 1902,¹²³ was eventually abandoned.¹²⁴ The resolution was not welcomed; it was argued that the Mayor and the Town Clerk would be "mere puppets" in the hands of the Administrator, who "will rule with an iron hand and an autocratic power".¹²⁵ Letters were published opposing the Ordinance on the grounds that the liabilities of property holders, the voting power of the public and the rates of the municipality were threatened, and that Grahamstown was in any case neglecting the most important issues facing it, such as a pure water supply.¹²⁶

121 GTJ, 10 Aug 1912.

122 GTJ, 28 Sept 1912.

123 Section 89 dealt with the power of the Council to levy water rates.

124 GPM, 17 Jan 1913; GTJ, 18 Jan 1913.

125 LO, 11 Jan 1913.

126 LO, 18 Jan 1913; LO, 25 Jan 1913. The alleged autocracy attributed to the Administrator was strongly denied by the Provincial Secretary. In a telegram to H F Oliver, he said the term "administrator" referred in fact to the Provincial Council's Executive Committee, and not to the man himself. GTJ, 21 Jan 1913.

At the next meeting of the Citizens' Union, Whiteside explained that the so-called objectionable powers of the Administrator could be exercised in the majority of cases only if requested by the ratepayers.¹²⁷ The powers of the Executive were in any case not as extensive as those of the Local Government Board in England. This meeting clarified the position of the Citizens' Union with regard to the Ordinance. After Whiteside's lengthy discourse on the advantages of the Ordinance, it was agreed that its acceptance would be beneficial to Grahamstown, but with three amendments: that Clause 89 of the Grahamstown Municipal Act be retained; that the present voting qualifications of the city continue to remain in force; and that, should the city be constituted under the Ordinance, it should be redivided into five wards.¹²⁸

At the invitation of the City Council, Sir Frederic de Waal came to Grahamstown with W H Pigott, to discuss the Ordinance with the Council.¹²⁹ He met the Council on 8 April.¹³⁰ Whiteside put before the Administrator the three objections of the Citizens' Union. The Administrator declared he was prepared to allow Grahamstown to retain its water regulations, and also to give the city five wards, and thus fifteen councillors. He was reluctant to accept the voting qualifications of the city, as he felt those of the Ordinance were better, but Grahamstown could keep them if it insisted. He emphasized that his power was closely linked to the Executive Committee. He hoped that Grahamstown would consider coming under the Ordinance, as it was, in his view, "a sound piece of legislation", and he was therefore prepared to facilitate the entry of all eight municipalities that had their private acts.¹³¹ The only other crucial issue that was discussed

127 GPM, 21 Feb 1913; GTJ, 22 Feb 1913.

128 GPM, 21 Feb 1913; GTJ, 22 Feb 1913.

129 GPM, 7 April 1913; GPM, 9 April 1913.

130 SCMB, 8 April 1913, CA 3/AY 1/3/1/1/5. The document is dated 8 April 1912, but this is unquestionably an error of the Town Clerk.

131 See above, footnote 29, for the other seven municipalities.

was Clause 228,¹³² which one councillor, H R Wood, regarded as extreme and prohibitive against the Council.

A public meeting was held on 30 April in the City Hall to discuss bringing the City under the umbrella of the Ordinance. The meeting was attended by between 400 and 500 people.¹³³ The Citizens' Union was well prepared for the meeting: it resolved to notify members of the meeting, calling on them to attend and vote for Grahamstown to come under the Ordinance. Should the meeting reject this, it was agreed that the Chairman demand a poll.¹³⁴ The Mayor, T B van der Riet, moved a resolution in favour of the town coming under the Ordinance, subject to the retention of Clauses 7, 8 and 89 of Act 18 of 1902, and the redivision of the municipality into five wards. It was overwhelmingly lost.¹³⁵ The power of the Administrator over the town was the chief focus of the opposition. One speaker, W R Lloyd, said the Eastern Province Movement¹³⁶ had campaigned for the separation of East and West; now he was being asked to give Cape Town even more power over Grahamstown. The powers of the Administrator to enforce, approve, amend and repeal regulations, his right to appoint an inspector, his control of the purchase of land, and his powers over the Medical Officer of Health and the Sanitary Inspector were attacked.¹³⁷ The Journal declared that once the Administrator had become the "principal mayor of the Cape Consolidated Corporations", there would only be one vocation left to him: the administration of the affairs of the whole Union, and concluded that

"(it) is surprising that he has not ere now drafted an Ordinance appointing himself Arbitrator-in-Chief in the Botha-Hertzog dispute".¹³⁸

132 Clause 228 compelled the City Council to carry out an order of the Administrator with regard to public health, unless 50% of the enrolled citizens of the city were against it.

133 GTJ, 1 May 1913; GPM, 2 May 1913; LO, 3 May 1913.

134 Meeting of Executive Committee of Citizens' Union, 24 April 1913, AM : SMD 53(1).

135 GTJ, 1 May 1913; GPM, 2 May 1913; LO, 3 May 1913.

136 See Chapter 7 for more details of this political movement.

137 LO, 10 May 1913.

138 GTJ, 29 April 1913.

The newspaper welcomed the outcome of the public meeting, and declared that when it came to giving up independence and rights,

"that indomitable British spirit which inspires men to choose annihilation before capitulation is wont to be roused."¹³⁹

Grocott's Penny Mail believed the result of the meeting was an honest reflection of the views of the ratepayers, but was more tolerant of the Ordinance than its contemporaries.¹⁴⁰

The Mayor announced that a poll would be held on 12 May to determine whether the City should adopt the Ordinance. Editorials and letters to the newspapers were frank and bitter. The Mayor attacked the Journal for its racialism and bias; the editor retorted that after eighty-three years in existence, the newspaper had the right to give an honest view on public affairs.¹⁴¹ H R Wood was attacked by the Mayor for his comments about the auditing of the Council's books by the Administrator. He also referred Wood to Section 85 of the South Africa Act, which stated that Provincial Councils now governed the provinces, not the colonial parliaments. Wood's reply revealed his conservatism:

"Acts of Parliament in my humble judgement are sacred - while Provincial Councils can live and die."¹⁴²

In the midst of the crisis in municipal life, H F Oliver announced his resignation from the chairmanship of the Citizens' Union.¹⁴³ Grocott's Penny Mail also urged citizens to reject the Ordinance, but refrained from using the emotive language of the other two newspapers. Liberty was a "priceless possession" which ought to be retained, and the newspaper concluded: "Rather let us bear those ills we have than fly to others we know not of."¹⁴⁴ The Journal maintained its harsh, unequivocal tone to the end:

139 GTJ, 3 May 1913.

140 GPM, 2 May 1913.

141 GTJ, 6 May 1913.

142 GTJ, 6 May 1913.

143 He tendered his resignation at a meeting of the Executive of the Citizens' Union on 7 May 1913. No reason was recorded in the minute book. AMD, SMD 53(1).

144 GPM, 9 May 1913.

"Whether it is being prosecuted by the aid of 30 pieces of silver remitted from Cape Town, or of funds drawn from the coffers of the Citizens' Union ... we feel sure that decent-minded men will reject the insidious innuendoes, the malicious slanders and the base imputations levelled against the good name, honour and integrity of men who have not spared themselves in labouring for the prosperity of the City and the welfare of the inhabitants."¹⁴⁵

Grahamstown voters rejected the acceptance of the Ordinance, and thus stood against the majority of the City Council.¹⁴⁶ The outcome was 478 votes to 400, by no means overwhelming, but certainly convincing.¹⁴⁷ The result was welcomed by the press, and it was observed that the wealthy quarter of town was arrayed against the poorer, for Ward 1 was the only ward in favour of acceptance, while Ward 4 was strongly against.¹⁴⁸ Grocott's Penny Mail, in commenting on the result, praised the effect of the Citizens' Union on municipal life, and for having instilled enthusiasm into the apathy that had existed.¹⁴⁹

The Citizens' Union faced a crisis in its affairs in the wake of the poll. Professor George Cory agreed reluctantly to accept the presidency of the body, but said he did not always agree with every action of the Union.¹⁵⁰ A special general meeting was held, and one of the key tenets of the body, the pledge on its members, was unanimously abolished.¹⁵¹

145 GTJ, 10 May 1913.

146 GTJ, 13 May 1913; GPM, 14 May 1913; LQ, 17 May 1913.

147	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Ward 1	116	77
Ward 2	86	108
Ward 3	96	129
Ward 4	102	164

148 LQ, 17 May 1913.

149 GPM, 14 May 1913.

150 Meeting of Executive of Citizens' Union, 15 May 1913. AM, SMD 53(1). (See also GTJ, 17 May 1913).

151 General Meeting of Citizens' Union, 19 May 1913, AM, SMD 53(1). (See also GTJ, 22 May 1913; GPM, 23 May 1913).

The new President called on the Union to examine its role and its usefulness.¹⁵² He alleged that the membership of the Union had fallen to 64, but this was based on a misreading of the Penny Mail which had stated that 64 members had paid subscriptions for 1913 to date; the nominal membership was still over 200.¹⁵³ The Journal meanwhile took delight in the demise of the Union¹⁵⁴:

"It was born in panic, reared on claptrap (misnamed reform), and little wonder, therefore, if today it is invertebrate and anaemic."¹⁵⁵

The immediate threat of incorporation was therefore removed and Grahamstown settled back into its ordinary routine. The Provincial Council and the Administrator remained unpopular. The Journal called for the "speedy extinction" of the Provincial Council, and claimed the Administrator was as much concerned over Grahamstown and its system of local government "as over Timbuctoo."¹⁵⁶

The lull was temporary; the Administrator reopened the question with a letter to the Town Council regarding finance. He offered to reconstitute Grahamstown under the Ordinance at no cost to the city, and invited the city to list any grievance it had with the Ordinance, as well as sections of its own Act it wished to retain.¹⁵⁷ This "unpardonable piece of presumption" was proof of the fact that "de Waal and his allies have set their hearts on bringing about the capitulation of Grahamstown."¹⁵⁸ Cape Town, Kimberley and Port Elizabeth had come under the Ordinance; the other four centres were in the process of negotiation, leaving only Grahamstown "in splendid isolation."¹⁵⁹

152 GTJ, 22 May 1913.

153 GPM, 21 May 1913.

154 GTJ, 15 May 1913; GTJ, 22 May 1913.

155 GTJ, 15 May 1913.

156 GTJ, 19 June 1913.

157 GTJ, 25 Sept 1913.

158 GTJ, 27 Sept 1913.

159 GTJ, 27 Sept 1913.

It is obvious that the Administrator was keen to incorporate all the municipalities in the Cape. Dr Thornton, his emissary, visited Uitenhage in August 1913 to persuade the town to accept the Ordinance;¹⁶⁰ Queenstown agreed to come under it in October.¹⁶¹ The Ordinance was a subject for discussion at the Cape Municipal Congress in Oudtshoorn, and Grahamstown's Mayor reported back to the Council that Dr Thornton was prepared to meet the Council "in any reasonable way."¹⁶² He also consulted with other mayors about the functioning of their municipalities under the Ordinance, and found them generally to be in favour of it.¹⁶³

The City Council appointed a special committee to enquire into the suitability of the Ordinance for Grahamstown.¹⁶⁴ The Committee agreed on 11 December that an ordinance be drawn up for the better government of Grahamstown, combining Act 18 of 1902 and Ordinance 10 of 1912 and, in doing so, dismissed a motion that the Municipal Ordinance be totally rejected.¹⁶⁵ A letter was sent to the Provincial Secretary informing him of this important decision of principle.¹⁶⁶ The Journal approved of the decision¹⁶⁷ but Local Opinion remained strongly opposed to the Ordinance.¹⁶⁸

The special committee settled down to work in earnest at the beginning of 1914. Several lengthy meetings were spent on the details of the Ordinance.¹⁶⁹ The Mayor travelled to Cape Town to meet the

160 LO, 16 Aug 1913.

161 GTJ, 4 Oct 1913.

162 GTJ, 25 Oct 1913.

163 GPM, 31 Oct 1913.

164 Six members were appointed to the Committee: Ctrs Whiteside, Fitchat, Knight, Webber, Smit and Wood.

165 GTJ, 13 Dec 1913.

166 GTJ, 13 Dec 1913.

167 GTJ, 16 Dec 1913.

168 LO, 13 Dec 1913.

169 SCMB, meetings on 30 Jan, 13 Feb, 16 Feb, 23 Feb, 7 Mar, 27 Mar, 3 April, 22 April, 1914. CA 3/AY 1/3/1/1/5.

Administrator and discussed suggested amendments with him.¹⁷⁰ The committee submitted an interim report to the Council on 8 April.¹⁷¹ Only two issues separated the committee and the Administrator at this juncture. One was Clause 228, relating to the power of the Administrator to call upon the Council to carry out certain works regarding sanitation and the water supply. In terms of the Ordinance, the Administrator was able to force the Council to undertake such works he considered necessary, and only if 50% of the ratepayers opposed this would he be unable to intervene. The Administrator refused to amend this clause to "a majority of voters at a meeting" as suggested by the committee. The committee also wanted to insert an additional clause:

"It shall not be competent to alter or amend the City of Grahamstown Municipal Ordinance without the consent of the majority of the citizens of Grahamstown voting at a meeting or poll for considering such proposed amendments."

The Administrator said he could not consent to such an amendment because it would prejudice future legislation.

In his speech opening the 1914 session of the Provincial Council, the Administrator said that negotiations were proceeding satisfactorily with the municipalities.¹⁷² Kingwilliamstown and Queenstown were to adopt the Ordinance in the current session, and East London and Uitenhage were to be incorporated either in the present or the next session. This would leave only Grahamstown outside of the operation of the Ordinance.¹⁷³

The final report of the special committee was submitted to the Council on 6 May.¹⁷⁴ With regard to the franchise, the committee had obtained the agreement of the Administrator that Grahamstown retain its own provisions, in Clauses 7 and 8 of Act 18 of 1902. There would be no plural voting, and every society, association and company would have the same franchise as individuals. There would be no disqualifications from

170 GTJ, 26 March 1914

171 GPM, 9 April 1914; GTJ, 9 April 1914

172 GTJ, 11 April 1914.

173 GTJ, 16 April 1914.

174 GPM, 8 May 1914; GTJ, 9 May 1914.

voting. The committee had altered the power of the Council to assess the rate to 3d (not the 4d of the Ordinance). As regards the temporary overdraft facility in Clause 182, the provision in the Grahamstown Municipal Act that this be a maximum of half the previous year's income, was retained. A clause in the Ordinance which enabled the Council to assess a rate where the water main passed through a property, was adopted. Clauses 260-267, 270 and 271 of the Ordinance were deleted. They dealt with the liabilities of owners of property in the construction of streets; they had provoked strong popular opposition in Grahamstown, and were a key reason for the defeat of the Ordinance in the poll in May 1913. The only two points of dispute were over Clause 228 and the additional clause, which the Administrator refused to accept (and had said that even if he did, the Union Government would not). The report was discussed at length, and it was eventually agreed to refer the matter to a meeting of ratepayers on 15 May.

The meeting did not take place; a telegram from the Administrator ruled that the procedure of submitting the issue to the ratepayers without the direct resolution or recommendation of the Council was out of order.¹⁷⁵ This caused some controversy at the next Council meeting. The mayor threatened to resign if the councillors disagreed with the line of action he had taken in not calling the meeting.¹⁷⁶ Provincial Council was, in any case, on the point of adjournment, so urgency in reaching a decision was not necessary.¹⁷⁷

The matter continued to simmer for the remainder of May. Grocott's Penny Mail, which had never been a vociferous opponent of the Ordinance, urged acceptance for the first time; it regarded the amended form as acceptable, and described the additional clause as "meaningless" and the alteration of Clause 228 as inessential, although it did ask for its amendment.¹⁷⁸ J J Vroom, a city councillor, wrote unofficially to the Administrator about the proposed amendments, and was told in reply that

175 GTJ, 9 May 1914

176 CTJ, 14 May 1914; GPM, 15 May 1914.

177 CTJ, 9 May 1914.

178 GPM, 11 May 1914.

they might in any case be rejected by the Provincial Council, for Grahamstown had been more sympathetically treated than any municipality. The Administrator was adamant on the two points of contention.¹⁷⁹

A special meeting of the Citizens' Union called on the Mayor to convene a public meeting, at which a resolution calling on the Administrator to reconstitute Grahamstown under the Municipal Ordinance, subject to the recommendations of the special committee, but with the exception of Clause 228 and the additional clause, would be debated.¹⁸⁰ The dominant mood of the meeting was one of appreciation of the extent to which the Administrator had already accommodated the wishes of Grahamstown. The decision was condemned by the Journal, which declared that the Citizens' Union was reduced to the level of a "mutual admiration society", and "civic sleeping sickness" was again a problem in Grahamstown.¹⁸¹

A lengthy debate in the City Council on 3 June eventually ended with the agreement that the Mayor convene a public meeting, at which it would be decided whether the Administrator would reconstitute Grahamstown under the Ordinance in accordance with the recommendations of the special committee. An amendment that Grahamstown cease to insist on the alteration of Clause 228 and the additional clause was defeated.¹⁸² The Mayor requested the Administrator to come to Grahamstown, but he declined on the grounds that he was unavailable for three months.¹⁸³

Public interest was once again high. The Journal and Local Opinion continued to oppose the adoption of the Ordinance, even in its amended form¹⁸⁴, while Grocott's Penny Mail called for its acceptance, as well as the cancellation of Grahamstown's insistence over clause 228 and the additional clause.¹⁸⁵ The public meeting was large and boisterous; a

179 GTJ, 16 May 1914.

180 Special meeting of the Union, 14 May 1914. AM, SMD 53(1)

(See also GPM, 15 May 1914; GTJ, 16 May 1914; LO, 16 May 1914.

181 GTJ, 19 May 1914.

182 GTJ, 4 June 1914; GPM, 5 June 1914.

183 GTJ, 6 June 1914.

184 GTJ, 16 June 1914; LO, 13 June 1914.

185 GPM, 15 June 1914.

motion, declining acceptance of the Ordinance under any conditions, was carried by a large majority. A poll was demanded, and granted.¹⁸⁶

Grahamstown entered another week of strong debate and bitter division. Newspaper columns were full of letters adopting different stances.¹⁸⁷ The Penny Mail called on citizens not to adopt an isolationist stance, but to follow the rest of the Cape, and come under the Ordinance.¹⁸⁸ The Journal conducted its campaign along the lines of the previous one, emphasizing constantly the powers of the "power-loving and wordy potentate",¹⁸⁹ and called on the citizens to resist the "bureaucratic interference" of the "provincial czar."¹⁹⁰ Local Opinion declared that it did not know

"(whether to liken the Administrator) to the Dictator Emperor Napoleon or the Mad Hatter in Alice in Wonderland."¹⁹¹

1017 people voted out of 1937 registered voters, making the poll the highest ever in Grahamstown's history.¹⁹² There was a majority of 85 in favour of complete rejection of the Ordinance - 546 voted for rejection, 461 for acceptance.¹⁹³ Grocott's Penny Mail condemned the attitude of the electorate in refusing to agree even to the principle of the measure¹⁹⁴, while the Journal rejoiced in the fact that voters were

186 GPM, 17 June 1914; GTJ, 18 June 1914

187 GPM, 19 June 1914; GTJ, 20 June 1914; GPM, 22 June 1914; GTJ, 23 June 1914

188 GPM, 19 June 1914; GPM, 22 June 1914

189 GTJ, 23 June 1914

190 GTJ, 20 June 1914

191 LO, 27 June 1914

192 GPM, 24 June 1914; GTJ, 25 June 1914; GPM gives a figure of 1007 votes, but excludes the 10 spoilt papers.

193	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Ward 1	100	150
Ward 2	132	95
Ward 3	134	108
Ward 4	180	108

194 GPM, 24 June 1914.

"still steadfast" to their original cause.¹⁹⁵

This defeat at the polls was a major factor in the demise of the Citizens' Union. The Executive of the Union had urged members to record votes in favour of the Ordinance¹⁹⁶, and its credibility was fatally hampered when the poll demonstrated the inability of the Union to influence the wider public. The Union thereafter lacked funds to continue operating. A letter from the Secretary, W M MacMillan to members stated that until subscriptions were paid,

"no funds are available for the ordinary work of the Union; further, that even to advertise general meetings effectively is a drain on the funds, but that without such publicity, a vigorous forward policy is impracticable."¹⁹⁷

With the outbreak of war in August 1914, the energies of Grahamstown were diverted elsewhere. Hostility to the Administrator and the Provincial Council did not cease. The Provincial Council was accused of being subversive of good government, autocratic and expensive.¹⁹⁸ A resolution at the Unionist Party Congress in Johannesburg in December 1916, to amend the South Africa Act and make the Administrator and the Provincial Executive responsible to an elected majority, was welcomed in Grahamstown, which called yet again for a curbing of the Administrator's powers.¹⁹⁹ Provincial Councils, declared Local Opinion, "stand in the way of national life."²⁰⁰

Grahamstown began to reconsider the Municipal Ordinance in 1917. The matter was raised at the first City Council meeting of the year, when it was moved that the Council once again examine the advisability of coming under the Ordinance.²⁰¹ Clr Stead reported that he and the Mayor had seen the Administrator, and he was prepared to grant the concessions he

195 GTJ, 25 June 1914.

196 Executive meeting on 4 June 1914. AM SMD 53(1).

197 Letter dated 20 July 1914. AM SMD 53(2).

198 LO, 19 Feb 1916.

199 GTJ, 21 Dec 1916.

200 LO, 5 Aug 1916.

201 GTJ, 11 Jan 1917.

had offered in 1913 and 1914, and any others in Act 18 of 1902, provided they were not in conflict with the Ordinance. The matter of finance was raised, and herein lay the key to an understanding of why the initiative came this time from Grahamstown. Under the 1902 Act, Grahamstown could borrow up to £60 000 for water purposes; this had already been done, and only about £12 000 had been repaid. Clr Stead argued that the only way to borrow money for essential water projects in the future was to come under the Ordinance, and the sooner the better.²⁰² The following week, a special committee was appointed.²⁰³ The Journal observed that a considerable change in the minds of the electorate had taken place.²⁰⁴ In a markedly different editorial, both in content and tone, the newspaper found "no sound reason why Grahamstown should not come under the Ordinance", which has "been of practical value to every Municipality in the Province." The additional clause was rejected as "so absurd as to merit immediate withdrawal", and Clause 228 was "in no way despotic or oppressive."²⁰⁵

The special committee met in February, and drew up a lengthy list of alterations, amendments and additions to Ordinance 10 of 1912.²⁰⁶ The Chief Local Government Inspector, Mr M C Vos, also met the committee on behalf of the Administrator.²⁰⁷ He informed the committee that the Administrator was happy to meet the Council on all the points raised,

202 GTJ, 11 Jan 1917

203 GTJ, 18 Jan 1917. The committee consisted of the Mayor and councillors Wood, Knight, Stead and Whiteside.

204 GTJ, 16 Jan 1917

205 GTJ, 16 Jan 1917

206 SCMB, meeting on 23 Feb 1917, CA 3/AY 1/3/1/1/5

207 GTJ, 15 March 1917

with the exception of the deletion of the word "male" in Clause 44.²⁰⁸

From this point, the proposals of the special committee had an easy passage. The recommendations were accepted by the City Council, and even H R Wood, the arch-conservative and vociferous opponent of the Ordinance on previous occasions, voted in favour of the incorporation of the city under it.²⁰⁹ A public meeting held the following week voted unanimously for the city to come under the Ordinance.²¹⁰ The Administrator paid a visit to Grahamstown, and was warmly welcomed.²¹¹ The final meeting of the special committee defined the five new wards of the city.²¹² The draft Ordinance to incorporate Grahamstown appeared in the Provincial Gazette on 25 May.²¹³ It was debated by the Provincial Council at the beginning of August, and the MPC for Albany, W H Pigott, reported that it was passed without amendment.²¹⁴ Ordinance 18 of 1917, "to provide for the better government of the Municipality of the City of

208 Clause 44 of the Ordinance provided for men only to be eligible for election to any town council. This had been an issue of contention for some time in Grahamstown. The local branch of the Women's Enfranchisement League protested about it when the special committee first met in 1914 (GPM, 8 May 1914). Mr Fitchat opposed Clause 44 at the public meeting in June 1914 (GPM, 17 June 1914), and a letter to the Journal from "White Ribbon" called on women to oppose the Ordinance because of Clause 44 (GTJ, 20 June 1914). This view was refuted by Mrs van Heijst, a prominent member of the League, who called on women to support coming under the Ordinance (GPM, 22 June 1914). The objection of Grahamstown fell away, however, with the amendment of the Municipal Ordinance by Ordinance 17 of 1917, which omitted the word "male" from Clause 44, and allowed for women to be elected to town councils.

209 GTJ, 17 March 1917.

210 GTJ, 24 March 1917.

211 GTJ, 27 March 1917; LO, 31 March 1917.

212 SCMB, meeting on 2 May 1917. CA 3/AY 1/3/1/1/5.

213 LO, 2 June 1917.

214 GTJ, 9 Aug 1917.

Grahamstown", was assented to on 20 August 1917, and promulgated on 22 August.

Under the new Ordinance, the existing boundaries of the municipality remained the same as before.²¹⁵ The municipality was redivided into five wards, and these were defined.²¹⁶ Each ward was to be represented on the City Council by three councillors.²¹⁷ The voting qualifications were clearly set out: each person, of full age, who was the owner or occupier of immovable property valued at £100 or more was entitled to vote.²¹⁸ Societies, associations and companies were subject to the same provisions as individuals.²¹⁹ Only persons who had criminal records within the previous five years, or those whose names did not appear on the Voters' Roll, were not entitled to vote.²²⁰ Certain provisions of Ordinance 10 of 1912 were amended for the purposes of this Ordinance.²²¹ The voting qualifications amended were in Clauses 36, 39, 55 and 56 of the Municipal Ordinance. Clause 109 was amended so that the Mayor of Grahamstown would ex officio act as chairman of any special committee of the Council. With regard to rating, two amendments were secured to Clause 137. Lands belonging to schools were no longer exempt from rating in Grahamstown, and neither were houses belonging to teachers and employees of the school; only buildings used exclusively for education fell into this category. An important amendment was secured to Clause 150, and laid down that the maximum general rate in Grahamstown was 3d in the £. The special rate, for which certain localities would pay for works undertaken in that locality, was repealed. Clauses 261-267, 271 and 274, relating to the liabilities of ratepayers in the maintenance of streets, were withdrawn. Clause 182, which was concerned with Council overdraft, limited Grahamstown's overdraft to a maximum of one-half of

215 Ordinance 18 of 1917, Clause 4

216 Ordinance 18 of 1917, Clause 5

217 Ordinance 18 of 1917, Clause 6

218 Ordinance 18 of 1917, Clause 7

219 Ordinance 18 of 1917, Clause 9

220 Ordinance 18 of 1917, Clause 11

221 All of these amendments appear in Ordinance 18 of 1917, Clause 15.

the previous year's income. The Council was empowered to levy a special municipal water rate on all users of municipal water.²²² The last amendment concerned property in the Hottentot and Fingo locations; any property not held on quitrent tenure that was abandoned or left derelict, and on which no rates had been paid for five years, was entitled to be taken over by the Council.²²³ The Council was also empowered to grant certain land to the Albany General Hospital.²²⁴

Great interest was taken in the municipal elections that ensued. The "lethargy and conservatism" of the past four years was "thrown off".²²⁵ Elections took place in Wards 1, 2, 4 and 5; in Ward 3, the three nominated councillors were unopposed. A feature of the election was the victory in Ward 1 of the first woman councillor in the history of Grahamstown and the Cape Province, Mrs A M Wadds Wright.²²⁶ Mr Fitchat became the first Mayor of the newly constituted City of Grahamstown.

The constitution of Grahamstown under the Municipal Ordinance in 1917 seems a tame anti-climax after the struggles of 1912-1914. By 1917, separationist and isolationist politics were entirely anachronistic. They had been in 1912, and were even more so in 1917. The war years, which brought even heavier financial pressure on the City Council than that to which it was normally accustomed, as well as the critical shortage of water facing the town, forced Grahamstown to abandon its independent position. Practical politics dictated that the city take its place alongside all the other municipalities in the Province. The Union of South Africa could not allow special status for isolated areas.

222 Ordinance 18 of 1917, Clause 16.

223 Ordinance 18 of 1917, Clause 17.

224 Ordinance 18 of 1917, Clause 18.

225 GTJ, 11 Aug 1917.

226 GTJ, 25 Sept 1917.

CHAPTER 2

COMMERCIAL AND ECONOMIC DECLINE

CHAPTER TWO

COMMERCIAL AND ECONOMIC DECLINE

Grahamstown's economic and commercial prosperity was naturally very dependent on broader South African developments. These dictated to a large extent economic trends in the microcosm, which can be characterized as a helpless victim of circumstances beyond its control. The city's economic impotence was underlined by several major events in the period under review. Two severe depressions in the space of fifteen years weakened even further the commercial community, whose resilience had always been brittle. The city lacked in-built resources for major recovery and, by 1918, even the most optimistic businessman realized that scope for advancement in the small non-industrial settlement was minimal.

After the end of the Anglo-Boer War, the Cape Colony experienced a brief post-war boom, but it was not as strong as that in the Transvaal, where war destruction had been so much greater. From the middle of 1903, the Colony experienced severe depression, from which it did not emerge until 1909.¹ The depression had its origins in agriculture, resulting partly from the war but chiefly because of the drought between 1901 and 1905. Cape viticulture was especially adversely affected, not only because of natural causes; liquor legislation and the inability of Cape wines to compete in Europe combined to depress this major industry. The diamond slump in 1908 lengthened the depression. The commercial and financial facets of the depression were the most prominent features, and politically had the most impact.² Improvements in agricultural conditions, combined with a more favourable trade balance and the financial skill of Merriman's government after 1908, led to the recovery of the economy of the Cape, and facilitated the Colony's passage to Union.³

1 C G W Schumann, Structural Changes and Business Cycles in South Africa 1806-1936, pg 112, Table 14.

2 These features are clearly developed in J Hatherley, The Effects of the Depression after the Anglo-Boer War on Cape Politics 1902-1910 unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1953.

3 J A Henry, First Hundred Years of the Standard Bank, pgs 149-150; Hatherley, The Effects of the Depression ..., pgs 92-97

The new Union government was anxious to consolidate the advantages gained by unification. The Commission on Trade and Industries in 1912 emphasized the need for industrial and agricultural protection, for technical education, irrigation and land settlement.⁴ Labour unrest on the Transvaal mines and racial conflict on the mines and in industry were key problems to which the fledgling government had to pay attention.⁵ The outbreak of war in 1914 caused considerable price rises and increases in the cost of living. South Africa's trading position was affected in various ways; shipping services were seriously disrupted, revealing South Africa's almost complete dependence on them.⁶ Industries such as wool, maize, jam, cotton, and dairy produce were stimulated by war conditions, while ostrich feathers, fruit and wattle bark were subject to heavy disabilities.⁷ By the end of the war, the economy was promising advances on the agricultural, industrial and commercial fronts.⁸ The years 1902-1918 marked the culmination of the period during which the economic base of Southern Africa was broadened from a predominantly agricultural position to encompass mining. Railway development during the period had been significant, and the focus of the economy had shifted from the ports to the Witwatersrand.⁹

Central to Grahamstown's commerce was the local market. W A Maxwell has emphasized Grahamstown's dependence on the farming community, and con-

4 D Hobart Houghton and J Dagut, Source Material on the South African Economy 1860-1970, Volume 2, 1899-1919, pg 145.

5 T R H Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, pgs 183-184 contains information on this. See also G V Doxey, The Industrial Colour Bar in South Africa.

6 M Arkin, South African Economic Development: an Outline Survey, pgs 52-53.

7 U G 60-'20, Report of Acting Trade Commissioner for the Year 1919, quoted in D Hobart Houghton and J Dagut, Source Material ..., pgs 214-219.

8 D Hobart Houghton and J Dagut, Source Material ..., pg 185.

9 D Hobart Houghton, "Economic Development 1865-1965" in M Wilson, and L M Thompson, Oxford History of South Africa, Vol II, pgs 17-22. See also Davenport, op. cit., pgs 353-359 for information on the importance of the mines.

cluded that, at the end of the nineteenth century, "substantially the town remained what the first half century had made it, namely a market centre for its own hinterland".¹⁰ The trade of the market was divided into three major sections: ostrich feathers, stock fair and the morning market.¹¹

The feather market became a major feature of the Grahamstown market, and grew spectacularly after 1906. One indication of this trend was the increase in the salary paid to the feather market auctioneer, C W Dold, as the volume of trade and number of sales grew. The salary was raised from £50 to £90 per annum in 1906¹², and to £120 a year later.¹³ At the end of 1908, £120 was fixed as the minimum stipend, and the auctioneer was to be paid one-quarter of the dues derived by the Council.¹⁴ The amount was thereafter fixed at 1/4% of the first £100 000, and 1/8% after that sum had been accumulated.¹⁵ C W Dold was killed in the Blaauwkrantz railway accident in April 1911, and his

10 W A Maxwell, The Great Exhibition at Grahamstown, December 1898-January 1899, pg 1.

11 Grahamstown market prices in the period under review are as follows:

	Stock	Morning	Ostrich		Stock	Morning	Ostrich
	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Market</u>	<u>Feathers</u>		<u>Fair</u>	<u>Market</u>	<u>Feathers</u>
1904	£117 218	£60 620	£18 782	1912	£102 926	£51 204	£167 372
1905	96 129	51 113	7 265	1913			161 206
1906	94 112	50 500	11 974	1914			
1907				1915	59 137	48 624	15 379
1908				1916	56 258	54 000	5 844
1909	57 824	43 603	117 612	1917	99 956	55 000	
1910	80 662	34 061	172 300	1918			
1911	92 607	45 644	132 365				

These statistics are compiled from the annual reports of the Chamber of Commerce; in the years missing, the reports were not published.

GPM 27 Nov 1905; GPM 19 Nov 1906 GTJ, 11 Jul 1911, GTJ 20 Jul 1912; GTJ 13 Feb 1913; GPM 14 May 1917; GPM 31 May 1918.

12 GTJ, 4 Oct 1906; GPM 5 Oct 1906.

13 GPM, 18 Oct 1907; GTJ, 19 Oct 1906

14 GTJ, 29 Oct 1908.

15 GTJ, 26 Nov 1910.

successor, S J Dold, was granted a maximum commission of £250.¹⁶

The prime years for ostrich feather trade were 1910-1913, when the prices held firm at just under £3 per lb. (double the 1906 price), and South African exports increased from 700 000 lbs. to over 1 000 000 lbs.¹⁷ The demand and prices of feathers dropped sharply with the outbreak of war in August 1914, and as agitation against the use of feathers in fashion forced a change of attitude in England.¹⁸ In 1916, the total export earnings from the sale of ostrich feathers in South Africa were one-sixth of what they had been in 1913.¹⁹ A census of the number of ostriches in the Union revealed the sudden decline in the number of birds.²⁰ Grahamstown farmers and auctioneers disputed the exact causes of the decline²¹; the industry was not to revive, however, and the town could only look back on the short-lived prosperity it had derived from the sale of ostrich feathers.

Stock fairs took place once a month, normally in the first week of the month. Prices were subject to considerable fluctuation, with factors such as demand, disease and available finance the prime influences in

16 GTJ, 10 Aug 1911.

17 F Wilson, "Farming 1866-1966" in Oxford History of South Africa, Vol II, pg 116.

18 A Haynes, "Murderous Millinery: the Struggle for the Plumage Act, 1921" in History Today, Vol 33, July 1983, pgs 26-30, has interesting comment on the anti-plumage campaign.

19 F Wilson, "Farming 1866-1966", pg 116.

20	<u>Union</u>	<u>Albany</u>
1911	746 657	40 432
1913	776 268	38 792
1916	399 010	19 380

GPM, 31 Jan 1917

21 The dispute was important, in that if the war was responsible, there was hope for recovery; if, however, women had decided against the use of feathers in their fashions, there was little chance of revival. GTJ, 16 Jun 1914; GTJ, 8 Oct 1914; GPM, 3 Feb 1915; GPM, 14 May 1917; GPM, 16 May 1917; GPM, 10 Aug 1917; GPM, 13 Aug 1917.

the market.²² The fact that only conditions and prices in the market were mentioned in reports in newspapers suggests that stock fairs were orderly and well-administered occasions.²³

The morning market was the most stable of the markets operated in Grahamstown, from the point of view of income; nonetheless, it was subject to drought and fluctuations in the economy. It was also the centre of lengthy and complicated disputes between farmers, market agents, auctioneers, buyers and the City Council.

A major issue causing conflict on the market was the order of sales. In 1906, the Council complied with the request, contained in a petition of 24 farmers from Lower Albany²⁴, and authorized the Market Master to sell the contents of wagons which had travelled some distance, before selling the articles in the market shed.²⁵ This inevitably caused friction, and the Council struck a compromise by agreeing that the sale of contents of the market shed could commence one half-hour after the market got under way, and not once goods outside had been sold.²⁶ This caused chaos, however, and the order of sales therefore reverted to what it had been.²⁷ Further moves to alter the order of sales were not passed²⁸, but pressure on the Council resulted in another experiment: the Market Master would draw a ticket to decide whether he should proceed with the contents of wood wagons or produce wagons first, and then another to see if he should start on the east or the west side.²⁹ The decrease in the number of wagons coming to the market was an important factor in the

22 See the chart under footnote (11) for annual totals of sales.

23 The only disruption of any significance on the stock fair was over the order of sales, and a special committee investigated and solved the matter. GTJ, 23 Nov 1911

24 GPM, 8 June 1906

25 GTJ, 19 July 1906; GPM, 20 July 1906

26 GTJ, 19 Dec 1907

27 GTJ, 15 Feb 1908

28 GTJ, 17 Dec 1908

29 GTJ, 14 Oct 1909

dispute, which was intensified between the different interest groups.³⁰ Further conflict on the City Council³¹ resulted eventually in the decision to send the Assistant Market Master to Port Elizabeth to investigate the system in operation there.³² No agreement resulted from the visit, because the proposals formulated by the Market Committee met with strong resistance from both farmers and residents, and a petition of 156 signatures was tabled.³³ A compromise was eventually reached, whereby the Market Master and his Assistant would begin to sell simultaneously, one with the wood wagons, the other with produce wagons; fifteen minutes later, sales in the shed would begin.³⁴ In all these disputes, different interest groups, farmers, agents, small holders, gardeners, produce growers, buyers and the Council had their respective rights and privileges to protect. Agreement was hence very difficult to achieve.

One result of this dissatisfaction with the market was the establishment, for a short time, of a retail market. Pressure for this new development began as early as 1912 from a group consisting primarily of gardeners and produce growers who mooted the idea as a possible way to by-pass the market.³⁵ The idea was more seriously considered in 1914 when the market threatened to show a very low yield. The Journal criticized the "hide-bound prejudices" and "old customs" of the city, and pointed out that Grahamstown was advantageously situated for a retail market, because of the large number of small growers close to the city. It strongly supported the idea, as it would bring increased dues to the City Council, and would provide competition and better prices for the public.³⁶ The Council discussed the matter shortly afterwards, and

30 The number of wagons coming to market at this time was:

1908 : 2 715

1909 : 2 939

1910 : 2 057

GTJ, 21 July 1910.

31 GTJ, 25 April 1912.

32 GPM, 25 April 1913.

33 GTJ, 3 Sept 1914; GPM, 4 Sept 1914.

34 GPM, 10 May 1918.

35 GPM, 28 Feb 1912; GTJ, 29 Feb 1912.

36 GTJ, 21 July 1914.

referred it to the Market Committee for report.³⁷ Both major newspapers mounted pressure for the establishment of a retail market, arguing that its formation would bring the consumer into direct touch with the producer, and he would be able to buy in small quantities.³⁸

The Council itself was very divided on the matter, and it was agreed by the narrow majority of 7-6 to give the retail market a trial. The Market Committee recommended the new market should function twice a week, on Tuesdays and Fridays, in the afternoons, and should be held behind the City Hall, where it would be more accessible to the public, rather than the Market Square. It proposed that £100 be spent on erecting a shed behind the City Hall. These recommendations were significantly altered by the Council; the major changes were that it be held on the Market Square, and in the evening.³⁹ The Journal spoke out against the "fixed determination" of a "small coterie" who "talk in terms off 'long-established custom and usage'" to "wreck the retail market scheme from its inception".⁴⁰ The Penny Mail joined its contemporary in protesting at these moves to kill the scheme.⁴¹

The market failed to function for even a year; it never proved a success. It ceased to trade on 30 September 1915.⁴² The time of day it operated, and its geographical position, were cited as chief reasons in its demise, and the Penny Mail called for the retail system to be given a chance, and be introduced on the ordinary market.⁴³

The method of payment for produce was another issue of major dispute, and this controversy had strong racial overtones. A petition signed by twelve licensed market agents was submitted to the Council, protesting against the practice of the Market Master accepting bids from Indians, and entering the word "cash" on market notes; they regarded it as

37 GTJ, 30 July 1914; GPM, 31 July 1914.

38 GPM, 14 Sept 1914; GTJ, 15 Sept 1914.

39 GTJ, 8 Oct 1914.

40 GTJ, 10 Oct 1914.

41 GPM, 12 Oct 1914; GPM, 21 Oct 1914.

42 GPM, 1 Oct 1915.

43 GPM, 1 Oct 1915.

impossible to collect payment in this manner.⁴⁴ They recommended that the Market Master refuse the bids of Indians altogether, or require them to deposit sufficient cash in advance to cover their weekly purchases. The Council immediately passed a regulation putting an end to the practice of the Market Master of issuing notes for payment.⁴⁵ The new regulation insisted on immediate cash payment before goods were delivered. This in turn brought a petition of protest signed by over twenty members of the Indian community,⁴⁶ but it failed to move the Council.⁴⁷ Further protests against the measure⁴⁸, obviously designed to apply only to Indians and Chinese, merely evoked the response that the regulation applied to all users.⁴⁹ The system remained controversial. It was moved in 1911 that it be abolished, and a new method of payment be adopted⁵⁰, but reaction to these moves⁵¹ persuaded the Council not to depart from the current system.⁵²

A regulation published in April 1913 provoked further complaints. It gave the Marketmaster the right to require Indians and blacks to deposit £5 in the market office before purchasing goods.⁵³ The Marketmaster enforced this regulation from the beginning of March, which resulted in a further outcry.⁵⁴

Another Indian protest, in which they complained that they were forced to stand on one side of the market, was dismissed by the Council, on the

44 GPM, 1 Sept 1905.

45 GPM, 15 Sept 1905.

46 GPM, 29 Sept 1905.

47 GPM, 6 Oct 1905.

48 GTJ, 10 Oct 1905; GPM, 11 Oct 1905; GPM, 27 Oct 1905.

49 GPM, 6 Oct 1905.

50 GTJ, 24 Aug 1911.

51 Reaction took the form of two petitions, with 47 and 29 signatures respectively.

52 GTJ, 6 July 1911.

53 Province of the Cape of Good Hope Official Gazette, 18 Apr 1913, pg 465.

54 GPM, 3 March 1913. While in terms of the resolution white people could be forced to deposit £5, its racial bias was clear.

somewhat curious grounds that no injustice was being done to Indians and Coloureds, because Europeans were also compelled to stand on one (the other) side.⁵⁵ The issue of the separation of whites from other race groups on the market was a tense one. A motion in the Council instructing the Marketmaster to ignore bids from Indians, Chinese and blacks on the market, unless they were in the positions (which were disadvantageous ones) assigned to them, was defeated⁵⁶, but passed shortly afterwards.⁵⁷ V A Doss, the Secretary of the British Indian Association, recorded a strong protest with the Council, alleging that Grahamstown was the only town in the Cape which insisted on segregation; his complaint was not against racial separation, however, but against the fact that "civilized traders", such as Indians, were "classed among the natives".⁵⁸ A similar complaint was received from Mr Chan Henry, objecting to Chinese "being thrust among natives on the market", and threatening to withdraw from the market altogether.⁵⁹ His letter was backed by the Chinese Consul-General in Johannesburg.⁶⁰ A motion to withdraw the racial regulation was defeated, and drew furious reaction in the Council, two councillors saying "natives and others should be kept in their place", and Chinese were "an unmitigated curse."⁶¹

Further clear evidence of discrimination against Chinese and Indians by both the City Council and the Chamber of Commerce exists. Applications from Indians and Chinese residents for general dealers' licences were turned down shortly after the market regulations were passed on the grounds that "the town was getting too thick with Indians" and "it was not right to send Chinamen into the Location amongst Fingoes". Dislike or fear of competition with white traders was also expressed.⁶² In 1911, the City Council agreed to petition the House of Assembly about Asiatic trading in South Africa, and called for present licence holders

55 GTJ, 23 Dec 1908.

56 GTJ, 30 Sept 1909.

57 GTJ, 7 Oct 1909.

58 GTJ, 9 Oct 1909.

59 GTJ, 12 Oct 1909.

60 GTJ, 21 Oct 1909.

61 GTJ, 25 Nov 1909.

62 GTJ, 4 Aug 1910.

to be deprived of their licences.⁶³ They later joined the Port Elizabeth City Council in signing a petition along the same lines.⁶⁴ Chinese and Indian traders thus had to operate against considerable discrimination and hostility.

These disputes, which generated a great deal of emotion, did not benefit the functioning of Grahamstown's market. Perhaps it was because of the importance of the market to the city that it was the centre of so much controversy. Although fluctuations did occur in prices, and the loss of the feather market was an intense blow, the market remained the focus of Grahamstown's economy. At the end of the war, it generated fractionally more income for the City Council than it had in 1904.⁶⁵ This was most likely due to the increase in the price of food during the war; nonetheless, any assessment of Grahamstown's economic position has to bear in mind the relevance of the market to the city.

Industry in Grahamstown was minimal and, as a result, reports of the manufacturing that did exist in the city tended to be exaggerated. One manufacturing industry of some importance was J and H Hards Ltd., producers of jam, which had been founded in 1894.⁶⁶ In order to expand its business, the firm decided to float itself into a Limited Company, with a registered capital of £25 000, divided into 25 000 shares of £1 each.⁶⁷ The Company was dependent on fruit farming in the Albany district, and secured itself a regular fruit supply by purchasing a farm of 1 200 acres just outside Grahamstown on the Kowie railway line, which it planted with 15 527 trees.⁶⁸ The Company planned to erect a new factory on a site next to the Grahamstown railway station, and provide cold storage accommodation, which would form the basis of expansion. Local fruit farmers were called on to take advantage of the growing industry.⁶⁹

63 GTJ, 2 Feb 1911.

64 GTJ, 27 July 1911.

65 Figures are available in Chapter 3 on Municipal Finance.

66 A MacMillan (compiler), The City of Grahamstown (Illustrated): An Historical, Commercial and General Review, pg 37.

67 GPM, 1 May 1905.

68 GPM, 1 May 1905.

69 GPM, 10 May 1905.

Another company floated and registered under the Companies Act, and dependent on local farmers, was the "Farmers' Supply Stores Ltd", with a capital of £10 000.⁷⁰ The promoters had acquired control of the Grahamstown branch of the Farmers' Co-operative Company, and proposed to carry on business as produce, seed, and general merchants, wool and machinery merchants, and general agents, and to act as importers of supplies and agricultural machinery. Bayes' Roller Mills was an important local industry, and the milling of grain continued to expand; a new power installation was built in 1913.⁷¹

The importance of the agricultural potential of Albany was seen by people who called for more industries in Grahamstown; industries based on farming produce were the most logical for the city. Suggestions for a creamery⁷² and a bacon factory⁷³, neither of which came to fruition, must be seen against this background.

Proposals to establish a whaling station in the Bathurst district were welcomed and encouraged by the Grahamstown Chamber of Commerce.⁷⁴ Improvements in the trade of Grahamstown, and the business of the Kowie railway line, were expected benefits. In July 1912, the Bathurst Whaling Company was floated, with a capital of £60 000.⁷⁵ It was a Durban-based company, but had a local board of three Grahamstown directors. The Company was formed to acquire the rights to a lease of the farm "Groenfontein", and a farm adjoining it, at the mouth of the Riet River. It was proposed to purchase two modern whalers, and build a factory with the necessary equipment for the new industry. No further evidence about the progress of the Company or whaling industry was found, and it is to be presumed that the Company failed.

One example of local initiative was taken by some local women, with the formation of a Women's Industrial Association in 1908 to encourage home

70 GPM, 25 April 1905.

71 GTJ, 12 Aug 1913.

72 GTJ, 4 Sept 1913.

73 GPM, 5 Nov 1917.

74 GTJ, 30 Nov 1911.

75 GPM, 12 July 1912; GTJ, 13 July 1912.

industries, such as needlework, bread and cakes, and preserves.⁷⁶ It developed out of the Christ Church Women's Guild⁷⁷, and operated from the Christ Church schoolroom. It had over twenty members, and traded three times a week. Pressure from the Chamber of Commerce resulted in the formation in May 1910 of an Industrial Society for Grahamstown, with a committee of five men and five women.⁷⁸ The aim of the Society was to mount an Industrial Exhibition, and the City Council advanced a loan of £50 to the Society for expenses, to be refunded after the exhibition had been held.⁷⁹ A small exhibition was held in November⁸⁰, but the Society failed to generate enough funds to repay the loan.⁸¹ The Society was subsequently amalgamated with the Albany Agricultural Society, and industrial exhibitions were planned to coincide with the Society's annual show in March.⁸²

Grahamstown's major industry was the brick and tile factory. At the beginning of 1905, the "Grahamstown Brick and Tile Company Ltd" was floated, with a capital of £50 000.⁸³ The Company took over the assets of the Grahamstown Brickmaking Company, as well as the Company's interest in the farm Goodwin's Kloof. Four kilns were already functional, capable of producing 50 000 bricks per week. A new kiln had just been installed, with a production capability of 16 000 bricks per day. The Company reported also that the latest machinery for the production of bricks and tiles had been purchased, and its prospectus boasted of the great potential of the Company.⁸⁴ How the Company performed over the years has been impossible to ascertain; but an advertisement in the Penny Mail in 1913 indicated that the Company had at some stage ceased its operations.⁸⁵ On that day, it reopened its

76 GTJ, 19 March 1908.

77 GTJ, 4 Aug 1908.

78 GTJ, 28 May 1910.

79 GTJ, 28 July 1910.

80 GTJ, 1 Nov 1910.

81 GTJ, 22 Dec 1910.

82 GTJ, 7 Sept 1911.

83 GPM, 18 Jan 1905.

84 GPM, 18 Jan 1905.

85 GPM, 16 May 1913.

works and was installing additional machinery. A new company, the "Marseilles Tile and Pottery Company (SA) Ltd" was floated in 1916,⁸⁶ with a capital of £15 000. The Company advertised the considerable advantages of their tiles over foreign competition, and the cheaper production in Grahamstown.

Grahamstown had only a small number of industries, and they were small in scope. Two major factors militated against expansion of these: lack of facilities, notably water, and problems of transportation and supply. Moreover, the trend of the country's economy towards a focus on the Witwatersrand left a non-coastal non-industrial Cape town on the sidelines.

One area of expansion to the advantage of the city was forestry, in which there was an intelligent use of natural resources and assets. During the nineteenth century, the City Council and the Government each contributed £180 per annum towards tree planting and forestry, and the salary of a municipal forester.⁸⁷ The forester was in charge of a nursery in the area of the Grey Reservoir. The Government, however, announced that it would no longer contribute to the upkeep of the municipal forests, and the Council thus decided to suspend the services of the municipal forester from the end of September 1905.⁸⁸ The nursery was closed, and no scheme thereafter adopted.⁸⁹

The potential of the plantations was only realized some years later. In 1913, a Forestry Committee was appointed by the City Council⁹⁰, and entire control of the forests, and the planting and removal of trees within the municipality was placed under the supervision of the Committee.⁹¹ The Board of Works was authorized to fell a number of trees as an experiment, and offer for sale the wood so gained.⁹² The

86 GPM, 28 Feb 1916.

87 GTJ, 10 Aug 1905; GPM, 11 Aug 1905; GTJ, 30 Oct 1906.

88 GTJ, 10 Aug 1905; GPM, 11 Aug 1905.

89 GTJ, 30 Oct 1906.

90 GTJ, 11 Sept 1913; GPM, 12 Sept 1913.

91 GTJ, 23 July 1914; GPM, 24 July 1914.

92 GPM, 19 June 1914; GTJ, 20 June 1914.

experiment proved successful, and an offer was made to the Council by a timber contractor, Mr C J V Bredell, from Somerset Strand. The Council adopted the contract drawn up by the Forestry Committee, which provided for the contractor to purchase 4 000 tons of timber from the municipal plantations, at the rate of 8/9d per colonial ton of 2 000 lbs.⁹³ The approximate value of the contract to the Council was £2 000.⁹⁴

The next four years witnessed a battle between timber contractors and conservationists. A petition to the Council signed by sixteen people protested against the policy of felling trees, especially in the Grey Reservoir area.⁹⁵ It resulted in more careful supervision of the felling of trees, but certainly did not deter the Council from encouraging the timber contractor to proceed.⁹⁶ The Council also did not overextend its resources; an offer from Constantia Co. Ltd. to purchase 3 000 tons of pine, at a price of 10/- per ton, was refused.⁹⁷

An inspection of the plantations by a Government Forestry Officer, J Sim from Port Elizabeth, confirmed the value of the municipal forests to the Council.⁹⁸ He recommended places where the plantation could be extended, and he assured the Council that the felling of trees was being properly conducted.⁹⁹ He advised the Council to be careful about the sale of timber, in order to preserve the plantations and wait for better prices. This proved sound advice; the Council was able to accept a contract of Mr S W Blake, on behalf of Messrs Lenvelt and Co Ltd. of Johannesburg for the supply of timber at considerably higher prices than

93 CMB, 14 Oct 1914, CA, 3/AY 1/1/1/17.

94 GTJ, 15 Oct 1914; GPM, 16 Oct 1914; GPM, 23 Oct 1914.

95 GPM, 13 Aug 1915.

96 GPM, 3 Sept 1915.

97 GPM, 21 July 1915.

98 GPM, 25 Aug 1916; GPM, 4 Sept 1916.

99 At this stage, 174 tons of timber was removed from the Grahamstown forests per month by the contractors. Between 7000 and 8000 trees (3 318 tons) had been removed by them; but in the previous 18 months, 18 000 trees had been planted in the new plantations. GPM, 18 Aug 1916.

the Bredell contract.¹⁰⁰

Further representations to the Council by conservationists¹⁰¹ resulted in the Council consulting Mr Sim once again; he submitted a report recommending conservation areas, proper protection of these, and other safety measures.¹⁰² Such careful use of the plantations resulted in the maximum benefit of the asset and in 1918 the Council was able to present a favourable report on the plantations, and announced that 23 000 trees had been planted in the past year.¹⁰³

A further result of the exploitation of the municipal forests was pressure to keep the timber in the Albany area. The Bathurst Farmers' Union protested against the disposal of timber in Johannesburg for mine props, and argued that timber could have been better utilized by farmers in the district.¹⁰⁴ The Grahamstown Chamber of Commerce pressed for the creation of a box manufacturing plant in Grahamstown, using pine timber from the plantation.¹⁰⁵ Further investigation revealed the considerable demand for boxes in the area; it was discovered that about 100 000 boxes were required by local companies and farmers. Sold at 1/- a piece, it would yield a revenue of about £5 000 for such an industry.¹⁰⁶ Messrs Carr and Co., a building company, undertook to found such an industry with Council support.¹⁰⁷ Nothing came of this project, and Council assistance for box-making was vague. An application by the Grahamstown Confectionery Works for a supply of timber for the purpose of box-making was granted by the Council, but at an exorbitant price: five tons of timber at a charge of £1.10d per ton. The debate in the Council was

100 Pine timber between 8/6 and 15/- a ton;
Gum timber between 8/- and 12/6 a ton;
Blackwood between 6/6 and 10/6 a ton. GPM, 17 Nov 1916.

101 GPM, 20 May 1917.

102 GPM, 20 June 1917.

103 GPM, 30 Aug 1918.

104 GPM, 16 Aug 1916.

105 GPM, 5 May 1915.

106 GPM, 7 April 1916.

107 GPM, 14 July 1917.

heated but the price stood.¹⁰⁸ Whether or not a box-making industry ever succeeded has been impossible to ascertain, for no record of its success or failure has been traced.

One feature of Grahamstown's economy was the predominance of shops and shopkeepers. This situation underlines the view that Grahamstown was primarily a trading outlet. The existence of shops does not mean production; shops usually function as the middlemen between producer and consumer.¹⁰⁹ Shopkeepers in Grahamstown were important employers of labour. To a large extent, the shopkeepers worked together. They dominated the local Chamber of Commerce, and also exercised considerable influence on the City Council.

Act 34 of 1905, "The Half-Holiday Act"¹¹⁰, did not alter Grahamstown's current system of shops closing on Saturday afternoon. The local Chamber of Commerce was unwilling to allow any change regarding the half-holiday¹¹¹, despite some opposition from a few shopkeepers and others.¹¹² Butchers protested against the Saturday closure, and petitioned the City Council to change the day to Thursday, in order to obviate Sunday trading; the Council, however, was legally unable to alter the position.¹¹³ The controversy persisted; opponents, small in number though vocal, continued to argue that Saturday closing was

108 GPM, 19 Oct 1917.

109 In the Union Census Reports of 1911, the shop and working classes, including railways and postal employees, are indistinguishable and number about 1200:

	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Professional	347	277
Commercial (including railway/postal & some shops)	322	47
Industrial (including mainly shops)	689	165
Agricultural	120	3

U.G. 32-1912

110 It replaced the Half-Holiday Act of 1899 and the Half Holiday Amendment Act of 1904.

111 GTJ, 20 May 1905.

112 GTJ, 1 June 1905; GTJ, 7 June 1905; GTJ, 17 March 1906.

113 GTJ, 26 March 1908.

detrimental to Grahamstown's trading position, because farmers found it awkward.¹¹⁴ Their campaign failed to alter the position.

The majority of Grahamstown's shopkeepers co-operated in a move to consider the closing of shops at 5.30pm in the summer as well as winter, thus introducing a shorter working day.¹¹⁵ The move had the support of most of the principal firms in the city and the "very laudable reform" was generally welcomed.¹¹⁶

Another issue on which Grahamstown shopkeepers co-operated was the price of foodstuffs once war broke out in 1914. Fear that price hikes would come about, and also that a shortage of supplies would occur, was expressed in Grahamstown, amongst other places.¹¹⁷ A meeting of local traders, storekeepers and merchants with the Resident Magistrate, Mr L M Harison, took place as a result, in order to discuss a government directive that a schedule of reasonable prices be drawn up and adhered to.¹¹⁸ A sub-committee was elected in order to make recommendations¹¹⁹, and it reported when the meeting resumed, that a list of prices ought not to be fixed.¹²⁰ The meeting nonetheless resolved to sell foodstuffs at "as reasonable prices as are consistent with prime cost". This resolution was accepted by the Government¹²¹, and although there was a

114 GTJ, 10 Feb 1910; GTJ, 15 Feb 1910; GTJ, 17 Feb 1910; GTJ, 19 Feb 1910.

115 GTJ, 27 Sept 1913; GPM, 1 Oct 1913.

116 GTJ, 2 Oct 1913.

117 GTJ, 11 Aug 1914.

118 GTJ, 20 Aug 1914.

119 The Committee consisted of:

C J Ansley (butcher)

Mr Maneschewitz (baker)

M Bayes (miller)

Mr Duffield and Mr Kershaw (produce dealers)

Mr Fitchat and Mr Oliver (retail grocers)

The Mayor, Rev J Gray and Mr D Knight (to represent consumers)

GTJ, 20 Aug 1914.

120 GPM, 26 Aug 1914.

121 GTJ, 3 Sept 1914.

rise in the price of foodstuffs in Grahamstown, as there was across the country, shopkeepers did keep prices as low as possible.¹²²

Grahamstown never acquired a tram service; the citizens were entirely reliant on cabs and hackney carriages for public transport. As a result, they were important in the economic infrastructure of the city. Distances were certainly relatively short in Grahamstown, but transportation of visitors and businessmen was nevertheless a necessary service the city needed to provide. Regulations governing the cabs were in the hands of the City Council, which had the power to issue licences, register the vehicles, fix fares and frame any other regulations affecting vehicles plying for hire.

The relationship between the civic authority and cab drivers was always a tense and uneasy one. The differences that existed between the two bodies were clearly seen in a dispute over new regulations in 1905 and 1906. New regulations framed by the Council were approved by the Cape Government at the end of 1905,¹²³ after a dispute over the times of single and double fares.¹²⁴ The major controversy, however, was between the Council and local cab drivers, who resented strongly a new clause which provided for a fare of 1/- per adult "from and to any place within the city".¹²⁵ This replaced the regulation that cab drivers charge 1/- for each mile covered, or fraction of a mile, per passenger; the new regulation therefore threatened the drivers with a considerable drop in revenue. A further grievance was the low tariff for which a client could keep a cab waiting for him. In protest, the cabmen came out on strike in January 1906, and declared they would not submit to the new regulations.¹²⁶ The cabmen refused to take out new licences from the beginning of 1906,¹²⁷ thus putting themselves out of reach of the City

122 GPM, 1 Feb 1915.

123 GPM, 8 Dec 1905.

124 The City Council insisted that double fares be charged from 7pm to 8am, whereas the Government believed they should begin only at 11pm as in Cape Town.

125 GPM, 8 Jan 1906.

126 GPM, 8 Jan 1906; GTJ, 9 Jan 1906.

127 The cost of licenses had also been increased.

Council, which could not prosecute them legally for failing to fulfil their contract. Any defaulter who broke the strike was, in terms of an agreement between cab owners, to forfeit £10, which sum would be paid to the funds of the Albany General Hospital.¹²⁸

The strike lasted two days: cab owners then took out licences under the new regulations on the understanding that the Council would reconsider the issue of fares by either removing or altering the offending clauses.¹²⁹ The understanding was not fulfilled; the Council stood firm, and passed a resolution refusing to alter any of the regulations "until such time as they are of the opinion that some injustice has been done to cab proprietors or the general public".¹³⁰ At the same time, the Council resolved to limit the number of vehicles permitted to stand on the various cab stands in the city.¹³¹ The controversy with the Council continued to simmer; the prosecution of a cab driver, for charging 6/- instead of 2/6d, highlighted the discontent and confusion as some cab drivers continued to charge old rates.¹³²

About 300 people attended a public meeting on 23 January to hear the cab drivers' grievances.¹³³ Advocate M Tucker, the drivers' legal representative, spoke articulately in favour of a reversion to the system of 1/- per mile, and the meeting endorsed this, as well as changes in the hours of double fares¹³⁴ and tariffs for passengers' luggage. The City Council referred the resolution to the Sanitary

128 GTJ, 9 Jan 1906.

129 GPM, 10 Jan 1906; GTJ, 11 Jan 1906.

130 GTJ, 18 Jan 1906; GPM, 19 Jan 1906.

131 Church Square (south side)	6
Church Square (north side)	6
Front of Steinemann's Hotel	6
Front of Grand Hotel	4
Bathurst St Stand	2
Market Square Stand	2
West Hill Stand	2

GTJ, 18 Jan 1906.

132 GPM, 12 Jan 1906; GTJ, 13 Jan 1906.

133 GPM, 24 Jan 1906; GTJ, 27 Jan 1906.

134 7pm-8am, not 7am as the regulation stated.

Committee for report,¹³⁵ but again refused to consider the suggested alterations.¹³⁶ There were protests from the drivers,¹³⁷ but the Council stood firm, and the regulations remained in force. Cab drivers were unable to afford a sustained strike, and hence grudgingly were forced to submit to the new regulations.

The issue remained a live one: complaints reached the Council about drivers refusing to transport passengers to distant parts of the towns, notably Fort England, because of the low fares.¹³⁸ As a result, the City Council appointed a three-man committee to enquire into the matter.¹³⁹ Drivers registered protests against the same regulations, which meant they might drive three or four miles across the city for the fare of only 1/-.¹⁴⁰ The drivers called again for a scale of tariffs to be introduced. The Committee did not comply with any of these demands; it did, however, inspect all the cabs plying for hire in the city, and suspended the licences of four cab proprietors (involving six cabs) owing to the defective state of cabs and horses.¹⁴¹

At the end of 1914, additional regulations for the licensing of motor taxi-cabs were gazetted. The tariff fixed for a motor cab was more expensive than an ordinary one: 1/- for the first passenger, and 6d for each additional passenger, for the first mile; thereafter 6d per passenger for each additional half-mile or part thereof.¹⁴²

One way cab drivers got round the regulations was to overcharge, and the Council received several complaints about this practice¹⁴³. Its

135 GPM, 26 Jan 1906

136 GTJ, 8 Feb 1906; GPM, 9 Feb 1906

137 GTJ, 10 Feb 1906

138 GTJ, 8 Feb 1913; GPM, 7 Feb 1913

139 Clrs Tarrant, Tomlinson and Whiteside formed the Committee.

140 GTJ, 13 Feb 1913; GPM, 14 Feb 1913

141 SCMB, 12 Feb 1913, CA 3/AY 1/3/1/1/5; GPM, 14 Feb 1913. A slight discrepancy exists between the two sources.

142 Province of the Cape of Good Hope Official Gazette, 11 Dec 1914, pg 721

143 GPM, 17 March 1916; GPM, 22 April 1916

response to this was, rather than alter the fare structure, to enforce more rigidly the existing regulations, and to insist on drivers attaching a meter to each cab for the benefit of clients, to prevent arbitrary fares being charged.¹⁴⁴

Only in 1918 was the lengthy fight for increased fares won. The Council agreed in August to introduce a new schedule of fares¹⁴⁵, and these were gazetted in November.¹⁴⁶ Tariffs were divided into two sections, hire by distance and hire by time.¹⁴⁷ These improved fares marked the culmination of years of pressure from the cab drivers; the shopkeeper/trader-dominated Council was successful in keeping these costs down, despite strong objections. The strength of the Council was also demonstrated by the ease with which they managed to overcome a strike and strong public pressure.

Considerable excitement was generated in Grahamstown and beyond with the discovery of platinum in the Albany district at the beginning of 1906. A medical doctor, Dr G C Purvis, reported that, after conducting tests on rock brought to him by T H Harrison,¹⁴⁸ he had discovered platinum in payable quantities in the rock.¹⁴⁹ Further tests were carried out by a Cape Government analyst,¹⁵⁰ Rhodes University College, a Dr Moir from Johannesburg, and scientists in London and Berlin.¹⁵¹ All of these confirmed the existence of platinum in the rock, though foreign scientists called for more rock samples to be sent to their laboratories

144 GPM, 22 April 1916.

145 GPM, 2 Aug 1918.

146 Province of the Cape of Good Hope Official Gazette, 1 Nov 1918.

147 Hire by distance:

7am-7pm	1/6	for first passenger;	6d	for each additional one
7pm-7am	2/-	" " " "	1/-	" " " "

Hire by time:

7am-7pm	7/6	per hour;	4/-	per half-hour;	2/6	per 1/4 hour
7pm-7am	10/-	" " " "	5/-	" " " "		

148 An assistant to F J Abbott, a Grahamstown chemist.

149 GTJ, 6 Feb 1906.

150 GTJ, 24 April 1906.

151 GTJ, 19 Nov 1906.

before committing themselves to firm prognostications of the quantity available.¹⁵² When reports were finally published they fuelled speculation and excitement. The results of the analysis confirmed the presence of platinum deposits in the area, as well as gold.¹⁵³ De Beers Consolidated Mines and Consolidated Gold Fields Ltd. both sent representatives to Albany to obtain information, and De Beers took samples in order to conduct its own assay.¹⁵⁴

Syndicates, holding options on farms in the vicinity of the discoveries, formed rapidly in Grahamstown. The first to be formed was the "Surprise Syndicate", which had been operative from as early as July 1905.¹⁵⁵ They had acquired rights to the farm of Mr Armstrong, "Spring Grove", on which was situated a high krantz about one half mile long, where the major platinum discovery had been made.¹⁵⁶ Other early syndicates formed, with options over neighbouring farms, were the "Grahamstown Syndicate", the "Assegai Syndicate" and the "Eureka Syndicate".¹⁵⁷

The first major syndicate to be formally advertised was the "Valentine Platinum and Gold Developing and Prospecting Syndicate Ltd.", whose prospectus was published at the end of March.¹⁵⁸ The Syndicate advertised a capital of £65 000, tied up in 6 500 shares of £10 each.¹⁵⁹ It had been formed to take over the options of the mineral rights on two farms, "Spring Grove" of 900 morgen, and "Schuitrig" of 966 morgen, in the districts of Bathurst and Alexandria. The report of the consulting engineer, F W Malloch, was attached to the prospectus, and provided a very optimistic forecast of the possibilities of the site, whilst

152 GTJ, 9 Feb 1907.

153 1.6 oz per ton of platinum; 1.2 oz per ton of gold; 4½ oz of other metals. GTJ, 28 Feb 1907; GTJ, 19 March 1907

154 GTJ, 12 March 1907.

155 This consisted of the original five discoverers of platinum:

F J Abbott, T H Harrison, G C Purvis, W Fisher and S Baines.

156 GTJ, 9 Feb 1907.

157 GTJ, 9 Feb 1907.

158 GPM, 27 March 1907.

159 This was divided as follows: To Vendors 4 000 shares; to working capital 1 000 shares; to reserve capital 1 500 shares.

admitting his report to be based "on surface indications only". The only expenses would be for crushing and extracting, and the quantities of timber and water on the farms would be of great advantage in providing fuel "for a considerable time".

The "Valentine Syndicate" lost little time in exploiting the site. A boiler, battery, engine, water tank and water pump were erected.¹⁶⁰ A small dam, doubling the reserve supply of water, was constructed on the river on the farm.¹⁶¹ Labour problems were experienced; the mining manager reported that there was "a very willing and hard-working complement of white men; native labour is not hard to find, but the boys will not stop with us for any length of time".¹⁶² The Syndicate had extremely optimistic forecasts of the value of the property, and hoped to be able to increase the working capital, and erect a larger plant.¹⁶³ Shares of the Syndicate were quoted on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange at between £31 and £33,¹⁶⁴ which was an indication of the interest and expectations generated by the mineral discoveries. Reports from the mine manager remained optimistic in outlook.¹⁶⁵ Confidence in the Syndicate was further confirmed when it was bought out by a group of London financiers "for a large sum", and reports reached Albany that a large London company was to be floated.¹⁶⁶ It was later reported that Messrs N M Rothschilds & Sons was the company behind the offer, and it proposed to float the "Valentine Syndicate" into a company with a capital of £350 000, of which £100 000 would constitute working capital.¹⁶⁷

Other syndicates operating in the Albany district continued to report progress. "Assegai", "Waterford", "Lindale" and "Rooi-Kop Platinum" Syndicates had all begun operations on farms by mid-October 1907.¹⁶⁸

160 GPM, 28 June 1907.

161 GTJ, 25 June 1907.

162 GTJ, 25 June 1907.

163 GPM, 28 June 1907.

164 GPM, 14 June 1907, quoting the Johannesburg Star.

165 GPM, 11 Sept 1907; GTJ, 12 Sept 1907.

166 GTJ, 26 Sept 1907; GTJ, 3 Oct 1907.

167 GPM, 4 Dec 1907.

168 GPM, 18 Oct 1907.

Another large syndicate was formed in the same month: the "Kasouga and Karioga Platinum Syndicate" with two Grahamstown directors¹⁶⁹ and a capital of £50 000.¹⁷⁰ This Syndicate acquired the option over eight farms in Albany, extending over an area of thirty square miles in one complete block.¹⁷¹ The "Premier Platinum Prospecting Syndicate" published their prospectus, advertising a capital of £3 500, divided into shares of £1 each,¹⁷² and announced their farms were well situated between the "Rooi-Kop" and "Vendome" Syndicates, yet another one operating in the area. The "East Valentine Syndicate" was formed in December 1907.¹⁷³

Despite all this activity, doubts had never been fully dispelled about the existence of platinum in payable quantities. In all company prospectuses, and reports about the existence of platinum, it is evident that concrete figures were never prominent. Reports were always extremely positive and optimistic in outlook, but never well supported by facts. As early as the beginning of 1907, some people were expressing doubts about the quantities of platinum. A government analyst in Cape Town discovered no platinum and very little gold in a rock sample sent to him; it was later reported however that the sample came from the Grahamstown commonage and not the syndicate farms. No questions were asked about why a sample from so curious a spot should have been sent to Cape Town.¹⁷⁴ A "very eminent firm in London of chemists and assayers" reported that a sample sent to them by a "well-known private citizen" contained platinum, but not in large quantities.¹⁷⁵ Assays continued to yield different results. The Senior Analyst of the Cape reported that he was unable to discover platinum in any samples of rock sent from Grahamstown, but the "Valentine Syndicate" was able to report that Messrs Johnson Mathey and Co., Assayers to the Bank of England, had found platinum and iridium in samples taken from

169 S Smith and F J Abbott.

170 GPM, 18 Oct 1907.

171 GTJ, 12 Dec 1907.

172 GPM, 4 Dec 1907.

173 GPM, 16 Dec 1907.

174 GTJ, 28 March 1907.

175 GTJ, 6 April 1907.

their farms.¹⁷⁶

The Cape Government's doubts about the existence of platinum to any significant degree continued, despite confident assertions to the contrary by the syndicates in Albany. A deputation from the syndicates¹⁷⁷ met the Prime Minister with the object of informing him of the situation and "of enlisting the sympathies of the Cape Government" in the further development of the area.¹⁷⁸ The government announced that it would investigate the situation itself, and appointed three experts to inspect the sites, and select samples for assay and analysis in order to settle doubts finally.¹⁷⁹ The Directors of the "Valentine" Syndicate agreed to this course of action,¹⁸⁰ and the Government experts duly arrived.¹⁸¹ The Government Commission merely fuelled the controversy. Prof Young, addressing a meeting in Grahamstown, said that the presence of platinum had not been entirely proved, but "the chances are 100:1 that the government report will be favourable".¹⁸² He called for the syndicates to combine as "it was undoubtedly one of the most wonderful and one of the richest mining propositions ever known."¹⁸³ These remarks were censored by the Surveyor-General of the Cape, A H Cornish Bowden, who said any remarks made before the conclusion of the government investigation should be ignored.¹⁸⁴

176 GPM, 15 Sept 1907.

177 It consisted chiefly of representatives of the "Valentine" Syndicate, but others were represented.

178 GTJ, 7 Nov 1907.

179 The three were: Captain Quentrill, Inspector of Mines in Kimberley
Mr Juritz, Senior Analyst
Prof Young, of The Department of Geology and
Minerology at the South African College

GTJ, 3 Dec 1907.

180 GTJ, 3 Dec 1907.

181 GTJ, 17 Dec 1907.

182 GTJ, 6 Feb 1908.

183 GTJ, 6 Feb 1908.

184 GTJ, 13 Feb 1908.

The government report was inconclusive; it certainly did not reflect the positive views of any of the syndicates. The result of the analysis made separately in Cape Town and Johannesburg showed there was no platinum but the analyst in London found traces of the metal.¹⁸⁵ The Journal, in commenting on the dichotomy of Cape Town experts and government on the one hand, and the "Valentine" Syndicate on the other, spoke of "official perversity".¹⁸⁶ The difference in assays and interpretation of them persisted,¹⁸⁷ while in the meantime it appeared that few results were being derived from the workings on the farms. The fate of the two major syndicates is indicative of the real position. The "Kariega and Kesouga Platinum Syndicate" disposed of the mineral rights it held over six farms in September 1908.¹⁸⁸ The "Valentine" Syndicate took longer to dissolve. It held out hopes for the flotation of a company, with capital of £300 000. An engineer, Mr J T Hollow, was sent to Albany from England to survey conditions thoroughly,¹⁸⁹ and he appeared to give a favourable report, as cables reached South Africa that a company was to be floated in London to take over the Syndicate's property.¹⁹⁰ Negotiations continued but fell through;¹⁹¹ the report of the mining engineer reflected a position in which a great deal of money could have been lost. He reported that platinum existed in virtually all the samples taken, but the mean mining averages were small. Despite this, they were found all over, and careful prospecting might find exploitable quantities.¹⁹² Thereafter, interest in platinum in Albany ceased. The Senior Analyst, in his 1910 annual report, reported the search had subsided.¹⁹³ Nothing more was done about prospecting for platinum, and the whole episode seems to have been a large disaster. The excitement took place in a community which was suffering both as a result of its own lack of industrial and mineral resources, as well as a

185 GTJ, 27 Aug 1908.

186 GTJ, 14 April 1908.

187 GTJ, 9 May 1908.

188 GTJ, 17 Sept 1908.

189 GTJ, 14 Aug 1909.

190 GTJ, 30 Sept 1909; GTJ, 5 Oct 1909.

191 GTJ, 15 Feb 1910.

192 GTJ, 15 Feb 1910.

193 Quoted in GTJ, 28 July 1910.

depression felt across the Cape. It was an example of misplaced confidence, and exaggeration of the true position, whether deliberate or not, generated much enthusiasm but nothing of concrete value for Grahamstown or the Albany district.

Grahamstown's railway was vital for the conduct of the city's commerce.¹⁹⁴ The railway between Alicedale and Grahamstown was opened on 3 September 1879,¹⁹⁵ and the first train to Port Alfred made its journey on 27 August 1884.¹⁹⁶ The Alicedale junction was Grahamstown's link with Port Elizabeth and the interior; the railway to Port Alfred was opened with great expectations for the revival of the Kowie harbour and consequent trade. Grahamstown attached more importance to the Kowie

194 The following chart shows the amount of trade passing through Grahamstown's station. The statistics were compiled from such annual reports of the Chamber of Commerce as were available:

	<u>Passengers</u>	<u>Parcels</u>	<u>Livestock</u>	<u>Goods (tons)</u>
1904				
1905				
1906				
1907				
1908				
1909	18 490		20 824	20 602
1910	21 713		22 426	23 365
1911	22 614		28 657	25 863
1912	24 201	39 124		35 074
1913	33 813	43 846		30 218
1914				
1915	31 686	43 009	27 844	28 065
1916	25 010	45 070		27 111
1917	28 758	45 867		28 719
1918				

Sources: GTJ, 11 July 1911; GTJ, 20 July 1912; GPM, 14 May 1917; GPM, 31 May 1918.

195 K S Hunt, "When the Railway Came to Grahamstown", in Contree No 6, July 1979, pg 24.

196 K S Hunt, "The Blaauwkrantz Bridge", in Contree, No 5, Jan 1979, pg 27.

line from the start, even before the Alicedale link was forged.¹⁹⁷ The line was the achievement of private enterprise with government aid. Rose-Mary Sellick has traced the difficult and chequered history of how the Kowie line failed to fulfil hopes for the expansion of Grahamstown commerce, and the problems faced by the private companies in keeping the line functional.¹⁹⁸ The most successful and long-lasting of these was the Kowie Railway Company Ltd., formed on 1 September 1895, with a local directorate,¹⁹⁹ and which controlled the line until it was finally taken over by the Union Government in 1913.

The depression in the Cape after the Anglo-Boer War not unnaturally caused a decline in the revenue of the Kowie Railway Company. In 1904, the first decrease in operations was recorded, and blamed on "the general and prolonged depression".²⁰⁰ In 1904, 2 323 fewer passengers and 257 less tons of goods were conveyed along the line, which resulted in a total receipt for the Company of £9 913, a decrease of £1 839 on the previous year.²⁰¹ 1905 showed a further decrease in revenue, to £9 462.²⁰² Nevertheless, the company continued to reflect a profit on its overall working, of £2 272 in 1904, £2 305 in 1905 and £2 464 in 1906.²⁰³ In 1908, the total revenue was £8 610, the lowest figure yet; it increased to £8 706 in 1909,²⁰⁴ and £9 034 in 1910.²⁰⁵ The overall balance remained favourable, standing at £2 308 in 1909,²⁰⁶ and £2 645 in 1910.²⁰⁷ Debenture holders, however, received no dividends during these years.

197 K S Hunt, "When the Railway Came to Grahamstown", in Contree, No 6, pg 24.

198 R Sellick, Grahamstown 1883-1904.

199 H R Wood, J E Wood, T H Grocott, H Putt, Hon A Wilmot.

200 GPM, 5 April 1905.

201 GPM, 5 April 1905.

202 Returns showed 2 464 fewer passengers, and a further decrease in tonnage of goods by 53 tons. GPM, 4 April 1906.

203 GPM, 5 April 1907.

204 GTJ, 20 April 1909; GTJ, 7 April 1910.

205 GTJ, 4 April 1911.

206 GTJ, 7 April 1910.

207 GTJ, 4 April 1911.

Grahamstown's Chamber of Commerce maintained a vigilant watch over the railway, and also did its best to secure improvements on the Alicedale line. Discussions took place surrounding issues such as first and second class accommodation, the speed of the train, the condition of waiting rooms in Alicedale, and times of trains.²⁰⁸ Grahamstown's focus, however, was constantly on the Kowie line and the management of the Kowie Railway Company.

Throughout the depression there were calls for the government to take over the Port Alfred line. Dr Jameson, when Prime Minister, agreed to take the matter up with the Treasury.²⁰⁹ The pressure did not cease with the change of government and more prosperous times; farmers complained about lengthy delays as they waited at railway sidings with their produce for a railway truck to stop for them, and expressed the desire for the government to take over the line and correct the problem.²¹⁰

What gave overwhelming impetus to the movement requesting the government to take over the line was a horrifying railway accident. On 22 April 1911, one of the trucks on the train travelling to Grahamstown from Port Alfred was derailed about "ten chains"²¹¹ before the Blaauwkrantz bridge, causing the passenger carriages behind it to topple and somersault from the bridge into the valley below. Twenty-eight people were killed and twenty-two injured.²¹²

The accident spelled the end of the Kowie Railway Company. The press originally expressed sympathy for the directors:

"We think no-one will refuse sympathy for the Directors of the Company, to whom the city is greatly indebted for the brave efforts they have, without personal profit, continuously and

208 GTJ, 10 Jan 1905; GTJ, 24 Jan 1907; GTJ, 14 Aug 1908;

GTJ, 4 Aug 1910

209 GPM, 9 May 1906

210 GTJ, 1 March 1910; GTJ, 3 March 1910; GTJ, 9 July 1910

211 About 220 metres.

212 GTJ, 25 April 1911; GTJ, 9 May 1911. See also K S Hunt "The Blaauwkrantz Bridge" in Contree, No 5, pgs 27-32

until now so successfully made, to keep open for the citizens and the country residents their railway communication. Their responsibilities ought long ago to have been taken over by Government and we cannot but feel confident that now at least private citizens will be relieved of a charge which ... appertains of right and duty to Government alone."²¹³

Pressure for the government to take over the line mounted fast. The Chamber of Commerce led the campaign,²¹⁴ followed by the City Council.²¹⁵ Public confidence in the railway and the Kowie Railway Company plummeted, and many felt that the only way for this to be restored was for the government to step in. The findings of the Investigation Commission into the accident, that it was due to the low conditions of the maintenance of the permanent way and some of the rolling stock belonging to the Kowie Railway Company, reinforced public opinion against the Company.²¹⁶ The Managing Director of the Company, H Putt, was arrested on a charge of culpable homicide.²¹⁷ His preliminary examination before the Grahamstown Resident Magistrate resulted in his committal for trial in the Eastern Districts Court,²¹⁸ but the charge was withdrawn after the jury returned a unanimous verdict of "not guilty".²¹⁹

Large public meetings in Grahamstown,²²⁰ Port Alfred,²²¹ and Bathurst²²²

213 GTJ, 25 April 1911.

214 GTJ, 29 April 1911.

215 GTJ, 4 May 1911.

216 GTJ, 9 May 1911.

217 GTJ, 16 May 1911.

218 GTJ, 1 June 1911.

219 GTJ, 22 July 1911.

220 GTJ, 13 May 1911.

221 The meeting in Port Alfred had an especially desperate tone. The meeting passed a resolution to "urge strongly the imperative necessity" of the Government taking over, recording that the present working of the line was "inefficient and unsatisfactory", amid reports that Kowie business, hotels and boarding houses had been greatly affected. GTJ, 23 May 1911.

222 GTJ, 23 May 1911.

called on the government to take over the line. The directors of the Kowie Railway Company themselves²²³ went to Pretoria to see J W Sauer, Minister of Railways and Acting Prime Minister, to induce the Government to assume responsibility of putting the line in good order, and thereby restoring public confidence in the safety of travel along the railway.²²⁴ The Government agreed to assist the Company and furnish it with the necessary material and stores, and grant the services of an inspector for the line.²²⁵ The directors were praised for their action, and it was hoped that Parliament would approve the purchase of the line.²²⁶

That Parliamentary approval for the purchase of the line was necessary was confirmed in a letter to the Mayor from C J Viljoen, Acting Private Secretary of the Minister.²²⁷ Nothing further took place, however, and at the end of the year, the Chamber of Commerce resolved to draft a petition to urge Parliament to hasten the question of assuming control of the Kowie line, and incorporating it in the general South African Railway system.²²⁸ By the end of January 1912, the petition had received 1 600 signatures,²²⁹ including that of the Grahamstown City Council.²³⁰ A further 400 signatures brought the final total to around 2 000,²³¹ but the petition was not immediately submitted.²³² The Minister of Railways meanwhile assured the directors of the Company that the Government was very likely to take over the line.²³³ Parliament

223 H Putt, H R Wood, A S Hutton.

224 GTJ, 8 June 1911.

225 GTJ, 13 June 1911. A letter from Sauer also appeared in the Journal, giving the assurance that the Government would not allow the line to become redundant, but would keep it in a good and safe condition. GTJ, 22 June 1906.

226 GTJ, 17 June 1906.

227 GTJ, 1 July 1911.

228 GTJ, 19 Dec 1911.

229 GPM, 26 Jan 1912; GTJ, 27 Jan 1912.

230 GTJ, 18 Jan 1912; GPM, 19 Jan 1912.

231 GTJ, 20 Feb 1912.

232 GTJ, 20 Feb 1912.

233 GTJ, 13 Feb 1912.

failed to sanction the purchase of the line,²³⁴ which effectively meant that the matter rested for a further year.

Pressure on the Kowie Railway Company thereafter mounted sharply. A letter to the City Council from W Pateman of Johannesburg, on behalf of a "large number" of debenture holders, clearly reflected the serious position of the Company. He criticized Dr Jameson sharply for his lack of action to save the railway, and informed the Council that a claim for damages from one of the accident sufferers against the Kowie Railway Company had been received. Should the claim be successful (which was certain), the Company would have to be liquidated, and the railway closed, because the Company had no funds to meet any claim.²³⁵ Mr Pateman maintained pressure on the Council to act to save the railway,²³⁶ and in the light of this plea, the petition was then submitted to the Minister who assured the Grahamstown Chamber of Commerce that the matter was receiving attention.²³⁷

Complicated legal battles ensued. An application by Mr P C Gane, on behalf of the Union Government, to Mr Justice Sheil of the Eastern Districts Court, for a rule nisi, returnable on 15 November 1912, calling upon all persons interested to show cause why the Kowie Railway Company should not be wound up under the Company Act of 1892, and why A S Hutton should not be appointed official liquidator, was granted.²³⁸ At the beginning of September, the Court granted an order placing the Company in liquidation, and appointed A S Hutton liquidator, after the Company had been unable to meet current liabilities and a claim of the Government for payment of an account of £2 410 at the end of July.²³⁹

234 GTJ, 14 March 1912.

235 GPM, 3 April 1912; GTJ, 4 April 1912.

236 GTJ, 2 May 1912; GPM, 3 May 1912.

237 GTJ, 9 May 1912; GTJ, 16 May 1912.

238 GPM, 5 July 1912.

239 GPM, 4 Sept 1912; GTJ, 5 Sept 1912.

The liquidator filed a report in the Eastern Districts Court,²⁴⁰ which revealed that although the Company generated enough income to meet working expenses and leave a credit balance, returns were insufficient to meet interest payments due on debentures, which on 31 August stood at £1 333 on "A" debentures, and £42 000 on "B" debentures.²⁴¹ "B" debenture holders, at a meeting in Grahamstown on 5 January 1912, had authorized the directors of the Company to sell the assets of the Company; should this yield £30 000 or more, they agreed £10 000 should be earmarked for the sufferers and victims of Blaauwkrantz.²⁴² Tenders for moveable and immoveable assets were thereafter called for, to be submitted by 28 February 1913.²⁴³

A further complication was introduced when W Pateman filed an application to be appointed co-liquidator with A S Hutton of the Railway Company in order to represent "B" debenture holders.²⁴⁴ The application was dismissed, but the official liquidator was directed not to accept any tender for purchase of the Company's assets without the sanction of the Court; Mr Pateman would be notified of tenders so that his views could be put before the Court.²⁴⁵

On 12 March 1913, A S Hutton reported in the Eastern Districts Court

240 Details of the position of the Company were revealed. The capital of the Company was £25 (divided into 25 shares of £1 each: 13 were held by the liquidator, 2 by Government and the remainder by private individuals). The assets of the Company were mortgaged, to the Government for £20 000 (known as "A" debentures) and to "B" debenture-holders for £70 000 - the second mortgage to secure part payment of the debentures originally issued by the "Grahamstown and Port Alfred Railway Company". A further amount of £155 000 was unsecured: Interest of £800 to "A" debentures and £40 733 to "B" debenture-holders was outstanding. Liquid cash of the Company was only £618. GPM, 17 July 1912

241 GPM, 13 Sept 1912; GTJ, 14 Sept 1912.

242 GPM, 13 Sept 1912; GTJ, 14 Sept 1912.

243 GTJ, 19 Nov 1912.

244 GPM, 18 Nov 1912.

245 GPM, 25 Nov 1912.

that only one tender had been received, from the Government, which the Court duly accepted. The tender was subject to the sanction of Parliament, and would lapse should this sanction be refused. The capital and interest due on "A" debentures would be deducted, and the remaining amount would be in cash. Delivery of assets of the Company had to be made within fourteen days of Parliament's sanction.²⁴⁶ Parliament duly approved the purchase, for £47 500.²⁴⁷ The purchase left the "B" debenture holders "in a very unfortunate position", as their debentures due, and the interest on them, amounted to £113 400; after government deductions, they would be returned £25 766.²⁴⁸ A meeting of "B" debenture holders in Grahamstown agreed to set aside everything over £20 000 for the relief of Blaauwkrantz victims.²⁴⁹ Further problems arose when W Pateman proposed that the whole of the sum should be paid to the "B" debenture holders, and they could then make voluntary contributions to the Relief Fund.²⁵⁰ This split between Grahamstown and Johannesburg/London holders indicated a difference in emotional involvement in the Kowie Railway Company's fortunes. The Grahamstown holders agreed R R Stocks would go to see Mr Pateman to negotiate the issue, but were doubtful of success.²⁵¹

The transition of control of the line was neither smooth nor easy. One of the chief causes of complaint was the issue of rail fares on the line. The Chamber of Commerce called on the Government to introduce normal tariffs, in accordance with those of the South African Railways, on the Kowie line as soon as possible.²⁵² Farmers also pressed for this

246 GPM, 12 March 1913.

247 GPM, 28 March 1913.

248 GPM, 11 April 1913.

249 GTJ, 6 June 1913; GPM, 28 July 1913.

250 GPM, 13 Oct 1913.

251 GPM, 13 Oct 1913. What the outcome was has not been ascertained, as relevant documentation has not been located.

252 GPM, 14 April 1913; GTJ, 17 May 1913.

alteration.²⁵³ Port Alfred residents complained to Mr F J W van der Riet, the MP, about fares being so high.²⁵⁴ S.A.R. rates were finally introduced on the railway on 1 April 1914.²⁵⁵ There were difficulties with the introduction of a new railway timetable,²⁵⁶ and there were complaints about the speed of trains and the old condition of locomotives.²⁵⁷ The government was attacked for disregarding the interests of the Albany public.²⁵⁸

Once these problems had been ironed out, by the middle of 1914, the government administration of the line was accepted and generally welcomed by the city and district. The collapse of the railway would certainly have been a major setback for the farmers of Albany and for the residents of Grahamstown and Port Alfred. The railway was saved by the Government; while complaints were voiced about the post-Company administration of the line, no single resident of the city or district would have wished the collapse of the railway. The action of the Government prevented any dislocation of Grahamstown's commerce,²⁵⁹ and affirmed the significance of the railway in the city's economic life.

Another organization centred in the city, but dependent by its very nature on the Albany district, was the Albany Agricultural Society. It

253 Bathurst farmers complained of excessive rates on the line. They cited the example of the cost of transportation of guano from Cape Town: it cost 7/2d from Cape Town to Grahamstown and a further 5/- from Grahamstown to Trappes Valley.

GPM, 12 Sept 1913.

254 GTJ, 19 Feb 1914.

255 GTJ, 10 March 1914; GPM, 11 March 1914.

256 GTJ, 14 June 1913; GPM, 16 June 1913; GTJ, 19 July 1913; GPM, 21 July 1913.

257 GTJ, 22 Jan 1914. The newspapers, in expressing frequent frustration with the Government, indulged in speculation about what the "mystic letters" S.A.R. stood for. Two solutions offered were "Slow and Recalcitrant" (GTJ, 22 Jan 1914) and "Something Altogether Rotten" (GTJ, 16 April 1914).

258 GTJ, 14 Oct 1913; GTJ, 16 April 1914.

259 See table at footnote (194).

had been formed in 1891 under the chairmanship of the then Mayor, J S Willcox.²⁶⁰ The chief focus of the Society's activities was an annual show every March, held in the Market Square where a show ground had been granted by the City Council. During the 1890s, the Society grew in support and the shows increased in popularity. By the beginning of the period under review, the shows were an important facet of the city's commercial life. The Society enjoyed the backing of the Grahamstown City Council which, in February 1904, granted £300, on the £ for £ principle, to make alterations and improvements to the show ground on the Market Square.²⁶¹ A further grant of £260 to the Society was made for the erection of permanent buildings in the same year.²⁶² In 1905, the Society was in a strong position; it was free from debt, and had a valuable asset in its property on the show ground.²⁶³ The previous year had shown a credit balance of £92, despite the depression and drought conditions prevalent in the Cape.

The facilities of the Agricultural Society proved to be too small, after fifteen years of consistent expansion of the show. The farming community took a greater interest in the show after the South African War and hence there was pressure on space. With an increase in the quality and value of stock exhibited, owners demanded better facilities.

Another incentive for the Society to move to another show ground was the refusal of the Government to grant any more funds to the Society for the erection of further buildings until the Society possessed its own ground.²⁶⁴ Problems of space were realized in 1905,²⁶⁵ but because of the depression, the matter had to remain in abeyance. The search for new accommodation began in earnest the following year, and a special committee appointed by the City Council on 25 July recommended that the Council give to the Society as a show ground, a portion of the land

260 R Sellick, Grahamstown 1883-1904.

261 GTJ, 23 Feb 1904.

262 GTJ, 21 May 1904.

263 GPM, 25 Oct 1905.

264 This information is contained in a letter of the Mayor to the Attorney-General of the Cape, dated 2 May 1907 in CA, AG1658-10145.

265 GPM, 25 Oct 1905.

which was granted to the Council under title deed on 7 December 1874, known as Rovers Ground , subject to the approval and sanction of the government and the ratepayers.²⁶⁶ The proposal brought forth an angry reaction from ratepayers who lived in the vicinity of the ground; the site was described as a very valuable residential allotment, close to the railway and the prestigious suburb of Oatlands, and an abundance of water nearby.²⁶⁷ The Society, in response to these protests, while recognizing the superior value of Rovers Ground , decided to request the Council to develop a tract of waste land near the West Hill Station as a new showground.²⁶⁸ The Council instead granted another site on the Rovers Ground , of less value than the first.²⁶⁹ The Council also informed the Society that it was unable to make a grant towards new buildings, but was prepared to purchase the Society's right to the buildings remaining on Market Square for £1 000.²⁷⁰ The Society agreed to accept the offer of the Council, while admitting it to be far from suitable; the question of gate money was important in this acceptance, because the Society needed the showground to be as close to the city as possible, in order for it to be accessible.²⁷¹

The sanction of the ratepayers and the Government was now required, but both were regarded as formalities. Although there had been opposition from residents about the site, they had been largely appeased by the removal of the site further along the railway, leaving the best site still vacant. The ratepayers duly gave their approval in public meeting.²⁷² The Government had already agreed to give £2 000 on the £ for £ principle towards the acquisition and equipment of a new showground; but the Council ran into unexpected trouble over the method of granting the land. Clause 108 of Act 18 of 1902 laid down that the Council could only alienate land by sale at public auction, and a gift

266 GTJ, 2 Aug 1906; GPM, 3 Aug 1906.

267 GPM, 6 Aug 1906; GPM, 8 Aug 1906.

268 GTJ, 14 Aug 1906.

269 It was a site of 1 200 feet x 700 feet; GTJ, 16 Aug 1906; GPM, 17 Aug 1906.

270 GTJ, 16 Aug 1906; GPM, 17 Aug 1906.

271 GPM, 27 Aug 1906.

272 GTJ, 11 Sept 1906; GPM, 12 Sept 1906; GTJ, 13 Sept 1906.

was therefore illegal.²⁷³ The Surveyor-General also pointed out that the ground was held under title deed, and had been granted "on condition that the proceeds of the sale thereof shall be applied solely towards defraying the cost of erecting a new Town Hall."²⁷⁴ On two counts, therefore, the gift of the land to the Albany Agricultural Society was illegal. The Mayor, H Fitchat, appealed to the Attorney-General to give the case special consideration.²⁷⁵ He pointed out the advantages to town and district of having a showground sufficiently large to meet all requirements and asked him to surmount the difficulties in the matter. The Surveyor-General continued to regard the proposals of the City Council as "a travesty of the law" and "one that cannot in any way be sanctioned".²⁷⁶

The state of deadlock persisted for some time. The 1907 annual report of the Society merely recorded that "title to the proposed ground was very difficult to achieve."²⁷⁷ A year later, discussions were still progressing to find the "best methods of procedure" to obtain possession of the new ground.²⁷⁸ The Society eventually managed to gain possession of the site;²⁷⁹ the City Council was forced to back down and put the land up for public auction, where the Agricultural Society purchased it for a nominal amount.²⁸⁰ New buildings, a horse parade, fencing, and animal pens were constructed, as well as a new siding on the railway line adjoining the site.²⁸¹ The 1911 Show was the first to be held on the new showground.²⁸² It was regarded as a successful show, but the

273 This had already been pointed out by a correspondent of the Penny Mail, P H Mitchell (GPM, 14 Sept 1906). See also CA, letter numbered G3084/3592 in AG1658-10145.

274 CA, letter numbered G3084/3592 in AG1658-10145.

275 CA, letter of 2 May 1907 in AG1658-10145.

276 CA, letter to the Attorney-General, No S3592 dated 9 July 1907, in AG1658-10145.

277 GPM, 20 Nov 1907.

278 GTJ, 13 June 1908.

279 GTJ, 29 May 1909.

280 GTJ, 7 June 1910.

281 GTJ, 31 Aug 1909; GTJ, 22 July 1911.

282 GTJ, 15 July 1911.

need to attract more people was underlined; the Society could not afford to "rest and be thankful".²⁸³ £5 547 had been spent on the new ground, of which £3 052 had been paid; the debt of the Society thus amounted to £2 495.²⁸⁴ The financial position was insecure, and the Society needed to recover its debt as soon as possible. A cautious policy, with expenditure cut to the minimum, was advocated by the president.

The Albany Agricultural Society thereafter experienced a decline in fortunes. The March 1913 show was adversely affected by heavy rains, as well as the competition of similar shows to the north.²⁸⁵ There was a decrease of 155 entries²⁸⁶ and the Society registered a debit balance of £225.²⁸⁷ The situation worsened in 1914, as larger shows in more populous centres continued to attract more exhibitors.²⁸⁸ Subscriptions and donations to the Society fell from £480 in 1913 to £438, and a deficit of £231 was recorded.²⁸⁹ The overdraft of the Society on 31 May was £3 172, clearly a crippling amount. The retiring president, T T Hoole, criticized the local farmers for not supporting the show, and for their "vote of censure" on the Society.²⁹⁰ The Society decided to mortgage its property to settle the overdraft, and the consent for this to the Standard Bank for £3 500 at 6% was finally given in September.²⁹¹

The outbreak of war in August 1914 was another blow for the Society. It was decided that no show be held in 1915,²⁹² and the Society was allowed to drift. The City Council was eventually forced to intervene. In April 1916, the Mayor chaired a public meeting to discuss the affairs

283 GTJ, 22 July 1911.

284 GTJ, 22 July 1911.

285 GTJ, 15 July 1913; GPM, 16 July 1913.

286 883 entries in 1912; 728 in 1913.

287 GTJ, 17 July 1913.

288 GTJ, 12 March 1914.

289 GTJ, 2 July 1914.

290 GTJ, 2 July 1914.

291 GPM, 9 Sept 1914.

292 GTJ, 24 Oct 1914.

of the Society.²⁹³ It was reported that no general meeting of the Society had taken place for 18 months, and the terms of office of all office-bearers had therefore elapsed. The bank overdraft had risen to £3 610, and the likelihood of shows in the future was minimal.²⁹⁴ The old executive committee of the Society met on 18 May, and unanimously agreed to request the City Council to take over its assets and liabilities.²⁹⁵ The Council agreed²⁹⁶ to do this "in the best interests of the town", and to dispose of the buildings and goods belonging to the Society, in order to recoup as much of the deficit as possible.²⁹⁷ The final meeting of members of the Society, held the same week, formally agreed to hand over its assets and liabilities to the Council.²⁹⁸

The Society had been undermined by a number of factors. Drought and cattle disease had militated against a large number of entries in the stock sections in 1913.²⁹⁹ There was also a decline in horse entries, which was attributed (probably somewhat exaggeratedly) to the decline in importance of the horse as a draught animal as the motor engine made an impact in the district.³⁰⁰ The growth in importance of shows in larger centres, especially in Bloemfontein, Kimberley, Johannesburg and Pretoria, was a major factor in the decline of the Albany Show.³⁰¹ Prizes offered there were larger, and carnivals held alongside the shows were popular.³⁰² The action of the Government was also crucial. In the depression of 1906, the Government reduced its contribution towards prizes,³⁰³ and the following year, reduced its grant from £535 to

293 GPM, 5 April 1916.

294 This was especially true in view of the substantial losses sustained by the shows in 1913 and 1914, and the fact that no show had since been held.

295 GPM, 14 July 1916.

296 By 8 votes to 4.

297 GPM, 18 Aug 1916.

298 GPM, 23 Aug 1916.

299 GTJ, 27 March 1913.

300 GTJ, 2 July 1914.

301 GPM, 5 April 1916.

302 GTJ, 27 March 1913.

303 GPM, 20 Nov 1907.

£187.³⁰⁴ By 1912, the Government owed the Society over £1 000 in grants that had been deferred.³⁰³ Grants-in-aid to agricultural societies across the country were increased from £19 680 in 1912 to £31 213 in 1913,³⁰⁶ but the smaller societies saw little of this; the Government decided only to back shows in larger centres.³⁰⁷ The outbreak of war was a further disadvantage,³⁰⁸ and the ostrich feather slump also had a marked effect on the Society.³⁰⁹ All of these developments strongly underlined Grahamstown's peripheral position, and its decline in importance even as an agricultural centre. One further factor needs to be mentioned. The City Council had played a major role in supporting the Society; between 1892 and 1916, a total of £4 000 had been granted to the Society by the Council.³¹⁰ These grants certainly buoyed the financial position of the Society, and had long softened the hard truth of the Society's state.

The Board of Works was authorized to negotiate for the sale of the Society's assets.³¹¹ Lengthy discussions over individual tenders ensued; the major one was from H Fitchat and Co. of £2 400 for all the loose assets of the Society, and there were other smaller offers for portions of the assets.³¹² A special committee was then appointed to dispose of the loose assets,³¹³ and it recommended the acceptance of H Fitchat & Co's tender.³¹⁴ Another committee was appointed to dispose of the land owned by the Society.³¹⁵ The committee recommended the Council make a gift of the land to the Albany General Hospital Board, for the

304 GTJ, 13 June 1908.

305 GTJ, 4 July 1912.

306 GTJ, 12 March 1914.

307 GPM, 18 Aug 1916.

308 GTJ, 22 Oct 1914.

309 GPM, 8 Aug 1916.

310 GPM, 27 July 1916.

311 GPM, 1 Sept 1916.

312 GPM, 17 Nov 1916; GPM, 1 Dec 1916; GPM, 15 Dec 1916;
GPM, 22 Dec 1916.

313 GPM, 22 Dec 1916.

314 GPM, 12 Jan 1917.

315 GPM, 26 Jan 1917.

erection of new hospital buildings.³¹⁶ In order to defray the remaining overdraft of £1 389 in connection with the Society, the citizens were asked to sanction the raising of a loan.

Two new developments in technology began to make an impact on Grahams-town during the period under review; the arrival of the motor car on South African roads, and the expansion of communications systems, and notably the telephone - although their major impact, especially of the former, was after 1918.

Grahamstown was not by-passed when the motor car was imported into South Africa. In 1908, the Eastern Province Automobile Club was founded, with a membership of five.³¹⁷ Membership had risen to 53 by 1912,³¹⁸ and 84 by 1913.³¹⁹ The Club existed chiefly for the organization of outings and excursions, and to act as a kind of watchdog over regulations surrounding motor cars and streets generally. The Club became embroiled in a dispute with the Provincial Council in 1913 over the Council's proposals to control traffic. The Motor Draft Ordinance laid down that owners of every motor car or motor cycle had to register it with the magistrate of the district, and affix a number to the vehicle to be assigned by the magistrate.³²⁰ A scale of fees for the licence was drawn up.³²¹ Motorists were also required to pass licence tests set by an examining board, and age restrictions, of 18 on a motor car driver

316 SCMB, 9 May 1917, CA, 3/AY 1/3/1/1/5.

317 GTJ, 12 Aug 1908.

318 GPM, 30 Sept 1912.

319 GPM, 13 Oct 1913. It was estimated that at this stage, there were about 70 motorists who were not members.

320 GPM, 23 April 1913.

321 Charges for: motor cycle with no sidecar	:	10/-
motor cycle with sidecar	:	20/-
motor car (1500 lbs or less)	:	30/-
" (1500-2500 lbs)	:	40/-
" (2500-4000 lbs)	:	60/-
" (4000-6000 lbs)	:	£5
" (over 6000 lbs)	:	£10

GPM, 23 April 1913.

and 14 on a motor cyclist, were imposed.³²² The Eastern Province Club submitted a petition to the Administrator protesting against the licence fees, especially in view of the 12-15% duty imposed on cars and other duties on spares, and registered the complaint that other road-users did not have to pay licence fees.³²³ The petition bore some fruit: when the new Motor Ordinance came into operation on 1 January 1914, licence fees were £1 for cars and 10/- for cycles.³²⁴ By the beginning of 1914, 118 cars and motor cycles had been registered in the Albany district.

One by-product of the growth in the number of cars was the problem of the storage of petrol. The Grahamstown Chamber of Commerce pointed out to the City Council that petrol was being stored in considerable quantities all over the town, and was presenting a danger; it called on the Council to erect a building in a suitable locality for the storage of petrol for the use of motorists and shopkeepers.³²⁵ The Council decided not to do this,³²⁶ but instead drafted regulations for storing petrol, limiting the amount any one person could store, specifying the requirements of buildings where petrol was housed, and laying down the procedures by which an officer of the Council could register these premises.³²⁷ These regulations were gazetted in October 1917.³²⁸

Problems of communication posed frustrations for Grahamstown's business community, but improvements in the telephone service were an important benefit for the city. At the beginning of 1906, the principal shops and business establishments, and some private residences, were connected to the telephone system.³²⁹ The first public call box was installed in the post office at the same time.³³⁰ Pressure from the Chamber of Commerce and from the MLA, H Fitchat, on the Postmaster-General in Cape Town,

323 GPM, 5 May 1913; GTJ, 6 May 1913.

324 GTJ, 20 Dec 1913.

325 GPM, 9 March 1917.

326 GPM, 23 March 1917.

327 GPM, 8 June 1917.

328 Province of the Cape of Good Hope Official Gazette, 5 Oct 1917, pgs 1510-1512.

329 GTJ, 13 Jan 1906.

330 GTJ, 13 Jan 1906.

resulted in work being undertaken and improvements made in the local telephone system, which involved reconstruction and extension of the lines in the central business area of town, at an estimated cost of £2 000.³³¹ In 1909, Grahamstown was linked telephonically to Port Elizabeth for the first time,³³² and the following month, a trunk telephonic service was fully established to Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage.³³³ The original cost of a call (2/3d for three minutes) was reduced to 1/6d in December,³³⁴ which news was welcomed by the business community. By May 1912, Grahamstown was in contact with fifteen other places.³³⁵

The Chamber of Commerce maintained pressure on the Post Office for an improvement in postal and telephonic arrangements. They were able to arrange for more frequent collection of mail, and an extension in the hours of the telephone exchange, which opened thereafter between 7 am and 9 pm.³³⁶ The Chamber met L R Brodie, the Surveyor of the Midland District, to discuss more convenient postal facilities and improvement of telephonic communications. He undertook to recommend a continuous telephone service on weekdays and a limited service on Sundays once the number of subscribers reached 160. He also announced that the Government was to spend £2 000 on the reconstruction of the Post Office Building.³³⁷ This estimate was revised to £3 000 because of amended plans.³³⁸ The new Post Office was opened on 2 March 1914, and the final cost was £2 800.³³⁹

A new tariff system was introduced from 1 September 1913, inaugurating uniform telephone tariffs throughout the Union, in place of existing

331 GTJ, 22 June 1909; GTJ, 20 July 1909.

332 GTJ, 24 July 1909.

333 GTJ, 5 Aug 1909.

334 GTJ, 2 Dec 1909.

335 GTJ, 16 May 1912.

336 GTJ, 2 Dec 1911.

337 The present number was 119. GTJ, 16 April 1912.

338 GTJ, 15 Feb 1913.

339 GTJ, 24 Jan 1914.

diverse provincial rates.³⁴⁰ For Grahamstown, this meant a reduction of charges. For businesses, the tariff was reduced from £9 to £7.10d per annum; for private residences it was lowered from £7 to £5. There was no restriction on the number of calls a subscriber could make. The new rates were welcomed, but the Chamber of Commerce and newspapers still called for Grahamstown to be connected with more places.³⁴¹ By comparison with other places in the Eastern Cape, however, Grahamstown was very well served.³⁴²

Issues relating to poverty and unemployment reflect on the economy and prosperity of any community, and Grahamstown was no exception.³⁴³ These problems were present throughout the period under review, and were most prominent during years of depression, 1904-1909, and again after 1914.

The chief organization devoted to poor relief was the Ladies' Benevolent Society.³⁴⁴ It had been founded in 1867, and its stated aims were to "afford temporary relief to the distressed, to assist widows and distressed persons to provide a maintenance for themselves". Regular aid was given in a small number of cases, and a large amount of casual

340 GPM, 23 April 1913; GTJ, 24 April 1913

341 GTJ, 14 Aug 1913

342	<u>Port Eliz.</u>	<u>Uiten hage</u>	<u>Grahams town</u>	<u>Graaff- Reinet</u>	<u>Cradock</u>
<u>1911</u>					
No of telephones con- nected to exchange	690	-	141	-	7
No of callboxes	15	-	1	-	-
<u>1914</u>					
No of telephones con- nected to exchange	1001	71	214	72	21
No of callboxes	20	3	3	4	1

GTJ, 9 April 1914

343 Under discussion in this section is the phenomenon of poverty amongst white inhabitants. For conditions amongst blacks, see Chapter 6 on the black population.

344 J M Berning, Outline History of the Ladies' Benevolent Society, Grahamstown, CL, PR2855.

relief was undertaken. The Society was reliant on the subscriptions of members, and a small grant from the City Council. Donations and legacies became increasingly important in the funding of the Society after 1902.³⁴⁵

A large committee of ladies administered the funds of the Society.³⁴⁶ Indicative of the problems caused in Grahamstown by the depression after the war, a special committee, consisting of the Civil Commissioner, the Mayor, the minister of each religious body in the city and a representative nominated by each of these, was called into being to co-operate with the Ladies' Benevolent Society in the organization of charitable relief.³⁴⁷ The City Council agreed, after representation from the Society, to employ twenty able-bodied whites, at a wage not to exceed 3/- per day, to extend and improve Mountain Drive.³⁴⁸ The extent of the unemployment is difficult to ascertain. The Society's annual expenditure at this time was over £200, its highest ever.³⁴⁹ Letters to the newspapers give some indication of the level of distress. A letter from "unemployed" claimed there were about 200 people out of work.³⁵⁰ Another claimed that there were a "large number" of jobless artisans, and appealed for assistance, as unskilled labourers were being assisted by the Council.³⁵¹

The fact that the Council was providing relief work was not welcomed by some councillors,³⁵² who were aware of the extra burden placed on the

345 All poor relief was undertaken by private organizations such as this; there was no government aid. Churches in Grahamstown were certainly involved in this area, but the extent of their commitment is impossible to ascertain.

346 There were 14 or 15 in 1902, and 17 or 18 by 1907 (Berning, Ladies' Benevolent Society, pg 3, CL, PR2855).

347 GPM, 18 May 1906.

348 Mayoral Minute for 1908, pg 4, AM, unaccessioned. GTJ, 9 Aug 1907.
See also Appendix E, pg for details on wages.

349 Berning, Ladies' Benevolent Society, pg 6, CL, PR2855.

350 GTJ, 2 Aug 1907, "Unemployed" to Editor.

351 GTJ, 15 Aug 1907, "Unemployed Mechanic" to Editor.

352 GTJ, 12 Sept 1907; GTJ, 19 Oct 1907.

already hard-pressed finances. A motion from the Board of Works to retrench some labour (not relief workers) was rejected twice by the Council,³⁵³ although it was agreed that the services of the quarrymen be dispensed with, owing to the introduction of a labour-saving machine there.³⁵⁴ The Council decided to retain its twenty white relief workers after the completion of the Mountain Drive, up to the end of 1908,³⁵⁵ and the period was extended for a further two months.³⁵⁶ The Council was spending about £80 per month on relief work.³⁵⁷ Various other suggestions, notably the replacement of blacks on the municipal staff by unemployed whites, were put forward as ways to provide further assistance to the distressed.³⁵⁸

The Council continued to engage unemployed men on relief works in 1909. A misunderstanding between the Board of Works and the Finance Committee had resulted in the discharge of the relief workers, but a letter from Mr Espin,³⁵⁹ as well as pressure from the City Engineer, resulted in the re-engagement of the workers.³⁶⁰ Ten of these were employed on the Slaai Kraal pipe track; the other ten were put to work on the Fiddlers Green Sports Ground.³⁶¹ Another project provided for them was the construction of a fire-break through the whole municipal forest between Grey Reservoir and Signal Hill.³⁶² A petition signed by the wives of fourteen of the workers, who requested an increase in the pay of their husbands, was tabled in the Council two months later but the Council declined to grant this,³⁶³ and at the end of the year, reduced the number of relief workers to ten.³⁶⁴ These ten were finally dismissed in

353 GTJ, 19 March 1908; GTJ, 26 March 1908.

354 GTJ, 26 March 1908.

355 GTJ, 15 Oct 1908.

356 GTJ, 24 Dec 1908.

357 GTJ, 24 Dec 1908.

358 GTJ, 15 Oct 1908.

359 Hon. Sec. of the Ladies' Benevolent Society.

360 GTJ, 1 April 1909.

361 GTJ, 10 April 1909.

362 GTJ, 17 April 1909.

363 GTJ, 10 June 1909.

364 GTJ, 9 Dec 1909.

March 1911, after their position had been constantly reviewed by the Council.³⁶⁵

Unemployment and poverty seem to have been relatively minimal between 1911 and 1914. One feature of this period was the great number of new buildings being erected, and this presumably drew on the abundant labour supply.³⁶⁶ In response to a letter from the Superintendent of the White Labour Department, Pretoria, requesting the Council to bring unemployed white labourers to the attention of farmers, the Council replied that it was "in entire sympathy" with the suggestion, but Albany was a district unaffected.³⁶⁷ The situation changed rapidly. Three months after this confident reply, the Journal reported that there were at least fifty men unemployed in Grahamstown, with dependants, and were not "'stiffs', drunkards and loafers".³⁶⁸ The Evangelical Church Council appealed to the Council to start relief schemes again,³⁶⁹ and the Council agreed to give employment to a maximum of thirty people at a daily wage of 3/-.³⁷⁰ Figures from the Resident Magistrate, the Salvation Army and the Ladies Benevolent Society revealed there were eighty-six unemployed in Grahamstown, the vast majority of whom were artisans connected with the building trade.³⁷¹

365 GTJ, 3 March 1910; GTJ, 9 June 1910; GTJ, 8 Dec 1910; GTJ, 2 March 1911.

366 See Chapter 4 on Public Works.

367 GTJ, 11 June 1914.

368 GTJ, 24 Sept 1914.

369 GTJ, 8 Oct 1914.

370 GTJ, 15 Oct 1914; GPM, 16 Oct 1914.

371	Painters	23	Handymen	1
	Masons/bricklayers	17	Plasterers	1
	Carpenters	12	Clerks/bookkeepers	2
	Wagon-makers/wheelwrights	6	Printers	1
	Labourers	3	Harness-makers	1
	Bookmakers	4	Fitters	2
	Upholsterers	2	Horse-trainers	1
	Blacksmiths	3	Salesmen	1
	Farmers	1	No occupation	4

GTJ, 15 Oct 1914; GPM, 16 Oct 1914.

The Council's decision provoked some criticism. W M MacMillan, a lecturer in History and Economics at Rhodes University College, attacked the Council for its resolution to employ artisans on wasteful relief schemes at City Lords, rather than to use "native labour" at 2/- a day; the Council was now to spend more on the same project, was using available resources badly and, furthermore, was offering less than a living wage to the relief workers.³⁷² MacMillan called for a more far-sighted policy, as he argued that conditions of shrinking credit and curtailment of expenditure (partly of necessity, partly of fear) due to the war were likely to persist for some time. Permanent schemes were thus of far more benefit, and would provide employment and trade.³⁷³

Problems posed by poverty and unemployment received, perhaps for the first time in Grahamstown, specific and systematic study. Pioneering work in the field was done by W M MacMillan. In a paper presented to the English Church Men's Society in September 1915,³⁷⁴ he reached a significant conclusion:

"My considered judgement is that there are slums in Grahamstown, and an alarming amount of degrading and degraded poverty, which cannot be explained either by war or ostrich feather slump, and that the conditions, partly peculiar to Grahamstown, but probably largely common to the country towns of South Africa, are such as to demand not mere casual charity and palliative measures, but a serious national policy of Prevention."³⁷⁵

He argued that £10 per month was the minimum amount required for a family of five in Grahamstown,³⁷⁶ and found that between 100 and 120 families were living "in rather more than less serious poverty", or between 7% and 9% of the white population.³⁷⁷ These poor he categorized

372 GTJ, 27 Oct 1914. The Salvation Army estimate of a bare minimum wage to support a Grahamstown household of four was 30/- a week.

373 GTJ, 27 Oct 1914. Projects he suggested were improvements in drainage and sanitation, a new library and art school, extensions to the Town Hall and an abattoir.

374 W M MacMillan, Economic Conditions in a Non-Industrial South African Town: A Preliminary Study.

375 MacMillan, Economic Conditions, pg 1.

376 MacMillan, Economic Conditions, pg 3.

377 MacMillan, Economic Conditions, pg 5.

forming almost exactly a third of the whole: skilled artisans; unskilled workers; and (the largest group) widows, girls on their own, and incapacitated men supporting families.³⁷⁸ Each group has problems of its own. The artisans were plagued by "seasonal and irregular employment"; the unskilled by these as well as black competition; and the women by a lack of demand for their labour.³⁷⁹ MacMillan hinted darkly that social problems like prostitution were well established in Grahamstown. He did not put forward many concrete ideas towards remedying the situation; he called for education, extension of public works and, immediately, the establishment of a Labour Exchange in Grahamstown.³⁸⁰

The Church once again took a lead in providing relief. Bishop Phelps formed the Social Welfare League at the end of 1915. It had two main objectives: to study and stimulate public interest in social and economic problems, and to take practical measures towards the alleviation of poverty.³⁸¹ The executive committee of the League opened an Employment Bureau, which operated between 10am and 1pm on Tuesdays and Fridays.³⁸² By the end of the year, the Labour Bureau had found employment for forty women, with 136 dependents.³⁸³ After its first year in existence, the Labour Bureau had dealt with 126 cases (sixty men and sixty-six women), and the workroom that had been established for women to exercise domestic skills, had thirty-four women on its books, and had a turnover of £342.³⁸⁴

W M MacMillan, in a paper to the AGM of the Social Welfare League³⁸⁵

378 MacMillan, Economic Conditions, pgs 10-14. For a list of salaries/wages paid at this time, see the Chart in Appendix E.

379 He quoted the recent example of a job offered at the Public Library offering £4 per month (which was considered a good wage for a woman), drawing 45 applicants.

380 MacMillan, Economic Conditions, pg 16.

381 GPM, 1 Nov 1916.

382 GPM, 24 Nov 1915.

383 GPM, 20 Dec 1915.

384 GPM, 1 Nov 1916; GPM, 6 Nov 1916.

385 It was entitled Poverty and the Post-War Problem.

emphasized again the need for schemes of real public utility. Obvious ones he underlined were a new hospital, new reservoirs, installation of a sewerage system, and definite schemes of afforestation.³⁸⁶ He noted the importance of the war in drawing off the number of male applicants at the Labour Bureau; they had been "far more numerous" before the recruiting campaign at the beginning of 1916. The war had solved the immediate problem, but was not a long-term solution to Grahamstown's economic plight.³⁸⁷

One factor that characterized welfare operations in Grahamstown was the close co-operation of the Ladies' Benevolent Society and the Social Welfare League. The Society welcomed the establishment of the League,³⁸⁸ and forged links with it. The Society continued with its objectives, and gave relief to fifty families in 1915.³⁸⁹ The Society celebrated its golden jubilee in 1917, and it was hailed as "one of the most praiseworthy features of the history of Grahamstown".³⁹⁰

The Social Welfare League also monitored salaries and wages. The Dean of Grahamstown, Fr. Williams, protested to the Council at the low wages paid to carters and labourers of the Council, "who, it cannot be said, even in normal times, to be in receipt of a living wage".³⁹¹ A special committee was appointed by the Council to investigate the matter, and it reported that white gangers, carters and labourers should receive an extra 1/- per day as a war bonus, and black employees receive a war bonus of 3d per day.³⁹² The Council agreed on the increase for whites, but turned down the proposed increase for blacks.³⁹³ The Council later

386 GPM, 6 Nov 1916.

387 GPM, 6 Nov 1916.

388 GPM, 7 June 1916.

389 GPM, 7 June 1916.

390 GPM, 13 June 1917.

391 GPM, 2 March 1917.

392 SCMB, 25 April 1917; CA, 3/AY 1/3/1/1/5.

393 GPM, 27 April 1917. This blatant discrimination can perhaps be explained, though not condoned, by the timing of the debate. It took place in the same week as the "native disturbance" which provoked strong hostility to blacks amongst whites. See Chapter 6 on the black population.

agreed that white municipal carters be replaced by blacks, on the grounds that such work was the department of "coloured labour".³⁹⁴ The replacement would be gradual, as whites retired or resigned, and this is an early example of later rigid "job reservation" that characterized South African labour.

One further welfare benefit initiated by the Council surrounded discussion of a pension scheme for Council employees. A special committee was elected to investigate the issues³⁹⁵ and it found that it was unable to recommend the foundation of a pension fund, because in terms of Section 244 of Ordinance 10 of 1912, a Municipality had to be valued at £1 000 000 before it could provide such a fund.³⁹⁶ As a result, Grahamstown resolved to approach the Administrator with a view to providing a General Pension Fund.³⁹⁷

Population statistics for Grahamstown indicate further the stagnant situation.³⁹⁸ The only population group to expand was the blacks; all the others declined between 1911 and 1921. This position underlined the lack of incentives in Grahamstown for aspirant settlers, and the immobility of population also had the effect of causing stagnation of wages and work conditions.

By 1918, if not before, it was clear that Grahamstown was far from the centres of South African commerce, and was an economic backwater. This position had even been realized by contemporaries: in 1914, the Journal lamented of Grahamstown that "its glory as a trade centre has departed, and its princes of commerce have even become reconciled to a working

394 GPM, 9 Nov 1911.

395 GPM, 23 Nov 1911.

396 SCMB, 30 Jan 1918, CA, 3/AY 1/3/1/1/5.

397 GPM, 1 Feb 1918.

398	"White"	"Non-White"	"African"	Total
1904	7 283	2 227	4 377	13 887
1911	7 725	2 478	4 869	15 071
1921	7 676	2 264	6 186	16 108

J Banwell, Census figures for Whites, Non-Whites and Africans for ... Grahamstown for ... 1904, 1911, 1921 ... CL, MS16520.

year of nine months".³⁹⁹ Towards the end of the war, however, Grahamstown residents became increasingly concerned about the future of their town. The content of letters to the press in 1918 was significant; they did not call for new industrial initiatives or new commercial ventures, and even the educational future of the town was surprisingly down-played. Their concern was more basic - it was with living conditions which made the city a desirable place of residence or not. The MPC, W H Pigott, summed up the mood of the city when he wrote that Grahamstown would only be a pleasant place to live once a good and permanent supply of water had been secured, a good sanitary scheme had been inaugurated, good lighting provided, and well-constructed roads laid out.⁴⁰⁰ Before these basic conditions of life were met, Grahamstown's future as a commercial or even an educational centre was far from secure.

Some, notably clergy and academics, saw the future of the town in attracting a new group of settlers to the area; such a group would inject new life and vitality to the community, and mark a new departure as the settlers had done a century before. The class they envisaged, however, would have been thoroughly unlikely to introduce any new direction: retired Anglo-Indians were singled out as being an especially desirable class of people to settle in the city.⁴⁰¹ This wish expresses a great deal about the sedentary outlook of members of the community.

Grahamstown's future prosperity could no longer be found within itself; it was reliant in the first place on the agricultural prosperity of the surrounding district, and only secondly on the schools, colleges and university that were to play so vital a role in the city's later twentieth century development. The following letter, while quaintly overstating its case, provides a fitting conclusion to a discussion of Grahamstown's economic position, for it strikes real chords indeed:

"However revered the name of the city may have been in years gone by, it is now a by-word and a reproach, a butt for the flippant,

399 GTJ, 10 Jan 1914.

400 GPM, 25 Feb 1918.

401 GPM, 20 Feb 1918; GPM, 27 Feb 1918.

and an example of fallen greatness and municipal decay, to the serious minded ... Unless Grahamstown awakes from her self-induced sleep, and that speedily, she will eventually arouse to the knowledge that not only have the possibilities passed her by, but that in her slumbers she has been bereft of even that which she hath."⁴⁰²

⁴⁰² GPM, 14 Feb 1917, "Traveller" to Editor.

CHAPTER 3

MUNICIPAL FINANCE

Return, showing the revenue and expenditure of the Corporation of
Grahamstown, from 1902-1918 (exclusive of loans)¹

	<u>Revenue</u>	<u>Expenditure</u>	<u>Debit/Credit Balance</u>
1902	16 757	21 374	- 461
1903	20 605	19 761	844 Cr
1904	18 811	22 001	-3 190
1905	23 715	27 931	-4 216
1906	21 656	22 633	- 977
1907	19 589	19 917	- 328
1908	18 961	21 119	-2 158
1909	20 060	23 522	-3 462
1910	20 132	22 385	-2 252
1911	20 121	24 328	-4 207
1912	20 119	21 921	-1 802
1913	22 125	22 673	- 548
1914	25 798	29 169	-3 371
1915	21 255	21 422	- 167
1916	23 556	24 122	- 566
1917	24 864	26 423	-1 559
1918	26 045	29 630	-3 585

¹ Compiled from Mayoral Minute for 1917, AM, unaccessioned; Statistical Registers of the Cape of Good Hope 1902-1909; Annual Financial Statements.

Town Rate and Municipal Valuation

Table¹ showing: (i) the assessed value of property in Grahamstown
(ii) the town rates levied thereon
(iii) the total value of each of the said rates

	<u>Rate in the £</u>	<u>Assessment (Rateable)</u> £	<u>Value of Rate</u> £
1902	2½d	658 559	6 854
1903	3d	682 564	8 532
1904	2½d	817 322	8 513
1905	2½d	845 916	8 811
1906	2½d	871 151	9 074
1907	2½d	890 579	9 276
1908	2½d	897 079	9 344
1909	2½d	851 990	8 874
1910	2½d	858 855	8 945
1911	2½d	862 580	8 985
1912	3d	866 905	10 836
1913	2½d	872 585	9 089
1914	2½d	804 783	8 383
1915	2½d	801 683	8 350
1916	3d	825 358	10 317
1917	3d	824 858	10 310
1918	3d		10 563

1 Compiled from: a) Annual financial statements of the Corporation
b) Scattered newspaper references
c) Cape of Good Hope Statistical Register
d) Mayoral Minutes

Municipal Indebtedness¹

	<u>Loans outstanding on 31 Dec.</u>		<u>Arrear Rates on 31 Dec.</u>	
	<u>Total, Including Bank Overdraft</u>	<u>Bank Overdraft</u>	<u>Excluding Present Year Rates</u>	<u>Including Present Year Rates</u>
	£	£	£	£
1902	68 326	4 615	100	2 057
1903	46 122	2 057	362	1 456
1904	66 163	1 085	168	6 371
1905	76 405	9 296	169	1 261
1906	78 712	2 479	420	1 620
1907	77 649	2 988	584	1 635
1908	73 463		357	1 581
1909	79 308	8 647	1 231	2 320

1 Compiled from the Statistical Registers of the Cape of Good Hope,
1902-1909

Recommendations of the Special Committee Appointed by the Council
to Report on the Salaries of the Officials of the Council¹

	<u>Present Salary of Holder</u>	<u>Minimum Recommended</u>	<u>Maximum Recommended</u>
	£	£	£
Town Clerk & Treasurer	400	400	600
Assistant Town Clerk	250	250	250
Town Collector	225	150	225
Sec. Sports Committee	25	25	25
Assistant Collector	120	120	150
Feather Market Auctioneer	90	90	90
Accountant	165	150	190
Town Hall Caretaker	150	120	150
Feather Weigher	24	24	24
Superintendent of Works	300	300	375
" (motor cycle allowance)	30	30	30
Water Superintendent	240	180	240
Fire Brigade	30	30	30
Waterman	180	140	180
Market Master	300	240	300
Assistant Market Master	200	160	200
Bookkeeper, Market Office	90	90	120
Clerk, Market Office	90	90	120
Medical Officer of Health	100	100	100
Sanitary Inspector	250	200	250
Borough Ranger	180	140	180
Location Inspector	150	150	200
Location Constable	36	36	50
Groundsman (sports)	120	80	120
	<hr/> 3 745	<hr/> 3 245	<hr/> 4 199

¹ SCMB, 11 June 1913, CA, 3/AY 1/3/1/1/4

With the above recommendations, the salaries paid (including allowances) would be summarized as follows:

	<u>Present</u>	<u>Recommended</u>	<u>Minimum</u>	<u>Maximum</u>
	£	£	£	£
Town Office	1 136	1 185	1 045	1 440
Sup't of Works & Waterworks	730	780	680	855
Town Hall	150	150	120	150
Market - General	662	680	580	740
Market - Feather	114	114	114	114
Sanitary	490	530	440	530
Locations	186	186	186	250
Sports Grounds	120	120	80	120
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	3 588	3 745	3 245	4 199

LoansState of Grahamstown's Loans as at 31/12/1919¹

<u>Date</u> <u>Raised</u>	<u>Purpose</u>	<u>Amount</u> <u>Raised</u>	<u>Rate</u> <u>of</u> <u>Int.</u>	<u>Amount</u> <u>Paid</u>	<u>Balance</u> <u>Outstanding</u>
1905	Tar pavements	2 500	4%	995.5.1	1 504.14.11
1914	Town Hall	10 000	5%		10 000. 0.0
1914	General Works	21 000	5%		21 000. 0.0
1914	Water filtration/ Town Hall Extensions	4 000	5%		4 000. 0.0
1899	Waterworks	35 138	3½%	12 115.9.8	23 022.10.4
1902	"	5 070	3½%	1 355.7.10	3 714.12.2
1906	"	8 000	4%	1 390.2.6	6 609.17.6
1912	"	12 000	4%	2 082.16.7	9 917. 3.5
1915	Town Hall Extensions/ Property	3 500	5%		3 500. 0.0
1917	Water Boring	2 000	5%		2 000. 0.0
1917	Water Investigations	1 000	5%		1 000. 0.0
1917	Goodwin's Kloof Camp	1 250	5%		1 250. 0.0
1917	Agricultural Show Ground	1 389	5%	555.12.0	833. 8.0
		106 847		18 494.13.8	88 352. 6.4
	Less sinking fund account				<u>1 010.16.0</u>
					87 341.10.4
					=====

¹ Extracted from Mayoral Minute of 1920, AM, unaccessioned

CHAPTER THREE

MUNICIPAL FINANCE

Without any doubt, the main problem that confronted the financiers of the Grahamstown City Council was an acute shortage of money. The Finance Committee relied on very few sources of revenue to provide for the entire administration of the city, and fought a constant, and often losing, battle against deficits and debt. The fact that industrial development, to all intents and purposes, had passed the city by, compounded the problems of the Council. Essential works had to be embarked upon in order to provide the city with facilities necessary for its development; but the shortage of funds retarded development, and helped discourage prospective investors from expending capital in or around the city. The Council itself had not acquired any major investments, further restricting its own sources of income. These fundamental problems were never solved in the period under review; the Council struggled to avert any financial disaster and maintain an acceptable level of debt.¹

The chief reliable and permanent source of income for the City Council was the town rate, a charge placed on all owners and occupiers of assessed immovable property in the city. This was not allowed to exceed 3d in the £.² In 1903, 1912 and 1916-1918, the Council imposed this maximum; in all other years it was fixed at 2½d. The 2½d rate brought in between £8 000 and £9 000 per annum; the extra ½d increased this income to between £10 000 and £11 000 in 1903, 1912, and 1916-1918, the financial years in which it was levied.³

The other constant source of revenue was the water rate. In 1904, the water rate was based on property valuation. Ratepayers paid a fixed sum of money to the Council, calculated according to the value of their

1 This chapter deals primarily with municipal revenue. Expenditure is discussed in more detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

2 Act 18 of 1902, Clause 90.

3 See above, pg. 88 for full details of the town rate.

property, regardless of the quantity of water they consumed.⁴ This obviously unfair system was defended on the grounds that Grahamstown did not enjoy a daily supply of water; critics argued that it should be replaced by a meter system as soon as possible, to prevent wastage and provide for a more equitable method of rating.⁵ Only at the end of 1914 was a meter system introduced⁶, and different rates laid down.⁷ No appreciable difference was made to the revenue derived by the water rate under the new system; the water rate continued to yield £5 000 per annum.

4	Owners of property valued up to £200	paid £2.10d per annum
"	" " " between £200 and £500	paid £3 per annum
"	" " " " £500 and £800	paid £4 per annum
"	" " " " £800 and £1000	paid £5 per annum
"	" " " over £1000	paid £6 per annum

In addition, certain organizations paid a fixed annual rate, as follows:

Cape Government Railway	£200
Grahamstown and Port Alfred Railway	£30
Main Building of Lunatic Asylum	£150
Chronic Sick Hospital	£50
District Prison	£25

5 GTJ, 8 May 1913; GPM, 9 May 1913.

6 GTJ, 26 Nov 1914; GPM, 27 Nov 1914.

7	South African Railways (min)	£230 per annum
	Fort England	£250 " " (for 6000 gal/day)
	Prison	£25 " "
	Prince Alfred Infirmary	£83 " " (for 2000 gal/day)

On private property:

£2.10d per annum for	25 000	gallons
£3	"	30 000 "
£4	"	40 000 "
£5	"	50 000 "
£6	"	60 000 "
£7.10	"	75 000 "
£10	"	100 000 "

After this limit had been exceeded, an extra 2/- per 1000 gallons or part thereof was payable.

The problem of the collection of rates and other minor taxes imposed by the Council was an important one. The report of the Special Investigation Committee⁸ was highly critical of the town collector, and the liberties allowed him by the Council. The Committee regarded his salary of £300 as too high for such simple work, and recommended its reduction to £225. There was no method of checking the collector's daily takings, and neither was there any proper record of what the £25 granted monthly to the collector was used for. The Committee recommended considerable tightening up of the collector's work, and the provision of proper books and facilities. No charge of corruption or misuse of funds was, or indeed could be, brought against the town collector, but the figures speak of the savings achieved by the more streamlined system. In 1904, of the £8 423 paid in town rates, £1 036 consisted of arrear rates,⁹ and this high proportion was a feature of all subsequent financial statements. After 1912, considerable consolidation occurred. In 1913, the arrear rate was £1 315, out of a rate of £8 963,¹⁰ a large amount as a result of extra pressure brought to bear on ratepayers in debt. Arrear rates thereafter were small, as the collector ensured that rates were paid when they were due.

Apart from these two areas of income, the Council's revenue was erratic and uncertain. The morning markets and stock fairs yielded the most income of all items in this category, but even then the amount of dues paid to the Council could never be fully predicted. In 1904, market dues yielded £3 221;¹¹ the following year they dropped to £2 669,¹² which reflected the difficulties experienced by the market in years of drought and depression. Only in 1909, when dues reached £3 290,¹³ did the Council manage to attain again the 1904 income from this source, but this was partially due to the increase of sales and importance of the

8 The Committee was appointed to investigate the functioning of municipal administration in 1912. For fuller details, see Chapter 1, pg. 10.

9 GTJ, 20 April 1905.

10 GPM, 20 April 1914.

11 GTJ, 20 April 1905.

12 GTJ, 12 April 1906; GPM, 23 April 1906.

13 GPM, 15 April 1910.

Grahamstown feather market. The feather dues formed a relatively insignificant source of income after the South African War; in 1905, for example, feather dues brought in £74.¹⁴ In 1908, this had risen to £631,¹⁵ and in 1909 to £1 167.¹⁶ The Council derived its maximum revenue from the feather market in 1912, when it yielded £1 628 in dues. This formed part of a record yield of £4 660 from all of the markets.¹⁷ The vagaries of fashion, and the outbreak of war in 1914 put an end to this profitable source of income. In 1914, feather dues were only £337,¹⁸ having fallen from £1 516 in 1913.¹⁹ By 1916, they had fallen to a mere £57, and the feather market was running at a loss to the Council.²⁰ The normal morning markets and stock fairs did not experience so spectacular a rise and fall. Towards the end of the war, they proved to be invaluable to the Council, when returns of £3 221 in 1917²¹ and £3 753 in 1918²² were recorded. Newspapers were uncertain as to whether the increase was due to a growth in turnover of the market, or higher prices paid for produce and stock.²³

One new source the Council did manage to tap was the sale of timber from the municipal plantations. In the pre-war years, this scarcely featured in the Council's estimates; with the achievement of a timber contract, however, the sale of wood provided the Council with a useful source of income. In 1914, the sale of wood yielded £54.²⁴ The following year it was £884,²⁵ and in 1917 it peaked at £1 742.²⁶

14 GTJ, 12 April 1906; GPM, 23 April 1906.

15 GPM, 23 April 1906.

16 GPM, 15 April 1910.

17 GPM, 12 Feb 1913; GTJ, 13 Feb 1913.

18 GPM, 17 March 1915.

19 GPM, 3 April 1914; GTJ, 7 April 1914.

20 GPM, 5 Feb 1917.

21 GPM, 20 Feb 1918.

22 GPM, 17 March 1919.

23 GPM, 17 March 1919.

24 GPM, 17 March 1915.

25 GPM, 16 Feb 1916.

26 GPM, 20 Feb 1918.

Remaining sources of income for the Council were numerous and varied, but they all yielded very small sums of money. These sources included various taxes (on dogs and cabs), rents (from Council lands and the locations), and licences (for quarrying, grazing and sanitation).

Essential works programmes had normally to be financed by the raising of loans, because of insufficient funds generated from the Council's normal money supply. In 1902, Grahamstown's municipal indebtedness amounted to £68 326, which included a bank overdraft of £4 615.²⁷ This sum was increased by the raising of three further loans. The first of these was a loan from the Rhodes University College Council of £4 000, at an interest of 5%;²⁸ the second was a loan from the Government of £2 500 at 4%²⁹ for the specific purpose of paving the river bed in the town; and the third was a loan of £8 000 at 4% interest for waterworks.³⁰ Interest on these loans amounted to a considerable proportion of the town's annual income: in 1904, for example, the interest on municipal loans totalled £4 091, about one-fifth of total revenue.³¹

A lengthy discussion took place in the City Council in March 1906, initiated by Mr Daniel Knight, on a motion that the Finance Committee consider carefully all of the Council's loans with a view to finding ways to consolidate them, and reducing rates of interest.³² The motion failed, for reasons beyond the control of the Council: in the tight financial climate during the years of depression in the Cape, it was unlikely that new creditors could be found to take over the loans of the Council. Rhodes University College in fact increased the rate of interest on its loan to 5½%,³³ and the Council renewed the debentures maturing at the beginning of 1909, held by Mr C J Stirk, the estate of the Hon. George Wood, and the South African Mutual Society, amounting to

27 Statistical Register of the Cape of Good Hope, 1902. See above, pg.89 for fuller details of the municipal indebtedness.

28 GPM, 1 Sept 1905; GTJ, 2 Sept 1905.

29 GPM, 19 March 1906.

30 GPM, 25 March 1907.

31 Statistical Register of the Cape of Good Hope, 1904.

32 GTJ, 29 March 1906; GPM, 30 March 1906.

33 GTJ, 25 August 1908.

£22 000, for a further five years.³⁴

In 1909, interest of £5 459 on a debt of £73 463 was the highest ever paid by the Council, and amounted to almost one-quarter of revenue.³⁵ Two-thirds of the debts had been spent on the water scheme; the remainder was utilized for the Town Hall, tar pavements, paving the river bed, streets and other minor public works projects.³⁶

This continued state of heavy municipal debt was bound to lead to problems, and the Council ran into trouble with the Cape Government over a breach of its own Act of Incorporation. Act 18 of 1902 laid down that the Council was authorized to overdraw its bank account by up to half the previous year's income.³⁷ In August 1909, the City Council agreed to allow the Finance Committee to overdraw the municipal account to the extent of £20 000.³⁸ The income of the Council in 1908 was £18 961,³⁹ thereby allowing a maximum overdraft of £9 480.10d in terms of the Act. The loan was immediately queried by Dr Gregory, the Medical Officer of

34 GTJ, 8 Oct 1908

35 Statistical Register of the Cape of Good Hope, 1909

36	Amount of Original <u>Loan</u>	Date Raised	Date Redeem <u>able</u>	How Raised	Purpose	Rate of <u>Int</u>	Amount Repaid Since <u>Raised</u>
	£35 139	1/1/1899	1/1/1939	Government	Water	3½%	£4 564
	5 070	1/7/1902	1/7/1942	"	"	3½%	390
	8 000	1/7/1906	1/7/1946	"	"	4%	170
	2 500	1/7/1906	1/7/1931	"	Pavements	4%	122
	10 000	1/1/1909	1/1/1914	Debentures	Town Hall	4 %	-
	8 000	1/1/1909	1/1/1914	"	General	5%	-
	4 000	1/1/1909	1/1/1914	"	"	4½%	-
	2 000	-/8/1903	Not fixed	Privately	"	6%	-
	4 000	31/8/1905	"	"	"	6%	-

Statistical Register: Loan statements of municipalities, 1908

37 Clause 135 of Act 18 of 1902.

38 GTJ, 19 Aug 1909.

39 Statistical Register of the Cape of Good Hope, 1908.

Health for the Colony.⁴⁰ The Town Clerk explained that the sanction of the Council was obtained on the grounds that the overdraft would be a temporary one, in the event of the sum being required, and that the money so raised would be used to consolidate the debt of £6 000 incurred on the construction of the Milner and Jameson Reservoirs, and to pay for filter beds costing £2 000 and the sanitary scheme of between £4 000 and £5 000.⁴¹ He declared that the Council was still well within the limits of Clause 135 of the Grahamstown Act, and the overdraft had not yet been incurred. Dr Gregory referred the matter to the Civil Commissioner for Albany and to the Assistant Treasurer of the Colony.⁴²

The reply of Francis Graham, the Civil Commissioner, is indicative of the parlous state of the City's finances.⁴³ He dismissed the resolution of the City Council as completely illegal in terms of Clause 135. He concluded his confidential letter with a plea for a full investigation into the finances of the Corporation:

"I hope sincerely that the Auditor-General will soon be given authority to overhaul the Municipal Accounts - it would make his hair stand on end!! At the present time they do just as they please, and do not even respect their own Act or Regulations."⁴⁴

The contents of this letter were referred to the Assistant Treasurer on 27 October,⁴⁵ who noted its contents, but decided not to take any action, because no contravention of the Municipal Act had as yet taken

40 Quite why he should have taken up the matter with the Town Clerk is difficult to ascertain. His letter of 27 Aug 1909 is unavailable. He had, however, been pressurizing the Council to adopt a new sanitary scheme for which a loan would have had to be raised, and it is likely that it is in this regard that he queried the sudden availability of funds.

41 Letter dated 16 Sept 1909, unnumbered, in CA, T1196-3422.

42 Letter dated 11 Oct 1909, numbered 37/768/L.2.p in CA, T1196-3422.

43 Letter dated 16 Oct 1909, unnumbered, in CA, T1196-3422.

44 Letter dated 16 Oct 1909, unnumbered, in CA, T1196-3422.

45 Letter dated 27 Oct 1909, numbered 38/298/L.2.p in CA, T1196-3422.

place.⁴⁶

The problems of expenditure exceeding revenue regularly plagued the Council, but little real effort was made to solve them. A special committee was appointed in April 1906 to inquire into the expenditure of the various departments of the Council.⁴⁷ The committee failed to make a report and, after a lengthy debate in February 1907, it was agreed to appoint another one with precisely the same purpose.⁴⁸ Once again, the working of the Committee petered out, and no results or recommendations were submitted. A third attempt to examine expenditure was made with the successful passage of a motion to keep the finances of the Board of Works under scrutiny,⁴⁹ but enthusiasm to fulfil this soon waned.

Public dissatisfaction with this situation began to make itself heard once it became evident that little, if anything, was being done by the Council to alleviate the position. The Journal protested vigorously at the beginning of 1911 at the news that the Council had raised a further loan of £5 000, but had not disclosed the purpose of the loan, or the terms and rate of interest.⁵⁰ The newspaper called for the consolidation of all loans, and condemned the current high rates of interest. It was disclosed at a later Council meeting that the amount was raised from the Eastern Province Guardian Loan and Investment Company at an interest rate of 4,75%, and was to be used for general purposes.⁵¹

The sanctioning of the loan prompted one city councillor, J J Vroom, to call for a full return to be laid on the table of all loans obtained in the last seven years, giving full details of each. The motion found

46 Letter of 30 Oct 1909 to MOH for the Colony, No 3422/09/47.D. in CA, T1196-3422.

47 The Committee consisted of the Chairmen of the Finance Committee, the Market Committee, the Board of Works, and Clrs Knight and Marshall. GTJ, 5 April 1906; GPM, 6 April 1906.

48 The Committee consisted of H R Wood, J H Webber, W P Slater, C Flanagan and G D Atherstone. GTJ, 28 Feb 1907; GPM, 1 March 1907.

49 GTJ, 28 April 1910.

50 GTJ, 25 March 1911.

51 GTJ, 6 April 1911.

only one other councillor in favour, and was soundly defeated.⁵² Mr Vroom, in a further attempt to create some system of constant supervision of finances, moved that financial statements of each committee be read at Council meetings, as well as a statement of receipts and payments for each month of the year, but this motion was also defeated.⁵³ The Journal spoke out against Council fiscal policy,⁵⁴ and called for a "thorough overhauling" of the present staff and structure.⁵⁵

The municipal debt continued in the meantime to increase. At the end of 1911, it stood at £85 487.⁵⁶ The Journal spoke of the need to introduce financial reforms and "some business methods", and called for the urgent reduction of interest charges, arguing that anything over 5% was unnecessary. The fact that the Council paid 6% for its temporary bank overdraft was singled out for particular condemnation,⁵⁷ especially in view of the fact that money was "plentiful and cheap".⁵⁸

By the beginning of 1912, the need to organize municipal finances and consolidate the municipal debt was recognized by critics of the Council as the single most important issue that needed to be solved.⁵⁹ The publication of the financial statement for 1911 (in itself a shoddy and superficial document) revealed the extent of the crisis facing the City Council.⁶⁰ The total revenue for the year was £20 170,⁶¹ and the year

52 GTJ, 2 April 1911.

53 GTJ, 10 Aug 1911.

54 GTJ, 16 Dec 1911.

55 GTJ, 9 Nov 1911.

56 Waterworks £43 402

Municipal debentures £22 000

Temporary advances £16 835

Other £ 3 250

GTJ, 19 Oct 1911.

57 GTJ, 19 Oct 1911.

58 GTJ, 21 Oct 1911.

59 GTJ, 16 Jan 1912.

60 GTJ, 24 May 1912.

61 In total it was £35 064, but this figure included loans amounting to £6 800 (£5 000 from the Eastern Province Guardian Loan and Investment Company, and a further loan of £1 800 from the Rhodes University College Council) and a bank overdraft of £8 406.

ended with an unprecedented overdraft of £10 722.⁶² The overdraft exceeded half the revenue of 1910, and hence was "ultra vires" in terms of the Act. Two councillors, Van der Riet and Vroom, made vigorous protests, but because the accounts had already been passed, the matter was dropped. The Journal added its voice to the criticism of this situation, and the fact that it had been allowed to arise unnoticed.⁶³

The further increase in the bank overdraft to £12 095 by the beginning of March prompted Vroom to seek legal advice, and a strongly-worded letter from a prominent local lawyer, C W Whiteside, was sent to the Council.⁶⁴ He pointed out that the temporary accommodation of the Council had risen to £22 895,⁶⁵ and as a result the Council had borrowed to the hilt. Even if a loan of £12 000 was sanctioned by the rate-payers, this would still leave the Council in a position of having borrowed £10 895 in temporary accommodation.⁶⁶ Mr Whiteside ended his letter with the warning that any attempt by the Council to exceed its borrowing powers would be stopped by interdict by his client.

A public meeting, attended by 150 people, was called in order to approve the expenditure of "a sum not exceeding £12 000 in the execution of the scheme for the improvement of the water supply".⁶⁷ Opposition to the Council at the meeting was led by Mr Vroom, who moved an amendment to

62 GTJ, 8 Feb 1912; GPM, 9 Feb 1912.

63 GTJ, 13 Feb 1912.

64 GTJ, 2 March 1912.

65 Bank overdraft of £12 095; two Rhodes University College loans of £4 000 (in 1905) and £1 800 (in Dec 1911); E P Guardian Co. of £5 000 (in March 1911).

66 In terms of Clause 129 of Act 18 of 1902, the Council was empowered to borrow £60 000 for water purposes only. By the beginning of 1912, £48 000 had been borrowed, leaving £12 000 remaining. The Council was hoping that the ratepayers would sanction the raising of this sum, and thus use it to repay portions of the temporary loan. To this end, H R Wood, the Chairman of the Finance Committee, had gone to Cape Town to investigate the possibility of a loan of £12 000 from the Treasury. GTJ, 1 Feb 1912; GPM, 2 Feb 1912.

67 GTJ, 16 March 1912; GPM, 18 March 1912.

the effect that the meeting, while sanctioning the raising of a loan to repay all illegal expenditure on the water service, nonetheless "protests against illegal borrowing of money" in contravention of the Act. This motion was carried, although the small number of people actually voting⁶⁸ indicated the general public dissatisfaction with the position in which the Council had placed itself. The City Council authorized the Finance Committee to raise a loan of £12 000, as well as investigate means of converting temporary loans into permanent ones.⁶⁹

The management of municipal finances was in the forefront of the elections for the City Council in May and June 1912. The formation of the Citizens' Union, with its pledge to organize the finances of the town, and supervise expenditure, added extra force to the election campaign.⁷⁰ C W Whiteside led a well-organized campaign, condemning the financial policies of the town in the previous twelve years, and blamed the large municipal debt of £91 000 on mounting annual deficits.⁷¹ He declared his opposition to the borrowing of money unless it was for a particular large project. He attacked the Board of Works for improper supervision of expenditure, and also argued that the "promiscuous purchase of properties" at prices in excess of their true value was unnecessary and disastrous.⁷²

The Council further increased its liabilities with the raising of a £5 000 loan from the South African Mutual Life Assurance Society at 4½% in May 1912.⁷³ It was the last, however, before public dissatisfaction made itself felt at the polls, and Citizens' Union candidates, pledged to financial reform, convincingly defeated sitting councillors. A thorough investigation of all municipal affairs was immediately ordered,

68 28 in favour of the amendment, 17 in favour of the original resolution.

69 GTJ, 21 March 1912; GPM, 22 March 1912.

70 See Chapter I on municipal legislation, pg. 9 - 10.

71 GPM, 1 June 1912.

72 He cited the example of the purchase of Goodwins Kloof farm, which was bought for £1 250, and was worth £500. It was currently let at £60 p.a., when it cost £75 p.a. in interest payments.

73 GTJ, 9 May 1912; GPM, 10 May 1912

and a Special Investigation Committee appointed.⁷⁴ In the meantime, the Council transferred its bank account to the Standard Bank because it agreed to take over the Council deficit of over £20 000 at 5%; the overdraft rate at the Bank of Africa had been 5½%.⁷⁵ The £12 000 loan applied for from the Province was granted by the Administrator, for the repayment of debt incurred in connection with water construction. The loan was granted at 4% interest, repayable over twenty-five years from 1 January 1913.⁷⁶

The publication of the report of the Special Investigation Committee in November 1912 drew attention to the serious state of affairs into which municipal administration had drifted.⁷⁷ The Committee described the town office as a "stagnant and stereotyped institution" and went as far as to say that "if for no other reason than to effect reform in the town office in respect of its bookkeeping, the existence of the Special Investigation Committee is amply justified." The Committee accused the Finance Committee of being guilty of "perfunctory manner", and the Council's lack of vigilance as adding considerably to "this wanton disregard for public funds". The municipal auditors were also accused of neglect of their duty, and the Committee described the audit as "a farce". The Investigation Committee found that on examination of the town books on 20 August, nothing had been written up in the journal since mid-May, and not one entry had been made in the ledger for the whole year. The ledger did not give details on loans, repayments, or the current position of the town; the methods of giving receipts for rates were "open to abuse, confusion and error"; no folios of entries to any items were given in respective account books. The Committee hence recommended sweeping changes in the management of the town office, with a view to "economy, centralization and modern efficiency". It set out job descriptions and salaries of each person to be employed in the town office. Details of a new accounting system were spelled out at length, and the Finance Committee was requested to adopt it as soon as

74 GTJ, 11 July 1912.

75 GTJ, 18 July 1912; GPM, 19 July 1912.

76 GTJ, 8 Aug 1912; GPM, 9 Aug 1912.

77 The full report can be found in GTJ, 7 Nov and 9 Nov 1912; GPM, 8 Nov 1912.

possible. An important recommendation was that a sinking fund be opened, giving full details of each loan.

It was not only the administration and inefficiency of the town office that was under scrutiny: the Special Investigation Committee report probed deeper, and went to the roots of Council fiscal policy. It found that over the previous four years the average annual revenue of the Council was £19 750 and expenditure £22 901, leaving a deficit of £3 151 per annum. Over that period, the deficit had risen £12 600, and this presumably accounted for the recent loan of £12 000 from the Government.

The Council had now borrowed to the fullest extent possible: £60 000 on the water account, and an overdraft sum so high that it was illegal. The Committee reported that it had hoped to analyse the expenditure from the loans, but the ledgers were too badly kept.

As a way of remedying the situation, the Committee recommended the separation of the water rate, which averaged about £5 500, from the remainder of the town's revenue. It found that the water rate had been used for a variety of non-water purposes. A separate water fund, created from the surplus of the water rate, could be used to pay off loans or for further water construction. This made financial sense, and also had the advantage of preventing the current situation, where Grahamstown's City Council could not raise any further funds for water construction or maintenance, which was a distinctly dangerous situation for a town whose water supply was so uncertain. Should this be done, the revenue from other sources would be reduced to £14 250, and far more thrift and economy was therefore required on the part of the Council. The Committee regarded the present 3d rate as too high, but if current expenditure was maintained, it would have to be increased to 3½d.⁷⁸ It recommended instead the reduction of the rate to 2½d and pointed to areas where expenditure could be reduced. One key area was salaries paid to municipal officials. With the rationalization and reorganization of municipal personnel and employees, the Committee recommended the reduction of salaries from the present sum of £9 281 per annum to

78 Grahamstown had (with a 3d rate) the highest rate in the Cape, with the two exceptions of Aliwal North and Kingwilliamstown.

£7 477.⁷⁹ It urged the Council to take steps to consolidate all floating and fixed loans together with Town Hall debentures⁸⁰ upon the cheapest terms available, and thereby reduce the present interest rate. The Committee declared that the present policy of relying on loans to meet ordinary and extraordinary expenditure had to cease at once; deficiencies in this area of municipal finance would in future have to be met by the ratepayers.

The Council, and subsequently the ratepayers, adopted the report amidst heated debate and bitter acrimony over the administration of the town.⁸¹ An easing of the division on the Council was achieved by the unanimous acceptance of a motion of Mr Whiteside that the Council only implement the Special Investigation Committee report, with the dismissals of staff and reduction of salaries, from 1 March 1913, and not 1 January. This was justified on the grounds that the Council must uphold "humanity" and "sympathy"; it was "an ordinary act of grace and ordinary Christian act".⁸²

79 This was comprised of £3 675 for officials, and £3 802 for wages of men working on streets and engaged in other manual tasks.

80 These were due to expire at the end of 1913.

81 Chapter 1, pg.11 has further details.

82 GTJ, 28 Nov 1912; GPM, 29 Nov 1912.

In the debate about whether or not the report should be implemented, interesting class conflict emerges. Ward III was the ward with the largest amount of rateable property in it, and voted 129-96 to reject the report. In Ward IV, a predominantly working class ward, the vote was 164-102 in favour of adoption. Cllr Knight, a Ward III Councillor, and supported by others, argued that the report should not be adopted, but reconsidered because the voters of Ward III (and Wards I and II) owned more property, and therefore should have more influence. He also added a racial dimension to his argument, saying "he did not know how many coolies and natives voted in that ward, but they were hardly the class of persons to express an opinion upon the issue at stake."

GTJ, 28 Nov 1912; GPM, 29 Nov 1912.

The financial statement for the year 1912 revealed the extent of financial reform that the City Council, dominated by the Citizens' Union, was able to achieve.⁸³ The Council was certainly assisted by the increased revenue from a 3d rate and increased yields from the market; nonetheless, it was a remarkable achievement in view of the parlous financial state of the corporation. A credit balance of £2 423 was recorded. The Council had paid off the Rhodes University College loan of £1 800 out of revenue. It also raised another loan of £5 000 from the South African Mutual Assurance Company at a lower rate of interest to pay off the Eastern Province Guardian Company's equivalent loan. Curtailment in expenditure had also been achieved in a number of areas, notably in the maintenance and repairs of streets⁸⁴, but also in water maintenance, street lighting and on the market.

The issue of salaries paid to municipal officials and workers had been a problem for some time. During the recession of 1902-1908, one city councillor, G P Brink, moved that all employees of the Council receiving salaries exceeding £150 per annum should have their salaries reduced by 10%, and all receiving salaries between £120 and £150 per annum should have their salaries reduced by 5%.⁸⁵ The resolution was defeated after a sharp debate. Two years later, again after much debate, it was agreed, by a narrow margin of seven votes to five, that the Finance Committee take into consideration the advisability of reducing the salaries of officials of the Council, because of the depression.⁸⁶ The Finance Committee reported that it was inopportune to reduce salaries at present, but it might be considered when the next estimates were framed in six months time.⁸⁷ The Council rejected the report, but nothing further was done as economic conditions improved.

The report of the Special Investigation Committee resulted in the appointment of a special committee to look into the whole question of

83 GPM, 12 Feb 1913; GTJ, 13 Feb 1913.

84 This was reduced from £6 972 to £5 272.

85 GTJ, 8 March 1906; GPM, 9 March 1906.

86 GTJ, 11 June 1908.

87 GTJ, 18 June 1908.

salaries paid to officials.⁸⁸ The Committee submitted a detailed report three weeks later,⁸⁹ which was accepted by the Council.⁹⁰ The Committee attacked the

"promiscuous raising of salaries from time to time in the past, without due regard to proportion and the true value of the officials' services to the Council,"

and declared that it was desirable that there should be a firm basis upon which salaries are fixed.⁹¹ The Committee laid out in a schedule a scale of salaries for each municipal post, thus placing the whole system on a streamlined and organized basis.⁹² The salaries were drafted on the basis of the Special Investigation Committee's report, and due consideration was given to the tasks of each in proportion to the holders of other municipal posts. The minimum recommended salaries were £500 less than the current expenditure of the Council on salaries; the maximum extended almost £500 above the current expenditure. This report was one of the most useful results of the Special Investigation Committee.

The path towards the consolidation of the Council's loans proved to be extremely difficult. The Finance Committee had to report at the end of 1913 that, owing to the stringent state of the money market, it had been unable to consolidate loans on a sinking fund basis as it had hoped, because it was impossible to obtain a reasonable rate of interest. In order to provide for the repayment of municipal debentures amounting to £31 000,⁹³ maturing on 1 January 1914, the Committee requested that £31 000 be borrowed for a short term, with a view to reborrowing the money at the end of each term at a lower rate of interest should the money market be easier. The South African Mutual Assurance Society had offered to lend the said amount at 5% per annum for two years, expiring

88 GTJ, 22 May 1913; GPM, 23 May 1913.

89 SCMB, 11 June 1913, CA, 3 /AY 1/3/1/1/4.

90 GTJ, 12 June 1913; GPM, 13 June 1913.

91 SCMB, 11 June 1913, CA, 3/AY 1/3/1/1/4.

92 See above, pg. 90 for full details of the salary scales.

93 Debentures held by SA Mutual Assurance Society	£13 000
Estate Hon George Wood	£10 000
C J Stirk	£ 4 000
Rhodes University College	£ 4 000

on 31 December 1915, and this was accepted and used in payment of the municipal debentures.⁹⁴ A further loan of £4 000 at 4½% per annum from Messrs C J Stirk was also renewed until 31 December 1915.⁹⁵

Grahamstown's perennial problem of insufficient income from the town's rate and other normal sources of revenue could not be solved completely by the consolidation of loans and a cut-back in expenditure: money saved in this way, while significant, did not cover larger essential works programmes. The Finance Committee, as a result, moved that the consent of citizens be obtained to mortgage one-third of the rates of the municipality, for a period of ten years,⁹⁶ as security for the repayment of a loan of £11 000 to cover expenses of various projects.⁹⁷ These included the construction of a municipal abattoir (£2 500), a scheme for the filtration of water in the Milner and Jameson Reservoirs (£2 917), the final payment on the Belmont Valley Bridge (£820), the extension and alteration of the Town Hall (£2 300) and the purchase of two properties, Goodwin's Kloof Camp Farm (£1 250) and T Larkin's property on the northwest corner of Fiddlers Green (£1 000). The Council was unhappy to mortgage rates, and regarded the pledging of assets as risky; it nonetheless gave the Committee permission to raise the loan, and it was duly sanctioned by the citizens at a public meeting.⁹⁸

The publication of the municipal accounts for 1914 reflected again the severe difficulties faced by the town in balancing its budget.⁹⁹ A deficit of £3 371 was recorded. This was the first year in which the recommendations of the Special Investigation Committee with regard to accounting were adopted, and a more detailed and accurate position of the municipality was set forth. The Penny Mail attributed the deficit to the fact that there had been a changeover of accounting systems. The new one necessitated the payment of six months' additional interest, and payment of salaries of city office staff for December, as well as the

94 GPM, 26 Nov 1913; GTJ, 27 Nov 1913.

95 GTJ, 4 Dec 1913; GPM, 5 Dec 1913.

96 This was in accordance with Clause 109 of Act 18 of 1902.

97 GTJ, 5 March 1914; GPM, 6 March 1914.

98 GTJ, 26 March 1914.

99 GPM, 17 March 1915.

debiting of tradesmen's accounts to 31 December, all of which would, under the old system, have been debited to the following year(1915), or the year in which they were not incurred.¹⁰⁰ This was due to the restructuring of accounts, which in the past were based on receipts and payments, now they were based on income and expenditure. Nevertheless, a sharp decrease in the yields of the morning market, and stock fair¹⁰¹ and feather market¹⁰² also contributed to the weakened financial position, and Grahamstown's total indebtedness stood at £91 215 at the end of 1914.

A great deal of controversy followed on the Council's decision to raise a further loan of £3 900 in April 1915.¹⁰³ The request for a loan was based partly on lack of foresight by the Council, which took a decision in January 1915 to close the municipal quarry, and then in April decided to reopen it, a decision which required the replacement of costly machinery.¹⁰⁴ Critics condemned the "absence of proper business methods" and the "springing of surprises" which led to the creation of deficits.¹⁰⁵ A large public meeting refused to sanction the loan.¹⁰⁶ The Council was forced to rethink its position, and a joint committee, consisting of the Finance Committee, the Board of Works and Sports Committee, submitted a revised estimate of expenditure which cut costs from £3 900 to £2 533 by reducing the expenditure on City Lords and cutting back on quarry machinery.¹⁰⁷ In order to raise the money, it was agreed to levy an additional town rate of $\frac{1}{4}$ d in the £, to become due on 1 October. A petition signed by fifty-eight ratepayers, headed by C W Whiteside, protested at such a move, as contravening the spirit of the

100 GPM, 17 March 1915.

101 Decrease of £522.

102 Decrease of £1 184.

103 GPM, 16 April 1915.

104 The £3 900 was to be utilized as follows: river bed paving £600; new gutters and kerbs £600; steam roller £650; new quarry machinery £500; purchase of properties £300; City Lords improvements £1 250.

105 GPM, 12 April 1915; GPM, 14 April 1915.

106 GPM, 19 April 1915.

107 GPM, 30 April 1915.

public meeting.¹⁰⁸ Clr Whiteside argued that while the meeting had rejected the raising of loans to wipe out deficits, it was implied that it condemned the necessity of the proposed works during a time of war and financial stringency.¹⁰⁹ He further argued that the extra $\frac{1}{2}$ d would only bring in another £1 400, leaving the remaining £1 100 still to be found. Public opinion in this instance held sway with the Council. A motion of the Mayor that the various committees of the Council reconsider their estimates of expenditure for the remainder of the current year with a view to curtailment, was carried.¹¹⁰

The entire period of the war witnessed great financial difficulty for Grahamstown. Loans falling due were all renewed at their existing high interest rates or, in one instance, even higher ones. The loan of £31 000 from the SA Mutual Life Assurance Society at 5%, falling due on 1 January 1916 was renewed for three years on existing terms, and hopes to reduce the rate of interest on it were disappointed.¹¹¹ A loan of £3 500 at 5% from the Standard Bank was renewed annually for 1916,¹¹² 1917,¹¹³ and 1918.¹¹⁴ C J Stirk's loan of £4 000 at 4½%, which fell due on 1 January 1916, was renewed at 5% for two years¹¹⁵ and then for a further three years on the same terms.¹¹⁶ On one occasion, the Council fell foul again of its legal authority in regard to overdraft, exceeding half the previous year's income.¹¹⁷ The Council only had authority to overdraw up to £10 000, but its debts at the Standard Bank totalled £11 000.¹¹⁸ Each of the war years ended with a high debit balance: in

108 GPM, 7 May 1915.

109 GPM, 14 May 1915.

110 GPM, 14 May 1915.

111 GPM, 23 July 1915.

112 GPM, 22 Oct 1915.

113 GPM, 8 Dec 1916.

114 GPM, 21 Dec 1917.

115 GPM, 23 June 1915.

116 GPM, 5 July 1918.

117 GPM, 2 Feb 1917.

118 Loan of £3 500; general account overdraft of £4 200; Agricultural Society debt of £3 300.

1915 it was £3 564;¹¹⁹ in 1916 £4 130;¹²⁰ in 1917 £3 778;¹²¹ and in 1918 £7 141.¹²² The town rate for the last three years of the war was increased to 3d in the £ to offset further deficits. Hence, Grahamstown experienced as difficult a period as any other in her history.

The financial problems of Grahamstown were large and threatening. They were extremely difficult to alleviate because of lack of capital development and income from sources other than rates. The record of the Council in financial administration was inconsistent. At times, the Council was vigilant and careful; at other times, it was in danger of sweeping itself away to bankruptcy and irretrievable debt. The key role played by the Special Investigation Committee in stabilizing the city's coffers was of prime importance. The fact that the city had to rely on loans in order to maintain financial stability and undertake public works of any size underlines the position of Grahamstown: it was by 1918 a small town of declining significance, which lacked the inner resources to achieve any position of prominence. Grahamstown's financial insecurity played a key role in the city's inability to attract economic or industrial wealth; yet without this, the city could not aspire to anything beyond a position of very limited relevance in a country whose economic power was in the ascendant.

119 GPM, 16 Feb 1916.

120 GPM, 5 Feb 1917.

121 GPM, 20 Feb 1918.

122 GPM, 17 March 1919.

CHAPTER 4

PUBLIC WORKS

CHAPTER FOURPUBLIC WORKS

The Board of Works employed more men and had a greater annual expenditure than any other department of the City Council.¹ Its functioning, efficiency and expenditure was therefore, not surprisingly, the subject of scrutiny and criticism on a number of occasions. In 1906, a motion was passed by the City Council, after a heated debate, requesting the Board to submit at each Council meeting a summary of work done each week.² A year later, at a special meeting of the Council to discuss the working of the various departments of the Council, the Board of Works was singled out for special attention, and several amendments regarding its functioning and personnel were made,³ the chief of which was the appointment of a City Engineer to supervise the department.⁴ The Special Investigation Committee made the most detailed examination of the Board to date, and some of its suggestions were far-reaching in their implications.⁵ One of these was the dismissal of the City Engineer, E Grubb, and his replacement by a Superintendent of Works at a reduced salary.⁶ His duties were closely and clearly defined, as were those of his subordinate officials. The water supply, streets,

1 Report of the Special Investigation Committee of 1912

GTJ, 7 Nov 1912; GTJ, 9 Nov 1912; GPM, 8 Nov 1912.

The 1914 expenditure figures are a typical example:

Finance Committee	£5 948
Board of Works	£9 449
Market, Police, Pound, Health and Locations Committee	£4 729

GPM, 16 Feb 1915

2 GTJ, 18 Oct 1906; GPM, 19 Oct 1906

3 GTJ, 1 June 1907; GPM, 3 June 1907

4 Mayoral Minute, 1908, pgs 4-5. AM, unaccessioned.

5 GTJ, 7 Nov 1912; GPM, 8 Nov 1912; GTJ, 9 Nov 1912

6 The City Engineer earned £400 per annum; the Superintendent of Works was appointed at £250, with a provision for the maximum salary for the post to be £350.

pavements, adequate lighting and public amenities all fell under the control of the Boad, and were arguably the most prominent features of municipal life in the eye of the public. Public works and the body responsible for them were frequently in the limelight which, if nothing else, did keep an important check on inefficient use of labour and resources.

Unquestionably the most important of public works issues in the period under review were the schemes, plans and expenditure connected with the water supply. Throughout the nineteenth century, Grahamstown's water supply was inadequate, erratic and at times impure, which raised questions about the desirability of Grahamstown as a place of settlement, and certainly hindered the town's development.⁷ Four reservoirs had been built by 1868 and were sited close to the town: the Hope in 1857, the Grey in 1861, the Douglas in 1867 and the Hamilton in 1868. While they were of vital importance to the town, the need to augment the supply was recognised by the 1880s. The Slaai Kraal scheme was thus adopted,⁸ and involved the construction of two reservoirs about eight miles west of the city, in a larger catchment area. The Milner Reservoir was completed in 1898, but was not officially opened until 1902. It had a storage capacity of 52 million gallons,⁹ and increased the water storage of the city 1½ times.

The construction of the second reservoir at Slaai Kraal was not without its problems. Two tenders for the dam were rejected at the beginning of

7 See:

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)", in AYB, 1961, pgs 189-198;

M Gibbens Two decades in the life of a City : Grahamstown 1862-1882, unpubl. M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, 1982, pgs 133-147;

R Sellick, Grahamstown 1883-1904

K S Hunt, "The Story of Grahamstown's Water Supply" in Annals of the Grahamstown Historical Society, Vol II, No 2, 1976, pgs 8-21.

8 R Sellick, Grahamstown 1883-1904.

9 Some sources give the figure as 45 million gallons.

1904¹⁰ on the grounds that they were too high;¹¹ these two, and another one, were later submitted to the Council.¹² The Council unanimously accepted the lowest of these, that of Mr Green for £6 946.¹³ The Grahamstown public duly approved of the extension of the Slaai Kraal scheme and authorized the Council to borrow up to £8 000 for the purpose.¹⁴

The estimate that the dam would be completed within ten months was not fulfilled because of difficulties encountered while it was under construction. The drought of 1905 forced the City Council to ration water stringently; by the beginning of April 1905 only about ten weeks supply of water was left in the Milner Reservoir, a serious prospect in view of the approaching dry winter months.¹⁵ The Council agreed to serve citizens with water only once a fortnight and, because of the water shortage, Mr Gerrand advised that work on the new reservoir be stopped.¹⁶ The contractor, Mr Green, died while construction was in progress,¹⁷ thereby causing some confusion about the completion of the scheme, and an accident on the site, when the banks of a pit collapsed, resulted in some delay.¹⁸ The reservoir was completed in December 1905,¹⁹ and this, together with over six inches of rain which fell in October 1906 and filled the dams²⁰ enabled the Council to provide a daily supply of water to the city.²¹

10 GTJ, 6 Feb 1904.

11 The sum of £6 000 had been recommended by the consulting engineer, Mr Gerrand.

12 Mr J Davidson £7 905; Mr A Green £6 946; Mr A Oliver £8 644
GTJ, 23 April 1904.

13 GTJ, 7 May 1904.

14 GTJ, 26 May 1904.

15 GTJ, 8 April 1905.

16 GTJ, 8 April 1905.

17 GTJ, 20 July 1905.

18 GTJ, 2 Sept 1905.

19 GTJ, 6 Dec 1905.

20 GPM, 11 Oct 1905.

21 GPM, 20 Oct 1905.

Some controversy about the payment of the contractor ensued;²² some city councillors argued that the full amount should not be paid because the dam had not been completed by the original stipulated date.²³ The full amount was paid, however,²⁴ and the Governor of the Cape authorized payment of the loan of £8 000.²⁵ An initial proposal to name the new reservoir the "Grahamstown Reservoir" was abandoned in favour of naming it after the Prime Minister and MLA for Grahamstown, Dr Jameson.²⁶ It was formally named the Jameson Reservoir,²⁷ but an intended picnic to open the reservoir was cancelled because of adverse weather. The total cost of Slaai Kraal was £50 053.²⁸ At the end of 1906, with all the reservoirs filled to capacity,²⁹ Grahamstown was in its most secure position yet with regard to its water supply.³⁰ Slaai Kraal became the sole supplier of water to the city, and the older reservoirs were used only as standbys for emergencies, such as in the case of fire.³¹

While the quantity of water able to be stored in the reservoirs seemed impressive, there were in practice large problems to be faced. Initial

22 J H Webber, who took over from Green.

23 GTJ, 11 Jan 1906; GPM, 12 Jan 1906; GTJ, 25 Jan 1906; GPM, 26 Jan 1906.

24 GTJ, 25 Jan 1906; GPM, 26 Jan 1906.

25 GTJ, 8 Feb 1906; GPM, 9 Feb 1906.

26 GTJ, 8 Feb 1906; GPM, 9 Feb 1906.

27 GTJ, 29 March 1906; GPM, 30 March 1906.

28 Milner Reservoir	£38 567
High Level Water Service	£ 800
Jameson Reservoir	£10 686

Mayoral Minute, 1908, pg 18, AM, unaccessioned

29 Jameson	140 million gallons
Milner	52 " "
Grey	15 " "
Douglas	6 " "
Hamilton	<u>6</u> " "
Total	219 " "

30 GTJ, 23 Oct 1906.

31 Report of Assistant Medical Officer of Health, 16 Aug 1908, CA MOH 102-L2C.

difficulties with the flow of water to the town were experienced almost as soon as the Slaai Kraal scheme was fully operational.³² Mr T Clark was appointed by the Council to ascertain the cause of this.³³ Two leaks were found in the main pipe leading to the town,³⁴ but did not fully explain the extent of water wastage. The Assistant Medical Officer of Health for the Colony, in a detailed report on sanitary conditions in Grahamstown, reported that there was a major fault in the main from the Jameson to its point of junction with that from the Milner.³⁵ The other major problem was the cleanliness of the water supplied to the city. Public demands for the filtration of water were not new,³⁶ and in August 1906 the Council authorized the Board of Works to consult Mr Gerrand about filter beds for the town.³⁷ The Medical Officer of Health for Grahamstown, Dr Bruce-Bays, provoked some controversy when he stated that the water supplied by the Municipality was in such an unsatisfactory condition as to be not suitable for drinking by infants and children,³⁸ but his words did provoke the Council to investigate the problem more seriously.³⁹

In June 1908, the Board of Works recommended that a new water scheme be adopted, which involved the construction of filters, made for an improved supply of water, and also laid out recommendations for better metering of water and charges to be levied.⁴⁰ Finance was the drawback; it was estimated that £10 250 was necessary. The recommendation was

32 GTJ, 5 April 1906; GPM, 6 April 1906; GTJ, 19 April 1906; GPM, 20 April 1906.

33 GTJ, 26 April 1906; GPM, 27 April 1906.

34 GTJ, 10 May 1906; GPM, 11 May 1906.

35 <u>Gallons Per Day</u>	<u>Jameson</u>	<u>Milner</u>
Calculated delivery	576 000	423 000
Actual delivery	369 000	337 000
Deficiency	207 000	86 000

Report of 16 Aug 1908 in CA, MOH 102-L2C.

36 GTJ, 1 June 1905; GTJ, 3 June 1905.

37 GPM, 31 Aug 1906.

38 GTJ, 18 July 1907; GPM, 19 July 1907.

39 GTJ, 19 Sept 1907; GPM, 20 Sept 1907.

40 GTJ, 11 June 1908.

referred to the Finance Committee for report.⁴¹ A new scheme was adopted eighteen months later at an estimated cost of £11 385.⁴² A system of filtration was the first priority; a high level distribution pipe was to be provided to meet the needs of the higher levels of the city, which suffered from lower pressure and less water than other areas. It was also proposed to introduce gradually a system of payment according to meters instead of the rate that was levied.⁴³ The water rate had been investigated before,⁴⁴ and a proposed system of meters turned down,⁴⁵ but the subject had remained controversial.⁴⁶ On this occasion, the principle of a meter system was adopted.⁴⁷

Problems with the condition of the Milner Reservoir prevented any immediate implementation of the new scheme. Scientific investigations into the cleanliness of the water were undertaken,⁴⁸ but were interrupted by the discovery of a serious leak in the Reservoir in December.⁴⁹ Repair work was vital, but hindered by further rainfall at the beginning of January 1911, which caused a further deterioration in conditions at the reservoirs.⁵⁰ Detailed investigations revealed that the dam was cracked in various places, and there was a break in a portion of pipe which passed through the reservoir wall.⁵¹ Rectification of the problems inevitably led to friction about responsibility for the damage and the suitability of methods of repair.⁵² A public meeting endorsed a motion to repair the reservoir without delay to ensure its safety and called on the Board of Works and the City Engineer

41 Report of 16 Aug 1908 in CA, MOH 102-L2C.

42 GTJ, 17 Feb 1910.

43 GTJ, 19 Feb 1910.

44 GTJ, 11 June 1904.

45 GTJ, 23 July 1904.

46 GTJ, 24 Oct 1907.

47 GTJ, 19 Feb 1910.

48 GTJ, 28 April 1910; GTJ, 26 May 1910.

49 GTJ, 22 Dec 1910; GTJ, 24 Dec 1910.

Mayoral Minute 1911, pg 15. AM, unaccessioned.

50 GTJ, 10 Jan 1911.

51 GTJ, 21 Jan 1911.

52 GTJ, 11 Feb 1911; GTJ, 16 Feb 1911; GTJ, 18 Feb 1911.

to begin work under the guidance of a government hydraulic engineer, Mr Newman, who had already made a report on the reservoir.⁵³ The Milner Reservoir, full at the beginning of 1911,⁵⁴ was empty by the end of April,⁵⁵ which was indicative of the extent of the leakage. It was found that the main pipe was broken in five different places.⁵⁶ The repairs were completed by the end of the year, at a cost of £1 750.⁵⁷

The supply of water to the city still did not improve; indeed it seemed to worsen.⁵⁸ The City Engineer submitted a report stating that it was impossible to ensure a constant instead of an intermittent supply of water until further improvements had been implemented.⁵⁹ The Council accepted a Board of Works recommendation that the Slaai Kraal water main be cleaned, at a cost of £675.⁶⁰ New regulations regarding waterworks were passed by the Council⁶¹ and gazetted.⁶² They set out details regarding the laying of pipes to private dwellings. They also made it compulsory for water meters to be installed in hotels, nurseries, market gardens, laundries, schools and certain shops. Regulations governing the operation of the meters were clearly set out. They were, however, rescinded soon after being gazetted.⁶³

Debate about the purity of the water provoked intense clashes and bitter disputes. Professor Cory,⁶⁴ in an analysis of Slaai Kraal water, reported that the construction of filter beds was vital, but he found

53 GTJ, 23 Feb 1911.

54 GTJ, 10 Jan 1911.

55 GTJ, 27 April 1911.

56 GTJ, 9 Sept 1911.

57 GTJ, 21 Nov 1911.

58 GTJ, 4 Jan 1912; GTJ, 11 Jan 1912; GPM, 12 Jan 1912; GPM, 15 Jan 1912; GTJ, 18 Jan 1912.

59 GPM, 19 Jan 1912.

60 GTJ, 24 Feb 1912.

61 GTJ, 14 March 1912; GPM, 15 March 1912.

62 Province of the Cape of Good Hope Official Gazette, 30 Aug 1912.

63 GTJ, 26 Nov 1914; GPM, 27 Nov 1914.

64 Professor of Chemistry at Rhodes University College.

that the water was generally acceptable.⁶⁵ The Medical Officer of Health, Dr Saunders, challenged this report and quoted the analyses of three different people.⁶⁶ These had found the water to be of very doubtful purity, and advised against its use for human consumption.⁶⁷ The matter blew up at the following City Council meeting, when a letter of the Medical Officer of Health was read, in which he stated that he had drawn the Council's attention to the condition of the city's water on numerous occasions, and that the water "constitutes the gravest menace to the public health of the city".⁶⁸ The Council accused Dr Saunders of vindictiveness and unprofessional behaviour, and of blackening the name of Grahamstown; a motion was unanimously passed calling on him to resign his office within seven days "by reason of the objectionable and arbitrary methods adopted by him in the execution of his duties, and also the high-handed bullying and dictatorial manner in which he treats this Council".⁶⁹ Letters in support of and against Dr Saunders poured into the press.⁷⁰ Dr Saunders was vindicated by a Government report; a chemical and bacteriological analysis, made in the Government Bacteriological Laboratory, showed that the water was dirty and seriously contaminated, and "although it might be used without apparent injury, it is unsuitable as a town supply."⁷¹

The City Council thereupon decided to take steps to rectify the situation. Two experts⁷² were consulted for advice on filtration.⁷³ Provincial authorities exerted pressure on the Council; the

65 GTJ, 29 Aug 1912.

66 Prof P D Hahn of the South African College, Cape Town.
G L Saunders, Acting Government Bacteriologist.
E G Dru Drury, District Surgeon.

67 GPM, 30 Aug 1912.

68 GTJ, 5 Sept 1912; GPM, 6 Sept 1912.

69 GTJ, 5 Sept 1912; GPM, 6 Sept 1912.

70 GPM, 6 Sept 1912; GPM, 9 Sept 1912.

71 GTJ, 12 Sept 1912.

72 Dr Porter of Johannesburg.
Dr Tomory, MOH of Bloemfontein.

73 GTJ, 12 Sept 1912.

Administrator demanded "urgent action"⁷⁴ and the Acting Secretary of the Interior requested information about steps being taken.⁷⁵ Dr Tomory of Bloemfontein arrived to make an examination of the water situation in order to recommend methods of purification.⁷⁶ As a temporary measure, the Council authorized the Board of Works to scrape and clean pipes which conveyed water from Slaai Kraal to the city,⁷⁷ but because of shortage of water and supply problems, the work was suspended.⁷⁸ The scraping was completed in January 1913, and an improvement was reported.⁷⁹ Dr Tomory's report revealed little that was not already known; he recommended the Candy-de-Chlor method of filtration, and that the positioning of filters be ascertained by engineers.⁸⁰ A filtration expert visited the city and gave a rough estimate of £5 000 for the construction of filter beds.⁸¹ A joint special committee, comprised of members of the Finance Committee and the Board of Works, investigated tenders, and accepted one at the end of the year.⁸² Messrs Stewart and Lloyd, the South African agents of Messrs Mather and Platt of England, undertook to erect the filtration plant.⁸³ The entire installation was imported from England at a cost of £2 817 and was reported to be the first of its kind in South Africa.⁸⁴ It was installed at the west end of the city,⁸⁵ and was officially opened by the Mayor at the beginning of September.⁸⁶

74 GTJ, 19 Sept 1912; GPM, 20 Sept 1912.

75 GTJ, 12 Dec 1912; GPM, 13 Dec 1912.

76 GPM, 1 Nov 1912.

77 GTJ, 24 Oct 1912.

78 GTJ, 14 Nov 1912; GPM, 15 Nov 1912.

79 On 15 Sept 1912, the flow of water was 6,25 inches and 267 000 gallons per 24 hours; it was now 7,25 inches, with a total flow of 378 000 gallons per 24 hours. GTJ, 23 Jan 1913-

80 GTJ, 16 Jan 1913; GPM, 17 Jan 1913.

81 GPM, 2 April 1913.

82 GTJ, 30 Oct 1913.

83 GPM, 4 Sept 1914; GTJ, 5 Sept 1914.

84 GTJ, 21 March 1914.

85 GPM, 3 Aug 1914.

86 GPM, 4 Sept 1914; GTJ, 5 Sept 1914.

Grahamstown's water problems were far from ended. In October 1914, scarcity of water forced the City Council to curtail the water supply to the city to once a week,⁸⁷ as it was reported that only two months supply of water remained at Slaai Kraal. The sudden acute shortage was questioned and criticized in the city's newspapers.⁸⁸ The Jameson reservoir was reported to be empty, and the Board of Works was authorized to have it cleared of mud and vegetable growth.⁸⁹ 5 000 cubic yards of mud were removed before cleansing operations ceased.⁹⁰ An examination of the use of water revealed that many citizens had been using water extravagantly, but the Council was criticized heavily for its system of water rating, which allowed this.⁹¹ The Board of Works was asked to report as soon as possible on the advisability of fixing water meters in the municipality, and charging each citizen according to the quantity of water consumed.⁹² The regulations that had previously been passed, but never implemented, were adopted, and a meter system introduced.⁹³ This "important reform" was generally welcomed.⁹⁴ The regulations were gazetted in June 1915; homeowners were permitted to request Council for a meter, scales of charges were laid down, with a maximum of 2/6d per 1 000 gallons, and other regulations regarding surveillance and maintenance were set out.⁹⁵

Throughout 1915, Grahamstown's water position was carefully monitored. The level of the reservoirs was low, but never critical. One proposal to improve the water storage capacity was to raise the embankment of the Jameson Reservoir by 3 feet at an estimated cost of £300.⁹⁶ The Provincial Secretary declined, however, to sanction the scheme; the

87 GTJ, 1 Oct 1914.

88 GPM, 5 Oct 1914.

89 GTJ, 8 Oct 1914.

90 GTJ, 26 Nov 1914; GPM, 27 Nov 1914.

91 GTJ, 22 Oct 1914; GPM, 23 Oct 1914.

92 GTJ, 22 Oct 1914; GPM, 23 Oct 1914.

93 GTJ, 26 Nov 1914; GPM, 27 Nov 1914.

94 GTJ, 28 Nov 1914.

95 Province of the Cape of Good Hope Official Gazette, 4 June 1915.

96 GPM, 16 April 1915.

Council revised it, and applied again for permission.⁹⁷ The matter was postponed until a consideration of the estimates for 1916.⁹⁸ The Council also began to investigate the use of boreholes in providing the city with a water supply. Mr Stowe, a water expert, reported that a site above the Grey Reservoir might yield 250 000 gallons a day,⁹⁹ and the Council agreed to carry out tunnelling work at a cost of £150.¹⁰⁰ A stone formation was encountered, however, and work ceased.¹⁰¹

A special meeting of the City Council took place in February 1916 to discuss the water situation.¹⁰² Reports of the City Engineer and the Medical Officer of Health were submitted; the former recommended that a professional man be appointed to prepare a scheme to provide for a more efficient water supply, while the latter suggested various small measures to preserve water such as the building of more furrows in the catchment area, the drainage of bogs and the clearing of vegetation.¹⁰³ The City Engineer's report revealed that the current water storage facilities were inadequate; he stated that the city needed 500 000 gallons per day, which was over three times the present consumption.¹⁰⁴ This gave the lie to the rash assertion of the Mayor in 1898, at the opening of the Milner Reservoir: "Altogether, once the huge reservoir is full, we shall never want water again in Grahamstown."¹⁰⁵ This new demand for water was not because of any significant growth in population; rather, it was due to the need for modern sanitary arrangements, and predominantly water-borne sewerage.¹⁰⁶

97 GPM, 25 June 1915.

98 GPM, 20 Aug 1915.

99 GPM, 27 Oct 1915.

100 GPM, 29 Oct 1915.

101 GPM, 3 Dec 1915.

102 GPM, 23 Feb 1916.

103 GPM, 21 Feb 1916.

104 For May 1916, consumption was 137 000 gallons daily. GPM, 12 May 1916.

105 Quoted by K S Hunt "The Story of Grahamstown's Water Supply" in Annals of the Grahamstown Historical Society, Vol II, No 2, 1976, pg 16.

106 See Chapter 5, pg .157 - 160.

The City Council began to explore further the possibilities of boreholes providing the necessary additional water for the city. The Board of Works recommended tenders for boring be called for and be carried out on West Hill and in the Slaai Kraal area.¹⁰⁷ An offer by Mr Stowe to sink a borehole at his discretion on the town commonage and guarantee a supply of 300 000 gallons per day for the sum of £5 000 "on the principle of no water no pay" was submitted.¹⁰⁸ The Council agreed to consider the offer,¹⁰⁹ and laid down conditions for any tender connected with the sinking of boreholes.¹¹⁰ By the beginning of April, four tenders had been received,¹¹¹ but the Board of Works procrastinated over the acceptance of any of them.¹¹²

Meanwhile, questions about the safety of the town's water supply were raised when the Medical Officer of Health declared that he declined to be responsible any longer for the purity of the water supply. In this, he had the full support of the Health Committee.¹¹³ Further reports regarding the filtration of water were later submitted, amongst them a report of the Government Bacteriologist, concluding "the water from the Municipal reservoirs cannot be regarded otherwise than unsuitable for drinking purposes".¹¹⁴ The Medical Officer of Health threatened to report the matter to the Government because of the lack of action of the Board of Works, especially in the light of the Government Analyst's report.¹¹⁵ Criticisms about the delay meanwhile became more strident.¹¹⁶

107 GPM, 4 Feb 1916.

108 SCMB, offer of 23 Feb 1916, in CA, 3/AY, 1/3/1/1/5. See also GPM, 25 Feb 1916.

109 GPM, 28 Feb 1916.

110 GPM, 1 March 1916.

111 GPM, 7 April 1916.

112 GPM, 1 May 1916; GPM, 5 May 1916; GPM, 12 May 1916; GPM, 15 May 1916.

113 GPM, 20 March 1916.

114 GPM, 5 May 1916.

115 GPM, 25 May 1916.

116 GPM, 5 June 1916.

In June 1916, a separate water committee was formed.¹¹⁷ The Committee immediately set about obtaining the services of a consulting engineer; it also accepted a tender, of Mr H Coetzee, at 10/- per foot, to sink a borehole in the Slaai Kraal area.¹¹⁸ The contractor guaranteed he would strike 100 000 gallons per day at a depth of 80 ft. No water was found by the time the 140 ft. mark was reached, and the Council allowed him to continue at his own expense.¹¹⁹ The scheme failed entirely: no water was found, and the contractor did not have the resources to continue sinking boreholes on the "no water, no pay" basis.¹²⁰

The special committee eventually recommended that the services of R W Menmuir, a consulting engineer, be obtained to advise the City Engineer and the committee.¹²¹ He visited the town the following week¹²² and stated he would aim at providing a supply of 500 000 gallons a day.¹²³ At the beginning of 1917, Menmuir submitted an interim report to the Council.¹²⁴ He advised that no further major expenditure should be undertaken at Slaai Kraal, and recommended that new schemes should be inaugurated. He singled out Green Hills, Howieson's Poort and Featherstone's Kloof as prime sites. Exploitation of any of these would greatly augment the water supply to the city. The water committee, in the light of these suggestions, accepted options on "Greenhills"¹²⁵ and

117 It consisted of Clrs W Stead, C Whiteside, C S Webb, E Jardine and J A Tomlinson. GPM, 23 June 1916.

118 GPM, 7 July 1916.

119 GPM, 18 Aug 1916.

120 GPM, 8 Sept 1916.

121 Mr Menmuir had had experience with the water supplies of Cape Town, Uptington, Uitenhage and East London. GPM, 17 Nov 1916.

122 GPM, 24 Nov 1916.

123 GPM, 4 Dec 1916.

124 GPM, 12 Jan 1917.

125 A farm belonging to Mr A Greener, which was offered at £10 000.

"Howieson's Poort"¹²⁶ and paid £5 for each of these.¹²⁷ Rain gauges and river gauges were to be erected to monitor rainfall and the river flow. The Committee also recommended the raising of a loan of £1 000 to provide for expenditure to be incurred with all the preliminary investigations. The Council agreed to the raising of a loan¹²⁸ and a public meeting endorsed the decision.¹²⁹

The disadvantages of Grahamstown's inadequate water supply were highlighted by the decision of the Union Government not to extend the Fort England Mental Hospital because there was no guarantee of an efficient water supply. The City Council met Dr Dunstan, the Commissioner of Mental Hospitals in the Union, to discuss the water position with him.¹³⁰ Plans had been drawn up for the extension of the hospital, and £83 000 had been voted by the Government, which planned eventually to spend £200 000 on the project. The extension held great potential for Grahamstown, both because of the jobs that would be created by capital development and the fact that about £20 000 in salaries would be paid each year to staff, and spent in the city. Dr Dunstan reported that, five years before, he had been assured that there would be no delay in improvements in the water situation; plans had been shelved because of the war, but the Government now wished to pursue the scheme. The Government, however, was not prepared to build a hospital for 1 000 patients and then find itself with water shortages. He wanted a guarantee of 90 000 gallons per day.¹³¹ The Council approved a motion, assuring the Government of "its sense of responsibility to supply a sufficient quantity of water for the purpose of the Mental Hospital, and agrees to give a definite undertaking at an early date".¹³² The Council

126 A farm belonging to Mr J A Tomlinson. The Council had 3 options:

- 1) on the upper part of the farm, for £2 500
- 2) on the remaining portion, for £2 000
- 3) on the whole farm with the hotel, for £6 000

127 GPM, 31 Jan 1917.

128 GPM, 2 Feb 1917.

129 GPM, 16 Feb 1917.

130 GPM, 13 Dec 1916.

131 GPM, 12 Jan 1917.

132 GPM, 13 Dec 1916.

was relieved of this pledge by the decision of Dr Dunstan not to spend the £83 000 voted by the Union Parliament to provide additional mental hospital accommodation on an extension of Fort England.¹³³ Queenstown was the new site favoured by the Government.¹³⁴ Grahamstown unquestionably suffered a great loss with this inevitable decision; it was the clearest case yet of how an inadequate and insecure water supply militated against the expansion of the town.

The water crisis meanwhile worsened; the supply to citizens was reduced to a fortnightly service in April 1917.¹³⁵ The Council continued with boring operations at Slaai Kraal and West Hill. One contractor, Mr Hyde, succeeded in sinking a borehole at Slaai Kraal which yielded between 40 000 and 50 000 gallons of water per day¹³⁶ but further excavations proved a failure.¹³⁷ By the beginning of June 1917, both the Jameson and the Milner Reservoirs contained less than 10 feet of water.¹³⁸ A proposal that the two reservoirs be paved met with a great deal of favourable reaction,¹³⁹ while dissatisfaction with the employment of Mr Menmuir increased.¹⁴⁰ He was nonetheless invited to come to Grahamstown again.¹⁴¹ The Council agreed that a loan of £2 000 should be raised in connection with water expenses¹⁴² and a poorly attended meeting approved this.¹⁴³ A loan from C J Stirk of £2 000 at 5% interest was accepted in August.¹⁴⁴

Unseasonal rainfall in July 1917 relieved the critical situation,¹⁴⁵ and

133 GPM, 9 Feb 1917.

134 GPM, 9 Feb 1917.

135 GPM, 7 April 1917.

136 GPM, 4 May 1917.

137 GPM, 9 Nov 1917.

138 GPM, 4 June 1917.

139 GPM, 15 June 1917; GPM, 11 July 1917.

140 GPM, 6 July 1917; GPM, 13 July 1917.

141 GPM, 20 July 1917.

142 GPM, 13 July 1917.

143 The majority was 7 votes to 2. GPM, 3 Aug 1917.

144 GPM, 31 Aug 1917.

145 GPM, 15 Aug 1917.

resulted in the restoration of a weekly service.¹⁴⁶ At their lowest, the reservoirs had contained only six million gallons, as against twenty-nine million gallons in 1914.¹⁴⁷ Further rainfall enabled the Council to introduce a bi-weekly service,¹⁴⁸ and record rainfalls then resulted in the overflow of the Slaai Kraal reservoirs on 15 October 1917. They only ceased to overflow on 12 February 1918.¹⁴⁹ The Council endorsed the proposal that Mr Menmuir continue his investigation and make recommendations and submit plans to ensure a yield of 500 000 gallons, and not exceeding £75 000 in cost.¹⁵⁰

Mr Menmuir's report was eventually published at the end of July 1918.¹⁵¹ He used figures gained from thirteen rain gauges placed at the proposed water sites and in Grahamstown, and carefully examined the topography and watershed of the surrounding countryside. He favoured a site on Botha's River, but qualified this by emphasizing the need for further investigations. He calculated that to conserve 1 000 million gallons of water, £79 000 would have to be spent on constructing a dam; by additional expenditure of £16 000, 3 000 million gallons could be stored. The Council adopted the report,¹⁵² and spent the remainder of the year in exploring methods to raise such a sum of money, and examining alternative schemes.¹⁵³ The Menmuir scheme was soon discredited; it was based on the high rainfall figures of 1917 and Botha's River was established to be an unrealistic site. It was some year, and several plans later that the Council agreed that Howieson's Poort would be the most economical. The dam was completed in 1930. With the expansion of Grahamstown's educational facilities and black population after 1945, the water supply was again found to be inadequate, and the Settlers Dam was opened in 1962 to cope with the

146 GPM, 17 Aug 1917.

147 GPM, 17 Sept 1917.

148 GPM, 12 Oct 1917.

149 GPM, 5 July 1918.

150 GPM, 21 Sept 1917.

151 GPM, 29 July 1918; GPM, 31 July 1918.

152 GPM, 2 Aug 1918.

153 GPM, 9 Dec 1918.

demand.¹⁵⁴

The upkeep of streets, the building of tar pavements, the paving of the river bed and the lighting of the streets accounted for the bulk of the expenditure of the Board of Works each year. The repair and maintenance of streets, particularly after heavy rainfall, absorbed a great deal of time and labour, and roads were probably no better or worse in 1918 than in 1902. One change did begin to be introduced during the period under review; macadamization of the Market Square and High Street heralded a development that would spread throughout the major residential areas of the town. Tar pavements were a popular project, for they gave neatness and order to the city. Paving of the river bed was undertaken when funds allowed, in order to channel water more efficiently and thus prevent flooding, and to increase sanitation. Provision for these three facilities absorbed between 50% and 75% of the Board's budget.¹⁵⁵

One intense dispute over the upkeep of roads took place between the City

154 For greater detail on developments after 1918, see K S Hunt, "The Story of Grahamstown's Water Supply", in Annals of the Grahams-town Historical Society, Vol II, No 2, 1976, pgs 8-21.

155 The following table shows the annual expenditure on streets for every even year during the period under review. Financial statements often did not distinguish between the three, and hence they are all classed under the single heading:

	<u>Streets/River Bed Paving/Tar Pavements</u>
1904	£5 745
1906	6 156
1908	6 830
1910	7 278
1912	5 272
1914	5 697
1916	5 321
1918	3 904

Compiled from annual financial statements: GTJ, 20 April 1905; GPM, 25 March 1907; GPM, 23 April 1909; GPM, 21 April 1911; GTJ, 13 Feb 1913; GPM, 17 March 1915; GPM, 5 Feb 1917; GPM, 17 March 1919.

Council and the Albany Divisional Council. It broke out at the beginning of 1906, when the Divisional Council announced that it would now only control and maintain the Kowie Road as far as Pote's Corner, and not Hope's Garden, which it had done for the past forty years.¹⁵⁶ Technically, the Divisional Council was correct, in that an agreement of 1864 between the two councils stated that the Divisional Council's responsibility ceased at Pote's Corner; nonetheless, they had continued to repair the road as far as Hope's Garden.¹⁵⁷ The dispute widened, and soon all the roads in the area became subject to discussion. The Divisional Council repudiated the agreement whereby it controlled all main roads within the municipality as well.¹⁵⁸ A deputation from the City Council met the Divisional Council to discuss the problems of road maintenance.¹⁵⁹ The Divisional Council maintained eighteen miles of road within the municipality, and revenue, in the form of tolls, had dropped drastically; this was the underlying reason for the Divisional Council's desire to repudiate agreements with the City Council.¹⁶⁰ The Albany Divisional Council gave formal notice to terminate the agreement of 1868, regarding its responsibility for the repair of roads in the municipality.¹⁶¹ The Council agreed that it would maintain these roads if the Divisional Council would pay £1 500 out of its town rates for this.¹⁶² Agreement was eventually achieved in September when the Divisional Council agreed to continue to maintain certain roads in the municipality.¹⁶³ The City Council accepted the proposal with one amendment,¹⁶⁴ and the whole matter was then approved by the Divisional

156 GTJ, 29 March 1906; GPM, 30 March 1906.

157 GTJ, 5 April 1906; GPM, 6 April 1906.

158 GTJ, 3 May 1906; GPM, 4 May 1906.

159 GTJ, 7 June 1906; GPM, 8 June 1906.

160 The Waai Nek Toll yielded £975 in 1873; in 1905 it was £400.

Botha's Hill Toll yielded £922 in 1873; in 1905 it was only £140.

161 GTJ, 14 June 1906; GPM, 15 June 1906.

162 GTJ, 23 Aug 1906.

163 GTJ, 6 Sept 1906.

164 GTJ, 13 Sept 1906; GPM, 14 Sept 1906.

Council.¹⁶⁵

Tolls were charged for vehicles travelling along Divisional roads, and entering the municipality. Rumours that they were to be abolished by the Divisional Council were met with anxiety in Grahamstown, which "would be hard hit from loss of revenue from tolls".¹⁶⁶ The matter was not pursued, but it became prominent in 1907. Angry reaction was witnessed in Grahamstown when the Divisional Council proposed to abolish tolls.¹⁶⁷ The City Council likewise opposed the Divisional Council.¹⁶⁸ Citizens feared the imposition of an extra rate to make up the loss of revenue should the tolls be abolished. A public meeting rejected the abolition of tolls "until such time as a revision of the Divisional Council Act released the town from an increased incidence of taxation for Divisional purposes."¹⁶⁹ A similar motion was passed by the City Council, rejecting the abolition of tolls unless a scheme could be found that placed no additional burden on Grahamstown.¹⁷⁰

Farmers thought differently on the issue. They felt that the heaviest burden fell on them, and hence supported the abolition of tolls.¹⁷¹ The Divisional Council did not bow to pressure, and formally passed a motion abolishing tolls in the division.¹⁷² A lively public meeting

165 The Divisional Council was to maintain:

the Port Elizabeth road to the west side of South's Drift.

the Kingwilliamstown road to the east gate of the railway.

the Cradock road to the north side of Worcester St.

the Port Alfred Road to Hope's Garden.

the Peddie Road to deviation on the Kingwilliamstown Road.

also George Street, between Jackson Street and the Port Alfred road. GPM, 4 Oct 1906.

166 GPM, 30 July 1904.

167 GTJ, 7 May 1907; GTJ, 11 May 1907.

168 GTJ, 16 May 1907; GPM, 17 May 1907.

169 GPM, 20 May 1907; GTJ, 23 May 1907.

170 GTJ, 30 May 1907; GPM, 31 May 1907.

171 Koonap Farmers Meeting. GTJ, 4 June 1907;

Meeting at Manley's Flats. GTJ, 29 June 1907.

172 GTJ, 4 July 1907; GPM, 5 July 1907.

took place in Grahamstown, and requested the Government to withdraw its consent to the Divisional Council's motion.¹⁷³ The City had no success at all; the motion was confirmed,¹⁷⁴ and the City Council agreed to the sale of toll houses, the proceeds to be divided between the two councils.¹⁷⁵

The City Council's road building schemes did not always win approval, either from the public or from Government. In March 1905 it was agreed to erect a bridge in Cawood Street, to be given priority over other projects. Adverse public reaction ensued; a large public meeting¹⁷⁶ requested the Council to rescind its decision on the grounds of lack of finance and the poor positioning of the proposed bridge.¹⁷⁷ The Council stood firm, and the majority on the Council in favour of the construction of the bridge managed to circumvent a motion to abandon the scheme for technical reasons.¹⁷⁸ The establishment of a new cemetery in Belmont Valley¹⁷⁹ meant that approaches had to be improved: as a result, the Council drafted plans for the construction of a bridge over the Belmont drift, to cost about £2 400. This was rejected by the Province on the grounds of being too expensive for the amount of traffic, and also that plans indicated an unsuitable site.¹⁸⁰ Plans were amended, therefore, and a compromise site was agreed on.¹⁸¹ The Administrator agreed to grant £1 000 towards the cost of the bridge,¹⁸² but provincial authorities still objected to plans for the bridge.¹⁸³ Financial complications, and then the outbreak of war, prevented its construction.¹⁸⁴

173 GPM, 26 July 1907; GTJ, 27 July 1907.

174 GPM, 4 Sept 1907.

175 GTJ, 18 Jan 1908.

176 According to the Penny Mail, between 700 and 800 people were present.

177 GPM, 22 March 1905; GTJ, 25 March 1905.

178 GPM, 14 April 1905; GTJ, 15 April 1905.

179 See Chapter 5, pg. 162 - 163.

180 GTJ, 12 March 1914; GPM, 13 March 1914.

181 GTJ, 23 April 1914.

182 GTJ, 19 March 1914; GPM, 20 March 1914.

183 GTJ, 9 July 1914.

184 GTJ, 24 Sept 1914; GPM, 25 Sept 1914.

Problems connected with High Street occupied a great deal of the Council's time and money. In 1906, the condition of the street was very bad, and the need for repairs was recognized; money to meet the envisaged cost for remetalling, of £1 080, was not available, however, and the work was indefinitely postponed.¹⁸⁵ A decision of the Council in 1911 to metal and tar the whole street, from the Drostdy Gate to Dundas Bridge, and including Church Square, for £6 000¹⁸⁶ provoked strong reaction.¹⁸⁷ A public meeting registered its protest,¹⁸⁸ thereby forcing the Council to reconsider its resolution. The Council agreed that only the section from Church Square to Dundas Bridge should be remetalled, at a cost of £1 250, and £400 for tarring.¹⁸⁹

The Council passed a scheme in 1913 involving major expense to reform Church Square. At an estimated cost of £1 687, the scheme involved tarring, the construction of concrete gutters and redesigning the central business district of the city.¹⁹⁰ Shortly afterwards, the next major street programme was put forward. Further improvements to High Street were agreed to; it was planned to construct two metalled and tarred roadways, five islands in the centre of High Street planted with small shrubs and trees, and tar footways across the islands. The estimated cost was £1 750.¹⁹¹ Public reaction was again hostile. A petition of protest was signed by twenty-one owners of property and tenants in High Street who objected to the proposed islands on the grounds that they would curtail business and would interfere with traffic flow and safety.¹⁹² A deputation of opponents of the scheme put its case to the Board of Works.¹⁹³ The Eastern Province Automobile Association

185 GTJ, 21 June 1906; GPM, 22 June 1906.

186 GTJ, 7 Sept 1911.

187 GTJ, 9 Sept 1911.

188 GTJ, 28 Sept 1911.

189 GTJ, 29 Dec 1911.

190 GTJ, 18 Sept 1913; GPM, 19 Sept 1913.

191 GTJ, 12 Feb 1914; GPM, 13 Feb 1914.

192 GTJ, 19 Feb 1914 (which says 21 people signed the petition);

GPM, 20 Feb 1914 (which gives 19 as the figure).

193 GTJ, 3 March 1914.

added its voice to the protest,¹⁹⁴ and five petitions from 145 farmers were received.¹⁹⁵ This intense public reaction persuaded the City Council to adopt an amended plan, taking into account the objections of the protestors.¹⁹⁶ The scheme of islands was dropped, but raised again in 1917, when a petition of eighty-five residents called for the beautification of High Street and Bathurst Street by constructing islands and planting grass in the middle.¹⁹⁷ The Council agreed to pursue the matter and make provision for it in the next estimates. Despite opposition,¹⁹⁸ the Council pressed ahead with the work, focussing on High Street and, should funds allow, developing Bathurst Street thereafter.¹⁹⁹

Throughout the period under review, the South African Lighting Association and the City Council extended the facilities of gas lighting in the streets of the city. By 1912, it was conceded that the streets were "not badly lit".²⁰⁰ Complaints about lighting were infrequent, but nonetheless were a feature of municipal life.²⁰¹ The annual expenditure on this facility was considerable, and had to cover wages, costs of maintenance and new lights.²⁰² The move towards electric light gained momentum only after 1918. A meeting took place between the Mayor and the General Manager of the South African Lighting Association in

194 GPM, 4 March 1914.

195 GTJ, 23 April 1914; GPM, 24 April 1914.

196 GTJ, 30 April 1914; GPM, 1 May 1914.

197 GPM, 26 Oct 1917.

198 GPM, 30 March 1917: opposition came from the E.P. Automobile Assoc.

199 GPM, 2 Aug 1918.

200 GPM, 27 May 1912.

201 See, for example, GTJ, 9 Sept 1905.

202 Annual expenditure on street lighting for each even year:

1904	£ 944	1912	£1 432
1906	1 041	1914	1 421
1908	1 137	1916	1 587
1910	1 557	1918	1 490

Compiled from annual financial statements:

GTJ, 20 April 1905; GPM, 25 March 1907; GPM, 23 April 1909; GPM, 21 April 1911; GTJ, 13 Feb 1913; GPM, 17 March 1915; GPM, 5 Feb 1917; GPM, 17 March 1919.

December 1918, at which the Manager reported that the Company had made the necessary arrangements for lighting the town by electricity, but the outbreak of war in 1914 had stopped the work. He reported that the Company was prepared to proceed with the work, but he first needed the approval of the Council.²⁰³

The acquisition of lands in Grahamstown for sporting and recreational purposes was a vexed and time-consuming issue. At the beginning of 1905, there was only one public ground in the city, City Lords, suitable for use by sports clubs. Grahamstown sports enthusiasts had to rely on the generosity of schools in order to follow their outdoor pursuits, as City Lords could not provide sufficient facilities for all. In 1905, two landowners gave the Council an option to purchase their land for the purposes of a park, which would consist of about six acres, between Cawood Street and Carlisle Street, and between African Street and the rear of the Town Hall.²⁰⁴ A crowded public meeting authorized the Council to purchase the property, called Fiddlers Green, from Messrs Galpin Bros. for £1 000, and the adjoining property of Mr Thomas Larkin for a further £1 000.²⁰⁵ The ground was centrally and conveniently placed, and there was sufficient space for several sporting facilities such as bowls, tennis, cricket and football. The City Council duly acceded, with one dissident, R W Nelson, to a motion to purchase the two properties.²⁰⁶ The weak opposition to the scheme organized itself, and a petition of thirty-four signatures, sufficient to requisition a public meeting, was submitted to the Mayor, asking for a reconsideration of the decision to purchase the land, because "the present financial position of the Town Council does not warrant the expenditure".²⁰⁷ The public meeting was duly held and attended by between 200 and 300 people; R W Nelson's motion that the matter be delayed six months was overwhelmingly defeated, and the original proposal stood.²⁰⁸ The Finance

203 GPM, 6 Dec 1918.

204 GTJ, 18 May 1905.

205 GTJ, 22 May 1905; GPM, 23 May 1905.

206 GTJ, 22 June 1905.

207 GTJ, 20 June 1905.

208 GPM, 28 June 1905; GTJ, 29 June 1905.

Committee was thereafter authorized to purchase the properties²⁰⁹. Clr Nelson proposed the sale of City Lords to finance the purchase of Fiddlers Green,²¹⁰ but his opposition failed to make any further impact.

The depression militated against immediate major expenditure on the ground, which was necessary for its conversion into sporting facilities. The subject of its control was also a disputed issue. A lengthy debate in Council, on a proposal that the ground come under the management of the custodians of City Lords, resulted in the matter being referred back to the Board of Works.²¹¹ A special committee was then appointed to consult with the custodians of City Lords and various sports clubs over the future of the ground.²¹² The committee agreed to make a start by fencing the ground at a cost of £100.²¹³ This sum was found to be insufficient; £300 was required. The advance of the sum provoked further controversy in the City Council,²¹⁴ but the Council agreed to advance £250 in order to enclose the ground.²¹⁵ Promptings from the Mayor²¹⁶ resulted eventually in agreement between the special sports committee of the Council and the custodians of the City Lords.²¹⁷ The Town Clerk was authorized to sign it on behalf of the Council. City Lords and Fiddlers Green were henceforward to be run jointly by fifteen custodians, ten of whom were elected, and the other five were appointed town councillors.²¹⁸ A new lease for both the grounds was taken out, and Fiddlers Green was formally opened as a sports ground in February 1908.²¹⁹

209 GPM, 28 July 1905; GTJ, 29 July 1905.

210 GPM, 4 Aug 1905; GTJ, 5 Aug 1905.

211 The vote was 8-7. GPM, 10 Nov 1906.

212 GTJ, 29 Nov 1906; GPM, 30 Nov 1906.

213 GPM, 1 Feb 1907; GTJ, 2 Feb 1907.

214 GTJ, 28 March 1907.

215 GTJ, 11 April 1907.

216 GTJ, 3 Oct 1907; GPM, 4 Oct 1907.

217 GTJ, 21 Nov 1907; GPM, 22 Nov 1907.

218 GTJ, 10 Dec 1907.

219 GTJ, 25 Feb 1908.

The following few years were difficult ones for the sports administrators, who suffered from an acute shortage of funds. Their plans for development did not tally with their annual revenue. The proposal to construct a skating rink met with a favourable response,²²⁰ and it was agreed to appoint a committee of six, with power to spend money up to £850 and that a bank should be approached with a view to granting a loan, on the strength of a guarantee fund of £995.²²¹ The custodians were criticized by local newspapers for their "semi-private meetings" and reluctance to divulge details of their real position.²²² Another major setback for Fiddlers Green was flooding in 1910, and a proposal of the City Council to construct a culvert in African Street at a cost of £675 was agreed to,²²³ but met with public hostility.²²⁴

The custodians applied to the City Council for financial assistance after it became apparent that Fiddlers Green was running at a considerable loss. As a result, it was agreed that the Council would take over the administration and control of the grounds, as well as its financial liability, and would cancel the lease of October 1908.²²⁵ Revenue had dropped by 50% in the previous four years; the overdraft stood at £125, and total liabilities were £200. This excluded loans of £450 from the Rink guarantors.²²⁶

An investigation by a special committee of the Council found that Fiddlers' Green was too small for rugby, football and cricket, and henceforward the Bowls Club would extend its activities there, and a hockey field would remain.²²⁷ City Lords was found to be in a "deplorable condition" because of constant use by cricket and football clubs. A great deal of money needed to be spent: figures as high as

220 GTJ, 31 July 1909.

221 GTJ, 12 Aug 1909.

222 GTJ, 30 April 1910.

223 GTJ, 21 July 1910.

224 GTJ, 28 July 1910.

225 GTJ, 26 Oct 1912.

226 GTJ, 29 Oct 1912.

227 GPM, 12 March 1913.

£2 000 were quoted.²²⁸ A small sum of £150 for immediate improvements was voted, but withdrawn once war broke out, and it was evident that a planned visit by an Australian cricket team to Grahamstown would not take place.²²⁹ Eventually, it was agreed to raise a loan of £1 250 to cover the cost of improvements,²³⁰ but the loan was not raised.²³¹ Grahamstown's sports facilities were thus severely hampered by a shortage of funds.

Grahamstown's Town Hall was a source of pride to the community,²³² and it was continually in use. The position of such a symbol of civic status was occasionally re-examined as alteration schemes were considered. One such plan was placed before the Council at the end of 1910. It was proposed to alter the Town Hall for the centenary celebrations of 1912. The major proposal was to erect a stage and build an organ, but it was estimated that such a scheme would cost £3 500.²³³ Funds proved to be the stumbling-block to the scheme, and it was shelved. Pressure for extension and alteration persisted. A Cape Town architect, Mr Kendall, placed two alternative schemes before the Board of Works, and the more moderate of them, to cost about £2 500,²³⁴ was brought before the Council.²³⁵ It was modified further to cost £2 000, and then adopted by the Council three months later.²³⁶

The decision was controversial. A motion was introduced in Council to have the work postponed by twelve months, but failed.²³⁷ This provoked heated public debate. Two reasons were put forward for the alteration

228 GPM, 3 June 1914.

229 GTJ, 6 Aug 1914; GPM, 7 Aug 1914.

230 GPM, 9 April 1915.

231 See Chapter 3 on Municipal Finance, pg.110.

232 M Gibbens, Grahamstown 1862-1882, pgs 180-184.

233 GTJ, 17 Nov 1910. See Chapter 8, pgs.345f for a discussion of the centenary celebrations.

234 Mayoral Minute 1913, pgs. 14-15, AM, unaccessioned.

235 GTJ, 26 June 1913; GPM, 27 June 1913.

236 GTJ, 18 Sept 1913; GPM, 19 Sept 1913.

237 GTJ, 2 Oct 1913; GPM, 3 Oct 1913.

of the Hall: the expansion of the feather trade (for the feather market was held in the Hall), and the need for improved entertainment facilities. Proponents of the scheme emphasized the former aspect, arguing that the feather market would suffer if the Hall was not altered because of shortage of floor space and the small platform.²³⁸ Opponents of the scheme emphasized the latter aspect, claiming it was "wantonly extravagant"²³⁹ and protesting that it was too high on the list of priorities of public works.²⁴⁰

Tenders to undertake the additions were called for, and in February 1914, the lowest, of Mr J Davidson for £1 897, was carried.²⁴¹ A separate tender of £297 to provide a stamped steel proscenium for the stage was later accepted.²⁴² The plan came in for strong attack from a correspondent, E Vincent,²⁴³ who claimed that because of insufficient room and bad design, the new stage and Hall would not attract artists and performers.²⁴⁴ The Board of Works discussed the letter and agreed that the general plan should stand.²⁴⁵ The Council nonetheless, in the light of criticism, did make some alterations to the original plans.²⁴⁶

Once the new scheme was completed, a new list of tariffs for the hire of the Hall was passed.²⁴⁷ The eventual cost of the scheme was £2 831, which was charged to the new General Fund Capital Account.²⁴⁸ The improvements were generally welcomed, particularly the new stage and the provision of a raised floor at the back of the Hall.²⁴⁹ Town Hall

238 GTJ, 2 Oct 1913; GPM, 3 Oct 1913.

239 GTJ, 16 Oct 1913.

240 GTJ, 11 Oct 1913.

241 GTJ, 19 Feb 1914; GPM, 20 Feb 1914.

242 GTJ, 28 Feb 1914; GPM, 278 Feb 1914.

243 He was described as "one of the best known and highly respected members of the theatrical profession in South Africa".

244 GTJ, 23 April 1914; GPM, 24 April 1914.

245 GPM, 27 April 1914.

246 GTJ, 30 April 1914; GPM, 1 May 1914.

247 GTJ, 30 July 1914.

248 GPM, 17 March 1915.

249 GTJ, 15 Aug 1914.

accommodation was still at a premium, and the Council agreed that new buildings for the Public Library and the Fine Arts Association, both of which were housed in the Hall, would have to be found.²⁵⁰ The war intervened, and the search for new accommodation for these two organizations was undertaken after 1918. The Town Hall was an expensive building for the City Council to maintain. The sole income was derived from hire and rent of the Hall. Expenditure was heavy, however; maintenance costs were high, and interest payments on debentures and loans were about £475 each year, and rose further after the extensions.²⁵¹

One novelty of the twentieth century that did not by-pass Grahamstown was the cinematograph. By September 1911, there were two cinemas in Grahamstown, and a third was shortly afterwards established.²⁵² The Sanitary Committee was asked to report on the advisability of framing regulations to govern cinematographic exhibitions.²⁵³ It was agreed that regulations be framed by the Board of Works.²⁵⁴ These were

250 GTJ, 4 June 1914; GPM, 5 June 1914.

251 Annual income and expenditure of Town Hall for each even year:

	<u>Revenue</u>	<u>Expenditure</u>
1904	£130	£ 822
1906	81	828
1908	112	825
1910	79	792
1912	114	850
1914		1 130
1916	164	1 077
1918	120	1 051

Compiled from annual financial statements:

GTJ, 20 April 1905; GPM, 25 March 1907; GPM, 23 April 1909; GPM, 21 April 1911; GTJ, 13 Feb 1913; GPM, 17 March 1915; GPM, 5 Feb 1917; GPM, 17 March 1919.

252 The Palace Theatre, the Electric Picture Palace and the Grand Bioscope.

253 GTJ, 29 Sept 1911.

254 GTJ, 5 Oct 1911.

discussed and passed by the City Council six weeks later,²⁵⁵ and gazetted in April 1912.²⁵⁶ They laid out the powers of the Council with regard to granting licences, the right to inspect premises, structural requirements for the buildings and fire precautions. The Council also laid down regulations as to the type of pictures to be shown: prohibited were "any obscene or indecent pictures, prizefight, pugilistic contest or incident therein of a nature tending to prejudice the good rule and government of the town or to lead to a breach of the peace".²⁵⁷

Two problems were experienced over the new cinemas in Grahamstown: the type of picture shown and, more importantly, the enforcement of the new regulations. The Evangelical Church Council strongly urged "the desirability of instituting, in the interests of morality, a definite oversight of all pictures proposed to be shown".²⁵⁸ A new cinema in Queen Street had its temporary licence withdrawn by the Council for showing a film about two boys running away from home.²⁵⁹ A further application for a licence was refused.²⁶⁰ The enforcement of the safety regulations rightly required more attention. The City Engineer reported that buildings in which cinematographic exhibitions were held needed considerable attention before they could be considered safe for the public.²⁶¹ Proprietors were requested by the Council to bring their buildings into accord with safety regulations before another licence was granted from 1 January 1913.²⁶² This was promptly carried out by proprietors, and licences were duly granted.²⁶³

The position of Grahamstown's fire brigade was subject to erratic, and then sustained, attention. A motion of Clr R W Nelson, criticizing the

255 GTJ, 23 Nov 1911.

256 Province of the Cape of Good Hope Official Gazette, 5 April 1912.

257 Clause 18 of the new regulations.

258 GTJ, 18 July 1912; GPM, 19 July 1912.

259 GTJ, 19 June 1913.

260 GTJ, 10 July 1913; GPM, 11 July 1913.

261 GTJ, 3 Oct 1912.

262 GPM, 4 Oct 1912.

263 GTJ, 17 Oct 1912; GPM, 18 Oct 1912.

state of disorganization of the fire brigade, and calling for "searching investigation", was heeded, and led to the organization of the service.²⁶⁴ The fire brigade was headed by a superintendent, Thomas Clark, and there was a senior fireman and five firemen on the staff.²⁶⁵ Facilities were nonetheless lacking; one major problem was the lack of an adequate water supply.²⁶⁶ The Board of Works introduced a motion in Council in 1908 to invite tenders for the erection of a fire station, but it was narrowly defeated after a lengthy debate on the type of building necessary.²⁶⁷ The Council came in for criticism for this decision,²⁶⁸ and the importance of providing for a proper fire station was emphasized. The Council agreed to erect a "fire engine house" at no more than £400;²⁶⁹ tenders received, however, ranged from £556 to £776.²⁷⁰ The Council agreed reluctantly to accept the lowest of these, that of £556.²⁷¹ The new fire station was completed in April 1910.²⁷²

Further reforms were later undertaken, and were welcomed for the greater security they would provide.²⁷³ The Council agreed to abolish the system of summoning the brigade by the ringing of the curfew bell. Each educational institution was provided with a fire alarm, and the brigade was also to be linked to the telephone. A fireman would henceforward be on duty day and night. The City Engineer at the Board of Works submitted a report outlining the necessary expenditure on these new services to be provided by the municipality.²⁷⁴ Capital expenditure of

264 GTJ, 14 May 1904.

265 GTJ, 2 June 1904.

266 Mayoral Minute 1908, pg. 6, AM, unaccessioned.

267 GTJ, 8 Oct 1908.

268 GTJ, 15 Oct 1908.

269 GTJ, 11 Feb 1909.

270 GTJ, 15 April 1909.

271 GTJ, 10 June 1909.

272 GTJ, 12 April 1910.

273 GTJ, 4 Nov 1913.

274 GPM, 10 Dec 1913.

£376 was recommended,²⁷⁵ and it was calculated that maintenance of facilities would cost £27 per month.²⁷⁶ The report was not immediately accepted, but was referred back to the Board of Works.²⁷⁷ It was accepted six months later with a few minor amendments.²⁷⁸ Mr Clark was to remain as superintendent of the brigade, but all other members would resign. Six volunteer firemen would be employed at £1 per month, and would be required to sleep at the fire station a week each in succession, for an additional 10/-.

During 1913 and 1914, an unprecedented amount of building activity took place in Grahamstown, in both the public and private spheres.²⁷⁹ The Government undertook the extension of the Eastern District Court, and alterations and additions to the Post Office. At Rhodes University College, there was a great deal of building activity: a new men's hostel, a science block and a new women's hostel were erected. St Andrew's and St Aidan's schools both added to their properties. The major project undertaken by the City Council in these years was the improvements to the Town Hall. The Prince Alfred Infirmary and the Fort England Asylum undertook extensions. In the religious sphere, the Synagogue, a new Wesleyan Church and schoolroom, and a parish hall for the Cathedral (which itself had just been extended) were begun.

One effect of the boom in building, and the consequent general confidence exhibited after Union, was a move in Grahamstown that the city ought to publicize itself. Both major newspapers in the city launched a campaign at the beginning of 1913 in favour of this, and

275	Quarters at the station	£ 50
	6 street alarms and their erection	230
	1 station indicator	55.10d
	6 chemical extinguishers	21
	primary batteries	<u>20</u>
		£376.10d

276 The major expenditure would be on wages: £12 for a regular fireman, £6 for 6 volunteer firemen, and a black employee £2.

277 GTJ, 18 Dec 1913; GPM, 19 Dec 1913.

278 GTJ, 20 June 1914; GPM, 19 June 1914.

279 See GTJ, 21 Aug 1913 and GTJ, 27 June 1914.

pointed to Grahamstown's historical, educational and natural advantages.²⁸⁰ The suggestion met with a favourable response at the Chamber of Commerce, the first organization of any significance to discuss it;²⁸¹ following a request of the Chamber, the Mayor called a public meeting to gauge public opinion regarding the idea.²⁸² The "Civic Association" was duly founded.²⁸³ Its objects were "to improve and beautify Grahamstown and its surroundings", to attract visitors to the city, to establish links with similar organizations in other centres and to establish some kind of information bureau for the convenience of visitors. The first President was H. Fitchat, and members were required to pay a subscription of 5/-. The Association approached the Council for a grant of £100,²⁸⁴ which was approved by the Council²⁸⁵ and sanctioned by the ratepayers at a public meeting.²⁸⁶

Grahamstown's public works schemes were clearly hampered by a severe shortage of funds. Only one major public works project was completed in the period under review - the construction of the Jameson Reservoir, which was financed with a loan. The Board of Works had to maintain tight control of its activities. Nevertheless, the maintenance done by the Board was important, and should not be neglected in an assessment. In street building, the Board's record was generally sound, but not spectacular. For a small town with limited resources, which is what Grahamstown was, the Board of Works achieved as much as was possible. The singular lack of new projects nonetheless underlined the smallness and economic weakness of the City.

280 GPM, 31 Jan 1913; GPM, 5 Feb 1913; GTJ, 6 Feb 1913.

281 GPM, 17 Feb 1913.

282 GTJ, 1 March 1913.

283 GPM, 14 March 1913; GTJ, 15 March 1913.

284 GTJ, 12 June 1913.

285 GTJ, 26 June 1913; GPM, 27 June 1913.

286 GPM, 9 July 1913.

CHAPTER 5

SANITATION AND PUBLIC HEALTH

CHAPTER FIVESANITATION AND PUBLIC HEALTH

Historians of nineteenth century urban development in England have underlined the crucial importance of public health and sanitation issues in the evolution of local government.¹ The enactment of legislation to cope with the organization and administration of public health in the cities and towns which grew so rapidly in the wake of industrialization devolved of necessity on structures at the local level; indeed, such structures were created precisely for that purpose. Derek Fraser sums up the situation accurately when he writes:

"Again and again we found that municipal reform came to define its purpose in public health. The responsibility for the general welfare of the community, which was the ultimate social purpose that late Victorian councils acknowledged, originated in an early Victorian commitment to environmental control."²

In the Cape Colony, public health and sanitation did not play the same role in the evolution of local government, but they were nonetheless prominent and sensitive issues. Control of these areas remained with central government until the end of the nineteenth century. The Public Health Amendment Act of 1897³ gave more powers to urban local authorities, and placed responsibility for the administration of sanitation and the maintenance of standards of health upon municipalities. Local medical officers of health had to be appointed in terms of the Act.⁴ The governor retained certain powers under the Act, and clashes between the local authority of Grahamstown and central authorities were not

1 See, for instance, A Briggs, Victorian Cities; H Finer, English Local Government; E P Hennock, Fit and Proper Persons: Ideal and Reality in Nineteenth Century Urban Government; K B Smellie, A History of Local Government; S and B Webb, English Local Government.

2 D Fraser, Power and Authority in the Victorian City, pg 167.

3 Act 23 of 1897.

4 Act 23 of 1897, Clause 4.

uncommon during the first twenty years of the new century.

Two officials were responsible for the inspection and control of the city's health and sanitation facilities: the Medical Officer of Health and the Sanitary Inspector. Dr J T Bays⁵ was appointed Medical Officer of Health for Grahamstown in 1898, at a salary of £250.⁶ The Sanitary Inspector, R J Cogan, was also employed by the City Council at a salary of £250.⁷ Clear distinctions between their duties were never defined, and an overlapping of functions led to considerable controversy in 1907.

On 31 May, the City Council passed a resolution to the effect that the Sanitary Inspector "shall be responsible for inspecting, controlling and reporting on all matters concerning the sanitation of the town", and it was also proposed to reduce the salary of the Medical Officer of Health to £100 per annum.⁸ The reduction was approved a month later⁹ and came into effect at the end of the year.¹⁰

The resolution of 31 May was naturally unpopular with the Medical Officer of Health. He reported to the City Council that all his powers over sanitary matters had been effectively removed, and the Sanitary Committee of the City Council had similarly been emasculated.¹¹ He argued that the resolution was a contravention of regulations and acts of Parliament, and he requested to know what the future functions of the Medical Officer of Health within the municipality would be. As a result the resolution was withdrawn and the Health Committee framed a resolution defining the duties of the Medical Officer of Health and the Sanitary Inspector.¹² The Medical Officer of Health was required to exercise general supervision over meat and butchers' shops, abattoirs, stercus deposit pits and other places connected with the sanitation of

5 At some stage, he changed his name to Bruce-Bays.

6 R Sellick, Grahamstown 1883-1904.

7 SCMB, 11 June 1913, CA 3/AY 1/3/1/1/4.

8 GPM, 3 June 1907.

9 GTJ, 6 July 1907.

10 Report of Dr Mitchell, Assitant MOH for the Colony, on sanitary conditions in Grahamstown, 16 Aug 1908, in CA MOH 102-L2C, pg 3.

11 GTJ, 25 July 1907; GPM, 26 July 1907.

12 GTJ, 15 Aug 1907; GPM, 16 Aug 1907.

the town; these places would, however, be regularly visited by the Sanitary Inspector, and only in cases of dispute would the Medical Officer of Health's advice be sought; his decision was final. The Medical Officer of Health was required further to examine the sources of the town's water supply, to investigate causes of infectious disease, and give orders for their isolation and disinfection. He was required to attend all the meetings of the Sanitary Committee, as the advisory official on all matters connected with the health of the town. The Sanitary Inspector was to take directions from the Medical Officer of Health on all points of sanitation. The Medical Officer of Health was reported to be satisfied with the arrangements, despite the fact that his salary remained at the reduced figure of £100 per annum.

Dr Bruce-Bays resigned in March 1911,¹³ and Dr F A Saunders was appointed Medical Officer of Health in his place.¹⁴ Dr Saunders was a forthright individual who tackled his new task with "the most remarkable energy and earnestness."¹⁵ His first annual report, issued in April 1912, was a comprehensive and far-reaching document, and pointed to many weaknesses in the city's sanitation arrangements and general well-being. The report showed that Grahamstown's death rate of 29.286 per 1 000 was considerably higher than that of Kimberley (19.68) and Port Elizabeth (18.93), and was markedly higher amongst blacks.¹⁷ Dr Saunders argued that a town such as Grahamstown, which was rural, educational and non-industrial in character, ought to be healthier than a mining town and an industrial sea-port. He called for proper abattoir facilities, a public wash-house, attention to housing, improvement in the water and milk supply, proper isolation of patients suffering from infectious diseases, and systematic medical examination of children.¹⁸

13 GTJ, 16 March 1911; GPM, 17 March 1911.

14 GTJ, 6 April 1911.

15 Mayoral Minute 1911, AM, unaccessioned.

16 GTJ, 18 April 1912; GPM, 19 April 1912.

17 See Chapter 6, pg.207.

18 An indication of Dr Saunders' thoroughness is that he made an inspection of each dwelling in the city and the locations during his first year as Medical Officer of Health.

The report provoked bitter controversy, and over the next six months, the Sanitary Committee and the City Council were constantly at odds with their Medical Officer of Health. Dr Saunders attacked the Sanitary Committee for failing to have met for a period of almost three weeks during an outbreak of scarlet fever in the city: the City Council justified this by agreeing that the Medical Officer of Health was exaggerating the situation, and had trespassed beyond his bounds.¹⁹ Dr Saunders was attacked by the Journal for a report which would damage the name of the town, and which was too directly and badly worded.²⁰ The crisis point was reached when Dr Saunders was interviewed by the Union Tuberculosis Commission on health conditions in the town, and more especially in the locations.²¹ As a result of his severe criticism, the Council requested him to resign. He was described as an "extravagant alarmist" and a "dictator and bully".²² Dr Saunders duly resigned, and attacked the "apathy and indifference" of Grahamstown's community leaders.²³ The Penny Mail praised him for the fact that the city was cleaner than when he had taken office, and sympathised with his position.²⁴ His resignation was accepted by the City Council, which decided not to accord a vote of thanks.²⁵ The office of Medical Officer of Health remained vacant for two months, after which Dr G C Purvis was appointed to the post.²⁶ In view of the time-consuming nature of his work, undertaken in both the city and the locations, his salary was increased. It remained officially at £100, but an allowance of £75 was granted out of location revenue for his work in the black areas of the city.²⁷ This was increased to £100 from 1915.²⁸

19 GTJ, 9 May 1912; GPM, 10 May 1912.

20 GTJ, 20 July 1912.

21 Details of his views are mentioned in Chapter 6, pg.197.

22 GPM, 6 Sept 1912.

23 GTJ, 7 Sept 1912; GPM, 9 Sept 1912.

24 GPM, 11 Sept 1912.

25 GTJ, 12 Sept 1912; GPM, 13 Sept 1912.

26 GTJ, 14 Nov 1912; GPM, 15 Nov 1912.

27 GPM, 17 March 1915.

28 GPM, 16 Feb 1916.

Amongst the most controversial of all matters facing the City Council during the period under review was the system of sanitary removals in the city. Nightsoil removals were carried out by licensed nightmen under contract to the City Council. Each ward of the city was serviced by a licensed nightman, and one was also appointed for the public conveniences and government institutions in the city.²⁹ A charge of 6d per pail per removal was levied. Each building in the city intended for habitation (except huts in the locations) had to be provided with proper conveniences situated at least six feet from the nearest dwelling, lighted and ventilated to the satisfaction of the Medical Officer of Health, and furnished with a movable pail of galvanized iron, in accordance with the pattern approved by the City Council, the use of which was compulsory after 1 October 1904. Nightsoil removals had to take place at least once a week.³⁰ The single pail system was used; no provision was made for the washing of pails, which resulted in pails "in practically all cases caked with filth and stinking".³¹ Removals were deposited in large pits on the town commonage beyond the locations.

A major defect of the new sanitary regulations was the fact that no provision was made for the systematic and compulsory removal of slop-water and refuse. A number of private contractors undertook this work, but the failure in the regulations was not conducive to public health.³² The matter was raised in the City Council, when the proposal was made that the Council ought to take over the sanitary work of the city in order to rectify the defects.³³ The Sanitary Committee decided that the work should continue to be done by contractors.³⁴ A further fault in the regulations became evident during 1906 after over fifty complaints reached the City Council about the neglect of the contractor, Mr W J Logan, in Wards 1 and 3. The Council could not legally act

29 Report of Dr Mitchell, Assistant MOH for the Colony, on sanitary conditions in Grahamstown, 16 Aug 1908, in CA, MOH 102-L2C, pg.15

30 These new regulations were gazetted on 29 July 1904, by Government Notice No 834, 1904.

31 Report of Dr Mitchell, 16 Aug 1908, in CA, MOH 102-L2C, pg.15.

32 Report of Dr Mitchell, 16 Aug 1908, in CA, MOH 102-L2C, pg.16.

33 GPM, 19 May 1905.

34 GPM, 14 July 1905.

against the contractor, and the proposal that the contract be suspended had to be adjourned until the Council had the power of the regulations behind it.³⁵ The threat of suspension resulted in a marked improvement in the contractor's work and confrontation was therefore avoided.³⁶ A new regulation was drafted, which provided that licensed nightmen neglecting or refusing to perform their duties satisfactorily should be guilty of offence, and liable to conviction.³⁷

The absence of compulsory regulations for the removal of slop-water and household refuse was one of the most difficult problems with which the Sanitary Inspector had to deal.³⁸ Public buildings, schools and colleges had a daily service, but private individuals preferred to "cast all this liquid matter on to their small yard or garden, which in time becomes saturated" and then found its way into street gutters. The Sanitary Inspector called on the City Council to undertake additional sanitary work in the town to obviate such obvious practical difficulties and health hazards.

In the light of such criticism, the Sanitary Committee was compelled to investigate the regulations, and make provision for their alteration. The City Council twice discussed various recommendations of the Sanitary Committee,³⁹ and a special Council meeting was held on 16 February to discuss the proposed sanitary regulations.⁴⁰ The Committee recommended that removal of nightsoil henceforward should be under a duplicate pail system, and a five-year contract be entered into. Removals should be conducted between 10pm and 6am and each pail ought to be furnished with a close-fitting lid. One proposal was that the Council ought to have the power to take over the working plant and pails of the contractor and perform the work departmentally. Should any contractor fail to carry out his duties, the Council should be empowered to cancel the contract,

35 GTJ, 30 Aug 1906; GPM, 31 Aug 1906.

36 GTJ, 13 Sept 1906; GPM, 14 Sept 1906.

37 GTJ, 20 Sept 1906; GPM, 21 Sept 1906.

38 Annual Report of the Sanitary Inspector for 1908, annexure of Mayoral Minute 1908, pg.33, AM, unaccessioned.

39 GTJ, 4 Feb 1909; GTJ, 11 Feb 1909.

40 GTJ, 18 Feb 1909.

and take over the working plant at a fair valuation to the Council. At the expiration of the contract, all pails in use should become the property of the Council, without compensation. Successful tenderers ought also to be required to provide two sureties.⁴¹ The recommendations were largely accepted by the Council, but the question of calling for tenderers to carry out the work under the new regulations for a period of five years was referred back to the Sanitary Committee for further consideration.⁴² The question of calling for tenders engaged the Council further,⁴³ but it was finally agreed that the old system be extended from 1 July until the end of December, and thereafter the Council would undertake the work departmentally. The initial outlay was estimated at between £2 500 and £3 000 for the sanitary plant. The Council was expected to be able to run the removal system at a profit, though it was warned not to rely on more than £300 per annum.⁴⁴ The Penny Mail welcomed the proposal to perform the work departmentally, on the grounds of both economy and efficiency.⁴⁵

The Sanitary Committee drew up a detailed scheme for the removal of nightsoil under the "Duplicate Pail Covered System".⁴⁶ The cost of the permanent plant was estimated at £3 579 for sanitary vans, horses and harnesses, lanterns, sanitary pails and lids, stables, sheds, cleansing sheds, tools and materials, and provision of a supply of water. Working expenses were placed at £3 707 per annum, for wages for van drivers, attendants and labourers, forage and grain, repairs, disinfectants, and interest payments and depreciation. Annual revenue was estimated to be £3 990: £2 990 for 2 300 ordure closet removals at 6d per week, and £1 000 for special contracts with public institutions. The Committee recommended that a loan of £3 500 at 6% be raised. This scheme was placed before the City Council, and permission was requested by the Committee to draft a scheme on similar lines for the removal and

41 HCMB, 8 Feb 1909, CA, 3/AY 1/2/6/1/2.

42 GTJ, 18 Feb 1909.

43 GTJ, 4 March 1909.

44 GTJ, 11 March 1909; GPM, 12 March 1909.

45 GPM, 12 March 1909.

46 HCMB, 19 May 1909, CA, 3/AY 1/2/6/1/2.

disposal of slop-water.⁴⁷ The Council failed to agree on its acceptance; finance was a key factor in the arguments of opponents of the advanced scheme. Various delaying tactics at Council meetings, such as deliberate absence at meetings to ensure no quorum, were employed by opponents,⁴⁸ before the Council finally accepted the principle of the "Duplicate Pail Covered System".⁴⁹ The Sanitary Committee was authorized to call for specimen pails with lids,⁵⁰ and for six covered vans to contain sixty pails each.⁵¹ A prize of £5 was offered by the Council for the most suitably designed pail.⁵² A regulation pail was accepted,⁵³ and tenders for 3 000 of them were called for and provisionally accepted.⁵⁴ A new depositing site on ground at Goodwin's Kloof was selected,⁵⁵ but a petition protesting against the deposit of nightsoil on the site was signed by 172 residents.⁵⁶ One of the prominent petitioners was Rev P W H Kettlewell, Principal of St Andrews College, who stated that the area was a recreation ground for the city and, more particularly, for St Andrew's College, the Diocesan School for Girls, Rhodes University College, St Paul's Hostel and St Andrew's Preparatory School. Other protestors argued that the ground was too close to the West Hill residential area of the city.⁵⁷ The petition, coupled with opposition within the Council, caused delays in the proposed implementation of the new scheme and, as a result, the Council postponed the date on which it would undertake the sanitary removals departmentally by six months, to 1 July 1910.⁵⁸

47 GTJ, 20 May 1909; GPM, 21 May 1909.

48 GPM, 4 June 1909.

49 GTJ, 10 June 1909; GPM, 11 June 1909.

50 GTJ, 17 June 1909; GPM, 18 June 1909.

51 GTJ, 24 June 1909; GPM, 25 June 1909.

52 GTJ, 1 July 1909; GPM, 2 July 1909.

53 GTJ, 29 July 1909; GPM, 30 July 1909.

54 GTJ, 19 Aug 1909; GPM, 20 Aug 1909.

55 GTJ, 10 Aug 1909.

56 GTJ, 12 Aug 1909; GPM, 13 Aug 1909.

57 GTJ, 23 Oct 1909.

58 GPM, 8 Oct 1909.

An enquiry into the site was conducted by Dr Mitchell, Assistant Medical Officer of Health for the Colony.⁵⁹ Grahamstown's Medical Officer of Health, Dr Bruce-Bays, Sanitary Inspector, R J Cogan, and City Engineer, E Grubb, all supported the site,⁶⁰ but despite this, the Cape Government refused to accede to it.⁶¹ The Sanitary Committee condemned Dr Mitchell for superficial knowledge of conditions, and accused him of obtaining information from "irresponsible sources". Dr Mitchell had suggested the development of the existing sterco deposit pits above the abattoirs in Lavender Valley, but the Council condemned the site on the grounds of proximity to the railway station, the location wells and the main road to Kingwilliamstown.⁶² The Council endorsed the decision of the Committee not to develop the site recommended by the Assistant Medical Officer of Health, and emphasized further the suitability of Goodwin's Kloof.⁶³ The state of deadlock persisted, and tenders had to be called yet again for contractors for the four wards of the city, subject to the understanding that the departmental system was only postponed for six months.⁶⁴ The Journal attacked the "forces which make for retrogression", and declared that the Council "can no longer afford to display such dilatoriness in dealing with the sanitary scheme".⁶⁵ The following week, the City Council agreed to invite tenders for the removal of nightsoil under the duplicate pail system, as well as for slop-water and refuse for the whole city, for not less than five years, so that any contractor could have time to recoup his outlay.⁶⁶ The motion marked an end, for the immediate future, of any hope of the Council assuming departmental control of the sanitary work of the city. The Sanitary Committee recommended that the Council accept the tender of Mr W Fisher,⁶⁷ which it duly did after a lengthy debate.⁶⁸ Certain

59 GTJ, 21 Oct 1909; GPM, 22 Oct 1909.

60 GTJ, 23 Oct 1909.

61 GTJ, 11 Nov 1909; GPM, 12 Nov 1909.

62 HCMB, 19 Jan 1910, CA 3/AY 1/2/6/1/2.

63 GTJ, 20 Jan 1910; GPM, 21 Jan 1910.

64 GTJ, 28 April 1910; GPM, 29 April 1910.

65 GTJ, 30 April 1910.

66 GTJ, 5 May 1910; GPM, 6 May 1910.

67 HCMB, 31 Aug 1910, CA 3/AY 1/2/6/1/2.

68 GTJ, 1 Sept 1910; GPM, 2 Sept 1910.

improved regulations were accepted, notably that removals of slop-water were to be organized and performed only by contractors authorized by the Council; the Council was also to select a site for slop-water disposal.⁶⁹

In his annual report for 1911, the Sanitary Inspector reported that the duplicate pail system, under the contractor, was functioning smoothly.⁷⁰ The contractor had seven covered vans, each with a capacity of between sixty and seventy pails. All stercus matter was collected at least once a week from private houses, and taken six miles out of town, to a deposit farm "Beaconsfield", where it was buried in trenches. Care was taken to keep pails from hospitals and infectious people separate. Slop-water removals were carried out by the contractors, with six tank vans of a capacity of between 250 and 300 gallons. Rubbish removal was also carried out by the contractor.⁷¹

Further problems were experienced regarding the sanitary contract when W Fisher ran into serious financial trouble. In September 1912, he applied to resign his contract, but a special committee recommended to the Council that such a step would be inadvisable.⁷² The Council

69 HCMB, 14 Oct 1910, CA, 3/AY 1/2/6/1/2.

70 Annual report of Sanitary Inspector for 1911, annexure of Mayoral Minute for 1911, pgs 51-52, AM, unaccessioned.

71 The costs of sanitary removal were as follows:

Sanitary pails : Nightsoil:

For 1 or more pails, weekly removal per pail	6d
For 1 or more pails, nightly removal per pail	3d
For between 5 and 25 pails, per removal per pail	3d
For 26 pails or more, per removal per pail	2½d
For nightly removals of infectious pails, per pail	3d

Slop-Water:

For removal of up to 8 gallons, 3 times a week, per month	2s
For removal of between 8-12 gallons, 3times a week, per month	3s
For removal of 12 gallons, per day per month	5s
Periodic removals of 12 gallons and over	1/6d per 100g

LO, 29 June 1912.

72 SCMB, 20 Sept 1912, CA 3/AY 1/3/1/1/4.

accepted this advice.⁷³ On 9 October, the estate of W Fisher was provisionally sequestered by Judge Graham of the Eastern Districts Court; the chief causes of his insolvency were the want of sufficient capital, the purchase of the farm "Beaconsfield" by Fisher for the sum of £5 000, which was out of proportion to its true market value, and the distance of the deposit site and weight of vans, causing strain on the animals drawing them.⁷⁴ Fisher's sureties, H J King and Ansley and Co., were compelled to take over the contract. They asked the Council for the temporary use of a site closer to town, viz Dead Horse Kloof, for the deposit of nightsoil and slop-water. Despite the approval of the Medical Officer of Health, the Council postponed a decision on the matter several times,²⁵ before allowing the sureties to abandon the farm "Beaconsfield" and granting them the use of McCarthy's farm at Stone's Hill.⁷⁶ The Journal welcomed the decision of the Council, which meant that the contract would be performed until its due date of expiry. It did speculate, however, whether the concession arrived at "on sentimental grounds" in order to lighten the burden of the sureties as the result of failure of the contractor to perform his duties might be construed as an admission on the part of the municipal authorities that the original agreement was arbitrary.⁷⁷

Further problems were immediately experienced. An application in the Eastern Districts Court for an interim interdict restraining the sureties from using McCarthy's farm as a deposit site, on the grounds that it would be dangerous to the health of residents there and would depreciate the value of property in the vicinity, resulted in the grant of a rule nisi.⁷⁸ The dispute resulted finally in the refusal of an interdict, because it was premature to say whether deposits on McCarthy's farm would be prejudicial to public health.⁷⁹ The sureties were then able to commence deposits on the new site, and a supplementary

73 GTJ, 26 Sept 1912.

74 GTJ, 17 Oct 1912; GPM, 18 Oct 1912.

75 GTJ, 17 Oct 1912; GPM, 1 Nov 1912; GTJ, 19 Dec 1912.

76 GTJ, 30 Jan 1913; GPM, 31 Jan 1913.

77 GTJ, 1 Feb 1913.

78 GPM, 3 Feb 1913; GTJ, 4 Feb 1913.

79 GPM, 28 Feb 1913; GTJ, 4 March 1913.

contract with the Council was signed by the town clerk.⁸⁰

At the beginning of 1914, new sanitary arrangements providing for the compulsory removal of rubbish from private premises were passed.⁸¹ These additional regulations were queried by the Provincial Secretary and, because of differences of opinion, the Sanitary Committee recommended that the matter be put into abeyance until the Council adopt the sanitary work departmentally at the end of 1915, when the sanitary contract was due to expire.⁸²

The City Council began to plan at an early stage for the performance of the sanitary contract departmentally from the beginning of 1916.⁸³ Ansley and Co. and H J King had already indicated that they would not renew the sanitary contract at the end of December 1915.⁸⁴ The Health Committee took into consideration four possible deposit sites; of the four, it was decided that McCarthy's farm was the most suitable. The Committee resolved, however, to request the permission of the Council to look further, and authorize it to negotiate for the acquisition of a better site.⁸⁵ The Council accepted this, and also requested that the advice of a government expert be sought to consider the whole question.

The Administrator replied that no person was available for such a purpose, and suggested that a sanitary engineer in private practice be consulted.⁸⁶ The Health Committee meanwhile decided that Thorn Farm in Belmont Valley, belonging to the estate of J J Vroom, was the best site on offer for stercus deposit. It had been offered to the Council for £6 500, a price considered exorbitant.⁸⁷ The Council did not approve the purchase of the farm, but referred the matter back to the Health Committee. At the beginning of May, the Committee recommended that the

80 GTJ, 3 June 1913; GPM, 6 June 1913.

81 GPM, 27 Feb 1914; GTJ, 28 Feb 1914.

82 GPM, 19 June 1914; GTJ, 20 June 1914.

83 GTJ, 8 Oct 1914.

84 GPM, 3 July 1914.

85 GPM, 12 Feb 1915.

86 GPM, 12 March 1915.

87 GPM, 23 April 1915.

removal of stercus matter, slop-water and rubbish from the city be undertaken by the Council departmentally. The Council accepted the recommendation, after a lengthy debate on the advantages of a departmental over a contractual system.⁸⁸

The intervention of Grahamstown educationalists in the dispute added a new dimension. At a meeting in March 1915 at Rhodes University College, resolutions were unanimously passed to the effect that the City Council ought not to purchase any farm as a sanitary deposit site which could not be adapted to a system of water-borne sewerage, and to secure expert opinion for a thorough investigation of the possibilities for the introduction of a water-borne sewerage system in Grahamstown.⁸⁹ Shortly afterwards, the City Engineer came out strongly in favour of the implementation of water-borne sewerage schemes. He estimated the cost of conversion to such a system at £66 000, with an annual maintenance cost of £5 500. The major drawback, apart from finance, was the water supply: Grahamstown would need a guaranteed daily supply of 500 000 gallons.⁹⁰ The Medical Officer of Health also favoured the idea, and recommended the purchase of Thorn Farm as the best site for a sewerage farm.⁹¹

Despite the fact that the Council had agreed to carry out the work departmentally, conservative councillors requested the Health Committee to continue to investigate contractual agreements, because the present contractors had submitted a revised offer, the terms of which were not disclosed.⁹² These were later published; the contractors were prepared to continue the work for a further three years on the condition that the Council take over McCarthy's farm for £1 100 at the expiry of the contract, and that the patterns of pails be changed. The offer was turned down, and the Health Committee was therefore ordered to continue

88 GPM, 7 May 1915.

89 The minutes of the meeting were published in pamphlet form, entitled Sanitary Reform for Grahamstown, with a foreword by Rev P W H Kettlewell, Principal of St Andrew's College.

90 GPM, 19 May 1915.

91 GPM, 26 May 1915.

92 GPM, 28 May 1915.

exploring a departmental system.⁹³

The Health Committee finally dismissed the introduction of a water-borne sewerage system because of an insufficient water supply, lack of time to borrow money, and the fact that it would take two or three years before such a scheme could be fully operational.⁹⁴ The Committee maintained that the only possible deposit site was the one above the abattoirs on the Kingwilliamstown road, if the Council wished to make the scheme a paying concern. McCarthy's farm would have to be purchased, and it was not very close to the city. The former site was the closest available to the town, there was an easy gradient the whole way there, it had suitable soil, and water there was cheap.⁹⁵ Because of the shortage of time to effect organization, as well as expenditure of £10 000 or £11 000, the Committee came to the conclusion that it was preferable to renew a contract with the present contractors in terms of a new draft agreement for a further three years. After a lengthy debate, the Council accepted the Committee's recommendation, and all resolutions repugnant to it were rescinded.⁹⁶ Under the agreement, stercus matter would be transported to McCarthy's farm, slop-water to Dead Horse Kloof, and rubbish to the Kingwilliamstown road site. The Council, should it wish, could purchase McCarthy's farm for £550. At the expiration of the contract, every sanitary convenience was to be left with a serviceable pail, which would become Council property without compensation. New

93 GPM, 11 June 1915.

94 HCMB, 26 July 1915, CA, 3/AY 1/2/6/1/4.

95 HCMB, 26 July 1915, CA, 3/AY 1/2/6/1/4.

96 GPM, 30 July 1915.

prices were laid down.⁹⁷ This contract was renewed for a further three years, from 1 January 1919 until 31 December 1921, by the Council, at an increased tariff amounting to 1½d per pail per removal.⁹⁸ The Council was not in a position at the end of the war to carry out the sanitary removals of the city departmentally.

Shortage of finance and lack of adequate resources, particularly water, feature prominently in the Council's inability to take control of the city's sanitary work. While improvements in both legislation and functioning took place during the period under review, it was clear that sanitation was still not placed on a satisfactory basis by 1918. Complex practical difficulties stood in the way of progress, which clearly after 1918 would lie in the achievement of a water-borne

97 From 1 January 1916, prices were as follows:

Stercus Matter:

For each pail, 1 to 5, per pail per removal	6d
For each pail, 6 to 10, per pail per removal	5d
Each pail, in excess of 10, per pail per removal	4d
For each infectious pail, per removal	6d
Schools & hospitals, per pail per removal	4d
Council ordure closets, per pail per removal	4d

Slop Water:

Up to 8 gallons, once a week, per month	2s
Up to 8 gallons, twice a week, per month	3s
Up to 8 gallons, thrice a week, per month	4s
Up to 12 gallons, once a week, per month	3s
Up to 12 gallons, twice a week, per month	4s
Up to 12 gallons, thrice a week, per month	5s
Up to 12 gallons daily, per month	7/6d
Up to 12 gallons per removal	6d
Between 13 and 50 gallons, per removal	1s
Between 51 and 100 gallons, per removal	1/9d
Large quantities, per 100 gallons, per removal	1/9d

Rubbish:

Each Scotch cart load	1s
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LO, 7 Aug 1915.

98 GPM, 14 Dec 1917.

sewerage scheme for Grahamstown. The city's smallness and consequent inability to make major innovations, was underlined by developments regarding sanitation.

The provision of adequate cemetery accommodation for the city was a lengthy and disputed process. Grahamstown's cemetery was divided into portions, one each for the use of the various religious denominations. A meeting of clergymen at the end of November 1904 called on the City Council to select a site for a new cemetery without delay, and for the cemetery to be placed under the control of a burial board. The ministers also urged that "the site be chosen as near to the City as is consistent with health".⁹⁹ They proposed that any burial board should consist of nominees of the City Council together with one representative of each denomination. The Cemetery Committee of the City Council responded by proposing the extension of the present cemetery, but the Council requested the Committee rather to report on a suitable site for a new cemetery.¹⁰⁰ The Cemetery Committee merely produced concrete proposals to extend the existing cemeteries, saying that to establish a new site would cost "thousands of pounds".¹⁰¹ In response to pressure from the Roman Catholic Bishop of the Eastern Province and the Superintendent of the Wesleyan Methodist Church for the Grahamstown district,¹⁰² the Council agreed to extend the Roman Catholic and Wesleyan portion of the cemetery, but proposals to add to the Anglican, Presbyterian and Baptist sections were dropped because the government had vetoed it in the past.¹⁰³

The Council's resolution drew quick and intense reaction. The Council was attacked for "another retrogressive movement"¹⁰⁴ and for adopting an idea "repugnant to all the principles of modern decency".¹⁰⁵ The call for a burial board to have management and control of a new cemetery was

99 Resolutions passed unanimously on 25 Nov 1904, in CA, MOH 102-E2A.

100 GPM, 24 March 1905.

101 GTJ, 6 May 1905.

102 Letter dated 5 May 1905, in CA, MOH 102-A2b.

103 GPM, 5 May 1905; GTJ, 6 May 1905.

104 "Reform" to Editor, GTJ, 6 May 1905.

105 "Citizen" to Editor, GTJ, 9 May 1905.

again put forward.¹⁰⁶ A petition containing forty-five signatures was sent from residents of Grahamstown to the Under Colonial Secretary of the Cape Colony, requesting the Governor not to grant permission to the proposed extension.¹⁰⁷ The petitioners called for a new site to be found outside the city as extensions of the existing one would be "close to private residences and scholastic institutions". R R Stocks¹⁰⁸ said that the extension would result in only the width of a street between the cemetery and Kingswood property, and called for a new site.¹⁰⁹

The adverse criticism of the extension held sway with the government: the Under Colonial Secretary wrote to the Resident Magistrate saying that the Colonial Secretary "is of opinion that it is inadvisable in the interests of public health that effect be given to the proposal referred to" and called for "early action" to be taken to establish a public cemetery.¹¹⁰ R W Nelson, Chairman of the Cemetery Committee, wrote to the Under Colonial Secretary demanding acceptance of the extension, and making attacks on the petitioners.¹¹¹ The Government reiterated its stance, and asked the Resident Magistrate to inform the City Council of its position, that a new cemetery site ought to be found, and the proposed extension was not in the best interests of public health.¹¹²

106 "Reform" to Editor, GTJ, 16 May 1905.

107 The petition was signed by the Medical Officer of Health, the District Surgeon, three members of the City Council and two ministers of religion. Petition dated May 1905 in CA, MOH 102-E2A.

108 He was a wealthy resident of the vicinity, and was also a member of Kingswood and Wesleyan High School Councils.

109 Letter dated 19 May 1905, in CA, MOH 102-E2A.

110 Letter dated ?? July 1905, in CA, MOH 102-E2A.

111 Letter dated 7 Aug 1905 in CA, MOH 102-E2A. Some comments of the Medical Officer of Health for the Colony, Dr Gregory, scrawled on the letter are instructive: "The Grahamstown Council is rotten, and Nelson is the most retrogressive and impossible member in it." He advised the Under Colonial Secretary not to yield, as the petition had the support of the local Medical Officer of Health, and "all the best opinion in Grahamstown."

112 Letter dated 4 Sept 1905 in CA, MOH 102-E2A. See also GPM, 22 Sept 1905.

This drew further criticism from the irrepressible R W Nelson.¹¹³ He had previously claimed that a new cemetery site out of town would cost about £4 000;¹¹⁴ he now gave figures of £12 000 to £15 000 to back his opposition to a new site.¹¹⁵

The state of deadlock persisted. Rev J J Doke, on behalf of Grahamstown ministers, maintained pressure on the Council as the availability of cemetery land reached acute proportions, but failed to move the Council to reconsider its position.¹¹⁶ For two further years, nothing was done at all until eventually, in response to a demand from the Resident Magistrate on 18 March 1908, another cemetery committee was appointed by the City Council with the specific task of investigating the proposal to close the existing cemeteries and establish a public cemetery.¹¹⁷

The existence of a special committee hardly hastened the pace of decision-making and action. The Assistant Medical Officer of Health for the Colony, Dr Mitchell, made an inspection of the cemeteries of Grahamstown, and met with the Cemetery Committee.¹¹⁸ He recommended that a site on the hill beyond the Fort England Asylum, on the Belmont Road, should be developed as a cemetery. The City Engineer, E Grubb, prospected the site, and pronounced it the most suitable that was available, overriding objections that it was too far from the city for convenience.¹¹⁹ The City Council duly approved the proposed site for a new cemetery.¹²⁰ The site was twenty-two acres in extent, thus allowing

113 Letter dated 11 Sept 1905 in CA, MOH 102-E2A.

114 GTJ, 9 May 1905.

115 GPM, 13 Oct 1905.

116 GPM, 9 March 1906; GTJ, 14 June 1906; GPM, 15 June 1906.

117 GPM, 10 April 1908. Members of the Committee were H R Wood, G D Atherstone, J H Webber, C J Flanagan and C Gowie.

118 Meeting of 17 Aug 1908, CA, MOH 102-K2A.

119 Report of 4 Nov 1908, in CA, MOH 102-K2A.

120 GTJ, 19 Nov 1908.

each denomination a great deal of space.¹²¹ The Public Health Department meanwhile urged the closing of the old cemeteries as soon as possible.¹²²

Once the site had been approved, matters again rested. At the end of 1909, nothing regarding fencing or the establishment of the new cemetery had been undertaken.¹²³ The Council decided to fence the whole cemetery in July 1910,¹²⁴ after the matter had been adjourned on one occasion.¹²⁵ Regulations, framed under Act 3 of 1883, for the management of the cemetery, and fixing a scale of charges, were finally drawn up and forwarded to the Government for approval,¹²⁶ and were promulgated.¹²⁷ The City Engineer drew up a plan of burial plots, numbering 4 976 in total, to be allocated to the different denominations.¹²⁸ A cemetery superintendent, F E Orren, was appointed at a stipend of £2.2 per week.¹²⁹

While this slow progress towards the establishment of the site took place, obstacles mounted to prevent the ground ever being used as a cemetery. The problem of the accessibility of the site had long been

121 Allotments were as follows:

Episcopalians (Anglican)	5 acres
Wesleyans	5
Baptist	3
Congregationalists	5
Roman Catholic	3
Jews	1

GTJ, 24 Nov 1908.

122 GTJ, 26 Nov 1908.

123 GTJ, 2 Dec 1909.

124 GTJ, 7 July 1910.

125 GTJ, 30 June 1910.

126 GTJ, 9 March 1911.

127 Province of the Cape of Good Hope Official Gazette, 21 July 1911.

128 GPM, 9 Feb 1912.

129 GTJ, 24 Feb 1912.

recognized.¹³⁰ The matter was discussed at length by the City Council, and it was agreed to build a bridge across the Belmont drift at a cost of £2 400.¹³¹ The problems of financing the bridge, as well as adverse public reaction,¹³² resulted in the amendment of plans.¹³³ The decisive factor in the matter was the request of the Fort England Asylum for extension into the ground of the new cemetery.¹³⁴ The Council welcomed the application for, should the land be granted to the Asylum, considerable expense could be saved, as there would be no necessity for the construction of the bridge.¹³⁵

A new site had therefore to be found, and was located quickly. The Council approved a new site at Goodwin's Kloof Camp.¹³⁶ The land was owned by the municipality, and hence the only obstacle was negotiation with the tenant for a cancellation of his lease,¹³⁷ which was duly achieved.¹³⁸ The land was large enough to allocate many plots to the denominations, as well as setting aside ground for future extension, as

130 See, for example, the City Engineer's Report, 4 Nov 1908, CA, MOH 102-K2A.

131 GTJ, 11 Dec 1913; GPM, 12 Dec 1913. See Chapter 4 on Public Works, pg.132.

132 GTJ, 7 April 1914.

133 See Chapter 4 on Public Works, pg. 132.

134 GTJ, 7 May 1914; GPM, 8 May 1914.

135 GTJ, 14 May 1914; GPM, 15 May 1914.

136 GTJ, 27 Aug 1914; GPM, 28 Aug 1914.

137 GTJ, 22 Oct 1914; GPM, 23 Oct 1914.

138 GTJ, 5 Nov 1914; GPM, 6 Nov 1914.

well as a free burial area.¹³⁹ The site was ready for consecration at the end of June 1915, and the denominations were notified that the cemetery was ready for interments.¹⁴⁰ It had taken the City Council more than ten years to provide adequate cemetery accommodation for the city's needs.

Provision of suitable abattoir facilities for the city was another issue that the City Council had before it on several occasions. In 1904, Grahamstown had five slaughter houses, which were all sited in Lavender Valley, on the commonage land but on private property. No rent was charged to the lessees by the Council. All the buildings were "pretty much of a type" in regard to construction, facilities and usage.¹⁴¹ Grahamstown's Medical Officer of Health condemned the abattoirs at the beginning of 1904, and threatened their closure unless they were "brought up to standard".¹⁴² Plans for the reconstruction of the five abattoirs were drawn up by the Sanitary Committee, but rejected

139 The following numbers of plots were allocated:

Anglicans	1 200
Wesleyans	1 200
Congregationalists/Presbyterians	480
Roman Catholics	360
Baptists	240
Jews	240
Other	216
Indian	128

In addition, plots for future extension were allocated:

Anglicans	600
Wesleyans	600
Congregationalists/Presbyterians	240
Roman Catholics	180
Baptists	120
Jews	120

GPM, 25 March 1915.

140 GPM, 25 June 1915.

141 This information is contained in Dr Mitchell's report of 16 Aug 1908, in CA, MOH 102-L2C.

142 GTJ, 12 March 1904.

by the Council on the grounds that they were not necessary, and neither was the expenditure of about £2 000 justifiable.¹⁴³ It was argued that the present abattoirs were acceptable, and could be maintained. The question of the adequacy of the abattoirs lingered on, but on the grounds of finance, the Council finally rejected the proposal to take over the abattoirs and build new ones.¹⁴⁴ The Council was in a position to expropriate the property on which they were built, but the present lessees were permitted to continue there provided that the premises were kept in sufficient state of repair. Proprietors were even allowed to extend the premises and erect a "suitable sized piggery".¹⁴⁵ Health critics were not satisfied. The Sanitary Inspector described the need for public abattoirs as a "crying want", and said that the slaughter houses were "practically the same" as existed twenty years previously.¹⁴⁶ The Medical Officer of Health attacked the "present antiquated slaughter houses" which "have been for years condemned by all sanitarians", and called for a properly constructed municipal abattoir with a plentiful water supply, as well as the appointment of a "well-trained and conscientious meat inspector".¹⁴⁷

The issue became prominent again at the end of 1913. The Council agreed to a recommendation of the Sanitary Committee that it was time municipal abattoirs were established in the city, and accepted a proposal that the Committee find a suitable site.¹⁴⁸ Evidence of an influential butchers' lobby on the Council no longer existed. The Citizens' Union attacked

143 GTJ, 21 May 1904.

144 GPM, 27 Jan 1905; GTJ, 28 Jan 1905.

145 GPM, 12 May 1905. This obstruction of reform, even in the face of warnings of the Medical Officer of Health, demonstrates the strength of the town council lobby which protected the interests of local butchers, led by J H Webber and R W Nelson, both of whom were butchers. R Sellick, in her thesis on Grahamstown in preparation, has discussed the lobby before 1904.

146 Report of Sanitary Inspector for 1908 in Mayoral Minute 1908, pg 33, AM, unaccessioned.

147 Annual report of MOH for 1911, in Mayoral Minute 1911, pg. 49 AM, unaccessioned.

148 GTJ, 13 Nov 1913; GPM, 14 Nov 1913.

the Council, not because of its proposal, but because the same plans as had been debated in 1904 were being considered again.¹⁴⁹ The Journal also called for a bold scheme to provide something more than a "glorified slaughter house".¹⁵⁰ There was division on the question. Some residents felt that "white elephants were unnecessary in Grahamstown" and all that was required was that the present ones be kept clean.¹⁵¹ The City Council pressed ahead with plans, despite some opposition. The Sanitary Inspector and two city councillors visited Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth to inspect facilities there.¹⁵² The Sanitary Committee submitted plans for a new abattoir, on a site above the existing slaughter houses, to be built along the same lines as the ones at Uitenhage, at a cost of about £2 500.¹⁵³ The Council accepted the plans,¹⁵⁴ but the intervention of the war put an end to the scheme, owing to the "depressed financial condition of the country".¹⁵⁵ In his reports of 1917 and 1920, the Sanitary Inspector maintained pressure for the construction of a municipal abattoir, and the destruction of the present slaughter-houses, but by 1920 nothing had been done.¹⁵⁶

One of Grahamstown's most important institutions was the Albany General Hospital, which served not only the city but the surrounding districts as well. It had been founded in September 1858, and was the second civil medical institution in the Cape.¹⁵⁷ Throughout the remaining

149 GPM, 30 Jan 1914.

150 GTJ, 31 Jan 1914.

151 GTJ, 7 Feb 1914.

152 GPM, 6 Feb 1914; GTJ, 28 Feb 1914.

153 GPM, 29 April 1914.

154 GTJ, 30 April 1914; GPM, 1 May 1914.

155 GTJ, 27 Aug 1914; GPM, 28 Aug 1914.

156 Annual reports of the Sanitary Inspector for 1917 and 1920, annexed to Mayoral Minutes of 1917, pgs.70-72, and 1920, pgs.57-62, AM, unaccessioned.

157 E H Burrows, A History of Medicine in South Africa up to the end of the Nineteenth Century, pg.314; M Gibbens, Two decades in the life of a City: Grahamstown 1861-1882, unpubl. MA thesis, Rhodes University, pg.229; C Searle, The History of the Development of Nursing in South Africa, 1652-1960, pg 74.

years of the nineteenth century, it grew in size, in a rather haphazard and uncoordinated fashion. By 1900, the Hospital was "fit for abandonment"; it was

"a rambling ramshackle old building; its piecemeal construction made administration very difficult; its cellars and bougainvillea made it popular with rats; there were bees under the floorboards, and typhoid epidemics were frequent visitations at the Nurses' home."¹⁵⁸

After the South African War, the need for a better-equipped and more modern hospital was emphasized. Two visits of inspection from Government medical officials during 1904 took place, and one reported that the building was "antiquated" and should be replaced by a "more modern and convenient erection".¹⁵⁹ This report, by Dr Fenoulhet, was attacked by the Albany Hospital Board, the governing body of the institution. A five page memorandum on the report was submitted to the Prime Minister, Dr Jameson.¹⁶⁰ The Board agreed with the report "to a great extent" as far as the building was concerned, and conceded that it was an "old, rambling and inconvenient structure, needing constant repair". Exception was taken, however, to claims about the insanitary conditions of the facilities, drainage, costs detailed in the report, and staffing. In 1905 confidence in the sanitation of the Hospital was further eroded when it was announced that there had been six cases of enteric fever, one of them fatal, "probably contracted" within the building, due to its "very old and dilapidated condition".¹⁶¹ An in-depth report by Dr D C Rees in July 1906 summarized the position accurately.¹⁶² He stated that the "fundamental necessity" was the

158 E H Burrows, A History of Medicine in South Africa up to the end of the Nineteenth Century, pg 316.

159 Annual statements of Albany General Hospital, 1904.

See also GPM, 20 Feb 1905; GTJ, 23 Feb 1905.

160 Memorandum dated 24 March 1905, in CA, PMO 203 616/05.

161 Annual General Meeting of Albany Hospital Board, GPM, 28 Feb 1906.

162 This report was found in hand-written form, at the back of a bound volume of Albany General Hospital Annual Statements in the Cory Library.

provision of suitable buildings, and until these were obtained, "the administration would never be placed on a proper footing". He argued that the management of the Hospital was not being conducted properly by the Hospital Board, and singled out staffing procedures and financial mismanagement as the key areas requiring attention. For the previous two years, there had been a deficit of £200 in the functioning of the Hospital, and "were it not for the Government grant, the Hospital could not continue on its present basis". This gave the lie to the constant claim of the management that it was maintained by public support, and was independent of Government. The Hospital Board's claim is not born out by figures. In 1904, for example, a Government grant of £3 250 formed the major contribution out of a total revenue of £5 449.¹⁶³ In 1906, the same Government grant was even more significant, for total income amounted to £3 129.¹⁶⁴ Financial problems became more acute as the century progressed. A deficit of £305 in 1908 was recorded,¹⁶⁵ and in 1911 this had risen to £417.¹⁶⁶ It was clear that finance for any major project to rebuild or modernize the Albany General Hospital would have to come from Government; local resources were unable to sustain even the present buildings.

In March 1912, a draft Hospital Ordinance was published;¹⁶⁷ it was assented to on 18 September, and promulgated on 27 September. Ordinance 5 of 1912 came into force on 1 March 1913. The chief object of the Ordinance was to unify the system of hospital administration throughout the Cape. Under the Ordinance, hospitals would continue to be administered by local authorities. State aid was placed on a definite basis, instead of the ad hoc arrangements that had existed in the past. The Province would grant subsidies not exceeding 30/- for every pound of all voluntary contributions or gifts other than bequests; grants on the £ for £ principle were to be made for each bequest up to £500, and on the same basis for paying patients.¹⁶⁸ In regard to the payment of

163 GPM, 20 Feb 1905; GTJ, 23 Feb 1905.

164 GTJ, 23 Feb 1907; GPM, 25 Feb 1907.

165 GTJ, 18 Feb 1909; GPM, 19 Feb 1909.

166 GPM, 23 Feb 1912; GTJ, 24 Feb 1912.

167 GTJ, 14 March 1912; GPM, 18 March 1912.

168 Ordinance 5 of 1912, Clause 31.

deficits, once the Administrator was satisfied that each Hospital Board had "reasonably endeavoured to collect all voluntary contributions from the public and to recover fees from the patients", half the deficit would be paid by the Province, and the other half had to be met by the Hospital district.¹⁶⁹ Hospital districts were constituted,¹⁷⁰ and each district was to have a hospital board.¹⁷¹ These were to consist of six, twelve, eighteen or twenty-four members, depending on the size of the district. One-third of members were to be elected by subscribers, one-third by representatives of local authorities, one-sixth by medical staff, and one-sixth by the Administrator.¹⁷² Rules for the functioning of the boards were set out,¹⁷³ as were regulations surrounding the assets of the boards¹⁷⁴. The new Ordinance was generally welcomed, although the Grahamstown City Council passed a motion to the effect that it was willing to co-operate with the municipality of Cape Town in endeavouring to oppose the introduction of any ordinance in the Provincial Council which would have the effect of imposing additional taxation on municipalities in the Cape, when such a taxation was not uniform throughout the Union.¹⁷⁵ There were also quibbles about the "great powers" given to the Administrator.

The provision of suitable buildings for the Albany General Hospital thereafter became a pressing issue. The Administrator offered to purchase the existing buildings for £5 000 and use them for chronic sick patients. He also announced that the Province had granted £6 000 for the construction of new buildings, and another £19 000 was forth-

169 Ordinance 5 of 1912, Clause 33. In the draft Ordinance, the original provision was that half the deficit would be met by the local authority in which the hospital was situated. This provoked some opposition in Grahamstown, where city councillors pointed out that the Albany General Hospital served a wider district than the Grahamstown municipality.

170 Ordinance 5 of 1912, Clauses 4 and 5.

171 Ordinance 5 of 1912, Clause 6.

172 Ordinance 5 of 1912, Clause 7.

173 Ordinance 5 of 1912, Clauses 8-30.

174 Ordinance 5 of 1912, Clauses 39-51.

175 GTJ, 27 June 1912; GPM, 28 June 1912.

coming.¹⁷⁶ An original plan, for building a new hospital for £47 000 was therefore out of the question. At the same time, the City Council announced it would offer the Albany Hospital Board a piece of land eight acres in extent on the Rovers Ground for the purposes of a new hospital.¹⁷⁷ There would be a small strip, 100 feet in width, between the proposed hospital and the Agricultural Show Ground,¹⁷⁸ and the Hospital Board was reported to be strongly in favour of the new site.

These proposals drew adverse public reaction, and two petitions against them were circulated.¹⁷⁹ The first, signed by sixty-one people, objected to the hospital being built on the Rovers Ground, on the grounds that the area nearby was a prime residential area, close to schools and the agricultural show ground.¹⁸⁰ The second petition had more force: over 500 ratepayers objected to the conversion of the present Albany General Hospital into a chronic sick hospital.¹⁸¹ These ratepayers argued that the property in the area would be devalued, and the park behind it, "one of the most delightful haunts of the city", would lose popularity.¹⁸² They called rather for the extension of the Chronic Sick Hospital at its present site on the Bay road.¹⁸³

The controversy surrounding the conversion of the existing hospital buildings into a chronic sick hospital was defused by the Administrator, who declared he was not prepared any longer to make a formal offer for the buildings of the Albany General Hospital.¹⁸⁴ Because of the opposition, he argued that it might be better sold privately. The Hospital Board, after a lengthy discussion, agreed to accept the Rovers Ground site as the finest that was available, despite the opposition

176 GPM, 11 April 1913.

177 GPM, 11 April 1913.

178 GPM, 16 April 1913.

179 GPM, 23 April 1913.

180 GTJ, 1 May 1913; GPM, 2 May 1913.

181 GTJ, 15 May 1913.

182 GPM, 18 April 1913.

183 GPM, 16 May 1913.

184 GPM, 11 June 1913.

from some ratepayers.¹⁸⁵ The City Council appointed a committee, consisting of the District Surgeon, the Medical Officer of Health and the Mayor to report on the suitability of the site.¹⁸⁶ The Committee submitted a favourable report, and dismissed items raised by the hostile petitioners.¹⁸⁷ The report was duly endorsed by the Council.¹⁸⁸

In July 1913, the debate about the future of the Hospital reached its peak. At a public meeting in the City Hall, the proposal to transfer the Rovers Ground to the Albany Hospital Board was endorsed, but opposition was strong enough to demand a vote of ratepayers.¹⁸⁹ Newspaper columns thereafter were filled with letters from advocates of different points of view.¹⁹⁰ The outcome endorsed the result of the public meeting: 352 voters were in favour of the new site, as against 236.¹⁹¹ The Council thereafter resolved to negotiate with the Albany Hospital Board as to the best way of transferring the land to the latter's control, with a view to applying to the Administrator to introduce special legislation if necessary. The land had originally been granted to the Council for raising funds for the Town Hall.¹⁹² The Administrator reported that a special ordinance would be necessary to enable the Council to make the proposed grant of the portion of Rovers Ground.¹⁹³ Meanwhile, revised plans for the new hospital, drawn up by Messrs Baker and Kendall, were submitted to the Albany Hospital Board; the cost of the implementation of these plans was estimated at

185 GPM, 11 June 1913.

186 GTJ, 12 June 1913; GPM, 13 June 1913.

187 SCMB, report dated 25 June 1913, in CA, 3/AY 1/3/1/1/4.

See also GPM, 25 June 1913,

188 GTJ, 26 June 1913; GPM, 27 June 1913,

189 GTJ, 8 July 1913; GPM, 9 July 1913,

190 GTJ, 12 July 1913; GTJ, 17 July 1913; GPM, 16 July 1913,

191	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Ward 1	100	36
Ward 2	70	77
Ward 3	80	44
Ward 4	102	79

192 GTJ, 24 July 1913; GPM, 25 July 1913.

193 SCMB, letter dated 1 October 1913, CA, 3/AY 1/3/1/1/4.

£26 900.¹⁹⁴

The financial position of the Albany General Hospital continued to worsen during the debate about its future. By October 1913, the bank overdraft of the Hospital stood at £500, and by the end of the year, it was estimated the Hospital would face liabilities of £1 500 which it would be unable to meet.¹⁹⁵ In the light of this, the bank had refused to pass any more cheques on behalf of the Hospital, and was not to allow any further overdraft without security.¹⁹⁶ At a public meeting, it was resolved that a campaign to raise funds for the Hospital be undertaken on the November stock fair days.¹⁹⁷ Collections, fetes, a fireworks display, a bridge drive, sales of flowers and other events were organized enthusiastically under the direction of Dr Saunders.¹⁹⁸ The scheme managed to catch the public imagination, and it yielded an unprecedented sum of £1 117.¹⁹⁹ The event helped greatly to put the finances of the institution on a sounder footing.

A revised estimate of construction costs was submitted to the Albany Hospital Board in March 1914, amounting to £31 000.²⁰⁰ Financial difficulties still plagued the commencement of the scheme, as did legal problems surrounding the transfer of Rovers Ground. £6 000 had already been granted by the Province, and another £18 000 was due to be budgeted. The shortfall was therefore considerable.²⁰¹ Ordinance 15 of 1914 removed the legal obstacles to the transfer of Rovers Ground to the Albany Hospital Board.²⁰² The City Council did not act immediately, and the Hospital Board had again to approach the Council to request action over the transference of the land.²⁰³ The Hospital Board purchased in

194 GPM, 10 Sept 1913.

195 GPM, 22 Oct 1913.

196 GPM, 15 Oct 1913.

197 GPM, 20 Oct 1913.

198 GPM, 20 Oct 1913.

199 GPM, 19 Nov 1913; GTJ, 20 Nov 1913.

200 GPM, 18 March 1914.

201 GPM, 20 May 1914.

202 It was assented to on 7 May, and promulgated on 15 May 1914.

203 GTJ, 2 July 1914; GPM, 3 July 1914.

the interim a strip of land adjoining the Rovers Ground, which would enable the architects to spread their plans and give more space to the proposed Hospital.²⁰⁴ Authority was given by the City Council in March 1915 for the legal transfer of Rovers Ground to the Albany Hospital Board for the erection of a new hospital; should a hospital not be built on the site, the land would revert to the control of the Council.²⁰⁵ The outbreak of war in August 1914 brought an abrupt end to the plans to start building the Hospital, for the Government suspended loans for the purposes of building.²⁰⁶

With the collapse of the Albany Agricultural Society,²⁰⁷ the Albany Hospital Board made a strong claim for the remainder of Rovers Ground to be transferred to its control.²⁰⁸ They argued that the extra ground would enable them to build a first class hospital. The Board was able to report it had the backing of the Administrator, whom they had met the previous week.²⁰⁹ The Council decided unanimously to grant the whole of the Albany Agricultural Society's land, as a municipal gift, to the Hospital Board, to increase the size of the site for the new hospital.²¹⁰ A public meeting sanctioned the arrangement, and agreed a loan of £1 389 be raised, for the purpose of defraying the cost of the land.²¹¹

On 2 March 1918, the foundation stone of the new Hospital was laid by the Administrator.²¹² He paid tribute to H R Wood, W H Pigott and Dr F A Saunders for their work in preparation for the Hospital, and announced that plans for a hospital of eighty beds, to cost £35 000, had been passed. As funds increased, so Grahamstown would be able to expand facilities. The new Settlers Hospital was occupied five years later, in

204 LO, 25 July 1914.

205 GPM, 5 March 1915.

206 LO, 15 Aug 1914.

207 See Chapter 2, pg. 71 - 74.

208 GPM, 30 March 1917.

209 GPM, 26 March 1917.

210 GPM, 11 May 1917.

211 GPM, 23 Aug 1917.

212 GPM, 4 March 1918.

1923. A gift of £10 000 from the 1820 Settlers Association enabled its completion, and it was built as a centenary memorial to the Albany settlers.²¹³ Several months later, the old building was gutted completely by fire, an event that had long been feared.²¹⁴

The Fort England Lunatic Asylum was a prominent institution in the Cape for the care of the mentally handicapped, under its efficient superintendent, Dr Greenlees. Plans to extend the institution in 1913 were favoured by the Government and land adjoining the Asylum, previously demarcated for cemetery accommodation, was granted to the Asylum for such a purpose.²¹⁵ The Union Government also wished to have streets and thoroughfares by which the premises of the Asylum were crossed, closed to the public.²¹⁶ The scheme to extend the Asylum collapsed because of the inadequate water supply.²¹⁷ Extension was obviously important in view of the overcrowding that existed. The Asylum had accommodation for 230 males and 100 females; in 1913, however, 270 males and 115 females were accommodated at the Asylum.²¹⁸ Temporary accommodation had to be used, to cope with the demand for facilities. By 1916, the hospital's capacity had been increased through the conversion of dwellings into hospital buildings. No additional patients were accepted; but the Asylum nonetheless remained completely full.²¹⁹

Imperfect and erratic sanitary arrangements and an impure water supply made Grahamstown more susceptible to disease than it might otherwise have been. Different diseases threatened the city at various stages, but only one epidemic of major proportions affected the populace - the Spanish influenza epidemic of 1918. Constant vigilance was required of the Medical Officer of Health and the Sanitary Inspector to prevent or contain outbreaks of fever or illness that had potential danger for the

213 E G Dru-Drury, Grahamstown's Hospitals (no page numbers).

214 E H Burrows, A History of Medicine in South Africa up to the end of the Nineteenth Century, pg 316.

215 GTJ, 3 April 1913; GPM, 4 April 1913.

216 GTJ, 13 Nov 1913; GPM, 14 Nov 1913.

217 See Chapter 4, pg. 126.

218 U.G.24 - 1914.

219 U.G.50 - 1917.

city.

Probably the most dangerous of all diseases facing Grahamstown was tuberculosis. The black population was the most susceptible to the disease,²²⁰ but each year a number of cases affecting whites was notified. There were seven deaths in 1904,²²¹ fifteen in 1907,²²² seven in 1910,²²³ and eleven in 1911.²²⁴ The City Council requested the Cape Government in 1909 for a grant of £500 on the £ for £ principle, for the purpose of carrying out measures to combat the disease.²²⁵ The Union Government was similarly urged to take action to prevent the spread of tuberculosis.²²⁶ The Albany Hospital Board was concerned about the lack of provision and accommodation for tuberculosis cases in the city.²²⁷ The Ladies' Benevolent Society likewise viewed "with alarm" the lack of arrangements to cope with tuberculosis in the city.²²⁸ As a result, the Health Committee recommended that the Council grant £300 to the Board towards the cost of the erection of a building to house tuberculosis patients, as well as make a special annual contribution of £50 towards maintenance.²²⁹ The City Council deferred the matter, and a committee was instead appointed to ascertain what exact requirements were.²³⁰ From this point, bureaucracy delayed plans. The special committee and the Hospital Board decided that a building should be erected,²³¹ and

220 See Chapter 6, pg.208 - 209.

221 Annual report of Medical Officer of Health for 1905, annexed to annual statements of Albany General Hospital.

222 Mayoral Minute for 1908, pg.30, AM, unaccessioned.

223 Mayoral Minute for 1911, pg.41, AM, unaccessioned.

224 Annual report of Medical Officer of Health for 1911. GPM, 19 April 1912; GTJ, 18 April 1912.

225 GTJ, 22 July 1909; GPM, 23 July 1909.

226 GTJ, 5 Oct 1911; GPM, 6 Oct 1911.

227 GPM, 29 Jan 1915.

228 GPM, 10 March 1915.

229 GPM, 19 Feb 1915. A grant of this nature would result in a government subsidy of £450, and an annual maintenance grant of £75, in terms of the Hospital Ordinance.

230 GPM, 26 Feb 1915.

231 GPM, 26 April 1915.

plans were sent to Cape Town for approval. Nothing further was heard.²³² A year later, the Council pressed for a suitable building to be erected "in view of the alarming spread of tuberculosis"; the Council was particularly anxious that Grahamstown had a higher death rate from the disease in comparison with other towns.²³³ By the end of 1918, no special facility to cope with tuberculosis in Grahamstown had been authorized or built.

A suspected outbreak of bubonic plague in 1904 was found to be false. Diseased rats were discovered in a railway goods shed between 26 May and 5 June,²³⁴ and an Indian child was thought to have symptoms of the plague.²³⁵ Rumours about the railway goods shed again circulated in 1906, but were discounted.²³⁶ In 1915 there was an outbreak of bubonic plague in the Eastern Cape. Emergency plague regulations were brought into operation in the district of Albany in April,²³⁷ as cases and some deaths were reported from other towns.²³⁸ Grahamstown and Albany remained free of the disease. Another scare occurred in 1916, when a "Hottentot" in quarantine in Uitenhage for bubonic plague escaped: he had two sisters living in Grahamstown and had been traced as far as Alicedale.²³⁹ Plague regulations were again brought into force in Albany,²⁴⁰ but again there was no outbreak of plague. Credit was given by the City Council to the Sanitary Inspector, which evoked a protest from the Medical Officer of Health, who claimed he had played an important role.²⁴¹

The prevalence of typhoid and enteric fever was generally blamed on the water supply. Dr J Mitchell, Assistant Medical Officer of Health for

232 GPM, 17 Sept 1915.

233 GPM, 6 Oct 1916. No figures were given.

234 GTJ, 2 July 1904.

235 GTJ, 6 Aug 1904; GTJ, 9 Aug 1904.

236 GPM, 3 Aug 1906.

237 GPM, 14 April 1915.

238 GPM, 16 April 1915.

239 GPM, 27 Oct 1916.

240 GPM, 27 Oct 1916.

241 GPM, 17 Nov 1916.

the Colony, in a report on the conditions at Slaai Kraal, made several recommendations about nightsoil removal and sanitation arrangements, but concluded that there seemed no reason to blame enteric fever on Grahamstown's water.²⁴² Enteric fever had broken out in Grahamstown on 2 December 1904, and there had been thirty-five cases notified and two deaths since then.²⁴³ A further seventeen cases were reported by the end of the year.²⁴⁴ F Graham, Resident Magistrate of Grahamstown, reported in March 1907 that a large number of cases had recently been prevalent in the town, and the local Medical Officer of Health was not taking sufficient precautions. He blamed the polluted water, and requested that a report be made on the situation.²⁴⁵ The report revealed that since 1 December 1906, there had been a total of forty-four cases.²⁴⁶ Dr Bruce-Bays reported that there was a diminution of the number of cases, and that "our water supply, though not pure, cannot be responsible for the disease."²⁴⁷ Dr Gregory, the Colonial Medical Officer of Health, replied that he was happy to accept the verdict of Dr Bruce-Bays, but went on to say:

"I am not in my own mind able to acquit the system of nightsoil and slop-water disposal and removal of blame in the matter. There is no doubt whatever that in a Municipality the size of Grahamstown, these services should be entirely in the hands of and carried out by the Officers of the Municipality, and not left to contractors working with the public to perform."²⁴⁸

242 Report of 11 July 1905, CA, MOH 77-286, pg 4.

243 Report of 11 July 1905, CA, MOH 77-286, pg 3.

244 Report of 27 Dec 1905, CA, MOH 77-286. Eleven of these cases affected whites, and six coloureds.

245 Letter of Resident Magistrate to Medical Officer of Health for the Colony, dated 23 March 1907, CA, MOH 101-C2A.

246 Report of 17 March 1907, CA, MOH 101-C2B. There were 33 white victims and 11 coloured.

247 Letter of J Bruce-Bays to MOH for the Colony, dated 25 March 1907, CA, MOH 101-C2d.

248 Letter of Dr Gregory to Dr Bruce-Bays, 7 May 1907, CA, MOH 101-C2d.

Instances of enteric fever remained prominent in returns of notifiable disease; in 1911, for example, thirty-one cases were notified.²⁴⁹

The fact that no smallpox occurred in Grahamstown in 1904 and 1905²⁵⁰ led the City Council to suspend the services of the caretaker of the smallpox lazaretto (quarantine hospital).²⁵¹ It was reported that the building had been neglected since the incumbent had taken charge, and it was hoped that the buildings would not fall into further disrepair. Two smallpox scares, one at the end of 1908 and the other at the beginning of 1912 failed to develop.²⁵² A minor outbreak occurred at the beginning of 1915, but was carefully controlled; the lazaretto buildings were brought into use again, and infected patients were kept under strict surveillance.²⁵³

Grahamstown's few lepers were housed in the local gaol. The satisfactory nature of such an arrangement was questioned, however; a motion in the City Council that a building be erected in the grounds of the smallpox lazaretto was defeated by a large majority, which opposed the introduction of a "leper depot" into the city.²⁵⁴ Fear of leprosy was strong, and the dominant view was that any lepers in the city should be removed as soon as possible. Two lepers in 1911 were placed under heavy guard until they could be transferred by the Government to a leper asylum.²⁵⁵ Three further cases were reported, and the Council promised that "every step would be taken to segregate them with the least possible delay".²⁵⁶ During the war, another three cases were quarantined in the locations.²⁵⁷

249 Annual report of MOH for Grahamstown, for 1911. GTJ, 18 April 1912; GPM, 19 April 1912.

250 Annual reports of MOH for 1904 and 1905.

251 GTJ, 16 Aug 1906; GPM, 17 Aug 1906.

252 GTJ, 1 Oct 1908; GTJ, 14 March 1912; GPM, 15 March 1912.

253 GPM, 15 Jan 1915; GPM, 19 March 1915.

254 GTJ, 11 Nov 1905; GPM, 13 Nov 1905.

255 GPM, 19 May 1911.

256 GTJ, 1 June 1911.

257 GPM, 30 April 1915; GPM, 2 July 1915.

An outbreak of scarlet fever in Grahamstown's schools caused some concern. During May 1912, thirty-five cases of the disease were notified and, as a result, the City Council requested the Minister of the Interior to close all schools.²⁵⁸ All schools were closed until 5 August on the recommendation of the Medical Officer of Health, when the worst of the epidemic had passed.²⁵⁹ An outbreak of infantile paralysis in the Cape in 1918 caused some anxiety in Grahamstown but no cases of the disease were reported in the city.²⁶⁰

The Spanish influenza epidemic which began in South Africa in September 1918 reached Grahamstown at the beginning of October.²⁶¹ About 5 000 cases had been reported from the Cape Peninsula by then.²⁶² The epidemic spread up lines of communication; Port Elizabeth reported sixteen cases by 8 October.²⁶³ The epidemic was believed to have reached Grahamstown through railway passengers travelling from affected areas.²⁶⁴ Public meetings and gatherings were cancelled as the grip of flu enveloped the city. Some churches cancelled services on the first Sunday of the epidemic while others held worship in the open air. All the public schools were closed immediately.²⁶⁵ Cinemas were closed and the private schools and colleges were advised to quarantine students. Amongst the first of Grahamstown's victims was the Mayor, C W Whiteside.²⁶⁶

258 GTJ, 13 June 1912; GPM, 14 June 1912.

259 GTJ, 11 July 1912; GTJ, 13 July 1912.

260 GPM, 19 June 1918; GPM, 21 June 1918; GPM, 24 June 1918.

261 The disease had begun in Europe, amongst German troops. It spread to Spain, where it affected about eight million people, and then attacked French, British and United States troops on the Allied front. From there, it spread worldwide. It entered South Africa through the ports. Durban's first case was on 14 September, and Cape Town's on 25 September.

Article by J Burman in SESA, Vol 6, pgs 94-95.

262 GPM, 4 Oct 1918.

263 GPM, 8 Oct 1918.

264 GPM, 9 Oct 1918.

265 GPM, 14 Oct 1918.

266 GPM, 9 Oct 1918.

The City Council's Health Committee had the matter well in hand, and took as many precautions as possible.²⁶⁷ The Public Health Department was telegraphed to provide the Committee with special powers to cope with the emergency.²⁶⁸ Municipalities in the country were empowered to close cinemas, theatres and schools, and prohibit public gatherings.²⁶⁹ Grahamstown's City Hall was converted into a central medical depot, and an appeal was made to the public for gifts of bedding, the supply of foodstuffs and the services of any sort of vehicle, as well as for male and female volunteers to help in the suppression of the outbreak. A house to house visitation to ascertain the requirements of residents was undertaken.²⁷⁰ Inoculations against the epidemic were performed by Dr Saunders, but supplies of vaccine were insufficient.²⁷¹ As the epidemic spread amongst whites, the Albany Drill Hall was converted into a hospital and served as a second depot to the City Hall.²⁷² The Shaw Hall and St George's Hall were both converted into temporary hospitals shortly thereafter.²⁷³ At the height of the crisis, the emergency services provided by volunteers seemed in grave danger of collapse unless they were to be replenished by further volunteers.²⁷⁴ An executive committee, consisting of C W Whiteside (the Mayor), J J Simon (the Deputy Mayor), H Fitchat and Col M du Toit (the Deputy Commissioner of the South African Police) was formed, to remain in continuous session in the City Hall to contend with the crisis and coordinate response.²⁷⁵

At the end of October, the number of fresh cases of influenza began to diminish.²⁷⁶ A Mayor's Relief Fund for victims and their dependants was opened and within ten days £662 had been contributed, a further sign of

267 GPM, 14 Oct 1918.

268 GPM, 14 Oct 1918.

269 GPM, 16 Oct 1918.

270 GPM, 16 Oct 1918.

271 GPM, 18 Oct 1918.

272 GPM, 18 Oct 1918.

273 GPM, 21 Oct 1918.

274 GPM, 23 Oct 1918.

275 GPM, 23 Oct 1918.

276 GPM, 30 Oct 1918.

the generosity of citizens to their fellows in distress.²⁷⁷ A special committee of the City Council was appointed to revise accounts in connection with the epidemic, and deal with the question of according recognition to helpers.²⁷⁸ Accounts for the epidemic amounted to £8 645; about £6 500 of this was formally accepted by the special committee.²⁷⁹

Sixty-four white residents of the city lost their lives in the epidemic.²⁸⁰ In January 1919, the Mayor and Deputy Mayor travelled to Cape Town to attend a conference of local authorities with a view to meeting the cost of the epidemic, and to interview members of the Government. The government undertook to pay 80% of the cost.²⁸¹ A special rate of 5/8d in the £ on all landed property was imposed by the City Council in order to meet its share of 20% of the costs.²⁸² In addition to this, all the materials purchased for use during the epidemic were sold by public auction, and yielded £400. The special rate and the proceeds of the auction enabled the City Council to meet the local costs of the epidemic.

In the area of public health and sanitation, the dependence of Grahamstown on the wider authority of the central government can perhaps be most clearly seen. The small rural and predominantly educational city simply lacked the resources for modernization and major improvement in sanitary and health services. The urgent need for a safer, larger and more sophisticated hospital was evident to all from 1900; it was only after large injections of government and private aid that the ideal could be realized. Health experts were unanimous in their agreement for the necessity of an efficient and updated sanitary service, worked

277 GPM, 11 Nov 1918

278 GPM, 15 Nov 1918

279 GPM, 20 Dec 1918

280 Mayoral Minute 1919, pg.20, AM, unaccessioned. 5 855 white deaths occurred in the Cape Province, which was about half of the 11 726 white fatalities in the Union.

J Burman, SESA, Vol 6, pg 94-95.

281 Mayoral Minute 1919, pg.17, AM, unaccessioned.

282 Mayoral Minute 1920, pg.21, AM, unaccessioned.

departmentally by the City Council. Even the formidable influence of Grahamstown education could not alter the position of a Council severely handicapped by shortage of funds. A powerful butchers' lobby on the City Council may have prevented the construction of a municipal abattoir in 1904, but inability to expend even £2 500 in 1913 hindered an essential project. Any new departure needed government assistance. Government pressure was even vital for the provision of adequate facilities. The crucial necessity for adequate cemetery accommodation was championed by the Cape administration; had the City Council not had the external force, a new cemetery may well have been further delayed. Without government assistance, unforeseen emergencies such as the influenza epidemic of 1918 would have broken the Council completely.

It is difficult to say whether Grahamstown was a healthier place in 1918 than in 1902. A filtration plant had certainly improved the purity of the water supply.²⁸³ The influenza epidemic had battered the small community but had the paradoxical effect of bringing out the finest qualities of public service and spirit in many residents. It was, however, an abnormal outbreak. Nevertheless, the potential for disease, because of insufficient and inadequate sanitary arrangements, and a hospital in which public confidence was low, was strong. Clearly, major improvements were necessary before the health of the community could be more definitely assured. Up to 1918, Medical Officers of Health pointed to weaknesses and serious flaws in public facilities. Basic to all of these was the necessity of a secure water supply. The city, increasingly reliant on its schools and colleges, required major essential development before greater confidence could be expressed.

283 See Chapter 4, pg.121.

CHAPTER 6

BLACK GRAHAMSTOWN : "A DISGRACE TO CIVILIZATION"

LOCATION REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE

	<u>Revenue</u>	<u>Expenditure</u>	Town Council <u>Profit/Outlay</u>
	£	£	£
1904	352	171	+181
1905	354	168	+186
1906	333	167	+166
1907	357	167	+190
1908	323	187	+136
1909	327	187	+140
1910	309	186	+123
1911	447	188	+259
1912	414	225	+189
1913	388	905	-617
1914	632	1016	-384
1915	469	1145	-676
1916	436	1045	-609
1917	396	723	-327
1918	427	712	-285

Compiled from annual financial statements:

GTJ, 20 April 1905; GTJ, 12 April 1906; GPM, 25 March 1907; Mayoral Minute, AM, unaccessioned; GPM, 23 April 1909; GPM, 15 April 1910; GPM, 21 April 1911; GPM, 24 May 1912; GPM, 12 Feb 1913; GPM, 7 April 1914; GPM, 17 March 1915; GPM, 16 Feb 1916; GPM, 5 Feb 1917; GPM, 20 Feb 1918; GPM, 17 March 1919.

POPULATION OF GRAHAMSTOWN : DWELLING AREAS1904

	<u>Municipality</u>	<u>Locations</u>	<u>Total</u>
White	7 096	187	7 283
Malay	8	-	8
Hottentot	310	686	996
Fingo	120	731	851
Kafir	610	2 916	3 526
Mixed and Other	575	648	1 223
	<hr/>		
Total	8 719	5 168	13 887
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Statistics compiled from: CPP, G. 19-1905, pgs.32-33.

CHAPTER SIX

BLACK GRAHAMSTOWN - "A DISGRACE TO CIVILISATION"

Two controversial reports on conditions in Grahamstown's black locations marked a clear divide in the actions of the City Council towards the black inhabitants of the city. Both the local Special Investigation Committee¹ and the Union Government's Tuberculosis Commission² revealed appalling living standards and glaring inadequacies in the administration of the locations. The City Council was forced to act upon the demands and recommendations made in the two reports, but the response was qualified, grudging and inadequate. Some of the more obvious faults were corrected, but no fundamental change of policy or attitude took place between 1902 and 1918. The paternalistic and segregationist outlook of white Grahamstown was reinforced as the City Council grappled with the matters of location control and public health.³

The majority of Grahamstown's black population lived in the locations sited on the town commonage on the northern side of the city. The population in 1908 was estimated to be 6 200,⁴ and had risen to approximately 7 000 by 1912.⁵ According to the Medical Officer of

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- 1 The Special Investigation Committee was appointed in July 1912 (GTJ, 11 July 1912) and submitted its report in November (GPM, 8 Nov 1912). See Chapter 1, pg.10 for further details.
 - 2 The Tuberculosis Commission was appointed by the Union Government on 26 February 1912 to ascertain "the extent and causes of the prevalence and spread of Tuberculosis". It presented its report in 1914. (U.G.34-1914).
 - 3 M W Swanson, "The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1909", JAH, Vol 18, No.3, 1977, pgs.387-410, has shown the influence of public health and infectious disease on the origins and early development of urban segregation in South Africa.
 - 4 Report of Dr Mitchell, Assistant Medical Officer of Health for the Colony, 17 August 1908, in CA, MOH 102-L2C, pg 16.
 - 5 Report of the City Council to the Black Peril Commission, GPM, 13 Sept 1912. See also SIC report, GPM, 8 Nov 1912.

Health, over one thousand blacks lived within the bounds of the city, for there were no regulations requiring blacks to live within a particular area.⁶ Similarly, there were whites living in the location; in 1907, seventeen white voters and 187 whites had registered addresses in the location.⁷

Official sources differ as to the number of locations situated alongside the city, but the most commonly accepted number was three: the Municipal Location, the Hottentot Location and the Fingo Village.⁸ The Municipal Location consisted of 506 erven, each 60 ft. by 120 ft. in size.⁹ In July 1912, there were 744 huts or dwellings situated on these lots,¹⁰ in which 2 332 people lived.¹¹ Livestock owned by these inhabitants consisted of 562 cattle, 195 goats and 6 donkeys.¹² The occupiers of each erf rented the land from the City Council on an annual

6 GTJ, 9 May 1907; GPM, 10 May 1907. The 1904 Census corroborated this: 1623 "non-white" persons lived in the city. See above, pg.188.

7 "Electoral Division of Grahamstown: Electoral Roll of Persons qualified to vote for the Election of Members of the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly for the Electoral Division of Grahamstown, 1907" CA, CCP 11/1/52 (hereinafter referred to as Voters List, 1907). Racial categories were specified by letters on the list. See below, pg.222.

8 Some sources give four locations. The confusion probably arises out of the geographical position of the locations. The Fingo Village was situated between the two portions of the Municipal Location, which was sometimes considered as two separate entities. Another possible explanation was the emergence of the Taantje (or Tantje or Tantye) Location north-east of Fingo Villge (CMB 6 April 1904; CMB 19 Oct 1904; CA, 3/AY 1/1/1/14), but as it was never treated separately for administrative purposes, the geographic explanation seems the most likely.

9 Dr Mitchell's report, CA, MOH 102-L2C, pg 16.

10 Sub-letting of erven was prohibited by the municipal regulations, but was obviously not enforced.

11 SIC report, GPM, 8 Nov 1912.

12 SIC report, GPM, 8 Nov 1912.

basis, and paid sixteen shillings a year in rent; they therefore paid no rates to the Council.¹³ The other two locations were under the control of the government. The Fingo Village consisted of 320 lots, and had a population of approximately 2 000 inhabitants, while the Hottentot Location comprised 150 lots. Both these locations were occupied by inhabitants who held individual title to the erven under title deed, and paid a quitrent of five shillings per annum to the Government, which was utilized for educational purposes.¹⁴ In addition, these two locations were assessed according to the current municipal rate in force in the city; most properties were valued between £50 and £60.¹⁵ This division of control over the locations was to be a recurrent problem for the City Council, and provided difficulties for the enforcement of regulations.

The locations were governed under municipal regulations framed in 1881.¹⁶ Under them, an Inspector was appointed to "supervise and manage" the municipal location.¹⁷ In 1904, Mr J Holmes held the office of Location Inspector and Poundmaster, and was paid an annual salary of £150.¹⁸ Half this amount was paid by the occupiers of dwellings in the location, the other half by the City Council.¹⁹ The Inspector had the same rank as a field-cornet or police constable.²⁰ Further powers were granted to the Inspector in July 1904,²² under which he was empowered to remove people who had no authority to be there.²³ New regulations were laid down for occupiers of erven: an occupier was permitted to erect a dwelling only in accordance with a description approved of by the

13 Dr Mitchell's report, CA, MOH 102-L2C, pg 16.

14 SIC report, GPM, 8 Nov 1912. Dr Mitchell reported a quitrent of ten shillings per annum. CA, MOH 102-L2C, pg 17.

15 SIC report, GPM, 8 Nov 1912

16 M Gibbens, Two decades in the life of a city: Grahamstown 1862-1882, unpubl. MA thesis, Rhodes University, 1982, pg 283.

17 Municipal Regulations, Section 8, No 1.

18 GTJ, 16 July 1904.

19 Municipal Regulations, Section 8, No 2.

20 Municipal Regulations, Section 8, No 4.

21 Municipal Regulations, Section 8, No 5.

22 Government Notice No 834 of 1904, gazetted on 29 July 1904.

23 Municipal Regulations, Section 8, No 12.

Location Committee of the City Council, he was required to enclose his erf, he was henceforward not allowed to sub-let his erf without the approval of the Location Committee, and only the occupier or his wife or descendants were permitted to occupy his erf.²⁴

Fingo Village and the Hottentot Location came under the supervision of the Government Inspector of Locations in the Albany district.²⁵ Three headmen were answerable to him for the administration of these locations: an Mfengu, Alexander Nkosinkulu, and a Thembu, Stephen Tyiki, in the Fingo Village, and a Coloured, William McMaster, in the Hottentot Location.²⁶ They were responsible for the collection of quitrents in the two locations. The Grahamstown Municipal Act, Act 18 of 1902, introduced a further complication in the control of the locations, in that new clauses lay down that the City Council could enforce rate payment in the Fingo Village and the Hottentot Location only with government consent and only then by leasing land on which five years' rates were due.²⁷ The City Council constantly was to play on the difficulty it faced, whereby it was supposed to be responsible for sanitary and other municipal services, and the collection of rates from the locations, but where they could not exercise legislative authority.

The Special Investigation Committee report revealed that the Location Inspector had not enforced the municipal regulations satisfactorily. The Inspector lived away from the location, and was also Poundmaster; he therefore could not devote full attention to location affairs. No proper register of blacks had been kept as the regulations required; stock had not been monitored, and neither had huts and dwellings been

24 Municipal Regulations, Section 8, No 15.

25 CPP, G.25-1902, pg 7-8.

26 CPP, G.46-1906, pg 115.

27 Act 18 of 1902, Cls 98-103 specified the various conditions. The City Council originally demanded greater powers over the locations to enforce rate payments, but the Government refused to allow the Council to trespass on the security of landed property which it had guaranteed in the two locations. Correspondence on the matter between the Surveyor-General, the Under-Secretary of Agriculture and the Town Clerk can be found in CA, LND 1/830-L14717.

numbered in accordance with regulations. The Committee strongly deplored the fact that there was no "proper supervision" of the government locations, and found that:

"natives residing there [are] free, as owners, to give shelter and accommodation to any native who comes along ... [some] owners have let their erven and property and have become tenants in the Municipal Locations."²⁸

The Committee recommended that an inspector, fluent in an African language, should be appointed at a salary of £150 per annum. He was to be provided with a house in the location, and he would undertake duties at fixed hours at his office in the location, where a telephone service and postal agency would be established.²⁹ The Committee further recommended that a black constable should be appointed, at an annual salary of £16, to assist the inspector, patrol the streets and report on breaches of the regulations. All huts and streets were to be numbered, stock branded, and all money derived from the locations spent there, and no longer to be absorbed into general revenue. A new register was to be opened, and full information recorded in it. The Committee expressed the hope that the Government would introduce a better system of control over the government locations, and steps would be taken to bring all three locations under one system. The duties of the Inspector were clearly set out. He was required to enforce all the municipal regulations in the location; visit a section of the location each day and become properly acquainted with the whole area; he had to collect all rates, rents, taxes and burial fees; keep all books; and maintain

28 SIC report, GPM, 8 Nov 1912.

29 The City Council agreed to establish a postal agency at the Location Inspector's premises in accordance with this recommendation (GTJ, 13 Feb 1913; GPM, 14 Feb 1913). The post office was opened on 1 August 1913, and the Inspector's wife served as Postmistress. Telephonic communication with the city was promised shortly afterwards. The improvements were not without ulterior motives: the Penny Mail declared that when a telephone was installed, "it will be possible for anyone to quickly inquire whether a servant is absent from work on legitimate grounds." (GPM, 30 July 1913).

an inventory of municipal property. Office hours were clearly specified, and he was required to attend Location Committee meetings and submit an annual report.

In the light of the report of the Special Investigation Committee, the Location Committee recommended that the service of J Holmes be dispensed with from the end of 1912, and applications for his post be invited.³⁰ Twenty-eight applications were received; from them, E A W Stratford, the Assistant Location Inspector of East London, was chosen, provided he could speak Xhosa.³¹ He was formally appointed in January 1913 and began his duties on 1 March.³² Mr Manasseh Nyalusa was appointed Location Constable at a salary of £36 per annum.³³

The new Location Inspector set about his task with earnestness, and began to implement the city regulations in a way that they had not been enforced for some years. This provoked some hostility from location residents. A "Kafir labourer", David Johnstone, was sentenced to one month's hard labour for assaulting the Inspector; during the case, the Resident Magistrate heard that several meetings had been held in the location to protest against the way in which the Inspector was carrying out his work.³⁴ The Penny Mail welcomed the fact that the Inspector was "doing good work towards putting the location in proper order".³⁵ A list of grievances, signed by eighty-eight women living in the location, complaining of indifference to their interests and lack of consideration on the part of the Inspector, was submitted to the City Council at the end of July 1913.³⁶ The Location Committee requested a meeting between

30 MCMB, 12 Nov 1912, CA, 3/AY 1/2/1/1/11.

31 His salary was to be £150 per annum, and he was to be provided with a free house. GTJ, 19 Dec 1912; GPM, 20 Dec 1912.

32 GTJ, 16 Jan 1913; GPM, 17 Jan 1913.

33 GTJ, 19 Dec 1912; GPM, 20 Dec 1912.

34 GTJ, 1 April 1913.

35 GPM, 2 April 1913.

36 GTJ, 31 July 1913; GPM, 1 Aug 1913. The precise grievances were not published in the reports of the Council meeting, and have not been traced.

itself, the Inspector and the petitioners' attorney, L I Smit,³⁷ to discuss the matter.³⁸ The meeting did not take place and the Committee, questioning the validity of the petition, recommended that it merely be recorded.³⁹ The Committee reported that the municipal regulations had not been enforced for many years and subletting of erven, families occupying more than one erf, the brewing of kafir beer and the sale of intoxicating liquor had to be curtailed and stopped. The Inspector had also been enforcing the payment of arrear rents, further increasing his unpopularity.⁴⁰ The City Council refused to recognize the document as a genuine petition because all the names of the signatories, who were presumably illiterate, had been written by two people. Amongst the women were some who had been convicted for brewing kafir beer and were under notice to leave the location; it was, in any case,

"unbusinesslike for a public body to deal with women about matters which affect men more than women."⁴¹

The Council thus took no further action.⁴² The Journal attacked the "peremptory manner" of the Council in dealing with the petition, and claimed there was no need to dismiss it in such a manner, but it acknowledged the necessity for "discipline to be maintained at the location".⁴³

Stratford was suddenly dismissed from his post by the Health Committee in February 1917. The Committee declined to give reasons, but announced it would report the matter fully at a later date.⁴⁴ A month later, a local man, J P McNamee, was appointed Inspector, without any explanation by the Committee for the change in personnel.⁴⁵ It later transpired

37 Smit served on the City Council in 1913 and 1914.

38 MCMB, 11 Aug 1913, CA, 3/AY 1/2/1/1/11.

39 MCMB, 18 Aug 1913, CA, 3/AY 1/2/1/1/11.

40 MCMB, 27 Aug 1913, CA, 3/AY 1/2/1/1/11.

41 MCMB, 27 Aug 1913; CA, 3/AY 1/2/1/1/11.

42 GTJ, 28 Aug 1913; GPM, 29 Aug 1913.

43 GTJ, 2 Sept 1913.

44 GPM, 23 Feb 1917.

45 GTJ, 23 March 1917.

that Stratford had defaulted in payment of a debt of £36 and was dismissed without any further action being taken. Rumours of more serious fraud were never confirmed.⁴⁶

A special report commissioned by the Journal made an honest appraisal of the appalling living conditions in the location. The report described the majority of dwellings erected on erven to be of the

"most primitive order ... covered over with paraffin, tin, pieces of boarding, cloth, cardboard, in fact anything that the builder could lay hand upon to enclose his house."⁴⁷

An average of between four and five people inhabited a single room hut; in one case, however, sixteen adults and children occupied such a dwelling and eight, nine or ten dwellers was not uncommon. The report described the "grossly insanitary state of affairs", filthy drains and ruts, in which cesspools developed, and roads in a bad state. Streets were overgrown with weeds, aloes and prickly pear bush, and were also full of rubbish because there was no deposit site. The overcrowding of the huts also gave rise to many questions about health. The Special Investigation Committee bore this out, and spoke of extremely unhealthy living conditions:

"The sick and dying crawl out and defecate as near as possible to the hut they live in, and when they get beyond the strength of that they lie in their filthy clothes, or use rags which are then thrown out into the streets, or hidden in the aloes and prickly pear bush."⁴⁸

The Tuberculosis Commission described the majority of locations in South Africa as "a menace" to the health of the inhabitants, and Grahamstown was singled out for special mention in this category.⁴⁹ The Commission visited Grahamstown in March 1913, and evidence heard from six medical

46 GPM, 7 April 1917.

47 GTJ, 27 Aug 1912.

48 GPM, 8 Nov 1912.

49 U.G.34-1914, para. 235, pg 125.

doctors⁵⁰ and three ministers of religion⁵¹ was uniformly damning of conditions in the locations. Even the Mayor, T B van der Riet, was forced to admit that the location was in a "bad condition", and had been so for many years.⁵² Dr Saunders, the former local Medical Officer of Health, was the most outspoken of those interviewed. He chastized the Council for its hostility and apathy, and informed the Commission: "You will get nothing done here so long as there is a municipality." He called for the elimination of the local authority from responsibility for public health matters. He favoured the introduction of a "strong driving power" behind the City Council, and a Sanitary Committee consisting of the Resident Magistrate, the Chief of Police, the District Surgeon and two or three officials,

"instead of, as was sometimes the case, a few of the most ignorant class they could possibly find, shopkeepers who had made money without scruples as to how they got it."⁵³

The improvement of the locations was a "crying necessity"; in short, they were "a disgrace to civilization."⁵⁴

Dr Saunders' remarks provoked an uproar in Grahamstown's administrative circles. The City Council condemned his remarks,⁵⁵ and a special

50 Dr A Cowper, Superintendent of the Asylum.

Dr F A Saunders, former Medical Officer of Health in the city.

Dr B T Harrison, local medical practitioner.

Dr H F Becker, local medical practitioner.

Dr E J Dru Drury, District Surgeon.

Dr G C Purvis, Medical Officer of Health.

51 Archdeacon W Turpin, Anglican priest in charge of St Philip's Mission for about 45 years up to 1905.

Rev W Y Stead, Anglican priest in charge of St Philip's Mission.

Fr. F Berghegge, priest in charge of the Roman Catholic Mission.

52 U.G.34-1914, para.249(4), pg 133-134.

53 GPM, 24 March 1913.

54 U.G.34-1914, para.249(4); GPM, 24 March 1913.

55 GTJ, 27 March 1913; GPM, 28 March 1913. Clr W Y Stead supported Dr Saunders.

committee was appointed to investigate his allegations.⁵⁶ The Committee interviewed the Sanitary Inspector, the Superintendent of Works and the Location Inspector, all of whom condemned Dr Saunders, and criticized him for having ignored positive features.⁵⁷ The Committee's final report dismissed the allegations as "absolutely unfounded and untrue", and concluded the evidence was "incorrect, untrustworthy, biased and malignant".⁵⁸ It requested that a copy of the report be sent to the Tuberculosis Commission and the Member of Parliament for Albany, F J W van der Riet.⁵⁹

The respected black politician, W B Rubusana,⁶⁰ visited Grahamstown in April 1915 and criticized the Council for the lack of money spent on the locations, which he felt had not altered since his previous visit fifteen years before. There was a great deal of filth; the "so-called streets" were neglected and highly dangerous; and lighting was non-existent. He reported that his discussions with some leading black residents of Grahamstown revealed that the locations were being exploited for the benefit of the city. He also criticized the low salaries of the Location Inspector and his black Constable. His

56 The Special Committee consisted of the Mayor and Clrs H Wood, D Knight, J H Webber, C Whiteside and E Ayliff.

57 The Superintendent of Works declared that the Grahamstown locations were "much better" than any he had seen, and the Location Inspector reported that they compared very favourably with the East London locations. SCMB, 28 March 1913, CA, 3/AY 1/3/1/1/4.

58 SCMB, 16 April 1913, CA, 3/AY 1/3/1/1/4.

59 GTJ, 17 April 1913; GPM, 21 April 1913.

60 Walter Benson Rubusana was educated at Lovedale, and became a Congregationalist minister, a noted Xhosa author and a leading black politician. He was ordained in 1884, and worked as pastor at the East Bank Location in East London. He was elected President of the South African Native Convention in Bloemfontein in 1909 and served as a delegate in the two delegations to England to protest against the South Africa Bill and the Native Lands Act. He was the first and only black member of the Cape Provincial Council.

DSAB, Vol II, pg 608.

61 GTJ, 10 April 1915, W B Rubusana to Editor.

criticisms drew some adverse reaction. "Councillor" rejected his claims that blacks were exploited as a "gross libel";

"Without paying a penny in taxation, the natives enjoy in the City all the benefits and privileges of civilization such as sidewalks, tarred streets, lighting, etc."

He attributed the high death rate to:

"the natural result of overcrowding at night time, ignorance, prejudice against modern precautions and the consumption of flesh of animals that have died of disease."⁶²

Dr Rubusana refused to retract his remarks, and declared that "no amount of vituperation or protest ... will alter the state of affairs in these Locations."⁶³ Rev S J Helm⁶⁴ defended the locations, declaring they compared favourably with others he had visited; he indirectly censored Dr Rubusana when he stated that those who worked in the locations preferred to work quietly instead of "posing publicly as champions for their rights".⁶⁵

To some extent, awareness of location conditions amongst whites in Grahamstown was clouded by official reports which failed to reflect the true state of affairs. The Inspector of Locations for Albany reported that the general health of blacks throughout the district was "exceptionally good" in 1901/1902;⁶⁶ in 1908/1909, the general sanitation of the location was described as "fairly good".⁶⁷ In 1913, the City Valuator, H Lawrence, described the Hottentot Location as "exceptionally clean" and the Fingo Village as "almost perfect", while

62 GTJ, 13 April 1915, "Councillor" to Editor.

63 GTJ, 17 April 1915, W B Rubusana to Editor.

64 S J Helm was Congregationalist Minister at the Union Church from 1882 to 1918, and worked mainly amongst Coloureds. Centenary Souvenir, Union Congregational Church, Grahamstown, South Africa, 1827-1927.

65 GTJ, 20 April 1915, S J Helm to Editor.

66 CPP, G.25-1902, pg 6.

67 CPP, G.43-1909, pg 146.

the Municipal Location "required some attention".⁶⁸ The overwhelming evidence, however, is that conditions were appalling. In 1912, even the Journal admitted that the health standards of the location "cause one to shudder", and recognized that the position "could hardly be more unsatisfactory".⁶⁹ Dr Saunders' description of the locations while he was still the city's Medical Officer of Health was more lurid: he characterized them as a "human dung heap".⁷⁰

The supply of water to the locations by the municipality was minimal, and the majority of inhabitants had to fend for themselves. A municipal water tank near the railway station supplied water twice a week; many more people relied on five water holes containing springs, which were all situated near the stercus pits and the gas works.⁷¹ A drought at the end of the nineteenth century precipitated minor changes in the municipal supply. The main water pipe was extended along the Albany Road in December 1902; and in May 1904, the Board of Works was authorized to order one thousand three-inch pipes with accessories in order to extend the supply to water tanks placed at the end of various streets in the location.⁷² There were eventually ten such tanks, each with a capacity of 400 gallons.⁷³ These tanks were only available to citizens who held tickets, which cost ten shillings per annum.⁷⁴ About 25% of location residents availed themselves of the piped water supply, a further 25% managed to collect water on their erven in "rain water tanks", while the remainder hunted for water in neighbouring kloofs from nearby springs, in the Kowie stream or from municipal stand pipes at the

68 GPM, 10 Oct 1913.

69 GTJ, 25 April 1912.

70 GTJ, 18 July 1912; GPM, 19 July 1912.

71 R Sellick, Grahamstown 1883-1904.

72 GTJ, 7 May 1904.

73 GPM, 5 Sept 1916.

74 Ticket holders were required to pay 2/6 every three months. The holders of tickets were only allowed to draw water twice a week. SIC report, GPM, 8 Nov 1912.

75 Report of Dr Mitchell, CA, MOH 102-L2C, pg 16-17.

the Hottentot Location, the City Council refused to reduce the water rate because it was debarred from doing so in terms of the City's regulations; in any case, three hundred black residents paid the rate without objection.⁷⁶ In 1908, the Major recognized that the water supply to the location was very inadequate, for those who used the municipal water were only able to obtain about ten gallons each time. He called for the augmentation of the supply.⁷⁷ The fact that supply problems were experienced was recognized by the Inspector of Locations in Albany, when he stated that "owing to defective flow from the reservoir, the amount has not lately been so good as usual".⁷⁸ When Slaai Kraal was completed, a further extension of pipes to the location was ordered, but only £50 was spent on the project, a minimal amount in view of the sum spent on the Slaai Kraal project.⁷⁹ The Special Investigation Committee reported inefficiency in the operation of the water tanks. They were managed by seven illiterate blacks, who were paid five shillings each per month; the Committee recommended they be replaced by three blacks who could read water tickets, and paid two shillings a day to ensure the proper functioning of the system.⁸⁰

At times, the municipal supply to the location dried up. In November 1912, Rev W Stead reported the "desperate state" of people, as there had been no water for five days.⁸¹ At the end of 1913, the tanks were opened on four days a week, but were still not supplying sufficient water to ticket-holders, who were therefore dissatisfied.⁸² The Location Inspector reported at the beginning of 1914 that the water supply was "considerably insufficient" to meet necessities.⁸³ Complaints were received from residents of Tanti about the lack of water,⁸⁴ and the supply situation worsened towards the end of the

76 GTJ, 11 Feb 1905.

77 Mayoral Minute, 1908, pg.3, AM, unaccessioned.

78 CPP, G.33-1908, pg 54-55.

79 Mayoral Minute, 1908, pg.5, AM, unaccessioned.

80 SIC report, GPM, 8 Nov 1912.

81 GPM, 15 Nov 1912.

82 Location Inspector's report, 8 Dec 1913, CA, 3/AY 5/2/2/1.

83 Location Inspector's report, 19 Jan 1914, CA, 3/AY 5/2/2/1.

84 Location Inspector's report, 27 Sept 1914, CA, 3/AY 5/2/2/1.

year.⁸⁵ Springs around the location dried up, and the ravine supply became seriously infected.⁸⁶ The City Council agreed to place £100 on the 1914 estimates to investigate the possibility of sinking a borehole above the locations, and it was hoped that this would make the locations independent of the town supply.⁸⁷

A report on the water supply by the Board of Works in October 1914 revealed the glaring discrepancies between the town and location supply. It was revealed that 7 323 whites were supplied with 102 500 gallons per day, while 6 507 blacks received 1 485 gallons per day. This meant about fourteen gallons were consumed by each white person per day, while blacks had to be content with 1½ pints. Blacks also paid about 160% more than whites for their water. Newspaper reports of the City Council meeting when the report was received revealed the desire of councillors to underplay the issue, as they did not want to create "racial feeling" should blacks discover these statistics.⁸⁸

After prospecting, work was begun on the construction of a location well, which the Board of Works estimated would cost £85.⁸⁹ By December 1914, £100 had been spent and the City Engineer was authorized to continue the work, as it was not expected to cost more than a further £25.⁹⁰ In January 1915, it was agreed to spend a further £50 on the well.⁹¹ Water was struck on 4 February, but only a trickle,⁹² and the City Engineer requested permission to continue the work. An additional £50 was granted to the Board of Works for continuation in June,⁹³ and a further £50 in October, by which time the well was yielding 3 000 gallons per day.⁹⁴ The constant vote of small sums of money reveals the Council's reluctance to fund any scheme of major improvement.

86 Location Inspector's report, 10 Oct 1914, CA, 3/AY 5/2/2/1.

87 GTJ, 5 Feb 1914; GPM, 6 Feb 1914.

88 GTJ, 22 Oct 1914; GPM, 23 Oct 1914.

89 GTJ, 25 June 1914; GPM, 26 June 1914.

90 GPM, 18 Dec 1914; GTJ, 19 Dec 1914.

91 GTJ, 13 Jan 1915.

92 GPM, 26 Feb 1915; GTJ, 27 Feb 1915.

93 GPM, 11 June 1915.

94 GPM, 1 Oct 1915.

In February 1916, a deputation of about thirty black women, accompanied by Mr Nathaniel Nyalusa as a spokesman,⁹⁵ complained of the inefficiency of the location supply. At that time, water tanks were only filled for one hour on a Monday morning, when women were at work. The deputation requested that the tanks be filled on Fridays as well as Mondays, and for a longer period.⁹⁶ The Council agreed, in view of the drought, to allow all blacks, in any of the locations, to draw water from the location well free of charge until more efficient methods were devised to provide an adequate supply.⁹⁷ £60 was set aside for the construction of a windmill at the well, for the handpump there was inefficient and often broken.⁹⁸ Inaction resulted in "a considerable number of native women" gathering at the City Hall to plead for water; they reported that they were unable to obtain water from the well, and some had only had a bucketful of water in the entire previous week.⁹⁹ The Council agreed to develop the location well in February 1917, and drive a tunnel into it at a cost of between £250 and £300.¹⁰⁰ Another disused borehole was opened up, but the purity of its water was disputed.¹⁰¹ The rains at the end of 1917 alleviated the situation, and the Council granted blacks free use of water from the overflowing tank at the Market Square, as a further temporary expedient.¹⁰² Despite the claim of a city councillor that blacks should now have an "ample supply", the Location Inspector reported that the matter remained "very pressing".¹⁰³ No full solution to the location's water problems was ever discussed seriously by the City Council, whose approach was piecemeal and inadequate.

95 Nyalusa was a teacher in the location, at St Philip's Mission School. Voters List, 1907.

96 GTJ, 23 Feb 1916; GPM, 25 Feb 1916.

97 GPM, 25 Feb 1916.

98 GPM, 15 Sept 1916.

99 GPM, 11 Oct 1916.

100 GPM, 9 Feb 1917.

101 GPM, 8 June 1917. One city councillor, Clr Orsmond, declared that "if the natives would not drink that, they ought to go without."

102 GPM, 30 Aug 1918.

103 Report of Location Inspector for 1920, in Mayoral Minute, 1920, pg.64, AM, unaccessioned.

Sanitary facilities and a sanitary removal system were virtually entirely lacking in the locations. In 1908, only five ordure closets, from which there were daily removals, served all three locations. There was no system of slop or refuse removal.¹⁰⁴ The new City Council, dominated by the Citizens' Union from July 1912, introduced a slight measure of reform.¹⁰⁵ The Council agreed to install thirteen concrete dustbins, at a cost of £39, for the streets of both government and municipal locations.¹⁰⁶ In October 1913, the City Engineer submitted plans for suitable public latrines for the use of blacks, but the City Council objected to a scheme whereby five latrines for men and five for women be constructed.¹⁰⁷ It was agreed to construct the latrines two months later,¹⁰⁸ and a tender for £157 was accepted.¹⁰⁹

During 1914, the City Council was more aware of sanitary and general health conditions in the locations than ever before. This was partly due to government pressure; the Resident Magistrate reported that the government was anxious to know what steps the City Council was taking to remedy the position in the Hottentot and Fingo Locations.¹¹⁰ A specially-constituted committee¹¹¹ visited the locations with the Sanitary Inspector and Medical Officer of Health, and found that the prickly pear bushes in the location were little more than a large latrine and rubbish dump. Drainage from it was flowing to the lower areas of the locations, and was proving a danger to health.¹¹² The

104 Report of Dr Mitchell, CA, MOH 102-L2C, pg 17.

105 Rev W Y Stead, who was elected to the 1912 Council, argued that the "deplorable state" of the location was a legacy of the old Council. GTJ, 29 March 1913, W Y Stead to Editor.

106 GTJ, 17 July 1913; GPM, 18 July 1913. A tender of £42 was accepted in August. (GPM, 15 Aug 1913).

107 GTJ, 2 Oct 1913; GPM, 3 Oct 1913.

108 GTJ, 11 Dec 1913; GPM, 12 Dec 1913.

109 GTJ, 29 Jan 1914; GPM, 30 Jan 1914.

110 GTJ, 15 Jan 1914; GPM, 16 Jan 1914.

111 The Committee consisted of members of the Health and Location Committees.

112 SCMB, 6 Feb 1914, CA, 3/AY 1/3/1/1/5.

See also GTJ, 12 Feb 1914; GPM, 13 Feb 1914.

committee recommended that a gang of men be employed to burn and eradicate the prickly pear bushes, and clean the streets of rubbish.¹¹³ The Sanitary Inspector estimated that the cost of removing prickly pear bush would be £150, and cleaning the whole location between £400 and £500, and advised that the Government be approached to assist financially.¹¹⁴ The City Council allocated £75 to eradicating prickly pear.¹¹⁵ The Resident Magistrate informed the Council that residents of the Government locations made a "considerable contribution" to the city's revenue with little benefit, and the Government was therefore not prepared to assist financially to improve upon the "obnoxious conditions".¹¹⁶ At the beginning of 1918, the Inspector reported that all the streets and municipal erven were "quite free" of prickly pear.¹¹⁷ By then, there were four public latrines in the municipal locations, four in Fingo Village and eight in Tanti.¹¹⁸ The short-sightedness and frugality of the Council is again evident. The removal of prickly pear bush could not of itself solve the sanitation problems of the location; the provision of adequate facilities required a positive and far-reaching approach.

Expenditure on streets was likewise minimal. Before 1912, filthy streets were ignored, as can be gauged from a report of the Location Inspector:

"The thoroughfares of every native location in Grahamstown have been maintained in a cleanly condition and free from any accumulation of noxious or offensive matters."¹¹⁹

This comment was not borne out by other reports. In September 1912, the

113 SCMB, 13 Feb 1914, CA, 3/AY 1/3/1/1/5.

114 SCMB, 18 Feb 1914, CA, 3/AY 1/3/1/1/5.

115 GTJ, 28 Feb 1914.

116 GTJ, 28 May 1914; GPM, 29 May 1914.

117 HCMB, 15 Jan 1918, CA 3/AY 1/2/6/1/4.

118 GPM, 8 Feb 1918.

119 Location Inspection report in Mayoral Minute of 1908, pg.37, AM, unaccessioned.

City Council, after lengthy debate, agreed to appoint W Maqanda to clean the streets of the location, at a wage of five shillings a day, and pay an assistant two shillings a day.¹²⁰ In 1915, a dispute arose over whether the Board of Works or the Health Committee was responsible for maintenance of location streets, after the City Engineer submitted a report on their bad condition.¹²¹ A proposal to spend £80 on the streets was reduced to £40, as the Council agreed that priority had to be given to streets in the city.¹²² By 1918, a regular team of three labourers was employed to remove vegetation and refuse from the streets, and to clear dustbins regularly.¹²³ Nothing further was done to improve the condition and surface of the roads.

What made the lack of facilities in the locations so deplorable was the fact that in every year from 1902 until 1912, the City Council made a profit out of the rents and rates collected from the locations.¹²⁴ The Tuberculosis Commission chastised municipalities which derived profits from their locations, when those locations were "badly in need of improvements", and Grahamstown was amongst ten municipalities singled out for special mention.¹²⁵ Up to 1912, virtually nothing was spent on the locations themselves, for the Inspector's salary was almost the sole item of expenditure.¹²⁶ From 1913, the City Council spent more money on the locations than it received. Salaries and overhead expenses, such as

120 GTJ, 12 Sept 1912; GPM, 13 Sept 1912.

121 GPM, 29 Oct 1915.

122 GPM, 15 Sept 1916. In 1916 alone, street maintenance in the city cost £2 742, extensions to gutters £1 303, and street cleaning £1 064. (GPM, 5 Feb 1917).

123 Location Inspector's report, in Mayoral Minute of 1920, pg.64, AM, unaccessioned.

124 See chart of Location revenue and expenditure, pg.187.

125 U.G.34-1914, para 248, pg..130-131. See also para 251, pg.139.

126 In 1905, 1906 and 1907, the Inspector's salary was £162, and expenditure in these years was £168, £167 and £167 respectively. From 1908 the Inspector received £184 in wages and expenses; total expenditure was £187 in 1908 and 1909, £186 in 1910, £188 in 1911 and £225 in 1912.

the provision and maintenance of a house for the Inspector, still formed a significant part of the budget, but small sums were thereafter spent on the maintenance of public sanitary conveniences, health expenses, street repairs and cemetery accommodation. The reversal of the trend of income from the location being absorbed into general revenue was not without opposition. Local Opinion held the view that Rev W Y Stead's "little pocket borough has had quite enough spent on it lately", and declared that location matters "have been intrusive enough of late as to make them almost offensive".¹²⁷

One major result of the lack of sanitation, inadequate and impure water, and crowded living conditions was a high death rate in the locations. The Medical Officer of Health gave the figure of 41 black deaths per 1 000 head of population in 1905, and stated that 576.5 per 1 000 black children died before reaching the age of five.¹²⁸ He blamed this on the fact that:

"Into their minds have not yet been inculcated those elementary principles of hygiene ... The native is ignorant of the value of light and fresh air and their purifying attributes; he is content to take his rest in a squalid, ill-ventilated hut, where bacteria and microbes can multiply at an alarmingly rapid rate."¹²⁹

The death rate remained high; in 1910 it was 33 per 1 000,¹³⁰ and in 1911, again 41 per 1 000.¹³¹ For 1912, the figure was estimated to be over 50;¹³² the Medical Officer of Health described the rate as excessive, but refrained from giving figures "in the hope that in the

127 LO, 25 July 1914.

128 GPM, 21 Sept 1906.

129 GPM, 21 Sept 1906.

130 Report of Medical Officer of Health in Mayoral Minute, 1911, pg.46, AM, unaccessioned.

131 GTJ, 18 April 1912; GPM, 19 April 1912. This compared unfavourably with a black death rate of 23.43 per 1 000 in Kimberley and 29.68 in Port Elizabeth.

132 GTJ, 15 July 1913.

next six months the situation will be brighter".¹³³ A series of searching questions by Clr Smit in the City Council about the location death rate could not be answered because of inadequate records, and a number of city councillors left the Council Chamber in order to prevent discussion of the matter.¹³⁴ The Journal chided the Council for its "colossal nonchalance",¹³⁶ and the Penny Mail declared that while this was undesirable, there was "little cause for uneasiness".¹³⁷ A special committee of the City Council was formed to consider the adoption of measures to diminish the "excessive" death rate in the locations; it first met on 8 September¹³⁸ and decided to request the Government for financial aid.¹³⁹ The Committee accomplished nothing and the problem was not examined at all during the First World War. The death rate per 1 000 was 43,33 in 1913; 32,12 in 1914;¹⁴⁰ 42,87 in 1916;¹⁴¹ and 32 in 1918.¹⁴²

Of all diseases which claimed life in the locations, tuberculosis was by far the most prominent. Archdeacon W Turpin reported to the Tuberculosis Commission the significant increase in the incidence of tuberculosis in the previous fifteen years.¹⁴³ The Commission's report revealed that Grahamstown had the highest number of notifications of

133 Report of Medical Officer of Health in Mayoral Minute, 1913, pg.28, AM, unaccessioned.

134 GTJ, 14 Aug 1913; GPM, 15 Aug 1913.

135 GTJ, 16 Aug 1913.

136 The death rate for whites in the same period was 10 per 1 000. Of the 167 deaths in the location between January and June 1913, 114 were of children under the age of five.

137 GPM, 3 Sept 1913.

138 SCMB, 8 Sept 1913, CA, 3/AY 1/3/1/1/4.

139 SCMB, 8 Oct 1913, CA, 3/AY 1/3/1/1/4.

140 HCMB, report of Dr Purvis to Town Clerk, 24 Nov 1915, CA, 3/AY, 1/2/6/1/4. See also GPM, 8 Dec 1915.

141 Medical Officer of Health's report, Mayoral Minute, 1917, pg.67, AM, unaccessioned.

142 Mayoral Minute, 1919, pg.18, AM, unaccessioned. The figure excludes those who died in the influenza epidemic of 1918.

143 U.G.34-1914, para 65, pg 29.

tuberculosis in the Cape Province after Cape Town and Port Elizabeth.¹⁴⁴ The City Council received a letter from the Secretary of the South African Medical Congress, suggesting that some system of medical inspection of blacks be implemented; the City Council dismissed the proposal on the grounds of cost.¹⁴⁵ On the same basis, the Council refused to assist the Albany General Hospital financially in its attempts to combat tuberculosis.¹⁴⁶ In October 1913, the Sanitary and Location Committees jointly drafted a letter to the Secretary of Native Affairs, discussing the spread of tuberculosis in the city. Both the Medical Officer of Health and the District Surgeon recommended that an isolation hospital or sanatorium be established, and urged that free advice, medicine and food be given to destitute patients. They suggested that a tax of 5s be levied to cover the cost of the project.¹⁴⁷ Nothing came of the proposal; the general attitude amongst whites was one of paternalistic resignation, as expressed in the following statement of Clr Whiteside:

"If they could teach the native to live as Europeans did and bring them to a higher state of civilization then and only then would they be able to stop the spread of the disease."¹⁴⁸

The outbreak of smallpox in Albany in November 1914 caused a great deal of concern. The Medical Officer of Health immediately began a programme of vaccination in the location.¹⁴⁹ About six hundred blacks had been vaccinated by the beginning of December, and five patients were housed

144 U.G.34-1914, para 97, pg 43.

The number of notifications amongst blacks totalled 604 (there were 108 whites):

1905	9	1909	84
1906	76	1910	100
1907	87	1911	85
1908	73	1912	90

145 GTJ, 25 June 1909; GPM, 26 June 1909.

146 GTJ, 29 Feb 1912; GPM, 1 March 1912.

147 GPM, 7 Oct 1913.

148 GPM, 24 Oct 1913.

149 GTJ, 26 Nov 1914; GPM, 27 Nov 1914.

in the lazaretto.¹⁵⁰ Dr Purvis was present each morning in the location to handle vaccination.¹⁵¹ Two extra constables were employed at £3 per month each to make a hut to hut inspection throughout the location to discover any concealed cases of smallpox; the campaign resulted in the isolation of a further fifty people.¹⁵² Over 3 000 people were vaccinated, and the swift measures taken contained the disease.¹⁵³

One positive result of the Tuberculosis Commission's report was an increased involvement of the Medical Officer of Health in the affairs of the location. The Location Committee recommended that the Medical Officer of Health be required to perform extra duties, at an addition of £75 to his salary.¹⁵⁴ He agreed to supervise the implementation of sanitary arrangements, enforce the Public Health Act, to be in attendance at the Location Inspector's office twice a week, and act as a kind of general practitioner on those occasions. He requested, and was granted, a salary of £100 for the performance of these duties.¹⁵⁵ The City Council questioned the Medical Officer of Health as to his effectiveness in the locations, and considered withdrawing his salary, but he successfully defended himself.¹⁵⁶ While little improvement was achieved, his presence in the location was almost certainly of value.

The Spanish influenza epidemic of October 1918 raged devastation in Grahamstown's locations. The outbreak of flu began in the locations, and spread from there to the city. By 9 October, about a hundred blacks had contracted the disease,¹⁵⁷ and the first death was reported two days later.¹⁵⁸ Arrangements were made in the city for a house to house

150 GTJ, 3 Dec 1914; GPM, 4 Dec 1914.

151 GPM, 7 Dec 1914.

152 GTJ, 10 Dec 1914; GPM, 11 Dec 1914.

153 GPM, 18 Dec 1914; GTJ, 19 Dec 1914; GTJ, 24 Dec 1914.

154 MCMB, 10 March 1914, CA 3/AY 1/2/1/1/11. GTJ, 12 March 1914; GPM, 13 March 1914.

155 MCMB, 1 April 1914, CA 3/AY 1/2/1/1/11. GTJ, 2 April 1914; GPM, 3 April 1914.

156 GPM, 14 Dec 1917.

157 GPM, 9 Oct 1918.

158 GPM, 11 Oct 1918.

visitation of the location to ascertain the number of sick, and facilitate the supply of food and medicine.¹⁵⁹ A soup kitchen was established at the location office, and people were engaged to carry meal, rice, sugar and soup to victims.¹⁶⁰ As the epidemic became more widespread, an Executive Committee was set up to organize volunteers in the location.¹⁶¹ The Penny Mail urged that it was vital for people to assist in the location -

"not only on moral grounds but also because the condition of the natives reacts upon the European population."¹⁶²

The Chief of Police called on blacks to come forward and assist victims of the flu.¹⁶³ The mission schools in the location closed down, and three of them, St Philip's Mission, the Wesleyan Church and the Union Church were converted into hospitals.¹⁶⁴ By mid-October, about 3 000 blacks were estimated to have been affected by the flu,¹⁶⁵ and an average of between twenty and twenty-five blacks died each day when the epidemic was at its height.¹⁶⁶ As the epidemic began to ease at the beginning of November, and the food depot and hospitals in the location were closed,¹⁶⁸ a further three teams of men were employed to disinfect the location.¹⁶⁹ Altogether, 473 black people died in the epidemic.¹⁷⁰

159 GPM, 14 Oct 1918.

160 GPM, 16 Oct 1918.

161 The Committee consisted of the Health Committee members, Mr & Mrs Fitchat, Mr Giddy and Mrs Drury. It fell under the control of the Executive Committee in the City Hall, consisting of the Mayor and Chief of Police. GPM, 16 Oct 1918.

162 GPM, 23 Oct 1918.

163 GPM, 23 Oct 1918.

164 GPM, 16 Oct 1918; GPM, 21 Oct 1918.

165 GPM, 18 Oct 1918.

166 GPM, 21 Oct 1918.

167 Report of Sanitary Inspector, dated 26 Nov 1918, on the epidemic, published in Mayoral Minute, 1919, pgs.59-62, AM, unaccessioned.

168 GPM, 4 Nov 1918.

169 GPM, 15 Nov 1918.

170 4 Indians, 68 Coloureds and 401 Blacks. Sanitary Inspector's Report, 26 Nov 1918, pg 62.

In the Cape, 81 253 blacks died, out of a Union total of 127 745.¹⁷¹

Some rumours had circulated around the city that the blacks were dissatisfied with the treatment they had received, but the Penny Mail dispelled these after it had interviewed several leading blacks.¹⁷² They were also dismissed by J G Tyamzashe,¹⁷³ who reported that a mass meeting had taken place in the location presided over by the headman, W Maqanda, and passed a motion of thanks.¹⁷⁴ A deputation of seven blacks, with N Nyalusa as spokesman, presented an address of thanks¹⁷⁵ to the City Council and other organizations for having saved "scores" of black lives;¹⁷⁶ the number of bodies and individuals thanked demonstrates the active involvement of many whites in the location during the

171 Over half the blacks in the Cape contracted the disease: 1 009 223 ex 1 982 588. Article by J Burman in SESA, Vol 6, pgs 94-95.

172 GPM, 8 Nov 1918.

173 He was an interpreter at the Resident Magistrate's Court. Voters' List, 1907.

174 GPM, 12 Nov 1918. J G Tyamzashe to Editor.

175 The address was signed by leading location residents:

W Maqanda, Location Headman

J Masize, Minister at the Wesleyan Church

V C Magaba, Church of England Minister, St Philips Mission

S Susile, Catechist of the Order of Ethiopia

W W Nkweyiya, Minister, African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church

M Yako

S Mtyeku, a location carpenter

G Vetto

M D Foley

N Nyalusa, a location teacher

G E Nzungu, Minister at St Philip's Mission

J G Tyamzashe, Interpreter, Resident's Magistrate's Court

176 GPM, 22 Nov 1918

epidemic.¹⁷⁷ A letter of thanks on behalf of the Coloured community was also received.¹⁷⁸ The crisis brought out active concern amongst whites for the welfare of the location; it stands out as the only occasion on which this happened during the period under review.

The brewing of sorghum beer was widely regarded by the white inhabitants of Grahamstown as a practice to be curtailed at all costs. Editorials in newspapers condemned the possession of beer, and the consumption of spirits was believed to be the ultimate depravity and danger.¹⁷⁹ Occasional public meetings also damned the practice.¹⁸⁰ By 1900, the municipal regulations prohibited the possession of sorghum beer in the locations, and tenants could be evicted from the municipal location for contravention of the regulations.¹⁸¹ This did not deter brewers of the liquid; in 1903 ninety-five persons were fined £129 in Grahamstown for the illicit manufacture and sale of sorghum beer, and in 1904, fifty-four persons were convicted and fined £162.¹⁸² The City Council was not

177 Ladies' Benevolent Society; Child Life Protection Society; War Sufferers' Aid Society; the Red Cross; staff and students of Rhodes University College, the colleges and public schools; St Paul's Hostel students; Roman Catholic sisters; Church of England sisters; clergy; the medical profession; the police force; the Resident Magistrate; the Deputy Commissioner of Police; and the Mayor.

178 GPM, 22 Nov 1918.

179 See, for example, GTJ, 1 June 1907.

180 GPM, 21 Feb 1906; GPM, 17 June 1907; GPM, 31 July 1918.

See Chapter 7 for the influence of liquor on political debate.

181 See R Sellick, Grahamstown 1883-1904.

182 Other Eastern Cape towns also attempted to enforce regulations regarding brewing of "kafir beer":

	1903		1904	
	<u>Persons</u>	<u>Fines</u>	<u>Persons</u>	<u>Fines</u>
Port Elizabeth	-	£ 20	31	£ 143
Kingwillianstown	16	32	110	371
East London	35	139	110	371
Queenstown	136	601	173	695

GTJ, 3 June 1905

averse to evicting people from the location for offences. This was normally done at the request of the Resident Magistrate,¹⁸³ but occasionally notice came from the Location Inspector¹⁸⁴ or the Police Inspector.¹⁸⁵ One tenant who was evicted, T C Mvula, protested against those "who advocate primitive methods to check evil", and who used "brute force when they fail to administer the law". He declared that it "will not make Kafirs sober by ejecting them out of their huts without mention of compensation".¹⁸⁶ The City Council enforced the regulations strictly and other blacks were evicted from the location for offences regarding sorghum beer.¹⁸⁷

The City Council also attempted to control coffee shops and eating places frequented by blacks, which were known as "kafir eating-houses". All were insanitary, dingy, noisy and open at all hours. The Council adopted regulations for their control in August 1907;¹⁸⁸ amendments made by the Colonial Medical Officer of Health¹⁸⁹ were accepted by the City Council in April 1908.¹⁹⁰ They were published in June.¹⁹¹ The regulations provided that the proprietor had to be in possession of a certificate of registration issued annually by the City Council. These documents were only granted when standards of cleanliness and hygiene had been met, both in regard to the structure and facilities of the premises, as well as the storage and handling of food and drink. Contravention of the regulations could mean conviction, and a fine of up to £10 or three months' imprisonment.

183 GTJ, 12 Sept 1907; GPM, 26 Jan 1912.

184 GTJ, 19 March 1908.

185 GPM, 14 May 1915.

186 GTJ, 27 Dec 1913.

187 GPM, 10 Oct 1913; GPM, 14 May 1915.

188 GPM, 16 Aug 1907.

189 The City Council recommended the eating-houses open from 8am until 5pm. The Medical Officer of Health rightly regarded this as impractical, as the needs of clients would not be met. The regulations did not prescribe hours of opening. CA, CO 8725-A2B.

190 GTJ, 16 April 1908; GPM, 18 April 1908.

191 Government Notice 632, on 9 June 1908.

Noise from the locations was periodically a subject of complaint. The City Council referred a letter of complaint to the police for action,¹⁹² and a further complaint about rowdyism at night led the Location Committee to consider the possibility of framing a regulation to "abate the nuisance".¹⁹³ In one instance, four blacks were fined £2 or thirty days' hard labour for disturbing the "peace and quietness of citizens on Sunday afternoons" with "shouting and horseplay".¹⁹⁴ Occasional fights in the locations were serious; in May 1913, a fight resulted in the death of a black man.¹⁹⁵

All of the main line churches were active in the location. St Philip's Mission was the most prominent mission, under Archdeacon W M Turpin until the end of 1905, and thereafter in charge of Rev W Y Stead.¹⁹⁶ The Union Congregational Church, under the energetic leadership of Rev S J Helm, was active particularly amongst coloureds. In 1910, the church obtained permission to build a mission chapel in the Tanti Location,¹⁹⁷ for which a site was granted by the City Council.¹⁹⁸ A new Wesleyan Church was completed in 1912, and the City Council was invited to the official opening by Rev J Robb. The Deputy-Mayor, in urging as many councillors as possible to attend, revealed typical attitudes of white settlers:

"[This was an opportunity to] show the natives they sympathised with them, and were (sic) willing to do all in their power to elevate them, bring them up in a Christian spirit, and make them better citizens."¹⁹⁹

African separatist churches were also active in the location. The extent of their following is impossible to assess, but the churches did

192 GTJ, 23 March 1907.

193 GTJ, 7 March 1908.

194 GPM, 9 Oct 1916.

195 GPM, 5 May 1913; GTJ, 6 May 1913.

196 GPM, 27 Oct 1905.

197 GTJ, 15 Sept 1910.

198 GTJ, 29 Sept 1910.

199 GTJ, 16 May 1912.

come to the notice of the authorities. J Tinta, a Xhosa labourer, was charged in 1911 with having deserted his wife and two children; he had been a Wesleyan, but had recently joined the "Church of God and Saints of Christ". The Assistant Resident Magistrate, H H R Piers, heard evidence that ministers of the sect were causing "tremendous trouble" in the location, and he intended to quell it.²⁰⁰ Further evidence of the activities of the sect can be gleaned from the fact that three blacks were charged with assault after a fight over the sect's role in the location.²⁰¹ The Inspector of Albany did not expect the church to survive because of the "holy kiss" of greeting used by adherents, which caused tension between married people.²⁰² Another church present was the African Methodist Episcopal Church. A disturbance caused by a drunken man was brought to the notice of the authorities;²⁰³ and there was further dispute over the appointment of a minister, which caused violence, and forced one of the ministers to seek police protection.²⁰⁴

Political activity amongst Grahamstown's black people seemed to decline as the twentieth century advanced. Before 1900, an emerging acculturated class of Africans, influenced by Christian missions, the developing non-racial Cape franchise and economic integration sought to establish its position within formal political structures.²⁰⁵ Political

200 GPM, 10 May 1911.

201 GTJ, 18 Jan 1912.

202 U.G. 33-1913, pg 12.

203 GTJ, 7 May 1912.

204 GTJ, 13 Jan 1914.

205 For African political activity in the nineteenth century, see:

R Hunt Davis, "School vs Blanket and Settler: Elijah Makiwane and the leadership of the Cape School Community", African Affairs, vol 78, No 310, 1979, pp.12-31; C C Saunders, "The New African Elite in the Eastern Cape and some late nineteenth century origins of African nationalism", ICS, CSP, Vol 1, pp.44-55; S Trapido, White Conflict and Non-White Participation in the Politics of the Cape of Good Hope, 1853-1910, unpubl. PhD thesis, University of London, 1970; S Trapido, "African Divisional Politics in the Cape Colony, 1884 to 1910", JAH, Vol IX, No 1, 1968, pp 79-98.

Political activity was intermittent amongst Africans, and was determined to a large extent by the timing of elections.²⁰⁶ The Cape franchise, after undergoing some redefinitions, stabilized in 1892 when the Franchise and Ballot Act was passed, which admitted to the franchise occupiers of property worth £75, a person who earned £50 per annum and who could pass a simple literacy test.²⁰⁷ African reactions to the Anglo-Boer War, the South African Native Affairs Commission, the Selborne Memorandum and the National Convention caused locally-based organizations to grope towards inter-colonial co-operation and national organization.²⁰⁸ In this process, the contribution of Grahamstown's politically active blacks was negligible.

John Tengo Jabavu, the editor of Imvo Zabantsundu, dominated the emerging black political activity after 1880;²⁰⁹ his dramatic switch of support to the Afrikaner Bond resulted in the founding of the South African Native Congress in 1898, under leaders such as Rev W B Rubusana and A K Soga, in opposition to Jabavu. A new newspaper, Izwi Labantu, was established, and lent its support to the Progressive Party.²¹⁰ By 1903, the Congress was a fully-fledged organization, and claimed twenty-five branches, including one in Grahamstown.²¹¹ The Grahamstown Native Vigilance Association, affiliated to Congress, was founded in about 1900, and its leaders were predominantly clerical and traders.²¹²

206 Trapido, White Conflict and Non-White Participation, pg 280.

207 P Lewsen, "The Cape Liberal Tradition - Myth or Reality?", ICS, CSP, Vol 1, No 10, Oct 1969-March 1970, pg 72.

208 For a detailed discussion of this process, see 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, unpubl. MA thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 1980.

209 Odendaal, Development of African Organizational Politics, pg 15-20.

210 Odendaal, Development of African Organizational Politics, pg 21-23.

211 Odendaal, Development of African Organizational Politics, pg 67.
The branches were mainly in the Eastern Cape, but there were organizations in Cape Town, Kimberley, Port Elizabeth and even Johannesburg.

212 See R Sellick, Grahamstown 1883-1904 for further details.

The Association was active in opposing the imposition of a curfew in Grahamstown in 1904, and also organized the annual meeting of Congress at St Clements' schoolroom in that year.²¹³ 1904 was the most active year of the Vigilance Association.

The South African Native Affairs Commission, under the chairmanship of Sir Godfrey Lagden, submitted its report in April 1905; its recommendations were fundamentally segregationist, and they laid the foundations of Union native policy. Its two major principles were that the basis of native policy should be the territorial separation of the races, and that a scheme should be devised to regulate political relationships between white and black.²¹⁴ It advocated separate voters' rolls; and while it wished to see the extension of political rights to Africans in the northern colonies, it also recommended their restriction in the Cape.²¹⁵ The South African Natives' Congress was outspokenly critical of the Lagden Commission and attacked particularly the proposal to alter the Cape franchise.²¹⁶ There was a further reason for its hostility: the Commission recommended a scheme for the establishment of a central college for African higher education, similar to the Queen Victoria Memorial Scheme started by Congress in 1902, when it began to collect funds for an African college to be built in memory of Queen Victoria.²¹⁷ Tensions within Congress arose because the Inter-State Native College Scheme started towards the end of 1905, soon overshadowed the Queen Victoria Memorial Scheme, support for which was restricted mainly to Congress supporters. Congress lacked the funds and resources of the Inter-State scheme, which had the patronage of whites and Africans in all four colonies. The Queen Victoria Scheme gradually

213 Sellick has discussed the attempt of the Association to hire the Town Hall for the Congress. See also GPM, 3 Oct 1904; GPM, 5 Oct 1904; GPM, 10 Oct 1904; GPM, 12 Oct 1904.

214 C M Tatz, Shadow and Substance in South Africa, pg 9.

215 Odendaal, Development of African Organizational Politics, pg 114.

216 Odendaal, Development of African Organizational Politics, pg 115.

217 Odendaal, Development of African Organizational Politics, pp 115-116.

faded away.²¹⁸

The Queen Victoria Scheme caused tension within the Grahamstown Native Vigilance Association, and could conceivably have contributed to the weakening of the organization. "A member of the Native Vigilance Committee" announced in the Penny Mail that "many of us protest to the methods employed in promoting this memorial".²¹⁹ He reported that during a session of the Congregational Union in October, a meeting was summoned at St Philips' schoolroom by Rev G E Nzungu²²⁰ to promote the scheme, at which Rev W B Rubusana and Rev Mr Tywaludi²²¹ spoke; on 30 October, a meeting of thirty men was held to organize the promotion of the scheme, and some officers were elected.²²² This drew a response from J G Tyamizashe, who stated that the correspondent had misrepresented the scheme; it had been reported to Dr Muir, the Secretary General for Education, who had no objection to it. He was confident that the dissident member would be removed from the Native Vigilance

218 The Inter-State Native College Scheme eventually reached fruition when the South African Native College, the present-day University of Fort Hare, was founded in 1916. Odendaal, Development of African Organizational Politics, pg 118.

219 GPM, 5 Nov 1906, "A Member of the Native Vigilance Committee" to Editor.

220 Rev George Edward Nzungu was a deacon of the Anglican Church and curate at St Philips' Mission, Grahamstown, between 1901 and 1907 (Crockford's Clerical Directory, 1911, pg.1099). He served as Secretary of the Grahamstown Native Vigilance Association. (R Sellick, Grahamstown 1883-1904).

221 It has not been possible to identify Mr Tywaludi. He was not an Anglican, Methodist or Roman Catholic minister; it is likely he was a Congregationalist, in view of the fact that he accompanied Rubusana.

222 GPM, 5 Nov 1906, "A Member of the Native Vigilance Committee" to Editor.

Committee.²²³

In response to a call of Izwi Labantu, a conference was held in Queenstown at the end of November 1907 to attempt to end the factional nature of African politics in the Cape, and form a broad alliance.²²⁴ Eighty delegates from twenty-nine centres in the Cape attended the conference.²²⁵ J T Jabavu was not amongst them; he convened a conference in January 1908 at Debe Nek, attended by fifty delegates and 300 observers.²²⁶ Grahamstown's Native Vigilance Association was strongly Progressive, in line with the South African Natives' Congress. During the 1908 election, at an election meeting held at Wesleyan House in the location, R Xolla, a former chairman of the Association²²⁷ reported that black voters, almost to a man, supported Jameson.²²⁸ This was due both to the activities of the Vigilance Association, as well as the fact that the overwhelming number of Grahamstown's black voters were

223 GPM, 19 Nov 1906. J G Tyam zashe to Editor. This caused further reaction from the original correspondent, who claimed that Tyam zashe had confused two schemes; one begun in 1901, with the support of Dr Muir to which the Grahamstown black community had contribution £5.15; and the present one in opposition to the Inter-State Native College, which had the support of Dr Rubusana and A K Soga. The second did not have the support of Dr Muir. (GPM, 23 Nov 1906, "A Member of the Native Vigilance Committee" to Editor.)

224 Odendaal, Development of African Organizational Politics, pgs 171-172.

225 Three of the promoters of the Conference, Rev W M Magamda, R Xolla, and Rev G E Nzungu were from Grahamstown. (Izwi Labantu, 8 Oct 1907). As far as could be ascertained, none of the delegates attending the Conference were from grahamstown (Izwi Labantu, 10 Dec 1907).

226 Odendaal, Development of African Organizational Politics, pgs 174, 179-180.

227 Xolla, or Xola, was listed as a coffee-house keeper in the 1907 Voters' List.

228 GTJ, 25 Feb 1908.

Xhosa,²²⁹ who followed the Congress, whereas Jabavu's support was predominantly Mfengu.²³⁰

The local Vigilance Association thereafter seemed to disappear. In 1908, Izwi Labantu complained that the branch was inactive after the departure of Rev G E Nzungu²³¹ and Rev J J Jabavu²³² from Grahamstown.²³³ The lack of able leadership could easily have led to the demise of the small branch. African voters in Grahamstown were not as influential as in other places because of their numerical weakness.

229 See footnote 234 below.

230 Odendaal, Development of African Organizational Politics, pg. 228; Trapido, "African Divisional Politics", pgs 80-82. Grahamstown Mfengus were not entirely silent, despite their minimal voting power. Fingo Jubilee Day was celebrated each year on 14 May; the fact that it was not an officially recognized day was "a cause of bitterness", according to a correspondent of the Journal (GTJ, 28 May 1908, "Native" to Editor). S T Danga (an ex-convict guard, according to the 1907 Voters' List) described the day as one of "thanksgiving to Almighty and a worthy tribute to the British throne." (GTJ, 6 June 1908). The following year, Danga, in a detailed letter to the Penny Mail praised John Ayliff, Benjamin D'Urban and Sir George Grey for their recognition of Mfengu rights, and declared "our wish now, as descendants of Fingoes living in Grahamstown, to give our loyal tribute to the British government for having preserved and protected us and our fathers under the flag of liberty" (GPM, 3 May 1909, S T Danga to Editor).

231 Nzungu served a second curacy in Newlands from 1907-1910. He was then priested, and went to Kingwilliamstown (Crockford's Clerical Directory, 1911, pg 1099).

232 Jonathan Jabavu, brother of John Tengo was a Methodist Minister. He left Grahamstown at the end of 1906 and went to Queenstown in 1907 and Somerset East in 1908. Minutes of the ... Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa, 1906 (pg.223), 1907 (pg.229), 1908 (pg.236), 1909 (pg 242).

233 A Odendaal to R Sellick, personal correspondence, 23 April 1983. An attempt to find a more specific reference was unsuccessful.

Exactly 10% of registered voters in Grahamstown were black,²³⁴ which made them less significant than in other places in the Eastern Cape.²³⁵

The National Convention was a further catalyst for emerging black inter-colonial co-operation. Both Izwi Labantu and Imvo Zabantsundu criticized strongly the franchise decisions reached at the National Convention.²³⁶ Numerous political meetings were held, particularly in the Eastern Cape; several parliamentarians, including Jameson in Grahamstown, addressed black voters in their constituencies.²³⁷ The South African Native Convention, the first formal co-operation on an inter-colonial level, met in Bloemfontein in March 1909, and spelt out its opposition to the terms of Union.²³⁸ J T Jabavu did not attend;²³⁹ he convened a meeting in Kingwilliamstown in April 1909. No representative from Grahamstown

234 The following chart was drawn up from the 1903 and 1907 Voters' List. No key exists to the racial categories specified, ie. "H", "M", "O", etc. In both elections, Coloured voters outnumbered Africans:

	<u>1903</u>	<u>1907</u>
Africans:		
"H" (Hottentot)	36	20
"M" (Malay)	2	1
"O" (Other)	<u>56</u>	<u>75</u>
Total Coloured Voters	<u>94</u>	<u>96</u>
"K" (Xhosa)	69	67
"F" (Mfengu)	6	14
"D" (Damara)	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>
Total African Voters	<u>76</u>	<u>91</u>
"I" (Indian)	4	6
"E" (White)	<u>1 663</u>	<u>1 636</u>
Total Voters	<u>1 837</u>	<u>1 829</u>

235 Wodehouse, Victoria East, Aliwal North, Fort Beaufort, Kingwilliamstown and Queenstown had more influential black electorates.

Odendaal, Development of African Organizational Politics, pg 8.

236 Odendaal, Development of African Organizational Politics, pg 285.

237 Imvo Zabantsundu, 9 March 1909. Quoted by Odendaal, Development of African Organizational Politics, pg 286.

238 Odendaal, Development of African Organizational Politics, pg 303.

Dr Rubusana was elected President of the Convention.

239 Odendaal, Development of African Organizational Politics, pg.306

amongst the forty-one delegates, a further indication of the strong South African Native Congress and pro-Rubusana sentiments of Grahamstown's black voters.²⁴⁰

After Union, the Government introduced a series of segregationist measures, largely inspired by the Lagden Commission, although harsh legislation was to some extent tempered by F S Malan, who held the important portfolios of Mines and Industries, and exercised influence in the Department of Native Affairs.²⁴¹ The most crucial of these was Act 27 of 1913, the Natives Land Act, which laid down the principle of territorial segregation under which Africans and whites were to acquire and occupy land in separate areas.²⁴² The Beaumont Commission, appointed to designate separate land areas, submitted its report in 1916.²⁴³ The Native Administration Bill of 1917 formulated a scheme for African administration. The Bill proposed wide powers for the Union Government. It placed African administration under a commission composed entirely of white people and chaired by the Minister of Native Affairs. It was proposed that local Native Councils, through which Africans could voice opinions, should be gradually created under the white commission.²⁴⁴ Meanwhile, the South African Native National Congress had been founded in January 1912 to coordinate African response to the formation of Union and the segregationist direction of legislation.²⁴⁵ The Congress opposed both the Land Act and the Native Administration Bill. There was also concern about both in the Grahamstown district. T C Mvula²⁴⁶ described the Land Act as:

240 Odendaal, Development of African Organizational Politics, pg 324.

241 P Kallaway, "F S Malan, the Cape Liberal Tradition, and South African Politics 1908-1924", JAH, Vol XV, No 1, 1974, pgs 113-129

242 T Karis and G M Carter, From Protest to Challenge : A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964: Vol I: Protest and Hope 1882-1934, pg 63.

243 T R H Davenport, South Africa : A Modern History, pg 178.

244 Karis and Carter, Protest and Hope, pg 64.

245 Davenport, South Africa : A Modern History, pg 177.

246 Mvula had been evicted from the Grahamstown location and moved to Bathurst.

"simply a piece of legislation to legalize land robbery by whites from natives, adopted by the Union Government, which is dominated by Dutchmen who are the natural enemies of the black man,"

and warned of "a future reservoir of trouble in store."²⁴⁷ He supported the mission to England, organized by the South African Natives National Congress, to protest about the Act.²⁴⁸ The white Central Albany Farmers' Association welcomed the Act, and hoped it would "remedy the situation", whereby at least eight or nine farms in the Albany district were owned by whites but farmed by blacks.²⁴⁹ The Cape was in fact exempted from the Act on the grounds that a restriction on property rights interfered with the qualifications for the franchise.²⁵⁰ Considerable disquiet was expressed amongst Grahamstown blacks over the Administration Bill; at the request of a deputation, F J W van der Riet, MP for Albany, addressed a meeting in the location. He assured residents that legislation would not be enacted before the end of the war and there was no need to anticipate trouble "until it really came". There was no possibility of blacks being evicted from the location, and they should not be misled by visitors and outsiders.²⁵¹ Evidence of political organization in Grahamstown on a local level is non-existent; but Grahamstown's blacks nonetheless reacted to threats to their rights, and made their voices heard.

247 GTJ, 21 Feb 1914. T C Mvula to Editor.

248 GTJ, 23 May 1914. T C Mvula to Editor.

249 GTJ, 27 Nov 1913.

250 P Walshe, The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa, pg.45

251 GPM, 31 May 1918. Also discussed at the meeting was a recently published Bill which dealt with the governing of Africans in urban areas. Although Davenport described the Bill (never enacted) as a "humane and undogmatic approach" in the light of subsequent legislation, it nevertheless caused sufficient concern on a local level for blacks to take the unusual step of requesting a meeting with their MP. T R H Davenport, "The Beginnings of Urban Segregation in South Africa: The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 and its Background", pg 8.

Colin Bundy has shown that between 1890 and 1913, legislative and administrative pressures were brought to bear on squatter peasants in the Cape, in order to debilitate peasant agriculture and encourage potential labourers;²⁵² legislators did not, however, wish to abolish entirely the system of black dwellers on white-owned land, as this would have meant expelling necessary farm labour.²⁵³ In order to retain potential labour, legislation was designed to transform squatters and lessees into "dependent, wage-earning servants".²⁵⁴ Act 33 of 1892 created a system of private locations in the Cape. Under the Act, white farmers were required to register the black population living on their farms as a private location. They were liable to a fine if more than the specified number of non-wage earning Africans resided there.²⁵⁵ This led to evictions in some areas, including Alexandria and Bathurst, where Africans lost stock and cultivated land. In other places, tenants were forced to become labourers to retain their land or income. Often, however, the Act was either evaded or not applied. Act 30 of 1899 permitted white farmers to keep any number of Africans in continuous employment on their land, and also permitted lease agreements.²⁵⁶ This Act was more widely applied, but in 1906, a Select Committee²⁵⁷ concluded that further legislation was necessary, as Act 30 of 1899 was not effective enough. As a result, Act 32 of 1909 was passed, and was stringently applied. It raised licence fees and tightened the definitions of bona fide labourers. There were reports of evictions.²⁵⁸ By the time the Land Act of 1913 was passed, the Cape already possessed strong anti-squatter laws, which had been especially effective in the

252 C Bundy, The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry, pp 134-140.

253 Squatter peasants, particularly labour tenants, rent-tenants and share croppers were prominent in Albany in the 1870s and 1880s. Land ownership was concentrated and absentee landlordism fairly common. Bundy, South African Peasantry, pp 79-80.

254 C Bundy, South African Peasantry, pp 134.

255 Bundy, South African Peasantry, pg 135.

256 Bundy, South African Peasantry pg 136. Lease agreements cost £36 per annum and more.

257 CPP, C2-1907, Report of the Select Committee on farm labour.

258 Bundy, South African Peasantry, pg 137.

Eastern Province. Many blacks became wage labourers or labour tenants, rather than lease the land; others sought refuge in urban locations, such as Grahamstown.

The effectiveness of the Acts in the Albany district is clearly evident. In September 1900, there were sixteen private locations in Albany; the number had risen to sixty-one in 1902,²⁵⁹ and eighty-three in 1903.²⁶⁰ G E Nightingale, Inspector of Locations in Albany, felt the 1899 Act was a "decided improvement" on the previous one, but still needed to be more strictly enforced; he claimed he lacked the assistance to do it.²⁶¹ In 1906, 497 passes were issued by the Inspector to blacks seeking employment outside of the district,²⁶² and he reported there was still no scarcity of labour for farmers.²⁶³ Farmers' meetings constantly monitored the labour question, and also paid attention frequently to stock thefts, "the evils" of squatting, and the "Kafir beer evil". C Gardner at the Upper Albany Farmers' Association called for "united efforts and judicious arrangements" to solve the labour question.²⁶⁴ H R Duffy at the Bathurst Farmers and Fruit Growers' Association attacked the laws of the Colony as "perfectly useless to 90% of the farmers in the district".²⁶⁵ G S Tomlinson at the Koonap Farmers' Association called for a revision of the 1899 Act to prevent a further increase in the instances of squatting; unless this were done,

"large portions of the Eastern Province will in a few years be nothing better than a native area."²⁶⁶

259 CPP, G.25-1902, pg 7.

260 CPP, G.29-1903, pg 11.

261 CPP, G.25-1902, pg 7.

262 Of these, 106 passes were issued to blacks going to Kimberley, 45 to Johannesburg, 80 to Port Elizabeth, 6 to the Orange River Colony, and 260 were unspecified. CPP, G.36-1907, pg 1.

263 CPP, G.36-1907, pg 2.

264 GTJ, 18 Feb 1905.

265 GTJ, 1 June 1905.

266 GTJ, 3 June 1905.

The Location Act was frequently examined.²⁶⁷ A discussion by the Upper Albany Farmers' Association in September 1908 revealed the insecurity of blacks on the land. A farmer reported that "scores of natives" were passing through his veld; many blacks were being cleared off farms and had nowhere to go. It was mentioned that there were about four hundred "loose natives" in the Grahamstown location, and the Association agreed to urge the City Council to frame regulations to prevent squatting and overcrowding in the locations.²⁶⁸ Farmers deplored the growth in the number of private locations.²⁶⁹ After Act 32 of 1909 was passed, the number increased. There were 133 private locations in 1910, with a population of 3 846 blacks,²⁷⁰ who paid licence fees of £639.²⁷¹ The Inspector reported that squatting had been entirely eliminated on the farms, and the only squatting that did exist was in the locations under the direct supervision of the Grahamstown Municipality.²⁷² 213 blacks left the district in 1910 to seek employment elsewhere.²⁷³ In 1911, there were 137 private locations in Albany, but many more people lived in them.²⁷⁴ There were 143 locations, with a population of 5 724 in 1912.²⁷⁵

The extent of unemployment in Grahamstown's locations is impossible to assess, but it was almost certainly a very high figure. The Special Investigation Committee argued that the number of people officially

267 GTJ, 28 April 1906; GTJ, 14 July 1906; GTJ, 3 Sept 1908; GTJ, 8 Oct 1908.

268 GTJ, 3 Sept 1909.

269 GTJ, 7 Sept 1909.

270 590 males, 756 females and 2 500 children. U.17-1911, pg.377.

271 This showed a marked increase over previous years:

1905	£203	1908	£335
1906	£321	1909	£326
1907	£485		

U.17-1911, pg 193.

272 U.17-1911, pg 257.

273 U.17-1911, pg 215.

274 971 males, 1 091 females, 3 568 children, totalling 5 630.

U.G.10-1913, pg 73.

275 U.G.33-1913, pg 106.

reported to be living in the location was well below the actual figure, and the location had become "to all intents and purposes, a dumping ground for all the exiles in the country".²⁷⁶ Major W C van Ryneveld, District Commandant, drew the attention of the City Council to the large number of unemployed blacks in the location at the end of 1915. They had "drifted in" from the rural areas and were posing social problems: there had been serious stock thefts in the immediate vicinity of Grahamstown, and petty crime had increased. He asked for stricter supervision of the entry of blacks into the locations.²⁷⁷

Abundant poverty was prevalent in the locations. Until 1916, no organization for the relief of poverty amongst blacks in Grahamstown existed; the Ladies' Benevolent Society and other smaller charities operated solely amongst whites. Rev S J Helm took the lead in attempting to relieve victims of poverty amongst Coloureds. He notified the City Council, which merely noted his plea.²⁷⁸ At a public meeting to sanction the annual grants of the City Council, Helm questioned the legal right of the meeting to vote money from the rates for the support of any society that restricted its charitable relief to only a section of the community.²⁷⁹ Helm then founded the Good Samaritan Association, for the relief of poverty amongst Coloureds, in October 1916.²⁸⁰ The Association applied to the City Council for a grant of £25, but the Council declined the request on the grounds the Association was

276 SIC report, GPM, 8 Nov 1912.

277 GPM, 17 Dec 1915.

278 GTJ, 14 Nov 1914.

279 He argued that Coloured money was being spent on white organizations: the Ladies Benevolent Society received £75 and the Employment Bureau £25. Helm and Coloured ratepayers who were at the meeting were outvoted 29-9. GPM, 3 April 1916.

280 GPM, 2 March 1917.

denominational.²⁸¹ Helm informed the Council that the Association was as undenominational as the Ladies' Benevolent Society, for three denominations, Anglican, Methodist and Congregationist, were represented on the Board of Management.²⁸² In response to a demand for further details about the organization,²⁸³ the Association revealed it had raised £11 from Coloureds and £2 from whites, and had spent £3 so far to relieve eight pensioners and twenty-six casual cases, which left a balance in hand of £10.²⁸⁴ W Y Stead questioned why the Council should "lavish" £25 on the Association when it currently reflected a credit balance;²⁸⁵ the Council again declined to make a contribution to the Association's funds.²⁸⁶

Grahamstown's white inhabitants feared black competition. "Anglican protectionist" criticized the Anglican-run Kafir Institute, which had been founded in 1860,²⁸⁷ and was the most important educational institution for blacks in the city; industrial work formed an important part of the curriculum:

281 GPM, 16 Feb 1917. One councillor, W Tarrant, declared it was "a piece of cheek on the part of Mr Helm to ask for £25 for the natives. Let any Councillor try and get twelve natives in the location for 2s. a day; he wouldn't get them. They didn't want to work, but only to loaf about the locations living on the white men ... Let the brutes go and work."

282 GPM, 19 Feb 1917.

283 GPM, 26 Feb 1917.

284 GPM, 2 March 1917.

285 GPM, 7 March 1917. Stead's opposition to the request of a fellow minister working in the location is strange; one can only speculate that there may have been rivalry between different missions or even race groups.

286 GPM, 14 March 1917.

287 M M Goedhals, Nathaniel James Merriman, Archdeacon and Bishop 1849-1882: A Study in Church Life and Government, unpubl. PhD thesis, Rhodes University, 1982, pg 336.

"I feel certain that every right-thinking member of the Anglican community must feel ashamed and disgusted that our church is the only one in this City that is educating the native to compete with, and take the bread out of, the white man's mouth."²⁸⁸

Unemployed blacks were similarly resented; the Journal called on the City Council to prevent

"a loafing community of natives who are a menace to the law-abiding industrious citizen [sic] of their own race, and who are a parasite on the body economic,"

and demanded the eviction of the "density of idle natives who neither toil nor spin, nor do any other useful thing".²⁸⁹ The newspaper claimed that half the adult males in the Government location were idle, but the proportion in the municipal location was not so great.²⁹⁰ The City Council even attempted to employ economic controls to prevent blacks coming to Grahamstown from rural areas; a motion of the Board of Works to lower the wages of blacks to 1.9d to discourage employment opportunities, was narrowly defeated.²⁹¹ The Council also acted as a protector of white trading interests in the location, as it possessed the power to grant or refuse trading licences. In one instance, the Health Committee recommended that the application of a coloured man to trade in the location be refused because he would compete with a white trader opposite his proposed site.²⁹²

While economic forces operated to reduce blacks to a position of dependance on their labour for an income, powerful political and administrative pressures were brought to bear on Africans to limit further their self-sufficiency. In the Eastern Cape, the largely agricultural population was being forced either to towns or cities to seek employment, or accept a new role as labour tenant. A town such as Grahamstown lacked the resources to cope with a larger black population,

288 GTJ, 8 Oct 1907, "Anglican Protectionist" to Editor.

289 GTJ, 27 Aug 1912.

290 GTJ, 6 Feb 1912.

291 GPM, 12 Nov 1915. Wages were usually two shillings per day.

292 GPM, 16 Nov 1917.

and the City Council sought to extend its powers over the locations to prevent surplus population and to arm itself with a battery of regulations to ensure control of the location. It faced a difficult task, for the position in Grahamstown was complicated by the existence of the Government locations.

The City Council was not the only body seeking a more cohesive approach towards location control. The Resident Magistrate raised the question at the beginning of 1905, and requested the Council to consider the possibility of exercising single control over all three locations.²⁹³ The matter was again aired in 1906. The Resident Magistrate questioned the right of the Council to levy rates within the Hottentot and Fingo Locations, and suggested the Council assume control of the locations, but continue to maintain the headmen there.²⁹⁴ The Council argued it was within its rights to levy rates on the locations, because the inhabitants had all the rights of citizenship, "the same as white people"; it declared in any case that it had full control of the locations. The headman system was purely a matter of police supervision, a responsibility to which the Government had agreed.²⁹⁵

The Resident Magistrate maintained pressure for closer control of the locations, and requested the City Council to consider regulations for the systematic registration of non-resident blacks in the locations. Unemployed people residing in the locations were regarded as a source of danger.²⁹⁶ The Location Committee submitted draft regulations to the Council, outlining measures which required strangers to report to the Location Inspector to obtain a pass, costing 6d before entering. Visitors would also be compelled to report the number and description of stock in their possession.²⁹⁷ The Council accepted the recommendations, but they were taken no further in view of the Council's view that it

293 GPM, 13 Jan 1905.

294 GPM, 30 March 1906.

295 GTJ, 3 May 1906; GPM, 4 May 1906.

296 GTJ, 31 May 1906; GPM, 1 June 1906.

297 Contravention of these proposed regulations would result in a fine of up to £5 and/or imprisonment with hard labour for one month. GTJ, 12 July 1906; GPM, 13 July 1906.

already exercised full control over all the locations.

The problems of squatting and overcrowding persisted. At the beginning of 1908 the Chief of Police brought the attention of the City Council to the matter,²⁹⁸ while a correspondent of the Penny Mail complained about "hundreds of natives who won't go to work on the mines".²⁹⁹ Draft regulations for the control of squatting were submitted to the Council by the Resident Magistrate.³⁰⁰ The Journal reported that the police were "carrying on a regular crusade against squatters and vagrants in the city locations".³⁰¹ Indicative of the clamp-down was a petition from two blacks, Stephen Mtyeku and Hans Mswela,³⁰² complaining about the arrest of erf-holders for subletting, and asking for the publication of new regulations before prosecution took place.³⁰³ Reaction to the petition in the Council was mixed, but was subordinate to discussion of new regulations designed to control movement in the location.³⁰⁴ The regulations were debated further at the next meeting, and were passed and sent to Cape Town for approval.³⁰⁵ Strangers were required to report to the Location Inspector on arrival, and disclose the number of livestock in their possession. A pass would have to be obtained, which would contain the name of only the applicant, unless he was accompanied by a wife or children under the age of fifteen. Contravention of the regulations would result in a fine of up to £1, or imprisonment, with or without hard labour, of up to seven days. In addition, location residents were required to notify the Inspector within twenty-four hours of any visitors to their erven; failure to comply would result in the same penalty. The Council was empowered to eject, summarily, without notice, any hutholder, occupier or lodger who had been convicted of theft, treason, murder, rape, perjury, "or other

298 GTJ, 23 Jan 1908.

299 GPM, 24 Jan 1908. Mrs Mortimer to Editor.

300 GTJ, 10 Sept 1908.

301 GTJ, 17 Oct 1908.

302 Mtyeku was a Xhosa carpenter (Voters' List 1907). Mswela could not be identified.

303 GTJ, 29 Oct 1908.

304 GTJ, 5 Nov 1908; GPM, 6 Nov 1908.

305 GTJ, 12 Nov 1908; GPM, 13 Nov 1908.

infamous crime", who had knowingly received stolen goods, or who had twice been convicted of making or possessing kafir beer.³⁰⁶ The Penny Mail described the proposals as "very drastic",³⁰⁷ and was criticized for the comment by the Resident Magistrate who emphasized the importance of the Council possessing the power to evict persons convicted of crime from the locations.³⁰⁸ The new regulations were approved by the Governor in April 1909.³⁰⁹

These harsh regulations were introduced without any evidence of active opposition, but a police raid in the locations later provoked protests from location residents. In March 1911, thirty-five members of the Cape Mounted Police and the urban police entered the locations to search for illegal inhabitants.³¹⁰ They were unable to enter dwellings or interrogate people in the Government locations where the regulations could not be enforced. Fifteen arrests were made in the municipal location, and eleven of these were charged for being in the locations without a pass, and were fined ten shillings each.³¹¹ The action resulted in a petition of protest from Stephen Mtyeku "and other natives" to the City Council about the control, management and payment of rent in the municipal location, but the Council refused to grant the demands of the petitioners.³¹²

The issue of control then, for a whole year, became focussed on a single issue: the imposition of a curfew on Grahamstown's blacks. In 1903

306 GPM, 16 Nov 1908. In addition, the Inspector was authorized to enter any hut or dwelling "at all reasonable times", to inspect them if he had cause for suspicion of contravention of the regulations. Each hut in the location was also required to be numbered.

307 GPM, 6 Nov 1908.

308 GPM, 9 Nov 1908.

309 Government Notice No 372, 1909.

310 GPM, 6 March 1911.

311 GPM, 8 March 1911.

312 GTJ, 30 March 1911; GPM, 31 March 1911. The text of the petition, or even a summary of precisely what it contained, could not be traced.

and 1904, the matter had been thoroughly aired, but proposals were dropped in the face of opposition from a few whites, the Native Vigilance Association and, most importantly, the Government.³¹³ A spate of burglaries between February and June 1909 led to renewed pressure for a curfew to be introduced.³¹⁴ The Resident Magistrate, F Graham, led public opinion in his call for a curfew.³¹⁵ A further series of burglaries in the white suburbs resulted in more earnest pressure for the institution of a curfew. The Resident Magistrate requested the Council to examine the matter.³¹⁶ 274 inhabitants signed a requisition demanding a public meeting to consider the "immediate necessity" of the introduction and enforcement of curfew regulations in the Municipality.³¹⁷ The Penny Mail published the regulations in operation in Port Elizabeth,³¹⁸ and the newspaper expressed its view that:

"The majority of the coloured people have not advanced beyond the stage of European children and it is necessary for their own benefit that they should be treated as such."³¹⁹

About three hundred whites attended a public meeting to demand the approval of the Governor-General for the 1904 curfew proposals, and also to support a call for an increased number of police in the city.³²⁰ It

313 R Sellick, Grahamstown 1883-1904.

314 Two blacks were arrested for the robberies; they were sentenced to 15 cuts each and 12 months' hard labour (GPM, 18 June 1909).

315 GPM, 7 June 1909. The Penny Mail supported his call and declared that "the Native would have his freedom in the location, and citizens would have a greater sense of security".

316 GTJ, 16 Feb 1911; GPM, 17 Feb 1911.

317 GTJ, 4 March 1911.

318 No black was allowed on the streets of the Port Elizabeth municipality between 9pm and 4am without a written pass (to which only a registered owner of immovable property was entitled) or a permit from an employer. Contravention could result in a fine of up to £10, or imprisonment for up to three months (GPM, 1 March 1911).

319 GPM, 3 March 1911.

320 GTJ, 4 March 1911; GPM, 6 March 1911.

was reported that there had been twenty-seven cases of house- and office-breaking and no arrests had been made; the locations were "practically without control" and needed proper authority.³²¹ Curfew regulations would not affect "the better class native", but were aimed at "the vagrant native, the idle fellow, the parasite". The Albany Farmers' Association similarly requested the Council to consider curfew regulations.³²² At the end of March, the Council accepted a resolution imposing a curfew between 9pm and 4am on the black inhabitants of the city locations.³²³ Under the proposed regulations, about half of the 7 000 blacks would be exempt from their provisions: these included the 88 registered voters in Albany and 129 in Grahamstown; the owners of 355 erven in the Government locations and members of their families; the holders of certificates of qualification as elementary teachers and inspectors; those who had reached the fourth standard in aided schools; graduates of the Cape University; and ministers of the gospel.³²⁴

Opposition to the proposals from blacks and some whites was quick to vocalize itself. N G Nyalusa argued that all blacks, including the "better-class" would be affected by a curfew, which would cause "inconvenience, perplexity and hardship". Church attendance, night schools and medical services particularly would be affected.³²⁵ P Townshend³²⁶ called for the logical implementation of "equal rights for all civilized people", and described the proposed regulation as "an interference with

321 Grahamstown's police force consisted of one Inspector, one State Sergeant, two Sergeants, seventeen white Constables, one black Constable and three Detectives.

322 GTJ, 9 March 1911; GPM, 10 March 1911.

323 The resolution was passed 8-3; those against were H Fitchat (Mayor), D Knight and H R Wood. GTJ, 30 March 1911; GPM, 31 March 1911.

324 GPM, 5 April 1911.

325 GTJ, 9 March 1911. N G Nyalusa to Editor.

326 The Manager of the African Book Company (Voters' List, 1907).

personal liberty".³²⁷ Rev J Robb³²⁸ objected to the proposed curfew, "not because they are class legislation but because they are colour legislation", and pointed out that, as no arrest had been made for the burglaries, there was no proof that the culprit was a resident of the locations.³²⁹ Petitions from two black congregations³³⁰ were submitted to the Council with the request that they be forwarded to the Government with the Council's proposals; the Council, after a confused discussion, resolved that the petitioners would have to approach the Government of their own accord.³³¹

In the light of the opposition, the Administrator requested the Council to give blacks an opportunity to make representations.³³² A deputation consisting of Rev J Robb, Rev S J Helm, Fr F Berghegge and "several natives" was consequently permitted to put its case to the Council.³³³ They argued that no black had been proved guilty of robbery, the regulation would not allow for better supervision of the locations, the large number of persons exempt would make the regulation difficult to administer, and the educational provision would result in the exemption of many young people, while many elderly, law-abiding and respected people would not be exempted. The delegation claimed to represent a large section of the location. The majority of the Council failed to be

327 GPM, 24 March 1911, P Townshend to Editor.

328 A prominent Methodist Minister who came to Grahamstown in 1909 and involved himself in many educational and social projects. He became Secretary of Conference in 1916 and President of Conference in 1919, just before his death. (Obituary GTJ, 7 Aug 1919).

329 GTJ, 1 April 1911, Rev J Robb to Editor.

330 One was from the congregation of the Rev J Mkosi, a Xhosa Wesleyan Minister at the location; the other was from Rev J A Klas, a Coloured evangelist.

331 GTJ, 6 April 1911; GPM, 7 April 1911.

332 GTJ, 1 June 1911; GPM, 2 June 1911.

333 GTJ, 15 June 1911; GPM, 17 June 1911. Who the blacks in the deputation were has been impossible to ascertain.

move and a revised curfew regulation was accepted.³³⁴

The Administrator once again requested reconsideration of the regulations, in the light of objections raised by the Secretary of Native Affairs regarding the Port Elizabeth curfew.³³⁵ The City Council remained firmly committed to the imposition of a curfew,³³⁶ and criticized the Province for "procrastination and drift".³³⁷ The regulations were finally gazetted in April 1912. Only blacks in possession of permits issued by the Resident Magistrate or the City Council would be permitted on the streets between 9.30pm and 4am.³³⁸ The regulations were to be enforced from 1 May 1912, the first time that such regulations were to be in force outside of martial law.³³⁹ It was agreed that the fire bell be used as a curfew bell, and would be rung for a few seconds at 9.30 each evening.³⁴⁰ The curfew was clearly an unpopular measure in the locations, and certainly led to heightened tension. Rev W Y Stead introduced a motion in the City Council that the regulations should apply to whites found in the location during curfew hours, except for bona fide residents.³⁴¹ He withdrew the motion, but warned that

"if they only knew the extent of the curse as between black and white over in the location, he thought every councillor would

334 The view of D Knight that Grahamstown had not been troubled by burglaries for some months, and that too many exemptions would make the regulations difficult to operate, failed to prevail in the face of more conservative opposition.

GTJ, 31 Aug 1911; GPM, 1 Sept 1911.

335 GPM, 17 Nov 1911.

336 GPM, 8 Dec 1911.

337 GPM, 2 Feb 1912.

338 GPM, 22 April 1912; GTJ, 23 April 1912. Those entitled to passes were the original categories mentioned.

339 GPM, 24 April 1912.

340 GTJ, 18 May 1912.

341 GTJ, 19 March 1914; GPM, 20 March 1914. Rev W Stead had been elected to the City Council in June 1912.

support the resolution."³⁴²

While the curfew restricted the freedom of movement of Africans, it did not tackle the fundamental problem of the City Council regarding location control. During a visit of the Administrator in April 1912, the Council pressed for the Government location to be placed under the control of the municipality; but the Administrator argued such a decision would depend on the legislative authority of Parliament.³⁴³ Both the Journal and the Penny Mail thereafter pressed for clarity with regard to location administration. The Journal declared that the locations were no longer fulfilling the purpose for which they were created, that of "providing suitable dwelling places for the natives employed in labouring work in this City".³⁴⁴ The Council's policy was "one of drift and highly dangerous withal", and more police were needed.³⁴⁵ The Penny Mail compared the locations unfavourably with those of East London, and attempted to highlight the administrative deficiencies of the former.³⁴⁶ The Journal believed that

"natives who are not industrially employed in the city [should] not be allowed to occupy municipal erven in the location without other good and sufficient reason",³⁴⁷

but accepted that the black person was an "indispensable factor in the commercial development of our city", as well as necessary for the

342 GPM, 8 May 1914.

343 GPM, 26 April 1912.

344 GTJ, 30 April 1912. The Journal also criticized the amount of "idleness", especially "those not available as a labour supply" because of an "iniquitous interpretation" of the regulations with regard to citizens' rights to run cattle on the commonage.

345 GTJ, 11 May 1912.

346 GPM, 6 May 1912.

347 GTJ, 27 July 1912.

"domestic comfort of the community."³⁴⁸ Another visit of the Administrator, in April 1913, prompted further calls for the unification of administration of the locations; the Administrator undertook to request the Union Government to apply the municipal regulations to the Government locations.³⁴⁹ Further force was given to the Council's demand by the report of the Black Peril Commission, tabled in the House of Assembly, which recommended uniform government for the whole "native area" of Grahamstown.³⁵⁰

A communication from the Secretary of Native Affairs to the Resident Magistrate, L Harison, about the control of the locations heightened expectations that the matter would soon be resolved. The Resident Magistrate informed the City Council that the Government had under "tentative consideration" the expediency of bringing the Hottentot and Fingo locations under Act 40 of 1902.³⁵¹ The possibility of bringing the municipal location under the operation of that Act was also put forward.³⁵² The City Council did not react favourably to the suggestion. The Location Committee recommended that the Government rather introduce regulations in the Government locations to bring about a system of administration closer to that of the municipal location,

348 GTJ, 27 Aug 1912. Three sections of population were singled out: the "real asset", who earned a steady wage of between £1 and £4.10 per month; the individual who worked intermittently on odd jobs; and the "undesirable" person, because of his "loafing, stealing and beer-making and drinking proclivities".

349 GPM, 9 April 1913.

350 GPM, 11 June 1913; GTJ, 12 June 1913.

351 Act 40 of 1902, the Native Reserve Locations Act, raised the issue of territorial segregation. The Act gave the Governor the power to establish "native reserve locations" close to urban areas, and to require blacks to reside in those locations. Regulations for the condition of occupation and payment of rent were laid down, and the Inspector had the power to evict persons not entitled to reside in the locations. By 1909, two locations had been proclaimed: the Ndabeni Location (formerly Uitvlucht) near Cape Town, and New Brighton near Port Elizabeth.

325 GTJ, 25 Sept 1913; GPM, 26 Sept 1913.

authority over which the Committee was loathe to surrender.³⁵³ The Council accepted the recommendation in its entirety.³⁵⁴ The Union Government maintained its view that the only way of securing uniform administration in the Grahamstown locations was the establishment of a reserve location under Act 40 of 1902; nonetheless, the Government would refrain from immediate action, as it wished to consolidate and devise legislation dealing with the control of Africans in urban areas.³⁵⁵ The Location Committee advised that the status quo remain rather than Act 40 of 1902 being extended to the municipal location.³⁵⁶ It demanded a "full and thorough investigation" of the status of the occupiers of the two Government locations, and contended that a "large proportion" of the residents did not have the legal right to the

353 MCMB, 22 Oct 1913, CA, 3/AY 1/2/1/1/11. The Committee pointed out that blacks held individual title to the land in the Hottentot and Fingo Locations, whereas in Ndabeni and New Brighton, there was a system of tenancy. Act 40 of 1902 was therefore better suited to the municipal location; but this did not solve the administration of the Government locations.

354 GTJ, 23 Oct 1913; GPM, 24 Oct 1913.

355 GTJ, 28 Feb 1914, letter to City Council from Provincial Secretary, enclosing a letter from the Secretary of Native Affairs.

356 MCMB, 9 March 1914, CA, 3/AY 1/2/1/1/11.

privileges of the original owners.³⁵⁷

The next assault of the City Council dealt many location residents a heavy blow, for it struck at their very means of existence. There were no restrictions on whites or blacks in force regarding the grazing of livestock on the municipal commonage. In April 1912, blacks owned 716 head of cattle and 524 sheep and goats on the commonage; the Penny Mail alleged that many people were able to lead a life of "indolence and

357 The Committee almost certainly had in mind blacks who were living in the two locations who were not descendents of the original title holders. Legal difficulties would have been encountered had there been any attempts at eviction, for these were experienced with regard to encroachment on the land by whites. At the end of 1909, the Cape Government registered its concern about white occupancy of land by deciding not to sanction in future the transfer of any property in the locations to whites (GTJ, 17 Feb 1910, S J Helm to Editor; Registrar of Deeds Notice of 31 Dec 1909, GPM, 12 Feb 1910). An important test-case in the Eastern Districts Court, J H Webber vs. Union Government, circumvented the order. The case hinged on the terms of freehold grant of Sir George Grey to one Frederick Nieuwveldt, in January 1858, of a piece of land in the Hottentot location; he paid £2.10 for the land "on condition that the present and future proprietors of the land hereby granted" should pay five shillings annually for educational purposes and "with full power and authority henceforth to possess the same in perpetuity with permission to dispose of or alienate the same, with the approbation of the Government, at the expiration of five years from the dates of these present." The piece of land was transferred to one H Wood, registered by the Registrar of Deeds in Cape Town in September 1864, and subsequently changed hands to five different whites until March 1900, when it was transferred to J H Webber. His desire to sell the land to J C Orsmond was not permitted by the Registrar of Deeds on the strength of his notice on 31 December 1909. J H Webber contested the premise that all owners of land were prohibited from alienating it by the original restriction. Judgement was handed down in his favour; the original owner only was bound by the clause (GPM, 12 Feb 1913).

ease" because of a livelihood derived from ownership of cattle.³⁵⁸ New regulations for the control of stock owned by blacks were put forward in September 1912 by the Location Committee. They proposed that any inhabitant of the city could graze up to ten head of cattle or twenty-five sheep on the commonage, but residents of the location were severely restricted. The Committee recommended that lessees of erven in the municipal location be limited to three head of cattle or eight sheep, and owners and occupiers of erven in the Fingo and Hottentot Locations be permitted three cattle or eight sheep if their property was valued less than £200; five cattle or twelve sheep in the case of property valued between £200 and £300; and eight cattle or twenty sheep if property exceeded £300 in value. Contravention of these would incur a fee of up to £5 or one months' imprisonment. All persons would be required to give a return to the Town Clerk of the number of animals owned by them grazing on the commonage.³⁵⁹ The new regulations were gazetted in January 1913.³⁶⁰

New regulations for the control of people qualified to live in the municipal location were also proposed. The Committee recommended that the Council lease erven to

"any native employed or carrying on a business in the city, or to any native, either being old or infirm, or otherwise in the opinion of the Council entitled to reside in the location."

The lease would be in written form for the first time, and would be for an indefinite period subject to a month's notice on either side. Rent would be four shillings per erf per quarter, payable in advance. The Council would henceforward possess the right to remove any person "having no right or authority" to be in the locations.³⁶¹ The recommendations were accepted by the City Council, which again regretted

358 GPM, 15 April 1912.

359 MCMB, 11 Sept 1912, CA, 3/AY 1/2/1/1/11.

360 Province of the Cape of Good Hope Official Gazette, 14 Feb 1913.

361 MCMB, 11 Sept 1912, CA, 3/AY 1/2/1/1/11. From the enforcement of the regulation, no black person would be permitted to be in the location unless he held a formal lease of an erf. Wives and children were exempt from the prohibition; all other people would have to apply for a pass.

that they could not be extended to the Government locations.³⁶² In response to a query from the Provincial Secretary, the Location Committee revealed two important reasons behind its move for increased control of the lease of location land. It wished to restrict occupation to people employed in the city, and thereby keep out all unemployed and "undesirable" people. Secondly, the Committee wanted to curtail the practice of domestic servants remaining in the city at night on premises of their employer and, more importantly, to prevent blacks from acquiring land and property in the white areas of the town. Segregationist principles were at the heart of the proposals.³⁶³ After delays and further pressure from the Location Committee,³⁶⁴ the regulations were finally approved by the Administrator,³⁶⁵ and were gazetted in August 1914.³⁶⁶

The new regulations concerning the number of cattle permitted to municipal location tenants, and the new lease agreement set the scene for several years of conflict between the City Council and the location residents. A further cause for resentment was the introduction of a stamp duty on the lease agreement, to be paid by the tenant as well as a penalty of 1d per day for each day after a fortnight's grace in which

362 GTJ, 19 Sept 1912; GPM, 20 Sept 1912

363 MCMB, 18 Dec 1912, CA 3/AY 1/2/1/1/11

364 MCMB, 18 March 1914, CA 3/AY 1/2/1/1/11

365 GTJ, 2 July 1914; GPM, 3 July 1914.

366 Province of the Cape of Good Hope Official Gazette, 11 Sept 1914.

The eviction of tenants had in fact begun under the new regulations months before they were gazetted. A judicial decision declaring the regulation "ultra vires" was delivered, when it was reported location residents were being evicted for being in arrear of rents. The Location Committee then recommended that every occupier of any erf in the municipal location be given a year's notice (in terms of the old agreement) from 1 January 1914, and the Council could then relet each erf to "satisfactory tenants" (MCMB, 17 Dec 1913, CA, 3/AY 1/2/1/1/11). The Council, not surprisingly, rejected the harsh proposal which would certainly have caused great insecurity in the location. (GPM, 19 Dec 1913; GTJ, 20 Dec 1913).

rent was in arrears.³⁶⁷ A meeting of location tenants at the end of November in St Philips' schoolroom passed a resolution protesting against the form of lease agreement. Two city councillors, Rev W Stead and Prof G Cory, were present but were unable to persuade the meeting to accept the lease.³⁶⁸ Tenants dismissed the description of the lease as an agreement; one tenant declared that residents had never been informed of the scheme, and should they accept it, they would be putting themselves under "unbearable slavery".³⁶⁹

Some legal action surrounding tenancy ensued. The City Council applied to evict a tenant, B Quazi, from the location after he had been given three months' notice; the defendant claimed he was entitled to a year's notice on the grounds he possessed an annual lease. He refused to accept the allegation of the Council that the fact that he paid his rent quarterly suggested a quarterly tenancy. The Resident Magistrate gave judgement in favour of the defendant against the Council.³⁷⁰ A recommendation of the Health Committee that the Council give all lessees of erven who had failed to sign the lease three months' notice from 1 September 1916 to vacate their erven unless they sign the lease before the expiry of the period, was rejected by the Council because of the outcome of the case against Quazi.³⁷¹ The Council instead agreed that all occupiers of erven who had failed to sign the lease form be given a year's notice from 1 October 1916, unless they signed it before that period ended.³⁷² A deputation of blacks to the Location Committee managed to obtain minor amendments to the lease: the clause imposing the fine of 1d a day for arrears was withdrawn, and the Council agreed to pay the stamp duty if the tenant had occupied the erf before 1 January 1915.³⁷³

367 GPM, 17 Sept 1915.

368 GPM, 1 Dec 1915.

369 GPM, 10 Dec 1915, M Sulani to Editor.

370 GPM, 26 July 1916.

371 GPM, 28 July 1916.

372 GPM, 25 August 1916.

373 GPM, 20 Oct 1916.

The collection of rates in the Hottentot and Fingo Locations was another problem with which the Council had to cope, and an area in which dissatisfaction with the Council was evident. Rev S J Helm was permitted to report to the City Council on a meeting of residents of the Hottentot Location, at which grievances were aired.³⁷⁴ A further petition, addressed to the Secretary of Native Affairs by a number of residents of the Fingo and Hottentot Locations, complained that they were "unfavourably affected by the mode in which the municipal administration of this city is conducted".³⁷⁵ The Council refused to consider the petition because it was not addressed to them; Rev W Stead declared that "the natives ought to be taught to deal directly with the Council and not go behind the Council to the Government".³⁷⁶ This drew a response from the "Native and Coloured Vigilance Committee" which criticized Stead for his "wrongful misrepresentation of facts".³⁷⁷ Stead was defended by a ratepayer who declared that he had done much for the locations and "is a popular gentleman".³⁷⁸ Rate collection remained a tense issue during the war. With about £500 outstanding, the services of Mr J Lacey were obtained in July 1915 to collect arrear rates in the

374 GTJ, 23 July 1914; GPM, 24 July 1914. Their two major complaints were that they had to pay their rates in the Fingo location which was inconvenient; the second was that nothing was being spent on the location in return for their rates.

375 MCMB, 21 Oct 1914, CA, 3/AY 1/2/1/1/11.

376 GTJ, 22 Oct 1914; GPM, 23 Oct 1914.

377 GTJ, 24 Oct 1914, "Native and Coloured Vigilance Committee" to Editor. This letter raises interesting speculation on two fronts: firstly, what the relationship of this Committee was to the former Native Vigilance Association. It was almost certainly different in that it incorporated Coloureds and was based in the Hottentot location. Secondly, there is further evidence of a split between S J Helm, who worked amongst the Coloureds in the Hottentot location and seems to have had links with this Vigilance Committee, and W Y Stead, who worked in the Municipal location.

378 GTJ, 29 Oct 1914, "Ratepayer, Government Location" to Editor.

Fingo Village.³⁷⁹ By September, he had collected £165 in rates, and his period of service was extended;³⁸⁰ he collected £249 by November.³⁸¹ A further meeting of ratepayers in the two Government locations protested that rates were still not used for location improvements; a deputation of Rev S J Helm, David Kobus and Peter Korf reported to the Council these latest developments.³⁸² The Council agreed to place an amount annually on the estimates to provide the Hottentot Location with roads and lighting.³⁸³

One event brought the incipient hostility of Grahamstown's blacks to a head; what was, in the words of the Journal, the "sensation of years".³⁸⁴ On 23 April 1917, a Monday morning, a crowd of about four hundred blacks marched up the High Street from the locations to the Resident Magistrate's Court. Many were armed with sticks and kerries; some had knives. The Resident Magistrate, L Harison, the Deputy-Commissioner of Police, Col M du Toit, and two inspectors, Macfarlane and Carruthers, met the crowd; they were protected by a posse of foot police armed with rifles with bayonets fixed, drawn up in a cordon across High Street. The Magistrate informed the crowd that he was prepared to listen to their demands only if they approached the authorities in a "proper and reasonable manner" by electing a deputation, and he ordered them to disperse.³⁸⁵ After some reluctance, during which a ringleader defiantly declared that the crowd would remain armed as long as the police were, the blacks moved back down High Street, leaving a white community in an aggressive mood.³⁸⁶

379 GPM, 2 July 1915. He was paid £1.5 per week, and 10% commission on rates collected.

380 GPM, 17 Sept 1915.

381 GPM, 5 Nov 1915.

382 GTJ, 26 Aug 1915; GPM, 27 Aug 1915.

383 GPM, 5 Nov 1915.

384 GTJ, 24 April 1917.

385 Tension was high; the attempted arrest of a black man standing close to the Magistrate with a knife in his hand led to a clash between police and the crowd, which prevented the police from nearing the culprit.

386 GPM, 23 April 1917.

A crowded public meeting was hastily convened by the Mayor in the City Hall. Col du Toit urged the immediate formation of a civic guard.³⁸⁷ Volunteers were called for: about one hundred men enlisted, were armed and sworn in as special constables. Others already in possession of firearms were to serve as relief troops for those already on duty. Boy Scouts offered their services for ambulance work and dispatch carrying; ladies set up kitchens to feed the men under arms; school cadets guarded the Judge President's house and other positions close to the colleges as the whole city leapt to defend itself. Shops and bars closed for the day. By nightfall, the outskirts of the city and especially those areas contiguous with the locations, were "thoroughly picketed".³⁸⁸ During the night one black was killed in Albany Road after adopting a "menacing attitude"; twelve others were forced to surrender their weapons by a patrol on the Cradock Road; and there was one further shooting incident.³⁸⁹

An unarmed deputation of ten blacks met the Resident Magistrate the following morning and gave two main reasons for the disturbance: the eviction of blacks from the locations because of refusal to sign the forms of lease, and the "indiscriminate shooting of natives".³⁹⁰ The Magistrate refused to attend to their grievances until the "armed mob" in the location had been dispersed; he defended the police action, but

387 He declared the police would only be able to deal with the situation the following day, when reinforcements arrived.

388 Major Saunders commanded the operation, with the assistance of the Grahamstown and Alexandria Commandos. The police were supplemented by the "special constables" and the "numerous farmers" who arrived from the country to render assistance.

389 GPM, 25 April 1917. The inquest revealed that the deceased man, Kulile Ngete, aged 25, employed in domestic service in the city, was shot by a Town Guard patrol after he had been apprehended for attempting to prevent female domestic servants from entering the city (GPM, 30 April 1917).

390 The deputation cited recent shootings of blacks at Salem and Martindale by police which revealed that blacks and whites were treated differently, despite the fact they "were all British subjects ... under one flag."

said he would investigate the complaints, while he argued that lease agreements were signed by "all civilized people". He concluded the interview by characterizing the action of the blacks as "a great piece of cheek".³⁹¹ An urgent communication from the Prime Minister called on the Magistrate to restore order, and General Botha gave his personal assurance that a special commissioner would be appointed to investigate black grievances as soon as peace returned.³⁹²

The "rebellion" ended with a march by the police and the town guard on the locations on Tuesday afternoon. The prolonged ringing of the firebell at 1pm summoned citizens to High Street. A column formed up, with mounted men at the head, followed by a strong force of foot police "with rifles and gleaming fixed bayonets"; the Town Guard "armed to a man" came behind, and a "string of motor cars" with more armed men brought up the rear. Business activity ceased as High Street became "a buzz of martial activity". The force marched into the location and found little sign of activity. It was reported that the ringleaders had fled into the country behind Makana's Kop with the "mob". The force formed up at the foot of the hill. The police, supported by the mounted men, approached the wooded summit of the Kop in skirmish order "by degrees", until it was encircled by mounted men and motor cars. Pursuit across the flats behind the Kop was commenced, and a few shots "soon had the desired effects". Eight ringleaders were arrested, and about fifty other people. A heavy downpour of rain, "which considerably impeded the operations", greeted the victorious citizens as they returned to the city with their captives.³⁹³

Twenty blacks were brought before the Assistant Resident Magistrate, F J van Aardt, in connection with the disturbance, and were remanded until

391 GPM, 25 April 1917.

392 GPM, 25 April 1917.

393 GPM, 25 April 1917.

1 May.³⁹⁴ The Minister of Justice announced that the Prime Minister was to appoint a special commissioner. Meanwhile, some of the more wild rumours about the disturbance were dispelled.³⁹⁵ Discussion focussed on the actions taken by the Resident Magistrate. The farming community around Grahamstown was fiercely critical of his handling of the matter. A deputation of farmers accused Mr Harison of being "too kind-hearted"; they demanded the arrest of the deputation of blacks who acted as mediators, and the detention of a black minister in the location who allegedly told his congregation not to go to work on Monday, but instead to attend a meeting in the location.³⁹⁶ The farmers condemned the Magistrate for a "wrong and weak-kneed" approach in even meeting the African deputation. The City Council supported the Resident Magistrate; while it accepted a resolution of thanks to the farmers for their assistance, it insisted the meeting of farmers was not properly constituted. The Penny Mail praised the Magistrate for his handling of "the critical circumstances" with the minimum loss of life, but demanded that full punishment be meted out to offenders.³⁹⁷

394 GPM, 27 April 1917. Fifteen were charged with contravention of a municipal regulation which prohibited the carrying of weapons within the limits of the municipality; the other five were charged with threatening behaviour with intent to provoke a breach of the peace.

395 It was held by some that the Germans had stirred the trouble; others believed the rising to be part of a general revolution in the Eastern Cape.

396 The full text of a resolution passed unanimously at a meeting of farmers was: "That the ringleaders be treated with the utmost rigour of the law in punishment for their misdeeds, that we deplore, if a weak-kneed policy should be adopted, that we are not satisfied that a strong enough attitude has been taken in the past, that if the Ethiopian Church has been preaching sedition it be investigated by the Government." (GPM, 27 April 1917)

397 "We (sic) do strongly urge that a salutary lesson be taught those who not only infringed elementary laws with which all natives are cogniscant, but who also added studied insolence to their offence and adopted a threatening [sic] attitude which cannot be tolerated." (GPM, 27 April 1917).

There was division of opinion amongst blacks about the disturbances. N Nyalusa dissociated "more than three-quarters of the native men" from the actions of the "rude mob" that disturbed the peace of Grahamstown. According to Nyalusa, the "threatening menace" of the crowd did not represent "what may be called the better class of the Grahamstown natives"; the affair was started

"by some drunken lot of agitators made up chiefly of town location tenants, town loafers, vagrants from the country and boys."

Nyalusa praised the "sharp measures" taken to quell the riot.³⁹⁸

During the trial, further details about the background to the disturbance came to light. A Coloured man, J Cobert, attended a meeting of some 400 people on Sunday, 22 April, to translate Xhosa into Dutch for the benefit of the Coloureds present.³⁹⁹ In his evidence, the Magistrate conceded that there had been miscarriages of justice in the trial of people killing blacks "here and there".⁴⁰⁰ Three leaders emerged: M Sulani, J Safiso and J Naki.⁴⁰¹ Nineteen offenders were charged under Act 27 of 1914, the Riotous Assemblies and Criminal Law Amendment Act; seventeen of them were also charged with contravention of the municipal regulation forbidding Africans to carry sticks in the city.⁴⁰² Bail of £50 and £20 was granted.⁴⁰³ Sentence was delivered in

398 GTJ, 1 May 1917, N Nyalusa to Editor.

399 GPM, 9 May 1917. He reported that many people condemned the recent shooting of blacks at Salem and Martindale.

400 GPM, 11 May 1917. "Incidents of that sort ... always [disturb] them. After all, the native has the mind of a child and cannot reason things out properly."

401 Safiso and Naki were registered voters. The Magistrate reported that Safiso had taken an active part in representing grievances for some time, but had never been involved in any crime.
(GPM, 11 May 1917).

402 The remaining two, being registered voters, were not subject to the prohibition.

403 GPM, 23 May 1917.

July: Sulani and Safiso were each fined £20 or six months' hard labour; one person was fined £10 or three months' hard labour, four were fined £7.10d or two months' hard labour; and the remaining twelve (including Naki) £5 or six weeks' hard labour.⁴⁰⁴ The sentences were confirmed on review, after an appeal by an attorney, L I Smit, on the grounds that no damage had been done to property or life.⁴⁰⁵

A H Stanford,⁴⁰⁶ the Commissioner appointed by the Government to investigate the disturbance, reported he was satisfied that the demonstration was limited to the "municipal natives" and a few casual visitors; there was no coordinated or concerted action with blacks from other districts.⁴⁰⁷ He argued that the matter of shooting of blacks was used as a means of obtaining the support of the Government locations;⁴⁰⁸ the main issue was the lease agreement. About one-third of the occupiers had signed the lease, but the majority were resisting it. They felt the distinction between the municipal location and the Fingo Location was invidious.⁴⁰⁹ Stanford recommended the appointment of headmen in both the Government locations as a means of communicating with the City Council. He felt that if the Government backed the Council over the lease agreements, the majority of erf holders would

404 GPM, 13 July 1917.

405 GPM, 25 July 1917.

406 Arthur Stanford had served in the Transkei since 1875, and was promoted through the administrative ranks until he was appointed Chief Magistrate of the Transkeian territories in June 1907. Cape of Good Hope Civil Service List, 1910, pg 399.

407 G.7-'10. An. 445, 3 May 1917, pg 2.

408 Stanford reported that "frequent failings of justice" in cases of whites shooting blacks caused "bitter feelings". He recommended that the widow and family of the deceased in one of the incidents be compensated. G.7-'10, An 446, 11 May 1917.

409 Particular points of friction were over title and occupancy of land control and grazing rights on the commonage. G.7-'10, An 445, pg 3.

sign them.⁴¹⁰ In the long term, Act 40 of 1902 should be applied to all the locations.⁴¹¹ He concluded his report, indicating the level of racial tension:

"At the present juncture, in view of the strong anti-native feeling prevailing, I have deemed it inadvisable to approach the Council on the subject; later, when things have quieted down, the community here may be in a more reasonable frame of mind. At present, the cry of many is 'Shoot the Kafir'."⁴¹²

A deputation of farmers from the Upper Albany Farmers' Association met Stanford on 2 May to put forward their proposals for future location administration. They requested that all the locations be placed under one administration, to prevent the practice whereby "natives whom the farmers discharge have the privilege or the right to go and live in the Government location." They asked for a police station to be established in the location, demanded the disarming of all blacks in the Eastern Province, requested that labour bureaux be established under the police with a modified finger print system, the possession of liquor to be penalised, a pass law similar to the one in the Orange Free State be adopted in the Cape, and a thorough investigation be made into the activities of the Ethiopian Church. The farmers stated that the "lack of supervision" was serious, and believed it only "wanted a match to set the whole of the Eastern Province alight". They reported that eighteen scouts had been sent from the location to surrounding farms and to Peddie "to try and raise an insurrection".⁴¹³

The Secretary of Native Affairs reported that a headman would be appointed formally by the Government after consultation with the residents of Fingo Village. He requested the Council to consider the same for the municipal location. He agreed to support Stanford's view in requiring written agreements to be signed, but declared the time was inopportune for Act 40 of 1902 to be brought into force, as urban

410 G.7-'10, An 445, pg 4.

411 G.7-'10, An 445, pg 5.

412 G.7-'10, An 445, pg 5.

413 G.7-'10, An 454, 2 May 1917.

legislation was under consideration.⁴¹⁴ The Resident Magistrate convened a meeting of some 500 Africans at the Location Inspector's Office to convey the response of the Government.⁴¹⁵ African reaction was mixed. Samuel Danga declared there was no intention of rebellion against the Government, which he described as "'our father'", and assured the Magistrate of loyalty. Jacob Plaatjies maintained the view that quarterly payments of rent and the low number of cattle permitted by the regulations were "very hard", and emphasized his hostility to police action. The Magistrate warned that armed demonstrations were "sheer madness and childishness".⁴¹⁶

Black willingness to sign the leases, despite the show of official strength, was not forthcoming. Some still refused to sign, and were issued with eviction orders. Messrs Espin and Espin, a firm of lawyers, claimed a sum of £502 as compensation for buildings erected by fourteen tenants who had been ordered to vacate erven on 1 October.⁴¹⁷ Three weeks later, twenty-two tenants were demanding £804.⁴¹⁸ The City Council was divided on the issue; Clr Whiteside urged "sympathetic consideration", for many tenants had been there a long time and had built houses; they had a right to refuse to sign leases if they wished. Other councillors condemned the amount of compensation demanded, and believed there were "a lot of agitators in the location who were preventing the natives from signing these leases".⁴¹⁹ Stephen Mtyeku outlined clearly the plight of blacks in the location. He stated that those who originally signed leases were illiterate and lacked full understanding of the lease; they paid stamp duty and experienced loss of cattle and other rights without full explanation. He accused the Mayor and City Council of being blind to the rights of tenants in the location, and reported that some blacks

"are now searching for new homes in the districts and in

414 G.7-'10, An 447, 22 May 1917.

415 He was accompanied by Prof Cory and Rev J Robb.

416 GPM, 4 June 1917.

417 GPM, 20 July 1917.

418 GPM, 10 Aug 1917.

419 GPM, 10 Aug 1917.

Kaffirland, breaking down their houses, pulling up garden trees and fences, and some who do not want to leave the town are trying to find an attorney to assist them in getting compensation from the Council so as to enable them to buy plots in Government lands in or near the town."⁴²⁰

The full extent of the resistance to the leases became apparent in September 1917. The Location Committee discovered that of the 506 tenants in the municipal location, only 160 had signed the lease, leaving about 350 "who not only had not signed but distinctly refused to do so".⁴²¹ The number of claims for compensation that had been received was small in proportion to the number of tenants who were preparing to leave the location. About 1 500 people were planning to depart, with grave consequences for the town's labour supply. A deputation from the location had also warned the Committee of the mood of the blacks, who were extremely hostile to the conditions.⁴²²

The Committee submitted a revised lease agreement to the City Council in the light of such fierce and determined opposition. The Council accepted the new agreement, although only by eight votes to six. Rent remained at four shillings per quarter, payable quarterly in advance. The lessee was not permitted to sublet property, and he was entitled to compensation for buildings and improvements to his erf, in the event of cancellation of the lease. Such compensation would be decided by mutual consent or arbitration. An important amendment laid down that the lease could be cancelled by either party at six months' notice in writing. The Council further agreed that tenants could graze five cattle or ten sheep on the commonage; any tenant requiring a larger number of stock would be granted permission on payment of 2/6d per annum.⁴²³ Persons refusing to sign the lease would no longer be evicted; each tenant was furnished with a copy of the new lease as a condition of his tenancy,

420 GPM, 10 Aug 1917, Stephen Mtyeku to Editor.

421 GPM, 7 Sept 1917.

422 GPM, 7 Sept 1917.

423 The Committee's original recommendation of ten head of cattle per erf-holder, and a fee of one shilling for each additional head of cattle, was amended by the Council. GPM, 7 Sept 1917.

but he was not compelled to sign it.⁴²⁴

The new regulations, which were the only major concessions made to location residents during the period under review, were accepted by location occupiers, and no major upheaval of population occurred. The matter of dual control persisted well beyond 1918. The first comprehensive legislation dealing with blacks in urban areas was the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, which did not apply to Fingo Village.⁴²⁵ The Act, the adoption of which was optional by municipalities, empowered local authorities to set aside locations for African occupancy, stop whites from owning or occupying land in them, and regulate financial administration. Controls on the movement of Africans were laid down, as were strict conditions regarding the production of kafir beer.⁴²⁶ Smaller municipalities were reluctant to come under the Act,⁴²⁷ Grahamstown's municipal location was constituted under the Act only in 1938.⁴²⁸ By 1926, applications for housing loans had been received only from Kingwilliamstown, Cradock, Aliwal North and Molteno in the Eastern Cape.⁴²⁹

Grahamstown's white citizens regarded the location with distaste and disdain, but tolerated it as a necessary evil. Concern about its physical well-being was singularly lacking, even after the Special Investigation Committee and Tuberculosis Commission reports were submitted. The influenza epidemic of 1918 highlighted the need for a more comprehensive approach to sanitation and health matters. There was noticeable assistance given to location residents by whites, the only instance of such an attitude between 1902 and 1918. The neglect of the

424 Mayoral Minute, 1917, pp.29-30, AM, unaccessioned.

425 T R H Davenport, Black Grahamstown: The Agony of a Community, pg.12

426 T R H Davenport, "African Townsmen? South African Natives (Urban Areas) Legislation through the years". Reprinted from African Affairs, Vol 68, No 271, 1969, pp 99-100.

427 Davenport, "African Townsmen", pg 100.

428 Proclamation 115, Government Gazette, 27 May 1938, Vol CX11, No 2530, pg 606. I am grateful to Mr I Phillips for his assistance in finding this reference.

429 U.G.14-1927, pg 11.

location by a City Council which annually derived a profit from the location was highlighted by the Tuberculosis Commission:

"The slackness and neglect is not due to the officials of the town: it is the 'powers that be'; we point out what is required and ask for authority to do these things, and we are set upon for our trouble. We cannot get anything done in the locations."⁴³⁰

The major concern of the City Council with the location was to control it as tightly as possible, and to this end a great deal of effort was devoted. The presence of a large, unemployed and potentially restless group of people close to the city was a source of fear, and the Council was concerned to stem the tide of people who were slowly being forced off the land. Segregationalist foundations were clearly being constructed.⁴³¹ The pattern of the Council's response was often haphazard and inchoate, but regulations such as the pass system, the curfew and the lease agreement were clearly designed to regulate African mobility.

African reaction to these impositions was as arbitrary as they were. After the disappearance of the Natives Vigilance Association, there was no real organization to coordinate black response either to the local issues threatening the location, or to wider Union developments. This is not to deny the considerable activity that can be gleaned from the sources. There were leaders of opinion in the location; most, though not all, were registered voters belonging to an educated, acculturated elite. They had different ideas about the response to adopt, which could help to explain the difficulties of organization. Their relationship with the churches and missions was close, but not always easy. The 1917 disturbance revealed the strength of feeling of location residents about their dependent threatened existence; it also underlined their essential position of weakness within the city. The process of transition in the location was merely one of reinforcement of paternalistic attitudes and emerging segregationist solutions.

430 U.G.34-1914, para.249, pg.133-134. The comment is that of an unidentified official of the Council.

431 See Swanson, "The Sanitation Syndrome", esp. pp 408-410 for comment on urbanization, segregation and their interrelation with public health.

CHAPTER 7

POLITICS IN FLUX

South Eastern Province members of the Legislative Council, 1902-1910¹

<u>Name</u>	<u>Sessions</u>	<u>Years in Council</u>
P S Bellingan	1891-1907	17
J Daverin	1908-1910	3
R F Hurndall	1905-1910	6
J F Lombard	1908-1910	3
J Pyott	1904-1907	4
A Wilmot	1889-1910	22

Members of the Legislative Assembly for Grahamstown, 1902-1910²

<u>Name</u>	<u>Sessions</u>	<u>Years in House</u>
A Douglass	1884-1903	20
H Fitchat	1908-1910	3
L S Jameson	1904-1910	11
		(4 years Kimberley, 1900-1903)
H R Wood	1902-1907	6

Members of the Legislative Assembly for Albany, 1902-1910³

<u>Name</u>	<u>Sessions</u>	<u>Years in House</u>
R Crosbie	1884-1888	
	1894-1903	15
F W Douglass	1908-1910	3
V Sampson	1898-1907	10
W Thomas	1904-1910	7

Members of Parliament for Albany, 1910-1918

<u>Name</u>	<u>Sessions</u>	<u>Years in House</u>
L S Jameson	1910-1912	3
F J W van der Riet	1912-1923	12

1 R Kilpin, The Romance of a Colonial Parliament, pp 127-135.

2 Kilpin, Colonial Parliament, pp 137-161.

3 Kilpin, Colonial Parliament, pp 137-161.

CHAPTER SEVEN

POLITICS IN FLUX

Politics in the Cape Colony had been in a state of confusion and flux since the end of the South African War on 31 March 1902, and the announcement of an election in September 1903 paved the way for a more clearly defined administration. The suspensionist movement within the Progressive Party had gained popular support during 1901, when several petitions from various districts of the Colony were sent to the Governor, Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson.¹ The movement was supported by imperialists who feared the danger of rebellion or invasion from the Orange Free State but, because Parliament did not meet during 1901, suspension of the constitution did not become a crucial issue. From the beginning of 1902 the movement gained strength as evidenced by a petition signed by forty-one members of the Cape Parliament² asking the Governor for a temporary suspension of the constitution. The Prime Minister, Sir Gordon Sprigg and the majority of his Cabinet opposed the movement; the Cabinet did split, however, when the Commissioner for Public Works, Sir Thomas Smartt, resigned in May, and assumed the leadership of the suspensionist wing of the Progressive Party. Sprigg was thereafter reliant on the Afrikaner Bond and the South African Party to retain power, and he thus alienated himself further from the Progressive Party, of which he was ostensibly the leader. His support gradually whittled away, and he was forced in the January 1904 election to stand as an independent Progressive.³

One of the chief aims of the suspensionists was to obtain a redistribution of parliamentary seats under a new constitution, on the principle

1 See T R H Davenport, The Afrikaner Bond, pg 237 for more detail.

2 Davenport, The Afrikaner Bond, pg 239. Amongst the signatures on the petition was that of Cecil John Rhodes.

3 A J C Smith, General Elections in the Cape Colony, 1898 to 1908, unpubl. MA thesis, University of Cape Town, 1980, pgs 35f, has more detail on the suspensionist movement and its opposition to Sprigg.

of more equal constituencies.⁴ Redistribution became one of the key facets in the Progressive Party's manifesto in 1903. The suspensionist movement, and its call for "fair representation of the people in Parliament", was a factor which resulted in the formation of a new alliance between the Afrikaner Bond and the South African Party at the end of 1902.⁵ The Progressives' support came mainly from urban areas and the English-speaking Eastern districts while the Bond's following was located chiefly in the rural areas of the Western Cape, the Midlands and the remote northern areas. The South African Party/Bond alliance therefore stood to lose ground in the event of a redelimitation of constituencies.

This strengthened South African Party gave Sprigg the support he needed to continue as premier of the Colony, as it feared the undermining of its power base in the event of a Progressive administration winning control of Parliament. The relationship between the two groups was never firm and was always uneasy. The South African Party was suspicious of Sprigg's links with Chamberlain, the imperialist British Colonial Secretary. Differences over imperial preference were strong, and the lack of protection for Cape products allowed by the 1903 customs convention caused much resentment amongst the Bond farmers.⁶ The elections of 1903/1904 were precipitated by a breakdown of the unofficial alliance over Sprigg's promise to the South African Party that he would appoint a commission to examine grievances against the military authorities that had taken place under martial law.⁷

4 Rural areas in the Cape Colony were distinctly better off regarding political representation than the urban areas. In the 1904 election, the average number of voters per seat was 1 422. Grahamstown, however, had 918 voters per seat and Albany 1 018, as against Cape Town's 3 426.

5 Davenport, The Afrikaner Bond, pgs 243-246.

6 P Lewsen, John X Merriman : Paradoxical South African Statesman, pg 267.

7 Martial law was operative in the Cape for most of the South African war. It was proclaimed in districts as the need arose. The first proclamation was on 15 November 1899; it was finally repealed on 16 September 1902. L S Amery (ed), The Times History of the War in South Africa, Vol ii, pg 296 and Vol vi, pg 570.

Grundlingh has argued that the Bond supported the Sprigg ministry in order to secure the martial law inquiry they so deeply desired.⁸ This support was finally withdrawn after Sprigg was put on the spot by Henry Burton, the South African Party member for Albert, at the end of August 1903. The Government was defeated on the vote, and the election was thereby precipitated.⁹

Voters in the Cape were left with a relatively clear choice between the Progressive Party and the anti-Progressives, of whom the South African Party was by far the strongest component. The Progressives emphasized the importance of the imperial connection and the strengthening of imperial ties; the South African Party called for an autonomous, federal South Africa. The Progressives laid great stress on the continuities between themselves and Rhodes; the South African Party attacked Rhodes' vision and policies. They called vociferously for the rectification of war-time wrongs, and campaigned for the full recognition of the Dutch language in education and the public service. Redistribution was a further key difference between the parties. The problem of Chinese labour played a significant part in the election, for while it was essentially a Transvaal issue, it was widely feared in the Cape that the Chinese would "flood" the whole of South Africa and cause racial problems. Both the South African Party and the Progressives took a stand against the importation of Chinese labour into the Cape, though the former took a harder line.¹⁰

The elections for the Legislative Council in November 1903 gave the Progressives a narrow majority of one seat; they won twelve seats to the eleven of the South African Party.¹¹ The Legislative Assembly elections in January 1904 were almost as close. The Progressives won

8 M A S Grundlingh, "The Parliament of the Cape of Good Hope, with special reference to Party Politics, 1872-1910", AYB, 1969, pg 286.

9 Davenport, The Afrikaner Bond, pg 247.

10 Smith, General Elections in the Cape, pgs 35f, discusses the issues in the election. See also Grundlingh, "The Parliament of the Cape of Good Hope", pgs 293-297.

11 Davenport, The Afrikaner Bond, pg 248.

fifty of the ninety-five seats in the Lower House, giving them a majority of five.¹² Despite the outcome, there was no swing of votes towards the Progressives;¹³ their victory was due more to the "abnormal conditions under which the campaign was conducted".¹⁴ The disenfranchisement of about 10 500 Boer rebels by military courts was the most significant factor in the outcome of the election. The key role played by disenfranchisement is clearly shown in the percentage of the electorate voting for the parties: in 1898, the South African Party polled 40,5% and the Progressives 39% of the vote, compared with 40,96% and 32,29% of the vote respectively in 1904.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the Progressives' campaign was well-organized and focussed under its new leader, Dr Leander Starr Jameson. The party was disciplined in a way that it had not been before, for each candidate was bound by a pledge of loyalty to the party, and was committed to support party policy in the Legislative Assembly.¹⁶

The rapid rise to power of Dr Jameson, the newly-elected MLA for Grahamstown, needs to be explained, particularly in view of his involvement in the Raid that bears his name, and his subsequent discredit in the eyes of many South Africans. Jameson entered Cape politics on 25 June 1900, when he was elected unopposed as MLA for Kimberley.¹⁷ There is little doubt that Rhodes, Jameson's intimate and influential friend, was "machinating behind the scenes, working systematically" to further his political career.¹⁸ Shortly afterwards, Jameson became a director of De Beers,¹⁹ and in July 1902 he was appointed a director of the British South Africa Company.²⁰ He only

12 Smith, General Elections in the Cape, pg 49.

13 Davenport, The Afrikaner Bond, pgs 249-251.

14 M R Siepman, An Analytical Survey of the Political Career of Leander Starr Jameson, 1900-1912, unpubl. Ph.D thesis, University of Natal, 1979, pg 96.

15 Davenport, The Afrikaner Bond, pg 250.

16 Siepman, Leander Starr Jameson, pg 84.

17 Siepman, Leander Starr Jameson, pg 46.

18 Siepman, Leander Starr Jameson, pg 71.

19 DSAB, Vol III, pg 440.

20 Siepman, Leander Starr Jameson, pg 63.

made his maiden speech in Parliament on 28 August 1902 when he pleaded for his involvement in that "abominable raid" to be forgiven and forgotten.²¹ From this moment, his rise in the party was rapid, and he overshadowed senior and long-serving Progressives. Two persuasive speeches made before large audiences, one in Kimberley in November 1902,²² and the other in Cape Town in January 1903,²³ advanced his standing in the party considerably. On 19 March 1903, he became President of the Progressive Association,²⁴ and on 17 April he was elected President of the South African League,²⁵ thereby within one month taking control of the two most powerful organs that lent support to the Progressive Party.²⁶ From this platform, Jameson was able to form one strong political alliance; he merged the two groups, and became leader of the Progressive Party on 8 June 1903.²⁷

Jameson was elected MLA for Grahamstown in January 1904. He topped the poll, winning 707 votes. His Progressive running partner, H R Wood, polled 696 votes, and these two soundly defeated the "Independent

21 DSAB, Vol III, pg 440.

22 Siepman, Leander Starr Jameson, pg 65.

23 Siepman, Leander Starr Jameson, pg 66.

24 Siepman, Leander Starr Jameson, pg 72.

25 Siepman, Leander Starr Jameson, pg 72.

26 The South African League was founded at the beginning of 1896, and by October 1900 there were 74 branches. It was a Cape-based organization committed to British supremacy in South Africa, and appealed to English-speaking ultra-loyalists, urban free-traders and progressive sheep-farmers. It was especially strong in the Eastern districts. To advance the Progressive cause in the Western Province, the South African Progressive Association was founded in late November 1902 under the chairmanship of Sir Lewis Michell, MLA. It worked for the advancement of the Progressives in conjunction with the South African League. (See Davenport, The Afrikaner Bond, pg 171; Grundlingh, "The Parliament of the Cape of Good Hope", pg 287-288; J L McCracken, The Cape Parliament 1854-1910, pg 117).

27 Siepman, Leander Starr Jameson, pg 76. The date conflicts with the DSAB, Vol III, pg 440, which gives March 1903.

Progressive" Arthur Douglass, the previous MLA, who won 403 votes.²⁸

It is extremely difficult to ascertain precisely why Jameson chose to contest the Grahamstown seat. He had had close links with Kimberley, his former constituency, which was also safe Progressive territory. Jameson had settled in Kimberley in 1878 to practise as a doctor when he first came to South Africa,²⁹ and he was a director of De Beers. Arthur Douglass had represented Grahamstown for the previous twenty years.³⁰ He was a prominent local ostrich farmer. His downfall was due to his stance regarding the suspensionist movement. He came out as one of Sprigg's leading supporters, and served as Commissioner of Public Works from 30 May 1902, replacing Smartt after his resignation.³¹ He clearly lost the support of his electorate in his opposition to suspension. From June 1901 the Journal championed the cause of suspension, although Grocott's Penny Mail supported the candidacy of Douglass for the constituency.³² This does not explain, however, why Jameson should have abandoned the safety of Kimberley to oppose an influential local politician in a constituency he had never previously visited.

Colvin simply states that Jameson's purpose in contesting Grahamstown was to "exchange the security of Kimberley for a contested election against one of Sprigg's chief supporters".³³ Siepman ignores the issue, merely recording that "Jameson's gambling instincts and love of contest came to the fore".³⁴ While this may have been true, it seems unlikely in view of the fact that Jameson was bored by politics, and disliked the feuding and infighting that characterized Cape politics after the South African War. Siepman himself states that Jameson "lacked personal interest in politics"³⁵ and had only agreed to enter the field to carry out Rhodes' ambitions, after Rhodes persuaded him to do this. The

28 GTJ, 21 Jan 1904.

29 DSAB, Vol III, pg 439.

30 R Kilpin, The Romance of a Colonial Parliament, Annexure E, pg 143.

31 R Kilpin, The Romance of a Colonial Parliament, Annexure G, pg 168.

32 R Sellick, Grahamstown 1883-1904.

33 I Colvin, Life of Jameson, Vol II, pg 225.

34 Siepman, Leander Starr Jameson, pg 72.

35 Siepman, Leander Starr Jameson, pg 214.

reason of "love of contest" or "gambling instincts" does not explain why he chose Grahamstown; it might be questioned why, for example, these competitive instincts did not lead him to oppose Sprigg himself who, like Douglass, represented an Eastern seat (East London) in the Legislative Assembly.

In his speech nominating Jameson for the constituency at the nomination court on 11 January 1904, Advocate Tucker called on the electorate to ignore personalities, and

"find someone who has got as great a grasp of politics as Mr Douglass has, and who will at the same time pay some attention to the wishes of his constituents."³⁶

He described Jameson as "perhaps the most distinguished and most influential man in South Africa as a candidate for our representation".³⁷ Jameson himself declared that he was fighting Grahamstown "solely to oppose Mr Douglass", and called on the electorate to place the local Progressive, H R Wood, with him at the top of the poll.

A further intriguing question is why Grahamstown chose Jameson. Why a town so conscious of its own contribution and character, with a tradition of local men representing her in Cape Town, should suddenly opt for a person with no background of involvement or interest in the affairs of Grahamstown, is difficult to explain. Certainly, the legacy of Cecil John Rhodes found favour in Grahamstown, and the city saw in Jameson someone who perhaps more than any other was committed to the vision of Rhodes. In May 1903, Jameson pledged himself to "carry out the programme of Mr Rhodes for the development of British South Africa".³⁸ His pro-British and imperial stance found favour in the jingoistic community of Grahamstown after the war, where imperial concerns ranked high on the list of priorities. The Progressive call for closer inter-colonial co-operation and the development of imperial ties and imperial preference was strong and unequivocal. Suspicion of the Afrikaner Bond in Grahamstown was high and Sprigg, Douglass and

36 GTJ, 12 Jan 1904.

37 GTJ, 12 Jan 1904.

38 Siepman, Leander Starr Jameson, pg 73.

other Ministerialists were attacked for their alliance with the Bond and South African Party. The suspension movement was an important factor in the election, and opponents of it were regarded as "anti-British and seditious".³⁹ Jameson's leadership against Sprigg and the Bond was a factor in securing his election in Grahamstown. The prestige of having the leader of one of the two main political parties, and a possible future prime minister, as the MLA doubtless influenced voters to support him.

The Rhodes University College issue probably assisted Jameson's election, although it is difficult to assess this. Financial problems seemed to doom the proposed establishment of an institute of higher learning in Grahamstown.⁴⁰ While the idea had received a great deal of support locally, under the enthusiastic leadership of Josiah Slater, editor of the Journal, the amount of money needed to found the university was enormous. £15 000 was promised locally, but a far greater sum was needed.⁴¹ Dr S Schönland, the curator of the Albany Museum, approached Jameson through Advocate Victor Sampson, MLA for Albany from 1898-1907, with a view to gaining a substantial grant from the Rhodes trustees.⁴² Jameson promised £50 000 but it later transpired he had done so without consulting his fellow trustees, who refused the offer. Currey records the subsequent developments:⁴³ Schönland himself went to Cape Town and persuaded Sir Lewis Michell, another of the Rhodes trustees,⁴⁴ to reverse his previous decision. This certainly let Jameson off the hook, for the promise of £50 000 made rashly at the beginning of the election campaign could have backfired.

H R Wood, Grahamstown's local representative in the Legislative

39 GTJ, 19 Jan 1904.

40 R F Currey, Rhodes University 1904-1970 : A Chronicle, pg 7.

41 Currey, Rhodes University, pg 8.

42 Currey, Rhodes University, pg 9.

43 Currey, Rhodes University, pgs 10-11.

44 He was Minister without Portfolio in Jameson's government.

Assembly, had a long tradition of community service behind him.⁴⁵ He was a town councillor for twenty-eight years and had served as Mayor between 1896 and 1899, during which time the water project at Slaai Kraal was decided upon. He was one of the financial experts on the Council, and frequently served as Chairman of the Finance Committee. He was closely concerned with the establishment of gas lighting in Grahamstown in 1894. He was a devout Methodist, and served on the Grahamstown District Synod for forty years, as superintendent of the West Hill Sunday School for forty-five years, and as chairman of the Kingswood College Council from its inception until his death. He served Grahamstown "with high distinction, although he was somewhat conservative and not conspicuous in initiating new movements".⁴⁶ He was to prove a devoted and dedicated member of the Legislative Assembly for he earned a reputation for his regular attendance at sittings of the Lower House.

Jameson's premiership was to last almost four years, from 22 February 1904 until 31 January 1908.⁴⁷ The accession to power of his Progressive government, consisting of an entirely English-speaking cabinet, and coupled with the fact of its almost total lack of experience, created the fear and expectation that the racial tensions of the post-war Cape would be heightened and exacerbated.⁴⁸ This was not to be; a feature of Jameson's premiership was the swing from racial to economic

45 The information in this paragraph was obtained from H R Wood's obituary, in GDM, 25 July 1921.

46 GDM, 25 July 1921.

47 DSAB, Vol III, pg 441.

48 The Cabinet consisted of:

T W Smartt	:	Commisioner of Crown Lands and Public Works
Col C P Crewe	:	Colonial Secretary
E H Walton	:	Treasurer-General
V Sampson	:	Attorney-General
A J Fuller	:	Secretary for Agriculture
Sir Lewis Michell	:	Minister without Portfolio

grievances as the dominant issue in politics.⁴⁹

One of the first measures passed by the new Progressive government, in fulfilment of its election promise, was the Redistribution Act.⁵⁰ The Grahamstown newspapers supported the measure and used the recent election figures to show that there was need for reform.⁵¹ The Act created three new seats in the Legislative Council, and twelve in the Legislative Assembly. The Progressives used the Act to increase their own narrow majorities, for they won all three of the Legislative Council seats, and seven in the House of Assembly (although they had hoped for nine). The result was welcomed by Progressive supporters, but the Journal tempered its satisfaction at the news by warning against "the tendency to indulge in individual fads" amongst Progressives in Parliament as undermining Party solidarity.⁵² The Act was bitterly opposed by the South African Party which correctly saw it as a means to enhance Progressive strength in Parliament without dealing properly with the whole issue of under-representation. Jameson saw the measure as a temporary one, the preliminary to a more comprehensive act to be introduced at a later date. This did not happen, although rumour of a sweeping bill at the beginning of 1905 caused some concern in Grahamstown for it exposed the essential political impotence of the small community. It was expected that constituencies were to have a minimum of 2 000 voters each; those with less than this figure would be amalgamated with adjoining constituencies. In a hard-hitting editorial, the Penny Mail proclaimed that "such an indignity and injustice done to Grahamstown would be monstrous, intolerable and retrograde".⁵³ It declared that voters should not only be counted, but weighed in importance, and argued that Grahamstown was second only to Cape Town as an "ecclesiastical, educational and judicial centre". The indignant question posed by the editor, displays much of the inflated but

49 For a detailed examination of the Jameson ministry, see P Cuthbert, The Administration of Dr Jameson as Prime Minister of the Cape Colony 1904-1908, unpubl. MA thesis, University of Cape Town, 1950.

50 Act 5 of 1904.

51 GTJ, 20 Feb 1904.

52 GTJ, 16 July 1904.

53 GPM, 23 Jan 1905.

misplaced self-importance, and also the insecurity, of the small Eastern Province constituency:

"But does any sane man believe that her [Grahamstown's] political intelligence and fitness to influence the legislation of the country are as disproportionate to that of the metropolis [Cape Town], as our population is numerically disproportionate to that of the western city?"⁵⁴

Cape Town's population was 77 668 (and including its suburbs, 91 973) as against Grahamstown's 13 887.⁵⁵ The editorial ended with an impassioned plea for people to register as voters.⁵⁶ At the end of 1906, the Journal called on the Government not to introduce a redistribution bill, since such a measure would not only be impractical but also unjust.⁵⁷ Grahamstown, despite her strong Progressive leanings, stood to lose by any redistribution measure. Her political representation was not altered, however, as no legislation was introduced, and it was not until Union in 1910 that the city's parliamentary status was changed.

While the disenfranchisement of Boer rebels had certainly affected the 1904 election results, the Jameson government nevertheless immediately began to reinstate their rights. In May 1904, Jameson announced pardons for certain categories of rebels. A partial amnesty Act passed in 1904 provided for the abolition of indemnity and special tribunals, and for cases of rebellion to be dealt with by ordinary courts of law.⁵⁸ In August 1906, an amnesty Act was passed.⁵⁹ The Government also paid attention to the divisive problem of war compensation; in May 1907, the third and final draft of the War Losses Compensation Inquiry Commission was submitted to the Governor. These were practical results of

54 GPM, 23 Jan 1905.

55 GPM, 23 Jan 1905.

56 There were only 1 837 registered voters in Grahamstown in the 1904 election (Voters' List, 1903).

57 GTJ, 18 Dec 1906.

58 Act 35 of 1904, the "Better Administration of Justice Act, 1904".

59 Act 29 of 1906, the "Better Administration of Justice and Remission of Treason Penalties Act, 1906".

Jameson's attempts to conciliate the Dutch in the Cape.⁶⁰

Financial depression at the Cape became the problem of most concern for the Jameson administration.⁶¹ When he took office, Jameson was not unduly concerned about the economy, although customs revenue was declining, and railway deficits were growing. Nevertheless, in his first six months in office, Jameson was forced to impose additional taxation, from which his government hoped to derive revenue of over £750 000.⁶² Walton, the Treasurer-General, also announced that no further public works were to be financed from new loans until the Cape's finances had recovered. Over 3 000 government employees had been retrenched by 31 March 1905. The deficit for the year was almost £700 000, and Walton overestimated revenue by nearly £2 000 000.⁶³ By 31 March 1906, the Cape's permanent debt had increased to £42 110 000.⁶⁴

Jameson's policy of retrenchment and reduction of public works increased unemployment, and led to the charge that the poorer urban dwellers were being forced to shoulder the burden of the depression. Certainly, the charge that the Government was not fulfilling its election pledge to "tax all sources of wealth" appears justified. Jameson refused to introduce a land tax because he wished to foster agriculture and conciliate Dutch farmers.

The 1907 budget revealed that the Cape's financial position had declined further. There were more drastic reductions in estimates of expenditure, and the proposal was made to increase the rate of taxation on incomes, including company profits. The Government eventually bowed to

60 For further details, see Cuthbert, The Administration of Dr Jameson, pgs 24-33.

61 See J Hatherley, The Effects of the Depression after the Anglo-Boer War on Cape Politics, 1902-1910, unpubl. MA thesis, University of Cape Town, 1953

62 There was to be taxation on incomes of over £500 per annum, an additional hut tax, increased death duties and an excise on spirits and beer.

63 Hatherley, The Effects of the Depression, pg 29.

64 At the end of the war, the permanent debt had stood at £39 426 000.

pressure to tax profits derived from the export of diamonds, and on 10 September 1907, the Income Tax Continuance and Mining Profits Tax Act was passed, imposing a tax of 10% on the profits of the diamond and copper mining companies whose profits exceeded £50 000 in the year ending 30 June 1907.⁶⁵ The Government had been loath to introduce such a measure. In a speech in Grahamstown on 30 March 1906, Jameson had stated that it was economically unsound to tax the raw product of the country for export and, in a lengthy aside on the contribution of De Beers, declared that "if you hurt De Beers, you hurt the community".⁶⁶

Jameson and Walton failed to understand the seriousness of the depression, for they regarded it as a temporary recession from which the Cape would in due course recover. Revenue continued to fall, yet at each budget over-optimism led to an over-estimation of revenue. Jameson was forced to take measures such as severe retrenchment, an imposition of an income tax, an unpopular excise and a diamond tax.⁶⁷ Drastic reductions in expenditure had to be made, and protectionist measures were taken.⁶⁸ By May 1906, when the customs convention met, Cape industry, agriculture and commerce were all strongly in favour of protection, and the Progressives found themselves increasingly applying remedies recommended by the South African Party.

One extremely damaging occurrence for the Government was the abandonment of their election pledge in regard to liquor. The depression in the wine industry, while linked to the depression in agriculture and trade, had its own distinguishing features. Problems of drought and pestilence deepened after 1905 when conditions in other areas improved markedly. Jameson's attempts to solve the crisis in the industry met with much hostility. Proposals were put forward to relax the restrictions on the sale of liquor to blacks, by permitting wine of limited strength to be sold by the glass on licensed premises; to reduce excises and increase duties on imported spirits; reduction by the northern colonies on the

65 Act 26 of 1907.

66 GTJ, 31 March 1906.

67 The tax on diamonds was an abandonment of an election pledge.

68 This involved yet another betrayal of an election pledge, in favour of free trade.

duty on Cape liquor; and making the issuing of liquor licences easier.⁶⁹ The emotive liquor issue undoubtedly cost the Government support, especially in the East where suspicion of the wine interest and Western agriculture was prominent.

Throughout this difficult period of Cape history, Grahamstown remained fiercely loyal to the Jameson administration. In the Journal, Jameson could not have found a better supporter or a more blind critic. On the eve of the 1905 parliamentary session, the newspaper looked forward with hope to the future, and observed that while the depression had occasioned a greater falling off of revenue than was thought, "this had been met with resolute economy", and it looked forward to an improvement in the financial position.⁷⁰ At the end of the session, however, comment betrayed a note of frustration, chastising the Government for its "non-success or delay" in carrying out its election programme.⁷¹ At the end of the 1906 session, the Government was praised for "labouring successfully to promote the general welfare and progress";⁷² and their "manifest endeavour to legislate for the prosperity of the Colony has not only tended to consolidate their own following, but has created a good impression in the minds of the rank and file of Africander representatives."⁷³

The only occasion on which the Government was attacked by the Grahamstown press was over the liquor controversy in 1907. The Journal greeted the announcement of the tabling of the Bill in Parliament as an "ill-advised motion which is dead against the convictions of the East".⁷⁴ The news of the support of the Bill "in the main" by both the

69 Hatherley, The Effects of the Depression, pg 65 Act 8 of 1907, "The Sale of Pure Natural Wine Facilities Act, 1907", provided for viti-culturalists to sell and deliver certain liquors without taking out a licence.

70 GTJ, 11 March 1905.

71 GTJ, 24 June 1905.

72 GTJ, 23 Aug 1906.

73 GTJ, 28 Aug 1906.

74 GTJ, 25 June 1907.

Attorney-General and the Treasurer-General caused "astonishment beyond measure",⁷⁵ and resulted in a scathing attack on the evils of alcohol, especially for the Africans, and on the House of Assembly for passing the second reading of the Liquor Bill by a large majority, "much to the disappointment, vexation and distress of thousands of level-headed colonists".⁷⁶

Jameson himself, despite paying only two visits to the constituency during his premiership, in March and in December 1906, remained personally extremely popular, despite his declining popularity in the rest of the Colony. He was described as "a politician of great capacity and, under a quiet demeanour, of great and steady energy"⁷⁷ and "a hard worker of whom Grahamstown and the whole Colony are proud".⁷⁸ He was praised for his "sagacious policy and firm but conciliatory management".⁷⁹

His speech in Grahamstown on 30 March 1906 was well received by a large and enthusiastic audience.⁸⁰ He emphasized the link between the present Progressive Party and Cecil Rhodes, and the aim of the party to

"try and create again a union in this party of English and Dutch, and at the same time, keeping in mind Mr Rhodes' great ideal of upholding the great British Empire."

He dealt with the financial position of the Colony, and declared that the Government had little choice in its actions; he hoped, however, that the budget would be balanced in the following year. Thereafter, he dealt with more positive aspects of the Government's programme, paying particular attention to the fostering of agriculture and the successful

75 GPM, 13 Sept 1907.

76 GPM, 16 Sept 1907.

77 GPM, 30 Aug 1905.

78 GPM, 7 Dec 1906.

79 GTJ, 1 Sept 1906.

80 The speech is reported in detail in GTJ, 31 March 1906 and GPM, 2 April 1906.

Education Act.⁸¹ Jameson looked forward to the federation "we all hope for". His speech was greeted with a qualified expression of support from the Penny Mail, and with adulation from the Journal. The Penny Mail stated that

"Progressive in name and aims, the government really is, but the progress really made is certainly not material well-being, not in trade and commerce, not in general contentment and hopefulness",

and the newspaper drew attention to the general dissatisfaction of the public with the discrepancies between Progressive promises and performance, and the hardships of the depression.⁸² The Journal meanwhile concluded:

"[We] think it will be evident to all that the present Ministry has surpassed every one of its predecessors in the benefits it has secured for the Colony; it has steadily continued to carry out the programme upon which it solicited public support, and it merits more than ever the full confidence of the country."⁸³

Jameson's other public appearance in Grahamstown on 6 December was similarly welcomed. He dwelt chiefly upon the problem of federation, and the difficulties posed by railways, customs and the franchise. He was praised for his concentration on the

"great and necessary measures for the promotion of the prosperity of the country, the healing of racial disagreements, the federation of South Africa, and that ultimate unification of all the Britains on which the strength and safety of the Empire must depend."⁸⁴

This was the sort of political rhetoric that Grahamstown loved.

81 Act 35 of 1905, the School Board Act.

82 GPM, 4 April 1906.

83 GTJ, 5 April 1906.

84 GTJ, 8 Dec 1906.

Grahamstown's political allegiance was never in doubt; this fact was recognized by the decision of the South African Imperial Union to hold its second Congress in the city from 21-23 November 1906.⁸⁵ The first Congress of the Imperial Union had been held in Queenstown in December 1905, and the Congress provided a platform for members of the party to air opinions about issues confronting the party and the country. Grahamstown was represented at the second Congress by H Fitchat, the Mayor, and R J Cogan, the Secretary of the local branch of the Imperial Union.⁸⁶ By all accounts, the meeting was a success, although the absence of Dr Jameson was commented on and regretted.⁸⁷ All aspects of Government policy were aired and discussed. It is unlikely that the assertion of the Journal, that "it can safely be said that the Party was never so united, or so well satisfied with its leaders",⁸⁸ was entirely accurate, in view of the declining support of the Progressives, and the defections from the Party that were to take place in the next few months.

The gradual disenchantment of the country with the Jameson administration reached its climax in 1907. The Government had been at its

85 The Imperial Union replaced the South African League after the election of 1904 and embodied the entire Progressive Party of the Cape within its ranks. Grahamstown had formed a branch at the inception of the organization, and the local branch agreed immediately to press for voters to register, in order that in the event of redistribution, Grahamstown would be entitled to an additional MLA. The first president of the Grahamstown branch was Mr J Slater. GTJ, 23 Jan 1905.

86 GTJ, 24 Nov 1906.

87 Resolutions were taken at the Congress expressing confidence in Jameson and the Prime Minister's office.

CA, PMO 226 1542/06.

Jameson was called upon to tour the Colony as soon as he returned to South Africa. He addressed voters in Grahamstown a fortnight later, on 6 December.

88 GTJ, 24 Nov 1906.

strongest in Parliament after the elections under the Redistribution Act of 1904, but even then had not performed as well as had been hoped or expected. The Journal deplored the "defection" of the Border constituencies, previously "second to none in their loyalty and patriotism", for weakening the ministry, and attacked Queenstown for "wantonly" returning a Bond member, and Kingwilliamstown for sending three representatives "who often vote with the opposition, and are not reliable".⁸⁹ In July 1905, Dr Smartt was shouted down at a meeting in East London.⁹⁰ In a by-election in Victoria East in June 1906, the Government's majority was reduced from 326 to only 7.⁹¹ All these were sure indications of the dissatisfaction with the Government in the country. By the beginning of 1907, the Progressives and their opponents held an equal number of seats in the Legislative Council. Disquiet with the Government was also expressed in Grahamstown, through the pages of the Penny Mail. The newspaper commented on the fact that Dr Jameson "has not been successful in his efforts to effect all round progress for the Cape".⁹² In May 1907, it declared that

"the sooner Dr Jameson and Dr Smartt [sic] are back at their post of duty again, the better for the Colony, for the Progressive Party and for the Government, whose strength is not excessive",

and went on to comment on the activities of the South African Party and the Bond.⁹³ The Cape's financial position proved to be worse than expected in mid-1907, but the newspaper dismissed charges of maladministration against the Government.⁹⁴ An element of doubt in its confidence in Jameson's leadership can be detected in an editorial on the budget, when the opinion was expressed that "office is not essential to his fame, well-being or social importance", but he would be willing

89 GTJ, 22 June 1905.

90 GTJ, 5 July 1905.

91 GTJ, 12 June 1906.

92 GPM, 18 Feb 1907.

93 GPM, 27 May 1907. Both Jameson and Smartt were out of the country.

94 GPM, 16 Aug 1907.

to resign if he were "morally sure that someone else would be better than he and his colleagues have been able to do in combatting financial depression".⁹⁵

In September 1907, the Government was defeated in the Legislative Council, in its failure to carry the Appropriation Bill.⁹⁶ Jameson was forced to capitulate and elections were called. The opposition then allowed the Bill to pass through its stages to allow for the financial administration of the country until after the election. Both Grahamstown newspapers attacked the opposition for its tactics in the Council; the Journal declared the Bond's behaviour was "more worthy of a parcel of schoolboys",⁹⁷ while the Penny Mail argued that the action was "an evil and a danger demanding immediate rectification".⁹⁸ Agreement between the two newspapers ended at this point. The Penny Mail took a far more realistic view of the situation that, while the dissolution of Parliament did not necessarily mean the downfall of the Jameson government, "its success in the pending election is neither certain nor very probable".⁹⁹ The newspaper saw the Government's handling of the depression and the "retrograde" liquor legislation as issues needing explanation from the Progressives, but nonetheless called on the party to organize and unite, and feared that a Bond-dominated Parliament would not be beneficial for South Africa".¹⁰⁰ The Journal,

95 GPM, 19 Aug 1907.

96 The Bill was sent from the Legislative Assembly to the Upper House on 11 September, where deadlock ensued. The Government had a majority of one in the Council; every time, however, the Council went into committee, there was a deadlock, for the opposition was able to outvote the Progressives because the Progressive president of the Council was forced to retire, and the chair was taken by yet another Progressive member, thereby ensuring a Bond majority of one. On 17 September, the Progressives conceded defeat, and elections were called.

97 GTJ, 26 Sept 1907.

98 GPM, 20 Sept 1907.

99 GPM, 23 Sept 1907.

100 GPM, 23 Sept 1907.

on the other hand, argued the Government

"has certainly no cause to fear a meeting with the electorate of the Colony, since their efforts for the reduction of expenditure, for the encouragement of Colonial industries, for the spread of education, and for the extinguishment of racial grudges, have put the doings of all former ministries into the shade."¹⁰¹

Jameson published a letter to the electors of the Colony, outlining the achievements of his Government, and calling for the support of the electorate.¹⁰² He justified his request for the dissolution of Parliament on the grounds that financial chaos would otherwise have resulted. He called for continued support for the Unionist Party,¹⁰³ and claimed that it had "brought about the obliteration of racial differences by the consistent policy of conciliation and moderation", and had done outstanding work in agriculture, industry and commerce.¹⁰⁴

The election campaign in Grahamstown was slow to begin. Jameson announced his intention to seek re-election for the city,¹⁰⁵ but he left South Africa for Rhodesia on 30 September and was away for the next month.¹⁰⁶ H R Wood meanwhile made public his decision not to stand again for Parliament.¹⁰⁷ The Mayor, H Fitchat, declared his intention to stand for Grahamstown; he would stand for the interests of Grahamstown, and was strongly in favour of the present Liquor Act.¹⁰⁸ The Journal launched two attacks on John X Merriman, leader of the South African Party, arguing that his manifesto was merely a reflection of Progressive policy, and accusing him of having sold himself to the

101 GTJ, 26 Sept 1907.

102 GPM, 27 Sept 1907; GTJ, 28 Sept 1907.

103 The Progressives had changed their name to the Unionist Party earlier in 1907.

104 GTJ, 28 Sept 1907.

105 GTJ, 26 Sept 1907.

106 GTJ, 26 Sept 1907.

107 GTJ, 28 Sept 1907.

108 GPM, 27 Sept 1907.

"brandy interest".¹⁰⁹ The latter point was developed further in the next edition of the paper, which declared that his policy

"will destroy all hope of native progress and morality, and by setting white against black, East against West, will revive racial hatred in this land in a most embittered and fatal form."¹¹⁰

Clearly, this was an early attempt to whip up emotion amongst the electorate; it had little effect, for a fortnight later the "tendency to give up the contest, or drift with the current", and the "attitude of perplexity and hesitation, or even apathy and hopelessness" amongst English-speakers was attacked by the newspaper.¹¹¹

The first major political meeting of the campaign in Grahamstown was addressed by Jameson and H R Wood, on 6 November.¹¹² It was well attended, and no decline in support for Jameson could be detected. H R Wood called on the city to continue its support of Jameson, in his brief address. Jameson in turn paid tribute to Wood for having kept him in touch with local issues while he was premier.¹¹³ His speech otherwise dealt with national issues in predictable vein: he called for the extinction of racialism, the promotion of education, the development of farming, mining and commerce, and inter-colonial co-operation on railways and customs. He admitted he had been over-optimistic about the state of the economy, but was no longer so, and he praised the country for having accepted hardship. In dealing with the liquor issue, he argued it was not possible to aid the wine farmers and the temperance movement at once; the party had stood for total prohibition to the "aboriginal native", and had not deviated from that stance. He also dealt with the unification question, and summed up his standpoint with

109 GTJ, 1 Oct 1907.

110 GTJ, 3 Oct 1907.

111 GTJ, 17 Oct 1907.

112 GPM, 6 Nov 1907; GTJ, 7 Nov 1907.

113 Wood's parliamentary career was summed up by the Penny Mail: "If he has no great parliamentary achievement to boast of, there is nothing in his parliamentary career of which he need be ashamed."
GPM, 8 Nov 1907.

the slogan "unification is the ideal, federation is the practical".¹¹⁴

The elections for the Legislative Council took place on 21 January 1908, and their outcome signified the greatness of the swing away from the Unionists. The South African Party won eighteen of the twenty-six seats, to the eight of the Unionists.¹¹⁵ In the South-Eastern Circle, in which Grahamstown was situated, the result proved to be a major reversal for the Unionists. The Journal had mounted a strong campaign on behalf of the Unionist "Ticket of Three", consisting of A Wilmot,¹¹⁶ R Hurndall¹¹⁷ and J Pyott.¹¹⁸ They were opposed by two South African Party farmers, J Daverin and J F Lombard, dubbed the "Ticket of Two". These five contested the four seats allocated to the Circle in the Council. A public meeting in Grahamstown on 15 January addressed by Prof H Fremantle of the South African Party,¹¹⁹ saw a great deal of party

114 GTJ, 7 Nov 1907.

115 Davenport, The Afrikaner Bond, pg 309. Smith, General Elections at the Cape, gives the figures as 17 S.A.P., 8 Unionists and 1 independent.

116 Wilmot had represented the South Eastern Circle for the Progressives since 1899, and had been a strong supporter of Rhodes. He was also President of the Temperance Alliance of South Africa for 20 years. DSAB, Vol II, pgs 849-850.

117 Hurndall was a farmer who had served as a Field-Cornet and J.P. in Jansenville and Aberdeen. He was elected to the Legislative Council in 1903 for the South Eastern Province. South African Who's Who, 1916.

118 Pyott was founder and Managing Director of Pyott Ltd of Port Elizabeth, manufacturer of biscuits. He served on the Port Elizabeth City Council and was elected to the Legislative Council in 1903. South African Who's Who, 1947-48.

119 Fremantle was Professor of English and Philosophy at South African College from 1899-1903 before being elected MLA for Uitenhage in 1903, for the South African Party. At Union he supported General Botha, but broke away with Hertzog in 1913 and was one of the founders of the National Party. He resigned from the Nationalists in 1920. DSAB, Vol I, pgs 302-303.

rivalry, and in fact passed a motion of confidence in the Unionists.¹²⁰ The Journal exploited this, and emphasized the importance of the farmers' vote in the Council elections; but blindly foresaw no problems for the Unionists, because of their record of promotion of the interests of the farmers "by every means in their power".¹²¹ It attacked the Bard "with its little dog South African Party that runs by its side".¹²²

One interesting, if peripheral, feature of the election was the extensive use of the motor car for the first time on the day of the election; the Unionists had over a hundred cars, and the South African Party many more.¹²³ The final result in the South-Eastern Circle was a triumph for the South African Party, whose candidates polled almost double the votes of their opponents.¹²⁴ The two South African Party candidates together won 31 655 votes, as against the combined total of their three Unionist opponents of 25 538. The political impotence of Grahamstown in this election is evident; the number of voters in the city formed a small proportion of the whole Circle. It is also noticeable how well the two South African Party candidates performed in the city.

Another feature of the election from Grahamstown's point of view was the different attitudes of the city's newspapers. The Journal, after its

120 GTJ, 16 Jan 1908.

121 GTJ, 14 Jan 1908.

122 GTJ, 18 Jan 1908.

123 GPM, 22 Jan 1908.

124 The following is a breakdown of the result:

	Daverin (SAP)	Lombard (SAP)	Hurndall (U)	Wilmot (U)	Pyott (U)
Grahamstown	847	927	562	1 196	535
Albany	1 484	1 629	692	1 295	633
Port Elizabeth	5 691	5 006	4 182	4 137	5 579
Uitenhage	2 974	2 971	279	519	276
Victoria East	656	644	279	519	276
Humansdorp	656	1 894	328	229	180
Jansenville	<u>2 523</u>	<u>2 514</u>	<u>501</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>178</u>
Total	16 070	15 585	8 807	8 494	8 259

concentrated attack on the South African Party, totally refrained from commenting on the result. Its sole editorial was a short comment on the result in the Western Circle, where two Unionists and two South African Party candidates were elected. The editor made the point that while there was one Progressive less than before, the party was better off, because the two candidates were loyal adherents and not "political infidels", as the previous members for the Circle had been.¹²⁵ This marked bias was not duplicated by the Penny Mail; in a prominent editorial, the result was greeted as "most remarkable, but easily explicable".¹²⁶ The newspaper called on the Unionists to prepare hard for the Assembly elections.¹²⁷

The result of the Legislative Council elections caused the resignation of Dr Jameson on 31 January.¹²⁸ The fact that this came before the Legislative Assembly elections seemed to come as a surprise, and caused some consternation in Grahamstown. The Penny Mail argued that while Jameson had acted from "reasonable and honourable motives", feeling the country to be strongly against him, his resignation "will encourage the Bond and dishearten the Unionists".¹²⁹ The newspaper again called on the Unionists to form a well-organized opposition to prevent "vicious legislation and retrogressive administration".¹³⁰ The Journal praised the record of the Jameson administration, which retired "with a more honourable and useful record than any of their predecessors", but feared the

"great evils that are sure to follow the unchecked predominance of a party that has shown itself up to the present

125 GTJ, 25 Jan 1908.

126 GPM, 27 Jan 1908.

127 GPM, 29 Jan 1908.

128 B K Ross, A Study of Politics in the Cape Colony from January 1908 to May 1910, unpubl. MA thesis, University of Cape Town, 1950, pg 7.

129 GPM, 3 Feb 1908.

130 GPM, 3 Feb 1908.

moment hostile to the British race and to the Imperial connection."¹³¹

In a letter of explanation to the electorate of Grahamstown, Jameson argued that the will of the country was strongly in favour of the party responsible for "blocking tactics"; and hence he had no choice but to resign. This had to be done without delay, in view of the impending inter-colonial conference on railways and customs, and political union, on which Merriman and his colleagues would have to gather information and formulate policy.¹³² Both newspapers welcomed the letter, and praised Jameson for putting country before party, but the Journal again attacked the Dutch voters for their "racial hostility", as well as

"the conduct of a large portion of the inhabitants of the towns, who are mostly of the British race, [which] has been not merely ungrateful, but blind to their own interests."¹³³

The electoral contest in Grahamstown shaped up in the immediate wake of the resignation of the Government. Jameson and Fitchat were formally nominated by the Unionists at a party meeting,¹³⁴ while two local men, J Hemming and G D Atherstone, were put forward as the South African Party candidates.¹³⁵ These latter two addressed an enthusiastic meeting in the Shaw Hall on 12 February, but received a merciless reception from the Journal which chastised them for producing nothing more than

"a few generalities, a shame-faced apology for the lack of any programme or policy to put before the country, and a

131 GTJ, 1 Feb 1908

132 GPM, 5 Feb 1908; GTJ, 6 Feb 1908

133 GTJ, 8 Feb 1908

134 GTJ, 1 Feb 1908

135 GTJ, 8 Feb 1908. Hemming was a retired Resident Magistrate for Grahamstown, and a former member of the City Council. Atherstone had also served on the City Council in 1906 and 1907 and was an engineer.

vigorous exhibition of energy at the pump-handle."¹³⁶

The newspaper gleefully reprinted a comment of the Diamond Fields Advertiser, which described Hemming as a "fossilized platitudinarian in his anecdotage".¹³⁷ G D Atherstone withdrew from the election before nomination day, leaving the contest for Grahamstown's representation between two Unionists and one South African Party candidate.¹³⁸

On 2 March, Jameson addressed an election meeting in Grahamstown.¹³⁹ He called for a strong opposition in the Legislative Assembly, and devoted much of his time to the issue of federation. He assured voters of his continued loyal allegiance to the British crown, and his commitment of the fostering of goodwill between the two sections of the colonists. It was exactly the sort of political propaganda the Grahamstown electorate enjoyed, and Jameson was warmly received. Fitchat also addressed the meeting, and claimed the great strength of the Unionist party was its concern for racial peace and harmony.¹⁴⁰ The two Unionist candidates, both strong contenders for the seats, addressed a further rally on 11 March.¹⁴¹

The South African Party held a meeting on 9 March which was addressed by Hemming and the new Colonial Secretary, Frederic de Waal. It was a rowdy meeting, and was characterized by heckling from Rhodes University College students.¹⁴² The South African Party was attacked for its

136 GTJ, 15 Feb 1908.

137 GTJ, 22 Feb 1908.

138 GPM, 26 Feb 1908.

139 GPM, 4 March 1908. It was described as "one of the greatest and best of political meetings in the town".

140 Fitchat had been Chairman of the Committee to re-elect Arthur Douglass in 1903. He explained that he had never been a member of the Bond, and his greatest fear, the influence of De Beers, had been quelled by the Progressive-imposed tax on the Company.

GPM, 4 March 1908.

141 GTJ, 12 March 1908.

142 GTJ, 10 March 1908.

inactivity in the constituency, and the claim was made that Hemming had only courted coloured and black voters, and not whites.¹⁴³ No reports of such election meetings have been found, but if they did take place, it would fit in with Merriman's desire to attract the black vote.¹⁴⁴

The Unionists won the seat comfortably. Fitchat emerged at the top of the poll with 822 votes; Jameson won 785 and Hemming 465.¹⁴⁵ 1 231 voters, from a roll of 1 829 names, cast their ballots.¹⁴⁶ The result was greeted with satisfaction by the Unionist press, which praised voters for their "firm adherence to the principles that have always guided the city"¹⁴⁷ and for the example set to the rest of the Colony.¹⁴⁸

The rest of the Colony declined to follow the example of Grahamstown; in fact, the South African Party won the greatest majority of any party since the grant of responsible government in 1872.¹⁴⁹ They won sixty-nine seats, to the thirty-three of the Unionists and five independents. In Albany, Advocate V Sampson, Jameson's Attorney-General, was defeated,

143 GTJ, 7 March 1908 - letter from "street critic" to Editor.

144 Ross, Politics in the Cape, pg 5.

145 A detailed breakdown of the results is as follows:

Jameson	15
Fitchat	17
Hemming	326
Jameson and Fitchat	718
Jameson and Hemming	52
Fitchat and Hemming	87

146 List of persons residing in the Electoral Division of Grahamstown, 1907, CA, CCP 11/1/52.

147 GTJ, 14 March 1908.

148 GPM, 13 March 1908.

149 Siepmann, Leander Starr Jameson, pg 210.

and the constituency returned a candidate of each party.¹⁵⁰

The depression, coupled with the fiscal policies of the Jameson government, was the most prominent cause in the defeat of the Unionists.

There were other contributory factors. The grudge of disenfranchisement remained amongst the Boer rebels, who were keen to vote against the party that had opposed their interests. The Progressives never rid themselves of the taint of jingoism and racism. The party fulfilled few of its 1904 pledges. Its organisation was not as strong as it had been in 1903/1904, and party unity and loyalty was weak. Jameson himself had become personally unpopular, not least for his frequent absences from the Cape, for health reasons as well as for De Beers and British South Africa Company business.¹⁵¹ His roots were never in South Africa; F S Malan observed that Jameson "visits the Colony in order to attend Parliament".¹⁵² All these factors resulted in the election of a strong government under Merriman.¹⁵³

The first matter confronting Merriman was the Customs Convention, held in Pretoria in May 1908, to discuss railway and tariff matters.¹⁵⁴ The

150 The result was:

W Thomas (U)	808
F Douglass (SAP)	795
V Sampson (U)	782
A Grobbelaar (SAP)	699

This was in marked contrast to the 1904 result:

V Sampson (P)	996
W Thomas (P)	985
Lombard (SAP)	551
A Grobbelaar (SAP)	541

GPM, 3 April 1908.

151 Jameson was out of the Cape Colony from July-October 1904; July 1905-January 1906; August-November 1906; March-June 1907. Siepmann, Leander Starr Jameson, pg 214.

152 The comment was made by Malan in a speech in East London, and quoted in the Cape Times, 4 Oct 1906.

153 For an account of Merriman's life, see P Lewsen, John X Merriman : Paradoxical South African Statesman.

154 See Hatherley, The Effects of the Depression, pgs 88-90.

conflicting interests of the Cape and Transvaal were not resolved; the Transvaal opposed the Cape's desire to increase railway and customs duties to cover deficits and equalize revenue and expenditure on the grounds that it would increase the cost of living. It was agreed that existing fiscal arrangements would remain in force until 30 June 1909. Merriman also set about trying to effect a recovery in the finances of the Cape. This had to be done against a background of severe financial recession in the United States, Britain and Germany in 1907/1908, which caused a diamond slump, and forced De Beers to cease production on 1 August 1908, and discharge 20 000 employees.¹⁵⁵ Merriman's proposals to restore the finances of the Colony did not win him popularity,¹⁵⁶ but his determination to stand by them revealed his courage, and led to a restoration of confidence in the Cape by investors. By the time of Union, Merriman succeeded in balancing revenue and expenditure, despite the grave economic situation facing his Government when it took office.¹⁵⁷ While he was assisted by the revival of commerce and other favourable economic circumstances, his financial skill in the two years of his premiership was evident.

Hostility to Merriman's taxation proposals was evident in Grahamstown. A protest meeting passed a resolution condemning taxation on incomes of under £200 because of its effects on the working classes, and called instead for duties on colonial-made cigarettes, and increased duties on foreign articles.¹⁵⁸ The meeting, called and managed by the local Unionist organisation, also expressed its support for Mr Fitchat in his

155 Hatherley, The Effects of the Depression, pg.92

156 Merriman's most unpopular measure was his proposal to impose income tax, including a tax of 10/- on incomes between £50 and £100 per annum, from which he hoped to raise £550 000. This was eventually passed after bitter debate on 13 August 1908. Merriman's special Retrenchment Bill, involving the reduction of the salaries of civil servants by 5%, was passed on 30 July. Other proposals, to tax patent and proprietary medicines, and increase fees for general dealers' and game licences, were also passed. Hatherley, The Effects of the Depression, pgs 92-97.

157 Hatherley, The Effects of the Depression, pg 121.

158 GPM, 24 July 1908; GTJ, 25 July 1908.

opposition to the measures.¹⁵⁹

From 1908, the issue of unification was the dominant political issue, and discussion of it was a strong national matter, as well as an absorbing local issue in Grahamstown. The subject was not new to South African politics; ideas had been suggested since the end of the South African War. With the arrival of Lord Selborne in April 1905,¹⁶⁰ the problems attached to federation and unification were more clearly enunciated. The Journal supported Selborne's initiatives in favour of colonial unification, particularly on economic grounds, but even at this stage isolated the disparity in area of the colonies as the greatest practical difficulty, and suggested that the Cape ought to enter any proposed scheme of union as two or three separate states.¹⁶¹ After the publication of the Selborne Memorandum, the economic advantages, as well as the attraction of common defence and a uniform policy towards blacks, led the Journal to conclude that "only by federation can stability be obtained".¹⁶² The franchise issue, which was to be one of the major points of friction at the National Convention, was isolated as a non-negotiable factor; it was supported by the Journal on the grounds that Rhodes' policy of "equal rights for all civilized men" had to be adhered to in the interests of a successful federation.¹⁶³

Once the heat of the 1908 election had settled, the problems attached to the proposals for federation were more sharply defined. Grahamstown supported the call of Jameson that unification was the ideal, but federation was the practical goal.¹⁶⁴ Impetus for closer union between the States came with the inter-colonial conference in Pretoria in May 1908. Accompanying it was suspicion and some opposition in Grahamstown.

159 Jameson was out of the country.

160 DSAB, Vol II, pg. 531-532. Selborne succeeded Milner as High Commissioner for South Africa.

161 GTJ, 18 Apr 1907

162 GTJ, 11 July 1907

163 GTJ, 12 Nov 1907

164 GTJ, 31 March 1908. The editorial cited Canada, Australia, the United States, Mexico and Brazil as places where practical federation schemes were successfully operating.

Anxiety that the "three Boer governments"¹⁶⁵ would endeavour to "shape [federation] and force it on the South African public before changes take place in the balance of politics" was expressed.¹⁶⁶ Once again, the desire to divide the Cape was put forward:

"Our colony is too large and wealthy, and far too ahead of the others, to come in as one state."¹⁶⁷

The old separatist theme was echoed in the remainder of the editorial.¹⁶⁸ It was argued that the previous forty years had witnessed the Eastern Province being "fatally hampered" by "ill-asserted union in which it has been condemned"; had the Province controlled its own destiny, its population would have increased, there would be no diseased flocks, no danger of "a deluge of brandy to destroy the natives", a growth in industrial power would have taken place, and the "loyal population would not have been dragged into a costly and disastrous war".¹⁶⁹ The familiar theme of deliberate economic subordination to the West is clear. The Journal expressed fear that the Liberal Government in England and Dutch nationalism together would dictate the pace and nature of unification, and called for

"if necessary a distinct refusal of the East to be forced into any federation whereby its freedom will be impaired, or its progress obstructed".¹⁷⁰

In a discussion of the franchise question, it was firmly stated that the Cape franchise could not be extended north of the Orange River because "the bulk of [the natives are] the merest barbarians". As a way out of the forecast impasse, the newspaper suggested that:

"Either the natives should ... elect a certain number of members for themselves, and ... not vote with the colonists;

165 Transvaal, Orange Free State and Cape Colony.

166 GTJ, 9 May 1908.

167 GTJ, 9 May 1908.

168 The most recent study of Eastern separatism in the nineteenth century is B Le Cordeur, The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism 1820-1854.

169 GTJ, 9 May 1908.

170 GTJ, 14 May 1908.

or else some subordinate Council must be allotted to them, to deal with their own affairs under necessary limitations."¹⁷¹

In a more honest moment, the Journal expressed anxiety about the numerical strength of the black vote should the Cape franchise be extended, but continued to justify its retention in the Cape alone.¹⁷² Franchise questions were key to the Journal's concern about union, because the proposal of the Transvaal to have "one vote, one value" in equal constituencies amongst whites, would mean a distinct weakening of Grahamstown's influence, such as it was. It was pointed out that the inland areas of the Cape would suffer seriously in any new delimitation along these lines.¹⁷³ Throughout all this speculation, the Penny Mail remained silent.

A meeting of about thirty people, about one-third of whom were members of the Chamber of Commerce, on 16 July agreed to form a Closer Union Association in Grahamstown, in affiliation with the association in Cape Town.¹⁷⁴ Prof. Macfadyen and Mr J Slater were appointed to formulate a constitution for the Association. The formation of the association was welcomed, and was encouraged to examine the implications of unification for existing interests in Grahamstown and the Cape generally.¹⁷⁵ This inaugural meeting was followed immediately by a lecture on the differences between unification and federation by Advocate V Sampson,¹⁷⁶ in which he argued in favour of federation.¹⁷⁷ The Journal attacked

171 GTJ, 19 May 1908. The editorial displays chilling insight into future twentieth century developments.

172 GTJ, 18 June 1908. The editorial claimed that "the natives have no such grip of civilized ideas, no such initiative of improvement, no such balance and enlightenment as would fit them for the franchise".

173 GTJ, 21 May 1908.

174 GPM, 17 July 1908; GTJ, 18 July 1908.

175 GTJ, 18 July 1908.

176 He was the former Progressive MLA for Albany, and Jameson's Attorney-General.

177 GTJ, 30 July 1908.

Sampson for advocating a system whereby each province would retain its franchise qualifications upon federation or unification; the Cape would then "still be exposed to the growing evil of being flooded with the native vote".¹⁷⁸

The Grahamstown Closer Union Society was formally constituted on 16 September 1908.¹⁷⁹ Two leading Unionists in the city, J Slater and H J Sole, both expressed misgivings about the possibility of union, on the grounds that it might demand a submergence of British feelings and ideas.¹⁸⁰ A committee was elected at a meeting of the Society the following week.¹⁸¹ J Slater then addressed the meeting, and spoke emphatically in favour of federation rather than unification. He warned against the folly of leaping out of "the frying pan of depression into the fire of Unification". He called upon the Eastern Province to "reassert its dormant right of a separate existence", and enter the federation as a separate state. He argued that the 1872 constitution was forced on the Cape to its detriment, and against the will of the Eastern Province: it was a

"Unification in the Cape Colony under almost exactly the same conditions as those under which it is now proposed to unify the whole of British South Africa."¹⁸²

H Fitchat, Grahamstown's MLA, was present at the meeting and, in

178 GTJ, 4 Aug 1908. The newspaper continued to advocate separate Councils for blacks, subject to the Federal Parliament, or else blacks electing a fixed quota of representatives to the Parliament: "No one but a fool or a traitor" would admit them on equal terms to the franchise.

179 GTJ, 17 Sept 1908.

180 GTJ, 17 Sept 1908.

181 GTJ, 24 Sept 1908. The Committee consisted of:

President	D Knight
Vice President	Dr Bruce-Bays
Executive Committee	W R Lloyd; H F Oliver; W L H Brooks; J Slater; Adv. McCausland

182 GTJ, 24 Sept 1908.

advocating unification rather than federation despite difficulties this posed, called for acceptance of Dutch sincerity, that they indeed wanted to build up a nation of South Africans under the flag of the British Empire.¹⁸³ The mood of the meeting was evidently against him: the Penny Mail commented that "racial feeling was uppermost at the meeting", and expressed the opinion that anyone who had hoped to be enlightened on the issue of unification must have come away "profoundly disappointed".¹⁸⁴ The theme of a separate Eastern Province was picked up by the Journal, which called for the area to enter into federation "as a separate State with its own legislative chamber" and "sufficient powers reserved for the management of its own domestic affairs."¹⁸⁵

The next meeting of the Closer Union Society, on 8 October, was even more divisive.¹⁸⁶ Dr Bruce-Bays presented a paper on the native franchise, in which he dismissed the Cape colour-blind franchise as a "doubtful blessing", as coloured voters could conceivably hold the balance of power in any election.¹⁸⁷ He argued the vote should not be entrusted to blacks and coloureds in their "present stage of mental development", and he advocated a stiffer educational test for black voters, and a separate voters' roll.¹⁸⁸ A lively debate ensued, which was continued at the next meeting on 16 October. Only three members favoured the complete retention of the existing Cape franchise.¹⁸⁹ A motion, proposed by Dr Bruce-Bays, and supported by R J Cogan and H R Wood, to the effect that blacks should be allocated a small number of white representatives in Parliament, for whom they would vote solely, was not put but would probably have been carried.¹⁹⁰ Other people present, notably Mr Fitchat, said that if the colour-blind franchise was to hinder unification, it would have to be modified; S J Helm countered

183 GPM, 25 Sept 1908.

184 GPM, 25 Sept 1908.

185 GTJ, 26 Sept 1908.

186 GPM, 9 Oct 1908.

187 He cited the example of Grahamstown, where the 280 black voters were a significant enough force to do this. GTJ, 13 Oct 1908.

188 GTJ, 13 Oct 1908.

189 Rev S J Helm, P Townshend and G Reynolds, GTJ, 17 Oct 1908

190 GTJ, 17 Oct 1908..

this with the argument that if there was a choice between the two, "unification must go to the dogs".¹⁹¹ The Journal called for alteration of the franchise qualifications, "to preserve the supremacy of the white race", and added that the debates of Parliament were "for the most part beyond native comprehension".¹⁹² The newspaper continued to advocate the creation of separate representation in Parliament or a Council of some sort for blacks, subordinate to the central Parliament.¹⁹³ By the end of the year, it asserted that Rhodes' dictum of "equal rights for all civilized men" applied only to whites, and not to blacks at all.¹⁹⁴ The Journal attacked as a "mischievous error" the idea that black schools should have the same standards and curricula as white schools, and concluded:

"We are ... setting a wrong ideal before the native, imbuing him with a contempt for hard work, and shunting him off the lines of true progress. for a long time to come, he needs "class" treatment in education and legislation; and his political activities should be trained in native councils for the management of his own local affairs, instead of permitting him to vote in white constituencies on questions for which he has no care or aptitude".¹⁹⁵

When the South Africa Act was passed, barring blacks from sitting in the Union House of Assembly, but allowing them to stand for election to the Cape Provincial Council, the Journal deplored the move as a "false step".¹⁹⁶

J G Kotze, the Judge President of the Eastern Districts Court, addressed the Closer Union Society on the legal aspects of unification at the end of October 1908. He emphasized the importance of a carefully drafted

191 GPM, 20 Oct 1908.

192 GTJ, 24 Oct 1908.

193 GTJ, 26 Oct 1908.

194 GTJ, 19 Dec 1908.

195 GTJ, 19 Dec 1908.

196 GTJ, 15 May 1909.

constitution, and called for courts of law to have the testing right.¹⁹⁷ In general, South Africans preferred a flexible constitution; Judge Kotze was the only man to put the case for a rigid constitution cogently before the public.¹⁹⁸ He said the danger of a flexible constitution under which Parliament decided the constitutionality of its own Acts, created the danger that the government of the day might place itself above the constitution. In calling for unification, he was out of step with public opinion in Grahamstown.

Jameson was out of the country from 23 April until 6 October 1908;¹⁹⁹ he returned in time for the National Convention, which began in Durban on 12 October.²⁰⁰ In a letter to his constituents, he explained that he had travelled to Europe for health reasons, and was detained in London by important business.²⁰¹ His absence from Parliament for the whole of the 1908 session was regretted by his constituency.²⁰² Significantly, the Journal, which had ignored the causes of the Unionist defeat in the 1908 elections, criticized the bad management of the party during the campaign.²⁰³ Fitchat had not been idle in Jameson's absence, he initiated a discussion on Rhodes University College, and questioned its

197 GPM, 30 Oct 1908; GTJ, 31 Oct 1908

198 L M Thompson, The Unification of South Africa, pg 100-101. Judge Kotze was quoted as follows by the Cape Times: "When once we have a written constitution, with a clause indicating how alone amendments of it can take place, we shall have a fundamental law, higher in standing and authority than the ordinary laws passed by the Federal Parliament and the local legislatures. To it, all other Acts, whether legislative or executive, will be subordinate, and it will then become the duty, whenever the occasion arises, of the superior Courts of Justice to test the validity of the ordinary laws by reference to the constitution."

Cape Times, 3 Nov 1908.

199 GTJ, 24 April 1908; Thompson, Unification, pg 145.

200 Thompson, Unification, pg 95.

201 GPM, 18 Sept 1908; GTJ, 22 Sept 1908. His business was presumably in connection with the British South African Company.

202 GPM, 12 Aug 1908; GTJ, 22 Sept 1908.

203 GTJ, 22 Sept 1908.

decreased grant when the other three colleges in the Western Cape had received increased funds.²⁰⁴

The choice of a capital for the new Union was a divisive issue at the National Convention, especially after it resumed on 17 January 1909.²⁰⁵ Grahamstown was not without its suggestions to throw into the debate. After it had dismissed Pretoria, because of its links with the Boers, and Cape Town, on the grounds that it was not central, and was liable to attack from the sea, the Journal announced its choice:

"We will say honestly that in our opinion a new site should be fixed upon, somewhere on the south bank of the Orange River."²⁰⁶

The newspaper proceeded to launch an attack on the Transvaal press, for its call for a Transvaal capital, accusing the Witwatersrand of having engineered the whole unification drive in order to gain control of South African finance, railways and harbours.²⁰⁷

The publication of the draft South Africa Act at the beginning of February 1909 put an end to speculation and rumour. The Penny Mail, which had refrained from contributing to the general confusion, argued that the event showed how

"futile have been the efforts of those few writers and speakers who, by a wonderful imagination, have read into the arguments and discussions of the delegates bitter debates, confusion, discontent and dissatisfaction."²⁰⁸

A meeting of the Closer Union Society was called for 9 February, to examine the draft constitution, and was attended by about seventy

204 His contribution was summed up as "without being unduly self-assertive or aggressive, he will not allow any false modesty to keep him silent."

205 Thompson, Unification, pgs 294-305.

206 GTJ, 26 Jan 1909.

207 GTJ, 2 Feb 1909.

208 GPM, 3 Feb 1909.

people.²⁰⁹ An appeal was made for an increase in membership of the Society, so that Grahamstown could have two delegates, and not one, at the forthcoming Closer Union Congress in March. Mr R Hind was elected to represent the Society at this Congress and, should membership reach fifty-one, Adv. McCausland was elected as the second representative.

Dr Jameson visited Grahamstown on 15 February, for the first time since the election, to explain the draft Act.²¹⁰ A motion of support for the draft Act, proposed by the president of the Closer Union Society, was carried at the meeting. The Journal nevertheless found there to be an "invidious distinction" set up between the different courts proposed under Union.²¹¹ Under the draft Act, the supreme courts of each of the colonies were to be classed a provincial division of the Supreme Court of South Africa, and these courts were to supply judges for the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein. The Eastern Districts Court was to be styled a local division of the Supreme Court, and judges of appeal were therefore not to be drawn from it.²¹² The Journal objected to the degrading of the Eastern Districts Court, and insisted that the Eastern Province had a right to have a court equal in numerical strength and judicial ability to that of the West.

The Johannesburg Closer Union Congress on 3 March, at which fifty-one societies were represented, discussed fully the draft Act, and approved a motion of Patrick Duncan that it be accepted. Twenty-five amendments relating to the Senate, distribution of seats, the coloured franchise, finance, Provincial Councils, and procedural issues, were made to the motion, but all were rejected on the grounds of endangering the success of Union.²¹⁴ The Grahamstown Society had managed to increase its membership, for both Hind and McCausland attended the Congress.²¹⁵

209 GTJ, 11 Feb 1909.

210 GTJ, 16 Feb 1909; GPM, 17 Feb 1909.

211 GTJ, 16 Feb 1909.

212 Thompson, Unification, pgs 260-265.

213 GTJ, 16 Feb 1909.

214 GTJ, 11 March 1909; GTJ, 13 March 1909.

215 GTJ, 13 March 1909.

In Grahamstown, discussion of the Provincial Council proposals embodied in the draft Act led to a new burst of separatist feeling, in the form of calls for a separate Provincial Council for the East. E H Walton²¹⁶ noted the outbreak of the agitation, and argued that it "is perhaps stronger now than it was formerly".²¹⁷ Immediately the draft Act was published, the Penny Mail called for at least two Provincial Councils for the Cape, because of its "unwieldy" size and because of the "very different" conditions between East and West.²¹⁸ As the year progressed, calls became more strident. Mr A Cowie, addressing a meeting of the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce, called for the separation of East and West, with Grahamstown the capital of the East.²¹⁹ He cited the number of voters²²⁰ and the value of property controlled by Divisional Councils²²¹ as factors militating in this direction. Grave worries were expressed about the future position of Grahamstown. Under the draft Act, the Cape was allotted fifty-one constituencies, which implied that a considerable redelimitation was pending. The Journal deplored this for the expected destruction of local representation.²²² The call went out for every person entitled to the franchise to register as voters, for the provisional roll showed a marked fall-off in the number of voters.²²³ By 27 May, 1 560 Grahamstown residents registered as voters, and R J Cogan reported to the Closer Union Society that a number of blacks had been struck off the roll for failing to pay taxes, and for not occupying property to the value of £75.²²⁴ Further signs of dissatisfaction were evident at a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce on 15 April, where it was agreed to appoint a special committee to consider

216 Walton was MLA for Port Elizabeth 1898-1910, and served as Treasurer-General in Jameson's administration. (Thompson, Unification, pg 255).

217 E H Walton, Inner History of the National Convention, pg 227.

218 GPM, 8 March 1909.

219 GPM, 31 March 1909.

220 79 500 in the West; 72 500 in the East.

221 £48 million in the West; £44 million in the East.

222 GTJ, 1 April 1909.

223 There were 1 829 voters in the 1908 election; the provisional roll for Grahamstown showed only 1 471 names. GPM, 7 April 1909.

224 GTJ, 29 May 1909.

the matter of a separate province more fully.²²⁵

The stronger clamour for a separate Provincial Council took place against the background of the consideration of the draft Act by the Cape Parliament in April 1909. The claims of the East were ignored during the debate, and no resolution or amendment was passed.²²⁶ Walton nonetheless remained optimistic about the future division of the Colony, for he concluded that there was no reason why a larger number of provinces "of a convenient size" could not be created after Union, once it was evident that the present provinces were "too unwieldy for satisfactory local self-government".²²⁷

Grahamstown's campaign for a separate Province was halted temporarily over the issue of the status of the Eastern Districts Court. In the draft Act, Section 103 provided for the right of appeal to the Appeal Court; it was amended so that an appeal would instead go to the Cape Town Supreme Court before finally, if necessary, being sent to

225 GTJ, 17 April 1909; GPM, 17 April 1909.

226 The Cape delegates to the National Convention had already shown their strength over the issue. Walton had proposed an amendment to the draft Act which would enable Parliament to divide a Province if it received a petition from fifteen members of the Provincial Council. In the case of the Cape, this was less than one-third of the Council. The other Cape delegates to the Convention, particularly those of the Bond, vehemently opposed this. Sauer remarked that Walton "was the last representative of the political school which fifty years ago wished to divide the East and West Provinces". Maasdorp and van Heerden, two Afrikaner delegates from the Eastern Cape, likewise opposed the amendment and had, in any case, never supported the separatist movement. It therefore failed, and the provision that Parliament could redivide a province on petition of the whole Provincial Council remained.

Walton, Inner Convention, pg 227-228;

Thompson, Unification, pg 255.

227 Walton, Inner Convention, pg 228.

Bloemfontein.²²⁸ This was attacked as being "unnecessary, expensive and inconvenient",²²⁹ and posed a "serious disadvantage to the legal and commercial interests of Grahamstown and the East".²³⁰ A meeting of the Closer Union Society on 27 May passed a resolution supporting the draft Act as amended, but was

"strongly of the opinion that the additional clause to 103, which was made without notice and without consultation with the interests concerned, should be expunged."²³¹

Advocate P C Gane argued that the status of the Eastern Districts Court was reduced to a circuit court under the new draft. Both he and R J Cogan questioned the lack of action by Jameson, and the latter called for a public meeting to consider whether Jameson had fulfilled his promises and obligations to his constituency.²³² The affair was amicably solved; a telegram from the Grahamstown Chamber of Commerce on 28 May, as well as a protest from Judge Kotze to J H de Villiers,²³³ ensured that the wording of the clause was altered, to clarify that appeals from the Eastern Districts Court should go directly to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, and not to Cape Town.²³⁴

Grahamstown's support of the draft Act was thereafter strong. The deputations of W P Schreiner,²³⁵ Dr Abdurahman,²³⁶ and Mohandas Gandhi²³⁷ to England to press for alterations, particularly regarding

228 GTJ, 22 May 1909.

229 GTJ, 29 May 1909.

230 GTJ, 1 June 1909.

231 GPM, 28 May 1909; GTJ, 29 May 1909.

232 GPM, 28 May 1909; GTJ, 29 May 1909.

233 J H de Villiers was President of the National Convention and was to be the first Chief Justice of the Union of South Africa.

234 Thompson, Unification, pg 410 and note 46.

235 A former Prime Minister of the Cape Colony.

236 The President of the coloured African People's Organization.

237 An Indian lawyer, active in South Africa from 1895-1915, before he left for India, where he played a major role in that country's struggle for independence.

black rights, were scorned and opposed by the city's press.²³⁸ Once the Act had been approved by the British Parliament in August 1909,²³⁹ the constituency looked ahead to the advent of Union. It was agreed that the local branch of the Closer Union Society (on the advice of the Cape Town Executive) would dissolve itself once the Act received royal assent, which occurred on 20 September 1909.²⁴⁰ The deficit of £3 in the funds of the Society was "generously defrayed" by Mr Fitchat, MLA.²⁴¹

From an early date, the Grahamstown public realized that the Afrikaner parties would predominate in the new Union. It was assumed that the Cape Unionists would be in opposition, and the nature of this opposition was increasingly under discussion. The state of the Unionist Party was a subject of concern for, with Jameson yet again abroad, the Party was leaderless at an important time. The Journal called for party reorganization to be accomplished fast, even before the return of Jameson.²⁴² The newspaper called for the formation of an eastern party, especially if the Unionists were slow to act;²⁴³ it was even speculated that such a party might join Natal.²⁴⁴

Jameson was not idle in his absence from South Africa. He and Louis Botha had become friendly during the National Convention, and he decided to use his influence with Botha in an attempt to reorientate South

238 GTJ, 17 June 1909; GPM, 19 July 1909

239 Thompson, Unification, Chronology Chart, pg xv.

240 Thompson, Unification, Chronology Chart, pg xv.

241 GTJ, 15 July 1909.

242 GTJ, 11 Sept 1909; GTJ, 14 Sept 1909; GTJ, 30 Nov 1909.

243 GTJ, 7 July 1909.

244 GTJ, 30 Nov 1909.

African politics.²⁴⁵ Jameson campaigned around South Africa at the beginning of 1910 to discover the extent of support for his "best-man government" plan. Grahamstown supported the idea; the Journal argued that a wholly Afrikaner ministry "appears to us a defiance of reason and a courting of disaster".²⁴⁶ Jameson's speech in Cape Town on 9 February, in which he spoke of his links with Botha and the obstacles posed by Merriman, was supported in Grahamstown.²⁴⁷ By mid-March, it was clear that Botha would be unable to include any Progressive or Unionist politician in the first Union cabinet, after the Het Volk Congress on 22 March did not support the idea of an English/Dutch coalition. Thompson argues that Botha probably realized this would happen, but had hoped his negotiations with Jameson would prove successful, and found it difficult to extract himself from them.²⁴⁸

Plans were thereafter made to amalgamate the Cape Unionists, the Transvaal Progressives and the Orange Free State Constitutionalists. Jameson was reluctant to accept the leadership of a new united Unionist Party, but was persuaded otherwise.²⁴⁹ He announced the formation of the new party on 24 May 1910, after 112 delegates from three provinces met in Bloemfontein.²⁵⁰ The formation of the new party was welcomed by

245 Jameson and Botha met in Scotland on holiday at Nairn, in September 1909. They agreed on one broad objective, that they would campaign together against Anglo/Boer racialism, but no specific policy guidelines came out of the meeting. Jameson returned to Cape Town in November and, at Botha's invitation, went to Pretoria for further talks. Jameson left with the impression that Botha was willing to try to form a Cabinet including him and other English South Africans. This he dubbed "best-man government". Thompson, Unification, pg 434f.

246 GTJ, 6 Jan 1910.

247 GTJ, 12 Feb 1910; GPM, 14 Feb 1910; GTJ, 17 Feb 1910.

248 Thompson, Unification, pgs 447-448.

249 Jameson's health was deteriorating. It was also reported that he was weary of South African politics and he wished to concentrate on the affairs of the British South Africa Company.

250 Thompson, Unification, pgs 460-461. Natal sent a few observers but the province was unwilling to commit itself further at this stage.

the Grahamstown press.²⁵¹

Grahamstown had meanwhile set about securing a representative in the new House of Assembly. The city's influence was radically altered in the new dispensation; before 1910, Grahamstown had two representatives in the Cape Legislative Assembly, as did Albany. The two areas were merged for electoral purposes, and allocated only one representative in the Union Parliament. On 16 September 1909, a meeting of Jameson's political supporters took place in Grahamstown, where it was reported that he was willing to stand for the new Albany constituency.²⁵² Jameson's two former parliamentary colleagues, Fitchat and Wood, proposed and seconded his candidature, and an executive committee was formed to secure his election, and especially to obtain the co-operation of Albany and Bathurst electors.²⁵³ A meeting of farmers in Bathurst the following month, under the chairmanship of T T Hoole, President of the Upper Albany Farmers' Association, agreed to work for Jameson's election.²⁵⁴ Fitchat's decision not to oppose Jameson was welcomed.²⁵⁵ The Penny Mail praised Jameson's character, ability and his efforts to terminate racialism, as well as his "profound interest in, and liberality to, the Rhodes University College". The newspaper did comment on his frequent absences from South Africa, his health and his commitments to the administration of the Rhodes bequest and the British South Africa Company, as factors suggesting Jameson was not a "model MP", and the fact that these prevented him from concentrating on Grahamstown and local affairs.²⁵⁶ During a brief visit to his constituency in December 1909, Jameson assured his supporters of his desire to seek election and stated he would not accept any other offer

251 GTJ, 26 May 1910; GPM, 27 May 1910.

252 GPM, 17 Sept 1909; GTJ, 18 Sept 1909. It was stated at the meeting that Jameson wished to retain his links with Grahamstown until Rhodes University College was established on a firm basis.

253 The Executive Committee consisted of H Fitchat, H R Wood, T H Grocott, J Slater, D Knight, C Gowie, R J Cogan and L Bayne.

254 GPM, 6 Oct 1909; GTJ, 7 Oct 1909.

255 GPM, 20 Sept 1909.

256 GPM, 20 Sept 1909.

to contest another seat.²⁵⁷

Dissatisfaction with the proposed Provincial Council continued to simmer in Grahamstown, despite the support given to the South African Act and Union. The fact that the Administrator would be appointed and not elected was disliked, as was the provincial executive of five members. The eligibility of blacks for the Council was also protested against.²⁵⁸ The Journal supported a call of the Daily Dispatch, that every Eastern candidate standing for election to the Provincial Council should undertake to sign a petition asking for the division of the Cape.²⁵⁹ The newspaper scorned the S A News and Ons Land for deprecating rumours of separation.²⁶⁰ Merriman was attacked as an "example of the utter incapability of Western politicians to understand the just claims of the East", after he had described the call for separation as a "mischievous and dangerous cry".²⁶¹

The ire of the East was strongly aroused after the Cape Parliament met for the last time to elect eight senators for the Province to sit in the new Union Senate. Of the eight elected, seven were Dutch, members of the Bond and from the West; the only Eastern member, and Unionist, was A J Fuller.²⁶² The result was greeted as a foretaste of the future for the East under Union; the East had been "flouted and ignored".²⁶³ The Unionists were warned that unless the party reorganized and worked vigorously, it would perform poorly in the general election.²⁶⁴ Mass meetings were called to counter the "gross neglect" of the Eastern Province and action taken to rectify what was "tantamount to a carefully

257 GPM, 13 Dec 1909; GTJ, 14 Dec 1909.

258 GTJ, 20 Jan 1910

259 GTJ, 15 Feb 1910

260 GTJ, 24 Feb 1910

261 GTJ, 5 April 1910

262 Fuller had been Secretary for Agriculture in the Jameson government.

263 GTJ, 12 April 1910. The Bond was attacked by the Journal for "empty talk" of coalition, and for conducting the Senate elections on narrow party lines.

264 GPM, 13 April 1910

planned insult".²⁶⁵ Mr Justice Graham asked whether Grahamstown and the East were to continue being governed by the West, or

"are we to become the centre of a new province, the home of a vigorous, strong, God-fearing people, loyal to our Union, loving South Africa and honouring the King?"²⁶⁶

Proponents of an Eastern Province claimed they were neither sectarian, nor were they working for the disintegration of the Union. Jameson's support was also claimed; it was known that "he favours the Eastern Province being given a free hand in the management of its own internal affairs".²⁶⁷

A meeting of Unionist supporters elected Fitchat and P C Gane to the Congress in Bloemfontein in May which met to form the Unionist Party of South Africa.²⁶⁸ The delegates were instructed to make it clear that while the constituency was loyal to the party on all general points, they reserved the right to make every effort at the earliest possible date to secure for the Eastern Province a provincial government of its own, and that on this question, should it be necessary, they reserved the right to independence from the party. The delegates were requested to make arrangements at the Congress by which temporary representatives from as many centres as possible could be found to support an Eastern Province movement, pending the formation of a more formal association.²⁶⁹

Despite this incipient unease and restlessness, Grahamstown agreed to participate in the celebration of Union. A public meeting, attended by eighty people, elected a committee to plan the celebrations, and resolved to approach the City Council for a grant of £200 for the purpose.²⁷⁰ The Journal called on the public to contemplate the

265 GPM, 20 April 1910.

266 GPM, 4 May 1910

267 GPM, 6 May 1910

268 H F Oliver was elected in place of Fitchat should it be discovered that Fitchat would be an ex officio delegate. Fitchat was, by virtue of his membership of the Cape Parliament.

269 GTJ, 3 May 1910

270 GTJ, 30 April 1910

significance of Union, but warned there was "no need to be lavish", and argued that £50 would be sufficient to celebrate.²⁷¹ Union was celebrated in Grahamstown, although quietly.²⁷² The Penny Mail warned that the English should "especially guard against morbid sensitiveness".²⁷³ Grahamstown thus entered Union in full support of its broad principles, but discontent lay just beneath the surface.

The precise strength of this discontent was soon to emerge, and the next months saw the last gasps of Eastern Cape separatism that had been so much more articulate and powerful in the nineteenth century.²⁷⁴ A formal movement grew out of the speculation and dissatisfaction of the previous eighteen months; after a brief exposure, it was destroyed. Grahamstown's fortunes were closely bound up with the movement, and its failure was ultimately the result of Grahamstown's political insignificance in the new Union.

Two days after the inauguration of Union, on 2 June, fifty leading citizens of Grahamstown met to form the Eastern Province Association.²⁷⁵ Its purpose was to campaign for a separate Provincial Council and Administrator for the Eastern districts of the Cape.²⁷⁶ Membership was open to all adults, irrespective of political persuasion, on payment of an annual subscription fee of one shilling. A resolution was passed

271 GTJ, 30 April 1910.

272 Church services were held, including a united service at the Commemoration Methodist Church; the Judge President delivered an address to the town; an evening concert took place, and there were celebrations in schools.

GTJ, 31 May 1910; GPM, 1 June 1910; GTJ, 2 June 1910.

273 GPM, 1 June 1910.

274 B A Le Cordeur, The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism 1820-1854, argues that Eastern separatism "effectively expired" in the 1870's. While this is true, this outbreak of hostility to a united Cape Province is best interpreted in the light of the nineteenth century movement.

275 GPM, 3 June 1910; GTJ, 4 June 1910.

276 See Appendix D for the manifesto of the Eastern Province Association.

calling on all mayors, chairmen of management boards, presidents of farmers' associations and all political groups in the Eastern Province to call meetings to form branches, and elect delegates for a conference to be held in the near future. A President and Committee were elected.²⁷⁷ A large public meeting, addressed by Adv F A Hutton, was held in the City Hall on 7 June, where a motion was passed unanimously supporting the formation of the Association and its goals.²⁷⁸ Five more people were elected to the Executive.²⁷⁹ "The days of pious resolutions are over" was the bold declaration of the Journal;²⁸⁰ both local newspapers pledged full support and emphasized the non-party character of the Association.²⁸¹

The formation of the new political association attracted attention throughout South Africa, and Grahamstown's newspapers carried extracts of editorial comment from many other newspapers. Many Eastern Cape newspapers supported the movement, notably the Port Elizabeth Eastern Province Herald, the Uitenhage Uitenhage Times, the Kingwilliamstown Cape Mercury and the East London Daily Dispatch. Cape Town's newspapers, the Cape Times and the Cape Argus, were both hostile, especially the former, and the Bond-controlled South African News was

277 President: F A Hutton
 Vice-Presidents: The Mayor; the Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce; Presidents of all Albany and Bathurst Farmers Associations; J Hemming; J Slater; T H Grocott; R Hind; J R Shaw; W R Lloyd; J W Bayes.
 Secretary: P Townshend
 Treasurer: H Fitchat
 Executive Committee: J Slater; R Hind; J Bayes; P C Gane; D Knight; F van der Riet; H R Wood; C C Currey; T H Grocott.

278 GPM, 8 June 1910; GTJ, 9 June 1910

279 R C Matthews (Salem); J C Fletcher (Fish River); W R Lloyd, S Smith (President of the Bathurst Farmers' Association), Mrs L L Giddy (to represent ladies).

280 GTJ, 9 June 1910

281 GTJ, 23 June 1910; GPM, 24 June 1910

similarly against it. The Kimberley Diamond Fields Advertiser opposed the movement on the grounds that it would weaken Union. The Johannesburg Rand Daily Mail said there was much to be said for it, as did Durban's Natal Witness.²⁸²

Branches of the movement were formed in other centres. Stutterheim formed the first.²⁸³ Others were founded at Trappes' Valley,²⁸⁴ Bathurst,²⁸⁵ Port Alfred,²⁸⁶ Uitenhage,²⁸⁷ Southwell,²⁸⁸ Sevenfountains,²⁸⁹ Kei Road,²⁹⁰ and Komgha.²⁹¹ A meeting of seventy people in Adelaide supported the aims of the Association, but no branch was formed.²⁹² Many of these meetings were addressed by Grahamstown leaders. It is significant, however, that while newspapers of other major centres in the Eastern Province supported the movement, no other branches were formed. Port Elizabeth, Kingwilliamstown, Queenstown and East London remained aloof, presumably awaiting developments (if indeed there was widespread sympathy with the aims of the Association); and when the essentially local movement began to crumble shortly after its inception, it was dismissed as a relevant political force. One key reason why the Association never achieved anything was the fact that the major cities of the East did not lend support. The other was the role of Jameson, and the Unionist Party, in the movement, which never attained the "non-party" character it claimed; it remained almost exclusively English-speaking and Grahamstown-based.

The first indication of tension among the Grahamstown Unionists was at the report-back meeting of the two delegates who had attended the

282 GPM, 13 June 1910; GTJ, 28 June 1910.

283 GPM, 13 June 1910.

284 GTJ, 25 June 1910.

285 GPM, 6 July 1910.

286 GPM, 6 July 1910.

287 GTJ, 5 July 1910.

288 GPM, 22 July 1910.

289 GTJ, 28 July 1910.

290 GTJ, 6 Aug 1910.

291 GPM, 15 Aug 1910.

292 GTJ, 23 July 1910.

Unionist Party Congress in Bloemfontein on 23-24 May.²⁹³ Although their report was adopted, protests were registered by Adv. Gane that the delegates had not pressed Eastern claims, as deliberately instructed to continue. The delegates argued that to have forwarded Eastern claims, however legitimate, would have hindered the main thrust of the meeting, and they did not want to give the Association a party bias, which Unionist approval would have done. The differences were papered over, and a branch of the new party was formally inaugurated in Grahams-town.²⁹⁴

Controversy burst into the open with the arrival of Jameson and Smartt²⁹⁵ in Grahamstown on 6 July.²⁹⁶ Jameson met his executive committee the next morning, in an obvious attempt to bring them into line. He then proceeded to tour his constituency, visiting Port Alfred, Southwell, Bathurst, Martindale and Trappes' Valley. He intimated he would not address a public meeting "until the course of events had somewhat developed itself", and his visit was "in the interests of the Unionist Party generally".²⁹⁷

In Bathurst, Jameson declared the agitation for separation of local government was "badly and prematurely organized". He announced that he failed to see what could be derived from it, and he advised local townsmen to take no active part in the movement, which he hoped would "fizzle out".²⁹⁸ He repeated these sentiments in Port Alfred two days later.²⁹⁹

An intense political dispute, such that Grahamstown had not witnessed since the Douglass controversy of 1903/1904, developed. Jameson was

293 GPM, 24 June 1910; GTJ, 25 June 1910.

294 The new Executive Committee consisted of H R Wood, R J Cogan, H F Oliver, Adv P C Gane, H Fitchat, Adv Stapleton and B E Gill.

295 Sir Thomas Smartt acted as party leader in Jameson's absence.

296 GTJ, 7 July 1910; GPM, 8 July 1910.

297 GTJ, 9 July 1910.

298 GPM, 13 July 1910; GTJ, 14 July 1910.

299 GPM, 15 July 1910.

attacked for speaking outside of the city.³⁰⁰ Reports about his exact statement were confused; a letter from G Heathcote³⁰¹ argued that while Jameson did consider the movement premature, he did not wish it to collapse but merely to proceed carefully.³⁰² The Penny Mail then revealed that a confidential meeting, at which no vote was taken, had taken place between Jameson and the executive of the Eastern Province Association on 8 July.³⁰³ Jameson had claimed that he could not support the Association because it would damage the fortunes of the Unionists in the Western Cape; despite claims to have a non-party bias, with its strong Grahamstown affiliations, it would be indelibly marked with Unionist principles. He favoured the creation of rural councils, and admitted the right of local self-government and devolution. The executive of the Association had subsequently met and was opposed to Jameson's position.³⁰⁴

Adv Gane launched a bitter attack on Jameson.³⁰⁵ He strongly defended the Association, claiming it was better organized than the Unionists on a local level, by unpaid officers and without funds of any political party. The bulk of the Association's funds came from the first public meeting, when nineteen members contributed £37. Subscriptions were received from other centres: Umtata, Imvani, Maclear, Bayville, Salem and Mqavduli.³⁰⁶ Gane questioned Jameson's initial statements in favour of the movement, and his withdrawal because of the evident hostility of the West. He concluded by issuing a warning to Jameson:

"His recent action has in fact made his unopposed return almost an impossibility, and has greatly imperilled his return at all."³⁰⁷

300 GPM, 15 July 1910.

301 President of the Bathurst Branch of the Association.

302 GTJ, 16 July 1910.

303 GPM, 15 July 1910.

304 GPM, 15 July 1910.

305 GPM, 15 July 1910. P C Gane to Editor.

306 The total expenses of the Association eventually totalled £53. GTJ, 28 March 1912.

307 GPM, 15 July 1910.

Several other letters attacking Jameson were published, and there were calls for an alternative Unionist candidate for the constituency in the forthcoming election.³⁰⁸ The Penny Mail attacked a leader in the Cape Argus which praised Jameson for his "wise decision" in "throttling the inopportune movement in the East in favour of separation", which had "no solid foundations" and was started by a "few impulsive persons".³⁰⁹ The Mail argued that the bulk of Grahamstown's leaders, with the support of a large public meeting, had inaugurated the movement, which was not separatist; the Eastern Province wished to remain an integral part of the Union.³¹⁰

Despite the upsurge of hostility towards Jameson, the mortal blow to the Association had been struck; any chance of achievement of its objective in the foreseeable future had been destroyed. The Association's executive met on 21 July, and publicized its position, which was accepted by eight votes to three:

"That the Executive of the Eastern Province Association reaffirms its entirely non-political character, and decides that it will not ask the Rt. Hon. Dr Jameson, at this stage, to pledge his support to the movement."

Both H Fitchat and Adv Gane announced their resignations from the executive after the meeting.³¹¹

A crucial meeting of the Association, at which a motion of no confidence in the Executive was proposed, was held at the beginning of August.³¹² It was a rowdy meeting, characterized by "thumping with sticks, vociferous applause, and derisive laughter".³¹³ After three hours, the

308 Letters from C J Gardiner , G W Heathcote (GPM, 15 July 1910) and from D Grant Lodge and 3 anonymous contributions (GPM, 18 July 1910).

309 Cape Argus, 15 July 1910, quoted by GPM, 20 July 1910.

310 GPM, 20 July 1910.

311 GTJ, 23 July 1910.

312 GTJ, 4 Aug 1910; GPM, 5 Aug 1910.

313 GTJ, 4 Aug 1910.

Executive's decision was endorsed 25-23.³¹⁴ The Penny Mail attacked the result, arguing that with a narrow majority of only one-sixth of the members of the Association³¹⁵, one of the most important articles in the manifesto had been put aside, namely that all candidates standing for election should pledge themselves to seek local self-government for the East.³¹⁶ The newspaper noted the split in the Unionist Party and argued that the Association was out of touch with the voters of Grahamstown and Albany.

Fitchat added a new dimension to the controversy by announcing his intention to contest the Albany seat against Jameson.³¹⁷ His candidature was opposed from the outset by the Journal, which argued that Fitchat

"cannot claim the political ability and experience that would justify his appealing to the electors to elect him instead of the late Progressive Premier."³¹⁸

Because of Grahamstown's weakened representation, it was essential the single member be the most influential and experienced politician.³¹⁹ J Slater, the Chairman of the Executive Committee for Jameson's re-election, claimed that those insisting on a pledge were playing into the hands of the Bond.³²⁰ Both newspapers published a requisition containing about 420 signatures asking Jameson to stand for Albany, although the Penny Mail claimed that many had been collected before local Unionists had become divided over the pledge issue.³²¹ Jameson returned to Grahamstown on 15 August to face the newest challenge to his

314 Speakers in favour of the Executive were J Slater, L Giddy, R Hind, H R Wood and F van der Riet; against it were F Douglass, P C Gane, H Fitchat, G W Y Heathcote and G Hodge.

315 In Grahamstown, at the height of the movement, there were 240 paid-up members. GTJ, 28 March 1912.

316 GPM, 5 Aug 1910.

317 GPM, 8 Aug 1910.

318 GTJ, 6 Aug 1910.

319 GTJ, 9 Aug 1910.

320 GTJ, 9 Aug 1910; GPM, 10 Aug 1910.

321 GTJ, 11 Aug 1910; GPM, 12 Aug 1910.

position, as a further 124 people rallied to his support.³²² Fitchat held a large public meeting to support his candidature³²³ but, after Jameson delivered a brilliant speech in a crowded City Hall, Fitchat withdrew from the contest.³²⁴

Jameson relied on his political expertise, his reputation in the constituency, and his considerable oratorical powers to rally the city. He appealed to the memory of Rhodes, a theme the Grahamstown public adored. He allied himself in favour of "real" local self-government, devolution and decentralization, and declared himself in support of the principle of the Eastern Province Association. He argued, however, that the Association was premature and would split the Unionists; he called for greater unanimity in the East before division could be accomplished, and questioned whether a tripartite division of the Cape might not be better.³²⁵

On nomination day, Jameson was unopposed for the new constituency of Albany in the first Union House of Assembly;³²⁶ W H Pigott was nominated unopposed for the Provincial Council.³²⁷ Jameson's election marked the death of the Eastern Province Association. It was always a parochial movement, and while notice was taken countrywide, no other major centre took up the call for a separate Eastern Province, the fifth province of the Union. Most significantly of all, in the whole brief but highly charged affair, can be seen Grahamstown's political impotence, and the city's inability to affect political opinion in the wider sphere, as it had done in the nineteenth century.³²⁸

After he had won Albany, Jameson immediately caused further confusion by announcing his candidature for the Harbour Division, a Cape Town

322 GTJ, 16 Aug 1910; GPM, 17 Aug 1910.

323 GPM, 17 Aug 1910.

324 GPM, 19 Aug 1910; GTJ, 20 Aug 1910.

325 GPM, 19 Aug 1910; GTJ, 20 Aug 1910.

326 GPM, 19 Aug 1910.

327 GTJ, 20 Aug 1910.

328 See M Gibbens, Two Decades in the Life of a City: Grahamstown 1862-1882, pg 294-329.

constituency, in the general election;³²⁹ he declared he was obliged to stand in order "that we may not risk losing even one seat for the Unionist Party".³³⁰ The result was hardly marginal; Jameson soundly defeated his opponent, J W Herbert, by 1 414 votes to 602.³³¹ The Unionists won all ten Cape Town seats in the general election,³³² and 39 seats countrywide. Botha's South African Party won 67 seats, the Labour Party 4, and there were 11 independents.³³³

Jameson had pledged himself to Albany and been returned unopposed; the constituency certainly had prior claims to his services. Jameson was obviously aware of possible problems, for he wrote to his brother Sam on 7 September:

"It seems as if I shall probably get in for the Harbour seat, which will land me in another row with my Grahamstown people, as I shall probably have to sit for the Cape seat to save it to the party."³³⁴

He requested the Albany Unionist Executive to release him from his pledge to sit for Albany; a reply was sent indicating that the Executive was

"decidedly of opinion that it would not be safe, in the party's interests, to do so in the present circumstances of the constituency,"

and requested him to remain the member for Albany.³³⁵ At the meeting, it was revealed that considerable correspondence had passed between Jameson and his Albany and Harbour Executives over his candidature, and R Hind had travelled to Cape Town on 22 September to discuss the

329 The original Unionist candidate, Sir Peter Bam, was in England on nomination day and was therefore not permitted to enter the contest. Siepman, Leander Starr Jameson, pg 328.

330 GTJ, 20 Aug 1910.

331 GTJ, 17 Sept 1910.

332 Thompson, Unification, pg 473.

333 Thompson, Unification, pg 477.

334 Colvin, Life of Jameson, Vol II, pg 298.

335 GPM, 28 Sept 1910.

matter.³³⁶ Jameson had stated that while he would prefer to sit for Albany, it would be better to remain in Cape Town in the interests of the party.³³⁷ Dr Smartt travelled to Grahamstown to negotiate further with the Albany executive.³³⁸ Almost a full month after the election, Jameson announced he would sit for Albany, and had consequently resigned the Harbour seat.³³⁹ The decision was welcomed in Grahamstown.³⁴⁰ Motives Jameson had for representing Harbour remain hidden,³⁴¹ but the comment of the Journal on the affair is pertinent:

"Nothing could be more inadvisable in the interests of the Unionist Party, in the present state of Eastern feeling, than that Cape Town should assert the right to rob an Eastern constituency of its chosen member."³⁴²

After the political storms of 1910, the first year of Union was extremely quiet in Grahamstown. Only two political meetings were held during 1911, one addressed by Sir Percy Fitzpatrick for the Unionists,³⁴³ and the other by H Fremantle for the South African Party.³⁴⁴ Neither caused any ripples in the placid city.

One new body showing signs of political life was the Women's Enfranchisement League. The Grahamstown branch had been founded on 5 May 1910, with about twenty members.³⁴⁵ The President of the

336 GTJ, 29 Sept 1910.

337 GPM, 30 Sept 1910.

338 GPM, 3 Oct 1910.

339 GPM, 14 Oct 1910.

340 GPM, 14 Oct 1910; GTJ, 15 Oct 1910.

341 Sir Henry Juta was nominated as the Unionist candidate for Harbour, and was returned unopposed for the seat. This further gave the lie to Jameson's excuse for remaining in Cape Town. GTJ, 3 Nov 1910.

342 GTJ, 3 Nov 1910.

343 GPM, 11 Oct 1911; GTJ, 12 Oct 1911.

344 GPM, 13 Oct 1911; GTJ, 14 Oct 1911.

345 GPM, 6 May 1910.

International Women's Suffrage Alliance, Mrs Carrie Chapman Catt, addressed a meeting at the City Hall in September 1911,³⁴⁶ and, while her speech was well received, the conservative Journal, in opposing the extension of the suffrage to women, argued the place of the woman to be in the home, and warned of the decline of family life should women enter the domain of politics.³⁴⁷ These ideas were dismissed in a response from Mrs H Fitzsimons, Secretary of the Port Elizabeth branch of the League, who also focussed on the attitude of the League in regard to the extension of the franchise to blacks:

"It is the grossest insult that could be offered to the wives and daughters of colonists to have given the franchise to their black servants who are but emerging from barbarism. It is tantamount to telling them they are on a higher mental plane, and that they are of more consequence to the state than the women who have so materially helped to make it what it is today."³⁴⁸

Jameson never visited Grahamstown again after the election of 1910. During 1911, strong rumours that he was to retire because of ill-health persisted;³⁴⁹ these were denied by Smartt,³⁵⁰ to the relief of the constituency.³⁵¹ For much of the time he was leader of the opposition, Jameson was out of the country. He clearly contemplated resignation some months before he did; on 18 August 1911, he wrote to Smartt from London:

"I am not coming back to politics. Of course, I must give decent notice to Grahamstown before Parliament. Don't you think Bailey would do for Albany? He could be made to spend money there and help the party funds."³⁵²

346 GTJ, 2 Sept 1911

347 GTJ, 5 Sept 1911

348 GTJ, 9 Sept 1911. (Mrs) H Fitzsimons to Editor.

349 GPM, 7 April 1911

350 GPM, 1 June 1911

351 GTJ, 3 June 1911

352 Colvin, Life of Jameson, Vol II, pg 300. The reference to Bailey is to the mining magnate, Sir Abe Bailey.

At the end of the year, Jameson apologized in a letter to his constituents that he had not visited Albany and gave his health as a reason for this.³⁵³ He returned to South Africa in January 1912 for the Parliamentary session,³⁵⁴ and in March announced his resignation from the Unionist leadership on the grounds of ill-health.³⁵⁵ Jameson left for England on 10 April, his offer of resignation to Albany remaining unresolved.³⁵⁶ Two weeks later, the Executive Committee of the Albany Unionists requested him to retain his seat while in England for the next six months.³⁵⁷ The decision was supported by the Grahamstown press. The Journal stated that there was "no advantage to the constituency to change at present",³⁵⁸ while the Penny Mail felt it "would have been ungenerous to ask him to resign in the closing months of the session".³⁵⁹

Jameson did not return to resume his seat. By August, he had decided to retire completely from South African politics. He wrote to Smartt from England on 15 August:

"Make Hennessy resign my seat, and put up Bailey immediately the latter comes out from England next month, and Hennessy can resign by Cape clubs, etc."³⁶⁰

Jameson's resignation was announced in October 1912.³⁶¹ The Grahamstown press paid tribute to him for having "admirably served our interests"³⁶², and his "charming manner," "winning personality," and

353 GTJ, 28 Dec 1911

354 GPM, 26 Jan 1912

355 GPM, 22 March 1912; GPM, 23 March 1912. Smartt took over the leadership of the Unionist Party.

356 Siepmann, Leander Starr Jameson, pg 359

357 GTJ, 23 April 1912

358 GTJ, 23 April 1912

359 GPM, 24 April 1912

360 Colvin, Life of Jameson, Vol II, pg 305

361 GPM, 11 Oct 1912; GTJ, 12 Oct 1912

362 GTJ, 12 Oct 1912.

"magnetic force"³⁶³. Jameson had represented Grahamstown for over eight years in the Cape Parliament and the Union House of Assembly, yet probably spent no more than a total of two weeks in the constituency. Despite this, and despite disagreement over the Eastern Province Association, Grahamstown remained loyal to Jameson. His seniority in the Unionist Party, his strong British connections, his close links with Rhodes and his imperialistic ideals, coupled with his personal ability, endeared the electorate to him. Jameson's support of Rhodes University College was a further factor in the relationship, and helps to explain why Grahamstown continued to support a parliamentarian so ill-concerned about local and parochial interests.

The announcement of Sir Abe Bailey's possible candidature for the vacant seat was a surprise to the local Unionist executive.³⁶⁴ The Journal took exception to the idea of an outside candidate, and protested that "we do claim the right to select who shall serve us in Parliament".³⁶⁵ Bailey himself dispelled discussion of his availability for the seat when he declared that he was opposed to several Unionist principles.³⁶⁶ The local organizations of both major political parties had been caught off guard by Jameson's resignation; leading politicians from each visited Grahamstown at the end of October to assist in the search for suitable candidates.³⁶⁷ Both parties nominated local candidates for the

363 GPM, 11 Oct 1912.

364 GPM, 14 Oct 1912.

365 GTJ, 12 Oct 1912. The Journal conducted interviews with several leading Unionists in the city (H Fitchat, H R Wood, D Knight, R J Cogan, J W Bayes, H F Oliver, R R Stocks). These revealed that Bailey would probably stand a good chance of election should he stand as a Unionist, but his political affiliation was not known. Most felt they would rather back a local Unionist than an independent Bailey.

366 LO, 19 Oct 1912; GTJ, 22 Oct 1912; GTJ, 24 Oct 1912.

367 H Fremantle lent support to the local South African Party branch (GTJ 22 Oct 1912), while Smartt addressed a Unionist meeting (GPM, 25 Oct 1912; GTJ, 26 Oct 1912).

vacant seat. The Unionists chose Mr F J W van der Riet, KC,³⁶⁸ and the South African Party selected Mr W Espin.³⁶⁹ The position was complicated by the entry into the contest of Henry Fitchat as an independent.³⁷⁰ Fitchat's candidature was more problematical for the Unionists than for the South African Party, and the Unionist Journal attacked Fitchat for his "political indecisiveness."³⁷¹

Van der Riet stood for traditional Unionist principles, the maintenance of British and imperial ties and the upholding of the rights of English-speaking South Africans. He appealed to the legacy of Cecil Rhodes, and called for full support of Grahamstown's important institutions, the Eastern Districts Court and the Rhodes University College.³⁷² Espin supported Louis Botha's principle of equality of the white races, the development of the country's industries, railways and public works, and the expansion of local agriculture, Rhodes University College and the Court.³⁷³ Fitchat claimed to be standing to give "broad moderate opinion" a voice³⁷⁴, and to prevent "rash legislation" by Botha and "obstructive opposition" by Smartt³⁷⁵; his candidacy was connected, however, with his fall-out with the Unionists over the Eastern Province

368 Van der Riet was an influential advocate at the Bar of the Eastern Districts Court. He had lived in Grahamstown for twelve years and owned property in Grahamstown and Port Alfred. (GPM, 6 Nov 1912; GTJ, 14 Nov 1912).

369 W M Espin was the son of Canon Espin, headmaster of St Andrew's, and was himself an Old Andean. (GTJ, 7 Oct 1915). He was Government Surveyor in Bulawayo from 1894 until he moved to Grahamstown in 1911 after obtaining a law certificate, where he practised as an attorney. He died in 1926. (Harco and Iwema, H G (compilers), Register of St Andrew's College, Grahamstown, pg 101).

370 GTJ, 2 Nov 1912.

371 GTJ, 2 Nov 1912.

372 GTJ, 21 Nov 1912.

373 GPM, 8 Nov 1912; GTJ, 9 Nov 1912.

374 GPM, 11 Nov 1912.

375 GPM, 6 Nov 1912.

Association. In a direct speech, he declared that the constituency "had not received a bare measure of justice [from the Unionists]," and that if the Association had been successful, "it would have been a great thing for Grahamstown".³⁷⁶

Fitchat withdrew from the election in an atmosphere of acrimony and slander. At issue was a block of 80 or 90 signatures of voters from Riebeek East. These signatures appeared on a requisition for Fitchat, leading him to believe that he had more support than he did. It was subsequently discovered that some were South African Party supporters. Fitchat accused Espin of deliberate deception, and attempting to split the Unionist vote. At the same time, the chairman of Fitchat's election committee, C W Whiteside, resigned, and a bitter dispute between the two raged in the newspapers over culpability in the alleged fraud.³⁷⁷ The by-election was thereafter a clear-cut battle between Espin and van der Riet, who were duly officially nominated by their respective parties on 25 November.³⁷⁸

Both parties imported leading politicians in support of their candidates. Col. Byron CMG³⁷⁹ and Sir Thomas Smartt³⁸⁰ both addressed full Unionist meetings. Hon H Burton³⁸¹ and Louis Botha himself³⁸² spoke at South African Party rallies. Botha's presence in Grahamstown provoked different reactions. The Journal attacked his racialism and his partisanship, and named 'amongst the chief political delinquencies' of Botha,

"The extravagance of the ministerial emoluments, the costly administration of the higher branches of the Civil Service,

376 GTJ, 14 Nov 1912

377 Lengthy letters and reports can be found in GPM, 22 Nov 1912; GPM, 25 Nov 1912; GPM, 26 Nov 1912.

378 GTJ, 26 Nov 1912

379 Col Byron was a Unionist Senator. GPM, 4 Dec 1912

380 GTJ, 10 Dec 1912

381 Burton was Minister of Native Affairs. GTJ, 30 Nov 1912

382 GPM, 9 Dec 1912

and the spending of public money without the authority of Parliament."³⁸³

The Penny Mail described Botha as the "most striking personality of all to visit the constituency," and commented on "his undoubted sincerity" and "his genuine and noble appeal for the elimination of questions of race".³⁸⁴

The Unionists retained the Albany seat with a convincing majority.³⁸⁵ Van der Riet polled 1 449 votes to the 618 of Espin, giving the Unionists victory by a margin of 831 votes from a roll of 2877 names, 2067 voters cast their ballots³⁸⁶; of these 1088 lived in Grahamstown.³⁸⁷

Despite his political inexperience, van der Riet proved to be an active and concerned parliamentarian. He joined a moderate opposition, which often voted for Botha. One such example was the Cabinet crisis which involved the removal of General Hertzog from the Cabinet. Hertzog's dismissal was generally welcomed by Unionists across the country; the Grahamstown press strongly supported Botha in the crisis.³⁸⁸ The Journal would have preferred a more vociferous opposition. The newspaper attacked the Unionists for their "political stupor"³⁸⁹ and "'urbane approach"³⁹⁰, and criticized the apathy of the local branch.³⁹¹ Van der Riet was never personally tainted by these remarks. During his first parliamentary term of office, between 1913 and 1915, van der Riet spoke on imperial interests against growing republicanism, and in defence of

383 GTJ, 7 Dec 1912.

384 GPM, 9 Dec 1912.

385 GPM, 11 Dec 1912; GTJ, 12 Dec 1912; LO, 14 Dec 1912.

386 There were 31 spoilt papers.

387 GPM, 11 Dec 1912.

388 GPM, 13 Dec 1912; GPM, 16 Dec 1912; GTJ, 17 Dec 1912; GPM, 18 Dec 1912; GTJ, 19 Dec 1912; GTJ, 21 Dec 1912.

389 GTJ, 2 Dec 1913.

390 GTJ, 21 April 1914.

391 GTJ, 17 June 1913; GTJ, 2 Dec 1913.

Unionist policy over the Rand strikes of 1914. He served on two select committees, the Rand Water Board, and investigation of the conditions of civil servants.³⁹² He also served on the Parliamentary select committee investigating the 1914 Afrikaner Rebellion.³⁹³

The local Unionist Party branch was not totally inactive in the two years prior to the outbreak of the first World War. In February 1914, a branch of the Women's Unionist Association was formed in Grahamstown.³⁹⁴ A president and committee were elected.³⁹⁵ The Journal continued to warn against militant methods, and expressed the hope that "soporific Grahamstown" would not entertain "even a modicum of sympathy" for suffragettes.³⁹⁶

The blurring of the lines of division between the Unionists and the South African Party became more evident after the outbreak of war in August 1914. Botha's action against the Afrikaner rebels³⁹⁷ as well as his firm support of the imperial war effort, had the full backing of the Unionists. The general election of 1915 was a clear indication of this. The contest in the Albany constituency, hitherto a strong Unionist seat, presented an intriguing reflection of English-speaking opinion during the war.

392 GTJ, 5 June 1915.

393 GTJ, 4 March 1915.

394 GTJ, 3 Feb 1914.

395 President: Mrs L L Giddy
 Secretary: Mrs J E Duerden
 Vice-Presidents: Mrs F J W van der Riet; Miss Jones
 Committee: Mrs Galpin; Mrs Gane; Mrs Scaife

396 GTJ, 1 April 1913.

397 For further information on the 1914 Rebellion, see:

T R H Davenport, "The South African Rebellion of 1914", English Historical Review, 1963, pgs 73-94.

N G Garson, "The Boer Rebellion of 1914", History Today, 1962, pgs 132-139.

Both F J W van der Riet and W Espin contested Albany again in 1915. The Unionist press in Grahamstown recognized that division between the two candidates was "distinctly thin insofar as the one thing that really matters is concerned".³⁹⁸ The Journal argued that the Albany election was slightly irrelevant, as the main dispute was between the South African Party and the Unionists on the one hand, and "those lawless and revolutionary spirits" on the other.³⁹⁹ With little difference in policy and outlook of the two parties, the contest in Grahamstown tended to focus on the personalities of the two candidates. A dispute arose over whether Espin was an official candidate of the South African Party or not.⁴⁰⁰ When it was confirmed he was, he was attacked for forcing an election in the first place.⁴⁰¹

For much of the campaign, the Unionists were on the defensive. The South African Party's organization was careful and effective.⁴⁰² Botha's South West Africa campaign had proved successful, and his war policy had the support of Unionists countrywide. Typical of many was Dr F A Saunders, who though he had been a Unionist for over twenty years, felt there was no longer any need for the existence of the party:

"As an ardent Imperialist, I feel it my duty as a mark of my appreciation of the brilliant service rendered by General Botha to the Empire to support his candidate at the next general election."⁴⁰³

Another such ex-Unionist was A C Tribe who attacked the "deplorably partisan" attitude of many Unionists, and advocated support for Botha, "a man of high practical and moral imagination".⁴⁰⁴ The Penny Mail supported Espin's candidature as the best way of forwarding Botha's war

398 GTJ, 28 Sept 1915.

399 GTJ, 28 Sept 1915.

400 GTJ, 14 Aug 1915.

401 At a Unionist meeting, Sir Edgar Walton accused Espin of personal ambition, which provoked considerable chaos at the meeting.

402 H M Fellows, the organizing secretary, proved a competent co-ordinator of the campaign.

403 GTJ, 5 June 1915.

404 GTJ, 15 June 1915. A C Tribe to Editor.

effort and countering the challenge of Hertzog.⁴⁰⁵

In a high percentage poll, van der Riet narrowly held on to his seat; he won 1 196 votes against Espin's 1 111, giving him a majority of 85. There were 76 spoilt papers, and a total of 2 383 votes were cast in the constituency.⁴⁰⁶ In the general election, the South African Party won 54 seats, the Unionists 40, and the Nationalists an impressive 27. Labour won 4 and there were 5 independents.⁴⁰⁷

Grahamstown's political influence declined both numerically and ideologically during the period under review. During the nineteenth century, Grahamstown was strongly represented in the Cape Parliament, but the Union dispensation recognized the city's de facto position with regard to its small population and electorate. Fearful of the growing strength of Afrikaner nationalism, Grahamstown sought its identity in the wider framework of the British Empire. From the end of the Anglo-Boer War, the authority of the Empire began to decline, and this place of refuge was somewhat anachronistic by 1918. The Eastern Province Association underlined the city's impotent position, for the movement showed up the political ineffectiveness of a community with its roots too firmly in the past to provide a realistic assessment of the present and future. Post-Union South Africa was unsympathetic and hostile to self-conscious and assertive British imperial philosophy that disregarded the realities and aspirations of an emergent Afrikanerdom. The increasing influence of Hertzog's Nationalists resulted in the dissolution of the Unionist Party, whose members joined the South African Party, in 1920.⁴⁰⁸ Grahamstown did not support independent ideas: F J W van der Riet, who was returned unopposed for Albany as a Unionist in the March 1920 election,⁴⁰⁹ was again unopposed

405 GPM, 20 Oct 1915; GPM, 22 Oct 1915.

406 GTJ, 23 Oct 1915.

407 B M Schoeman, Parlementêre Verkiesings in Suid-Afrika, 1910-1976, pg 66.

408 T R H Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, pgs 187-188.

409 Schoeman, Parlementêre Verkiesings, pg 79.

as a South African Party member in February 1921.⁴¹⁰ In the face of what was perceived as a greater threat, Grahamstown submerged its separatist and more extreme jingoistic tendencies, to find its identity in the moderate approach of the South African Party. It was the only viable step to take in the post-1918 political framework, in which Afrikaner nationalism crystallized around Hertzog, and opposition to it focussed on Smuts and the South African Party. A small English-speaking community such as Grahamstown had no alternative but to find its niche under the banner of the South African Party. The 1915 election result showed that the transition would be neither illogical nor traumatic.

⁴¹⁰ Schoeman, Parlementêre Verkiesings, pg 107

Rhodes University College Student Numbers : 1904-1918¹

1904	:	50
1905	:	62
1906	:	66
1907	:	85
1908	:	116
1909	:	123
1910	:	144
1911	:	148
1912	:	130
1913	:	141
1914	:	135
1915	:	117
1916	:	115
1917	:	104
1918	:	142

1 Taken from a list compiled by Mrs S Fold and Dr M Goedhals, drawn from the Rhodes University Inauguration Brochure of March 1951, and Rhodes University Calendars of 1905-1919.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

The first two decades of the twentieth century witnessed considerable change and development in southern Africa on the economic, social and political fronts. The transition from an almost entirely agricultural economic base in 1860 to one in which mining assumed at least equivalent importance was complete by 1920. Gold, diamonds and coal were crucial to the economy after 1902, as their role in post-war reconstruction emphasized. Railway construction followed the mineral discoveries, and the greatest strides yet were made between 1900 and 1920. Industrialization and urbanization, seminal features of the twentieth century South African economy, built upon the firm roots of this period. The conclusion of the South African War in 1902 seemed to bring to a successful climax the objectives of militant British imperialism of the later nineteenth century; but despite Milner's aggressive reconstruction and anglicization policies, the imperial vision had to yield to growing South African nationalism and accept unification. Political union withstood the pressures of economic unrest on the Rand before 1914 and the First World War thereafter. Africans were forced to respond to changing conditions, and organize themselves politically across provincial barriers. Some legislative foundations of segregation were laid during these years, based on the Lagden Commission, and Africans were increasingly yielding to pressures forcing them from the land into towns. These two decades were crucial years of transition.

The community of Grahamstown was a helpless onlooker and victim of the broader fundamental shifts in the macrocosm. Almost by definition, Grahamstown could make no effective contribution in the new dispensation. The city's position, far from the major areas of economic development in South Africa, was confirmed and reinforced between 1902 and 1918. The South African economy was swinging to the Transvaal; Grahamstown, deep in the Cape Province, was a thousand kilometres from the new frontier. The national economy was increasingly based on mining and industry; Grahamstown was dependent upon her position as a local trading outlet for the agricultural district of Albany. Urbanization was growing; Grahamstown's rural, inland geographical position offered

no attractions. Politically, Afrikanerdom was in the ascendant, and the development of the South African state implied the decline of British influence. The small, predominantly English-speaking community, so committed to British interests and the imperial vision of Rhodes and Milner, was forced to accommodate the realities of a broader South Africanism. Grahamstown's transition in these years was to face up to the grim realities of the new century, and redefine its position as best it could. In doing so, it seized upon the only important facilities remaining - its educational institutions.

Any hopes generated by the Exhibition of 1898 for a revival of commercial and business activity were firmly squashed by 1918. The only new industry of any importance was some exploitation of timber resources around the city after 1912, and even this remained a small-scale enterprise. Small local initiatives such as the Women's Industrial Association made no impact on the economy of the city. Lack of water and problems of transportation and supply militated strongly against industrial activity. Grahamstown's attempt to join the mineral boom ended in disarray as the discovery of platinum in Albany failed disastrously to live up to the expectations placed in it. Economic prosperity was dependent upon the agricultural conditions prevailing in the Albany district. The collapse of the Kowie Railway Company in 1913 threatened to disrupt the trade of Grahamstown and Albany, and Government intervention was vital to maintain equilibrium. Grahamstown's market was supplied by Albany farmers, and the spectacular growth and collapse of the feather market demonstrated the strong ties of the town with the country. The demise of the Albany Agricultural Society pointed to the peripheral importance even of the agriculture of the district, as larger markets in the distant expanding cities attracted the attention of farmers.

The slight decline in both the white and the coloured population groups underlined the decrease in commercial activity.¹ The black population continued to increase, despite a high death rate; this was due more to pressures, both administrative and natural, which forced them off the

1 See Appendix A, pg.352.

land in the surrounding district.² There were few opportunities for employment or prosperity in Grahamstown, and the lure of other places was therefore strong. That unemployment and poverty were significant social features in Grahamstown is borne out by the activities of the Ladies' Benevolent Society, the Social Welfare League and the Labour Bureau. The ordinary shopkeeper and trader formed the backbone of the economy of the city. They served as an outlet for the district. The dominance of this class is clear from an analysis of the composition of the City Council. Of the sixty-two people who served on that body between 1903 and 1918, no less than thirty-seven were engaged in business and trade in the city.³ Some, notably H Fitchat and H R Wood, were wealthy; most were small dealers. Nineteen city councillors were engaged in professional occupations, four were retired people, one (Mrs Wadds Wright) was the wife of the editor of the Penny Mail and one (G V Webb) remained unaccounted for.⁴ The shopkeeping and trading class was numerically the strongest group on the city council.

The inability of Grahamstown to encourage investment contributed to the acute financial problems of the City Council. The Council's major sources of income were the town and water rates; market dues and other taxes played a secondary role. The Council was forced to raise loans for any capital improvements in the city. By 1904, after the completion of the Milner Reservoir, the Council had a substantial debt of £66 163, which increased to £78 712 after the entire Slaai Kraal water scheme was completed by 1906. Financial mismanagement contributed to the

2 See Appendix A, pg.352.

3 There were three merchants, five contractors/builders, two masons, three butchers, two wagon-makers, two grocers, three drapers, one nurseryman, one gardener, two feather dealers, one confectioner, three hoteliers, three general dealers, one stationer, one clothing dealer, one shoe trader, one printer, one quarryman and one tinsmith.

4 Those in professional employment were two Rhodes University College academics, one teacher, two accountants, three advocates, three attorneys, one law agent, one clergyman, one retired colonel, one dentist/doctor, one chemist, one hospital superintendent, one editor and one retired resident magistrate.

chaotic position of the city's finances by 1912, when Grahamstown not only faced a high debt but had also contravened permitted levels of borrowing. Careful management was required thereafter. The shortage of funds prevented a necessary works construction programme. The water crisis facing the city was compounded by inadequate storage facilities, leaking pipes, and doubtful purity. The filtration plant installed in 1914 was amongst the most important works completed during the period. Because of its symbolic importance, the Town Hall was extended, ahead of more pragmatic schemes. The Board of Works was hard pressed to maintain its programme of street construction, street repairs, river bed paving, tarring of sidewalks, and street lighting, and several times exceeded its allotted budget. In 1918, Grahamstown's debt was £87 000; financial insecurity was likely to plague the Council for some years.

The shortage of money prevented the adoption of more modern and sophisticated sanitary schemes. The duplicate pail removal system functioned smoothly while the contractors were solvent, but their financial insecurity caused difficulties for the town. Necessary improvements, such as cemetery extension, abattoir construction and the provision of public wash houses were delayed indefinitely by the hard-pressed Council. The Albany General Hospital, commonly acknowledged to be inadequate and insanitary in 1900, was still in use in 1918 as financial problems, amongst others, hindered development. Grahamstown's shortage of facilities prevented at least one major extension project, that of Fort England Hospital. The dependence of the city on the funds of the central government was underlined by the influenza epidemic of 1918; the abnormal situation, despite considerable public involvement, would have broken the resources of the city without outside aid. The prevalence of tuberculosis, and the constant threat of other disease, undermined confidence in the city's attractiveness as an educational and residential centre, on which the city increasingly had to rely.

Living conditions were the most insalubrious in the black areas of the city. The high death rate, the lack of sanitation, the prevalence of disease, particularly tuberculosis, the shortage of water, the filthy streets and the grossly inadequate housing produced slum conditions. The City Council attempted to gain stricter control of the locations,

partly for reasons of health control, but mainly to prevent the influx of people adding to unemployment and poverty. After wider administrative powers granted to the Location Inspector failed to produce the desired results, the Council attempted to enforce more fundamental controls, on the movement of people within the city, on limiting the means of livelihood of many people by reducing the permissible number of livestock, and on tightening lease agreements. The fact that the Council could only exercise control over part of the black area of town frustrated their efforts considerably. The tightening of administration provoked a small rebellion which was quickly quelled; it nevertheless demonstrated the depth of hostility to new regulations amongst location inhabitants. The rising was not coordinated by any political organization; it was more a spontaneous upsurge of feeling, under a few new leaders, against oppressive intervention by the City Council in the location. Grahamstown lacked the resources to respond to the pressures which were forcing blacks out of the rural districts. While it was a natural place of refuge for those compelled to leave farms but unwilling to leave Albany, prospects of employment were slight. The position of Grahamstown on the economic periphery affected all the people of the district.

Act 21 of 1904 paved the way for the foundation of Grahamstown's most important educational institution.⁵ The Rhodes University College Act vested all property, assets and money belonging to the College in the University Council⁶ which was responsible for "the general superintendence, management and direction of the affairs of the College".⁷

5 For background to the foundation of Rhodes University College, see R Sellick, Grahamstown: 1883-1904.

6 Act 21 of 1904, Clause 3.

7 Act 21 of 1904, Clause 4.

The University Council consisted of twelve nominated⁸ and five elected⁹ members. The Act laid down procedures for election and eligibility for the Council¹⁰, as well as its powers and duties.¹¹ The Act finally set out provisions for the constitution and powers of the Senate which was responsible for "the superintendence and regulation of the instruction of the several departments and classes, and discipline of the College".¹²

The first Council meeting took place on 15 July 1904, when Judge Kotze was elected Chairman of Council, and F Graham Vice-Chairman.¹³ Three committees were formed, for organization, building and finance, to allow for the teaching work of the College to begin as soon as possible.¹⁴ St Andrew's College agreed to provide temporary premises and the four professors who had been attached to the school were seconded to

8 Act 21 of 1904, Clause 5. Four people were nominated by the Governor: Judge Kotze; Mr J Slater, MLA; Dr S Schönland; Mr F Graham, CC and RM.

H Fitchat was nominated by the Albany Divisional Council and H R Wood, MLA, was nominated by the City Council. Six local schools each nominated a representative: Dr McGowan (St Andrew's College), Canon Espin (DSG), Fr Walmesley (St Aidan's College), E G Gane (Kingswood), R R Stocks (Wesleyan High School for Girls), J Hards (Public High School). GTJ, 30 June 1904; GTJ, 7 July 1904.

9 The five elected members of Council were elected by subscribers and guarantors of no less than £50 to College funds. Those elected were Adv F A Hutton, Adv Dold, Mr O R Bate, Dr Davies and Mr D Knights (GTJ, 30 June 1904; GTJ, 7 July, 1904). Any other scholastic institution, City Council or Divisional Council which granted £500 to the College or guaranteed an annual sum of at least £50 for the next ten years was entitled to nominate an additional member of Council. (Act 21 of 1904, Clause 5.)

10 Act 21 of 1904, Clauses 6-12.

11 Act 21 of 1904, Clause 13-16.

12 Act 21 of 1904, Clause 17-20.

13 CPP, G.15 - 1905, pg 1.

14 GTJ, 21 July 1904.

Rhodes.¹⁵ At the first meeting of Senate on 28 August, Professor A Matthews was elected Chairman, and Professor S Kidd, Secretary.¹⁶ From July until December 1904, the Hillside Cottage in Somerset Street housed the new college of fifty students.¹⁷ The Imperial Military authorities agreed to let a portion of the Drostdy buildings to the fledgling college from the beginning of 1905, and the academic activities of the college commenced from the new site then.¹⁸ Students remained accommodated in the hostels of the schools.¹⁹

The site of the Drostdy was generally favoured, but nonetheless did provoke some controversy. The Drostdy was approved by the whole Senate and most of the Council because it was close to the Albany Museum, the Bacteriological Institute and the Public Gardens, as well as to the city.²⁰ A public meeting was called, however, to discuss the suitability of the site. R W Nelson, a city councillor, described the Drostdy as an "old broken-down, filthy, unsightly place", and claimed it was "cramfull of microbes, bacilli and old horses that have died of glanders". He regarded the Rovers Ground as a far healthier site, and claimed the development of the area would provide employment for the working classes of the city. His suggestion was defeated after a rowdy meeting.²¹ Controversy raged in the columns of newspapers thereafter about the correctness of the allegations, the voting figures, and the presence of non-ratepayers.²² The Medical Officer of Health pronounced the area to be in a "very clean condition" after an inspection.²³

15 Prof G E Cory, Chemistry

Prof A Matthews, Mathematics

Prof G F Dingemans, Modern Languages

Prof A S Kidd, Greek and English

16 CPP, G.15 - 1904, pg.3

17 CPP, G.15 - 1904, pg.3

18 CPP, G.15 - 1904, pg. 2. The lease was free of charge, but was subject to six months' notice (GPM, 5 March 1905).

19 R F Currey, Rhodes University College 1904-1970: A Chronicle, pg 16.

20 GPM, 5 March 1905.

21 GTJ, 7 March 1905; GPM, 8 March 1905.

22 GPM, 8 March 1905; GPM, 10 March 1905; GPM, 17 March 1905.

23 GTJ, 18 March 1905.

Colonial authorities also dismissed the attack of Nelson on the ground.²⁴ Nelson's remarks had no long-term impact. During 1905, all of the Drostdy buildings were placed at the disposal of the University College Council, and they were altered, furnished and equipped for academic purposes.²⁵ Substantial additions to the staff were made in 1905: a new professor was appointed in January,²⁶ and six more professors and a lecturer began teaching from July.²⁷ The number of students increased to sixty-two.²⁸ July 1905 was regarded as a major point of departure for the College, with a greatly increased staff offering more facilities and courses to students. J Slater, MLA, in his opening address to the College, declared the ideals of the College; its name was

"a motto and an incitement alike to the students, the Senate and the Council to proceed upon the lines of conduct of the deceased statesman whose name the College bears. In his lifetime, Mr Rhodes laboured ... towards the consolidation of the Empire, the progress of South Africa, and the harmonious fusion of the European races which had colonised it, and if they were going to be faithful to the memory of Mr Rhodes they would have to take up those ideas, and feel those sentiments without any party or race feeling, and labour in the same way as he did, in order to bring together all the scattered elements and to unite them in a common people who would be

24 GPM, 24 March 1905; GTJ, 25 March 1905.

25 CPP, G.23 - 1906, pg 2.

26 S Schönland, Professor of Botany. CPP, G.23 - 1906, pg 1.

27 R J Cholmeley, Professor of Latin with Classical Literature and Philology

A R Lord, Professor of Philosophy and History

A Ogg, Professor of Applied Mathematics and Physics

E H L Schwarz, Professor of Geology

J E Duerden, Professor of Zoology

W A Macfadyen, Professor of Law and Jurisprudence

F W Armstrong, Instructor in Drawing

CPP, G.23 - 1906, pg 1.

28 CPP, G.23 - 1906, pg 2.

worthy of the country in which they lived, and would promote its prosperity and enlightenment."²⁹

Rhodes University College's progress thereafter was steady if unspectacular. The fact that the first four years of the College's life were years of depression at the Cape almost certainly retarded extensive and immediate growth. Two new lecturers were appointed in 1906.³⁰ A scheme of extension lectures was adopted for the first time, and lectures were given in Port Elizabeth, Kingwilliamstown and Cradock, as well as Grahamstown,³¹ and a Teachers' Vacation Course was given in July by Schönland, Cory, Cholmeley, Ogg and Macfadyen.³² The student roll increased to sixty-six and the hostel system at the local schools had to be extended, under conditions which,

"while not overlooking the status of students as undergraduates of a University, will supply the moral and religious influence, which the parents and guardians of many students desire."³³

Students were given "as much freedom of action as is consistent with necessary oversight".³⁴ In 1907, in the July vacation, a series of eighteen courses in agricultural subjects was delivered at the College by lecturers, assisted by members of the Agricultural Department,³⁵ to thirty-five farmers from different parts of the colony.³⁶ The number of students increased to eighty-five which entitled the College to higher

29 GPM, 28 July 1905.

30 D Williams, Lecturer in Pure Mathematics

G Parry, Lecturer in Physical Science and Applied Mathematics

CPP, G.19 - 1907, pg 1.

31 CPP, G.19 - 1907, pg 2.

32 GTJ, 7 July 1906.

33 CPP, G.19 - 1907, pg 2.

34 GTJ, 16 March 1907.

35 Staff members concentrated on subjects such as plant life, agricultural chemistry, soil components, animal life, insect pests and water law; the Department members spoke on stock disease, irrigation and farm machinery.

36 CPP, G.28 - 1908, pg.2; GTJ, 16 March 1907; GTJ, 9 July 1907.

grants from the Government under the Higher Education Act. A further lecturer was appointed,³⁷ and agreements were reached with St Aidan's, Kingswood, the Wesleyan High School and DSG, whereby they established hostels exclusively for College students. St Andrew's continued to allow students to remain as boarders.³⁸ In 1908, the College Council managed to acquire full possession of the Drostdy premises, at a cost of £9 400, which gave it security of tenure on the site.³⁹ Student numbers increased to 116.⁴⁰ The Government grant to the college decreased from £3 800 to £2 571, while Western colleges received an increase;⁴¹ H Fitchat raised the matter in the House of Assembly, and found that Western colleges were entitled to a merit grant, and Rhodes had in any case received its grant for the current year in advance.⁴² New staff appointments between 1909 and 1914 brought the total teaching staff to twenty-four,⁴³ and in 1914 the student roll stood at 135.⁴⁴

By 1911, Rhodes University College was firmly established in comparison with other university colleges in the country. A Parliamentary Commission appointed to investigate higher education in the Union submitted its report in 1911. At the end of June 1911, 140 students were registered at Rhodes which made it the third largest university

37 P van Braam in Modern Languages. CPP, G.28 - 1908, pg 1.

38 CPP, G.28 - 1908, pg 2.

39 CPP, G.20 - 1909, pg.1; GTJ, 9 May 1908.

40 CPP, G.20 - 1909, pg 2.

41 GTJ, 25 June 1908.

42 GTJ, 8 Aug 1908.

43 C W Bowles, Lecturer in Classics (1909)

R W Varder, Lecturer in Physics (1909)

J Martin, Lecturer in Mathematics (1910)

W M MacMillan, Lecturer in History and Economics (1910)

H S Bodmer, Lecturer in Modern Languages (1910)

P Weehuizen, Lecturer in Modern Languages (1910)

A H Fitt, Lecturer in Education (1913)

W M Smail, Professor of Latin (1914)

Currey, Rhodes University College, pgs 30-32.

44 See List of Student numbers on pg.324.

college in the country.⁴⁵ Only the South African College and Victoria College, with 314 and 325 students respectively, were larger. Rhodes' assets of £90 000⁴⁶ exceeded its liabilities of £12 696 by £77 304, which placed it in a comparatively secure financial position.⁴⁷ Seventy-eight bursaries were offered to attract students to the College; seventy of these were derived from College revenue, and the remainder were municipal bursaries.⁴⁸ An analysis of revenue and expenditure for 1910 showed an annual income of £15 157, as against expenditure of £14 968, giving the College a credit balance.⁴⁹ Annual fees for all courses at the College were £21, which made it the second most expensive college in the country after the South African College.⁵⁰

With the increase in student numbers, the need for increased capital expenditure on buildings became more urgent. The Commission found that Rhodes operated under "rather unfavourable conditions", and commented on the scattered position of buildings. Several lecture rooms and

45 U.G.48 - 1911, pgs 75-77. Of these students, 30 were from Albany, 12 from East London, 8 from Kimberley, 15 from Port Elizabeth and the remainder came from other places mainly in the Eastern Province. 15 students were from outside the Cape Province.

46 This sum included general endowments of £80 000, the largest of which was £50 000 in preferential shares in De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd., which generated £2 500 per annum. (U.G.48 - 1911, pg 29).

47 U.G.48 - 1911, pg 73.

48 U.G.48 - 1911, pg 69.

49 The cost per student was £106, of which £56 was to the College, and £50 to the state (U.G.48 - 1911, pgs.62,63). Of income, 16,4% was derived from fees, 24,2% from endowments, 10,2% from donations and subscriptions, 46,9% from government grants, and 2,3% from miscellaneous sources (U.G.48 - 1911, pg.62). Of expenditure, 64,4% was for salaries of teaching staff, 5% for departmental expenditure (library, requisites, etc), 5,4% for wages of clerical staff, 4% for maintenance of buildings, 3,1% on interest and redemption charges, 5,5% for general administrative costs and 16,2% on scholarships and bursaries (U.G.48 - 1911, pg 63).

50 U.G.48 - 1911, pg 60

laboratories were unsuitable, and the Commission recommended that £14 000 be spent immediately on a chemistry and geology block, and £10 000 on a college hall.⁵¹ The need for residences was equally pressing, for student accommodation was at a premium in the school hostels. A building committee of the College Council recommended that an advisory architect be consulted, to whom requirements for accommodation could be submitted, to enable the Council to estimate costs and specifications involved.⁵² Mr W White-Cooper was engaged to investigate building requirements.⁵³ An architectural firm, Messrs Baker and Kendall, submitted plans for the expansion of the College at the beginning of 1911, the whole scheme to cost over £100 000.⁵⁴ Construction of a men's residence, College House, was begun in February 1913,⁵⁵ and was ready for occupation at the beginning of 1914.⁵⁶ The foundation stone of a new chemistry and geology building was laid in March 1914,⁵⁷ and was estimated to cost £12 000.⁵⁸ It was finally completed in February 1917.⁵⁹ A further new development was the erection of the first women's residence, Oriel House,⁶⁰ which became functional in May 1915.⁶¹

Rhodes University College's constitutional position was altered by Act 12 of 1916. The University of the Cape of Good Hope, hitherto the examining body of the Cape, was incorporated with Rhodes University College and the other university colleges of the country, into a federal

51 U.G.48 - 1911, pg 19.

52 GTJ, 19 March 1910.

53 GTJ, 26 April 1910.

54 GTJ, 4 Feb 1911; GTJ, 7 Feb 1911.

55 GTJ, 4 Feb 1913.

56 Currey, Rhodes University College, pg 35. Currey seems confused for, on the previous page, he states a tender for College House of £6 884 was accepted in January 1915. The error is presumably typographical.

57 GTJ, 7 March 1914.

58 GTJ, 20 Sept 1914.

59 GPM, 14 Feb 1917.

60 GPM, 27 Jan 1915.

61 Currey, Rhodes University College, pg 35.

university called the University of South Africa. Victoria College became the independent University of Stellenbosch, and South African College the independent University of Cape Town, under Acts 13 and 14 of 1916 respectively. The University of South Africa became the degree-granting and examining body.⁶² Student numbers at Rhodes declined during the war. Of 650 students who had passed through the College since 1904, over 250 saw service on the western front.⁶³ Forty-four Rhodians gave their lives during the war.⁶⁴ The College had a "strong recruiting tone" about it, and great pride was taken in its commitment to the British cause.⁶⁵ The foundations built between 1904 and 1914 were strong enough to withstand the decline in student numbers; growth of the University after 1918 was confident and notable.

Grahamstown's schools played a prominent role in the activities of the city, though their position can easily be exaggerated. Cuthbert White-side, in his Mayoral Minute of 1920, claimed that it was a "widely recognized" fact that Grahamstown held "the premier position in South Africa as an educational centre".⁶⁶ In 1904, there were forty-five schools in Albany, with 139 classrooms, 162 teachers and 2 797 pupils.⁶⁷ Thirty-six of these schools were government-aided, and the remaining nine were private. Seven of these latter were in Grahamstown: the Anglican St Andrew's College, St Andrew's Preparatory School and Diocesan School for Girls, the Methodist-controlled Kingswood and Wesleyan High School for Girls, and the Roman Catholic St Aidan's College and Assumption Convent. The church foundations were all anxious to preserve their English heritage and cultural identity, and were closely modelled

62 E G Malherbe, Education in South Africa 1652-1922, pgs 420-421.

63 GPM, 26 Nov 1917.

64 Currey, Rhodes University College, pg 47.

65 GPM, 26 Nov 1917.

66 Mayoral Minute, 1920, pg.30. AM, unaccessioned.

67 CPP, G.19 - 1905, pg.540. The majority of these schools were farm schools. Of the total number of children, 1 938 were white.

on the Victorian public school of the nineteenth century.⁶⁸ Evidence of jingoistic fervour, particularly in the Anglican and Methodist schools, abounds in frequent newspaper reports of the activities of the schools and in school magazines, and contributed to the strong English cultural ethos of Grahamstown. Despite Grahamstown's claim to educational pre-eminence, the 1904 census revealed that Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, Kimberley and, significantly, Kingwilliamstown and Queenstown, had more schools and a greater number of pupils than Grahamstown.⁶⁹

The 1905 School Board Act introduced two important new factors into education in the Cape: that of compulsory education and a more equitable system of finance by means of local taxing power.⁷⁰ The Act provoked some controversy in Grahamstown over the role of religious instruction in education, as well as its compulsory nature and the function of Government.⁷¹ The Dean of Grahamstown, F E Carter, initiated a petition calling for all government-aided schools to be opened with prayer, the study of the Bible to form a regular part of the curriculum, and that facilities be given for definite denominational

68 For more details on this aspect, see P Randell, Little England on the Veld: the English Private School System in South Africa, especially Chapter 3, pgs 53-71, entitled "The Cape Colony: British Pluck for Ever."

69 CPP, G.19 - 1905, pg 540.

70 The Act divided the Cape into about one hundred school board districts, each of which would be controlled by a school board of between six and eighteen members (a multiple of three), two-thirds of whom were elected by municipal or divisional council ratepayers, and the remaining one-third were appointed. The School Boards controlled school committees, which supervised the fabric of the schools. Boards had the power to establish new schools of a strictly undenominational character. The Boards could enforce compulsory education for all white children between the ages of seven and fourteen after their first year in office. The Government agreed to meet half the expenses of the school boards; and, if there were a deficit, it would pay half of the excess as well. Malherbe, Education in South Africa, pgs 127-132.

71 GPM, 24 March 1905.

religious teaching on one or two days each week during school hours.⁷² A counter-petition, sponsored by the Evangelical Church Council,⁷³ approved of regular prayer and Bible reading, but objected to the "right of entry" to schools by ministers of religion demanded by the Dean, which would lead to sectarianism.⁷⁴ The latter petition obtained 421 signatures, and was submitted to Parliament by H R Wood in May.⁷⁵ The School Board Act made no provision for direct denominational teaching.

School Board elections took place in Grahamstown in February 1906.⁷⁶ One of the first tasks of the new board was to ascertain the number of children attending school, and those who did not attend any school.⁷⁷ The Grahamstown School Board had a difficult inauguration. The religious dispute continued to simmer, with some claims that the schools were undermining denominationalism.⁷⁸ Another major problem was that of finance and cost.⁷⁹ At the end of May 1907, the School Board had outstanding revenue of £1 377 (including £1 029 in arrear fees) and outstanding expenditure of £574.⁸⁰ Further controversy erupted when it became evident that the secretary of the Board had left town, defrauding the Board of £225.⁸¹

In 1908, the new Merriman government amended the Act to the effect that

72 GTJ, 4 April 1905; GPM, 5 April 1905

73 The Baptist Rev J J Doke, Congregationist Rev S J Helm, Presbyterian Rev J M Dower, and Rev N Abrahamson sponsored the petition.

74 GPM, 7 April 1905; GTJ, 8 April 1905.

75 GTJ, 9 May 1905.

76 Ten people were elected: T H Grocott, JP; Rev J M Dower; Rev J J Doke; J Hards, JP; D Knight, JP; F A Hutton; Dr J Bays; C J Flanagan; Rev J Metcalf; Canon W Turpin. GTJ, 10 Feb 1906

77 GTJ, 31 July 1906.

78 GTJ, 1 May 1907, "Parent" to Editor.

79 GTJ, 14 May 1907, "Ground Down" to Editor; GTJ, 18 May 1907, "Property Owner" to Editor.

80 GTJ, 30 May 1907.

81 GTJ, 24 Aug 1907.

the entire deficit had to be met by the local authorities.⁸² A public meeting in Grahamstown protested vehemently at the amendment, and described the proposal to impose a house rate, which placed the burden on occupiers, as unjust.⁸³ The local school board at that stage was thought to be incurring a deficit of £1 500 per annum, which ratepayers would have to meet.⁸⁴ The Government agreed to meet all deficits up to 30 June 1908, which compromise was welcomed.⁸⁵ The School Board continued to run at a loss and its debt was estimated to be £2 000 by 30 June 1909; the City Council agreed that a rate of 5/8d in the £ on all rateable property would have to be levied.⁸⁶ Some forty parents from the Public High School, the Victoria Girls High School and the Elementary School called for greater participation by school committees in the administration of the schools,⁸⁷ and a public meeting registered its dissatisfaction with the School Board rate.⁸⁸

After Union, control of education was vested in the Provincial Councils. Several ordinances in the next few years altered or added to the School Board Act. Ordinance 11 of 1912 set out regulations concerning the medium of instruction. Ordinance 16 of 1913 made provision for the establishment of technical and industrial schools, as well as art and music schools. Ordinance 18 of 1913 dealt with religious instruction. The necessity of correct qualifications for teachers was defined in Ordinance 3 of 1916. Ordinance 5 of 1916 ensured that all schools should elect a committee to function under a School Board. Compulsory school attendance for white children was extended to children between the ages of seven and fifteen by Ordinance 7 of 1917. The principle of local rating for school board purposes was abolished by Ordinance 7 of 1918. During these years, the Grahamstown School Board functioned more efficiently. In 1917, it reported that 2 055 white children were

82 Malherbe, Education in South Africa, pg 130.

83 GTJ, 25 July 1908.

84 GTJ, 30 July 1908.

85 GTJ, 20 Aug 1908; GTJ, 22 Aug 1908.

86 GTJ, 11 Feb 1909. When it became evident that the deficit was £1 632, the rate was reduced to ½d in the £. (GTJ, 10 June 1909)

87 GTJ, 20 April 1909.

88 GTJ, 16 Sept 1909.

attending schools in Grahamstown, which represented a small increase on the 1904 figure; of this total, 851 had homes outside the Grahamstown municipal area.⁸⁹ The number of children attending government-aided schools exceeded slightly the enrolment at private schools, and a significant proportion of roughly 40% came from outside the city to attend schools.

The Grahamstown Educational Association provided a platform for teachers from both private and state-aided schools to exchange ideas and express views. It was founded at the instigation of E G Gane, headmaster of Kingswood,⁹⁰ and formally constituted in May 1905.⁹¹ Subjects discussed were generally educational in nature, such as the advantages of compulsory Latin⁹² or the problems connected with the setting of examinations.⁹³ The body was the only formal structure through which the different teachers of Grahamstown met each other, and it fulfilled a useful function.

Grahamstown's political influence, which was weak by the turn of the century, declined further between 1902 and 1918. In the Cape Parliament, Grahamstown had two representatives; this was reduced to one in the Union Parliament, and Grahamstown was weakened further by its amalgamation with Albany, which had formerly also had two representatives in Cape Town.⁹⁴ Grahamstown's strong Progressive and Unionist

89 Of this total of 2 055, 520 pupils attended schools under the control of the Board, 40 attended evening school, 550 attended other state-aided schools and 945 attended private schools and colleges. (GPM, 26 Feb 1917)

90 GPM, 19 April 1905; GTJ, 20 April 1905.

91 GTJ, 16 May 1905.

92 GTJ, 10 Aug 1905.

93 GTJ, 15 Feb 1906.

94 In 1904, Grahamstown's two parliamentarians represented 1 837 voters and 13 387 people; Albany's two represented 2 036 voters and 37 584 people. (CPP, G.19 - 1905, pgs 8-9). In 1912, Albany had one Member of Parliament who represented 2 877 voters and a population of 45 057. (U.G.32 - 1912, pg 19).

leanings meant the constituency was always on one bank of the mainstream of southern African politics. The Eastern Province Association was further evidence of Grahamstown's anachronistic political stance. The battle for independence and local rights continued in the fight to avoid the Municipal Ordinance, but Grahamstown was forced to submit in view of her grave economic position. By 1920, the city found a new political identity in the South African Party, and had joined the main political alliance opposed to Hertzog. The political transition was difficult to accept, in view of such deeply-held sentiments that were vocalized and practised in the past, but the stance of Botha and Smuts over involvement in the First World War eased the transition enormously.

Grahamstown's strong approval and support of the British monarchy, Empire, institutions and race was evident throughout the period under review. Imperialists such as Milner and Rhodes consistently received a favourable press.⁹⁵ The visit of the Governor of the Cape, Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, to Grahamstown in April 1905, provoked the comment that

"not in the wide dominions of Edward VII [is there] a more intensely loyal community than the citizens of Grahamstown."⁹⁶

At the beginning of 1906, a public meeting to decide whether or not to extend a "hearty invitation" to Field Marshall HRH the Duke of Connaught, the brother of the King, to visit Grahamstown drew 200 people, and speakers vied with each other in their loyalist comments.⁹⁷ In August 1905, a committee was formed to commemorate the Nelson centenary and the Battle of Trafalgar "to bring alive the glories of the British navy".⁹⁸ Each year, the ceremony of trooping the colour took place on the Drostdy in honour of the King's birthday, and the First

95 One example is GTJ, 1 April 1905 on Milner.

96 GPM, 5 April 1905.

97 GPM, 10 Jan 1906. The invitation, duly issued, was refused by the Duke.

98 GPM, 2 Aug 1905. Arrangements fell through because the City Council refused to grant £25 to the committee. The Penny Mail thereupon attacked the "prevailing attitude of lukewarmness". (GPM, 20 Oct 1905).

City volunteers, and the cadets of St Andrew's, St Aidan's, Kingswood and the Public School participated.⁹⁹ The proposed visit of the Prince of Wales to South Africa in 1910 to open the first Union Parliament provoked a further outbreak of jingoistic fervour in Grahamstown. The discovery that the Prince was not to tour the Eastern Province in his seven-week visit resulted in a small outcry.¹⁰⁰ The death of Edward VII on 6 May caused the cancellation of the royal tour. Lengthy and emotive reports of the King's last hours, the royal family's mourning, the Empire's loss and Grahamstown's grief dominated the newspapers.¹⁰¹ The City Council agreed to grant £100 to a national South African memorial to Edward VII.¹⁰² Local celebrations for the coronation of King George V and Queen Mary included church services, decorations in the city's streets, a "patriotic concert", children's activities, sporting events and a fancy dress carnival.¹⁰³

The celebration of Grahamstown's centenary in 1912 brought forth a nostalgic commemoration of the city's origins and heritage. At the end of 1910 the City Council appointed a committee to meet the Chamber of Commerce to consider steps to celebrate the centenary.¹⁰⁴ The two bodies decided that the event should be celebrated in a fitting manner¹⁰⁵ and a public meeting elected an official centenary committee to organize the programme.¹⁰⁶ Numerous suggestions were put forward for particular projects and many reflected the need for facilities in the

99 GPM, 10 Nov 1906.

100 GPM, 11 March 1910. Controversy focussed on the possibility of inviting the Prince of Wales to visit the city. The City Council debated the matter at length, but eventually voted 8-4 not to extend an invitation, chiefly on the grounds of cost (GPM, 24 March 1910). A public meeting voted unanimously to extend an invitation to the royal party (GPM, 5 April 1910), but it was never issued.

101 GTJ, 7 May 1910; GPM, 9 May 1910; GPM, 23 May 1910.

102 GPM, 19 May 1911.

103 GPM, 26 June 1911.

104 GTJ, 26 Nov 1910.

105 GTJ, 1 Dec 1910.

106 GTJ, 3 Dec 1910.

city.¹⁰⁷ The centenary committee reduced the viable suggestions to two: the building of an organ in the City Hall, or the erection of a memorial in High Street, on the spot where Col. Graham and Capt. Stockenström decided on the site of the city.¹⁰⁸

The committee divided into two factions, and each undertook to raise money separately. Both parties aimed to collect £2 000.¹⁰⁹ Prof. Cory and Dr Schönland, both of whom supported the erection of a monument, visited Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Bloemfontein and Johannesburg to raise funds, and reported in February 1912 that they had over £100 at their disposal. It was therefore decided to adopt the monument scheme.¹¹⁰ The plans were modified to cost £1 000, but some city councillors regarded anything over £500 as unrealistic.¹¹¹ A house to house visitation to raise funds yielded more criticism than financial reward.¹¹² Further financial difficulty was experienced when the centenary committee applied to the City Council for a grant of £200.¹¹³ The money was approved for entertainment purposes, subject to the sanction of a public meeting.¹¹⁴ The grant was approved but only after some strong opposition.¹¹⁵

107 Amongst them were an augmented and purified water supply, a water-borne sewerage scheme and the construction of an adequately equipped hospital (GTJ, 22 Nov 1910); the remetalling of High Street and Church Square, the improvement of Mountain Drive, or the re-establishment of Chapel Street as a thoroughfare (GTJ, 3 Dec 1910; GTJ, 6 April 1911); a tree plantation, a bigger library, or public baths (GTJ, 29 June 1911).

108 GTJ, 20 June 1911. The City Council agreed to enlarge the City Hall to accommodate an organ should it be decided that the centenary be commemorated in that fashion. (GTJ, 17 Aug 1911).

109 GTJ, 31 Aug 1911.

110 GTJ, 24 Feb 1912. Response in Grahamstown had been minimal: £19 had been collected for the organ and £4 for the memorial.

111 GTJ, 21 March 1912.

112 GTJ, 21 March 1912.

113 GTJ, 2 May 1912.

114 GTJ, 9 May 1912.

115 GTJ, 21 May 1912.

Disputes over the design of the monument forced the committee to agree to the laying of the foundation stone but to consider further the design of the monument.¹¹⁶ Another complex problem was to find a suitable person to lay the foundation stone. An original proposal to invite King George V was not followed up.¹¹⁷ Lord Gladstone, the Governor-General, and General Botha, the Prime Minister, were next in line;¹¹⁸ but the former was to be in England in August and the latter was "otherwise engaged".¹¹⁹ Lord de Villiers, Chief Justice of the Union, prevaricated because of uncertainty about his duties as Acting Governor-General, and he then fell ill.¹²⁰ Sir John Graham¹²¹ and Sir Andries Stockenström¹²², both descendants of the original founders, also refused invitations, the former because of onerous duties on a commission and the latter through a "sense of modesty".¹²³ With the Mayor preparing to perform the task, General Smuts, Union Minister of Defence, accepted an invitation only ten days before the ceremony.¹²⁴

Celebrations began on Sunday 11 August, with a united Thanksgiving service arranged by the Evangelical Church Council at Commemoration Church, and a civic service in the Cathedral.¹²⁵ A special gala concert took place in the City Hall on 12 August at which a "memorial ode", written by Prof A R Lord and set to music by Percy Ould, was performed.

116 GTJ, 13 July 1912.

117 GTJ, 3 Dec 1910.

118 GTJ, 21 May 1912.

119 GTJ, 6 July 1912.

120 GTJ, 3 Aug 1912.

121 Graham was Secretary to the Law Department of the Cape of Good Hope and, as a civil servant, played a prominent role in laying the foundations of the South African Public Service. South African Who's Who, 1925-26, pg 104.

122 Stockenström (1868-1922) was the third baronet; he was a Transvaal advocate and a member of both the Transvaal and Union Parliaments. DSAB, Vol I, pg 778; DSAB, Vol IV, pg 621.

123 GTJ, 6 Aug 1912.

124 GTJ, 6 Aug 1912.

125 GTJ, 13 Aug 1912. The service in the Cathedral was also the first after the addition of the new nave.

A poem by Hon A Wilmot, "Let Grahamstown Flourish", was also published at the same time.¹²⁶ The ode spoke of the superiority of the values of freedom and good brought by the expanding empire; emphasized the adversity experienced by the vanguard explorers and conquerors, and underlined the importance of the church, particularly Anglicanism, in the imperial identity. A sense of confidence and assurance underpins the ode. The poem described even more specifically the rigours and hazards, both explicit and implicit, faced by courageous settlers for the ultimate good of British commerce. That justice would emerge triumphant was never in doubt; the greater the hazards, the more splendid the victory, which would be eternal. Neither composition is good poetry; but both sum up superbly the outlook and mood of the times. The sense of Grahamstown's imperial identity is overwhelming. On 14 August, Smuts laid the foundation stone of the monument, reviewed cadets, lunched at the Grand Hotel and attended sporting events.¹²⁷ A fireworks display on Fiddler's Green, a torchlight procession, and a Grand Ball in the City Hall brought the evening to a successful climax.¹²⁸

The centenary committee accepted a tender of £393 from G Gibson of Queenstown for the building of the memorial, and allocated an extra £30 for the modelling of the top stone.¹²⁹ The monument was unveiled on 31 May 1913.¹³⁰ It was designed by F W Armstrong, Principal of the School of Art; it took the form of a 22 ft high obelisk, standing on a 15 ft octagonal base, with blank spaces at the bottom on which it was intended

126 See Appendix F, pg. 367.

127 In his speech, Smuts called for English and Dutch unity, referred to Grahamstown as the Oxford of South Africa, and praised the settlers and their successors for their role in the advancement of white Christian civilization.

128 GTJ, 15 Aug 1912.

129 GTJ, 31 Aug 1912.

130 24 May, Empire Day, was originally designated as the day for the ceremony, but inclement weather forced postponement.

to cast four bronze panels depicting scenes of Grahamstown's history.¹³¹ At the top of the column were four shields, with the coats of arms of the Grahamstown municipality, the Union, and the Graham and Stockenström families. The crown was supported by two giraffes and two leopards, symbols of the city, at each corner. The comment of the Journal reveals further insights into the consciousness of the inhabitants of the city:

"[The monument tells of] a history as rich in tone, and as eloquent in its recital of heroic conduct and dauntless British courage, as that of any of the Dominions under the Crown; a history telling of war's alarms, and adventures by field and flood, of peace after strife, of the triumph of right and justice over official despotism and autocratic rule; and of the blessings of civilization prevailing against savagery and barbarism."¹³²

Grahamstown's support for Britain in the First World War was strong, emotional and unequivocal. Anti-German feeling manifested itself quickly when the eligibility of Dr S Schönland, who had recently been elected to the City Council, was questioned, owing to the fact that he was not a naturalized British subject, and he was forced to resign.¹³³ The sinking of the *Lusitania* in May 1915 resulted in a crowded public meeting in Grahamstown, which expressed its "utmost abhorrence of the

131 The first panel was intended to depict Col Graham and Capt Stockenström standing under the mimosa tree; the second and third to consist of medallion portraits of Graham and Stockenström, and the fourth dedicated to the women of Grahamstown. Only one was ever completed - that of the "noble pioneering women" of 1819. Funds presumably did not last, but a determined committee of ladies managed to raise enough money for the panel that was inserted (GPM, 1 Sept 1913).

132 GTJ, 31 May 1913.

133 GTJ, 15 Oct 1914; GPM, 16 Oct 1914.

villainous and outrageously brutal barbarism" of the Germans.¹³⁴ The newspapers strongly supported recruiting campaigns and war funds, and encouraged the youth of Albany to enlist.¹³⁵ The local branch of the Governor-General's fund raised £1 088 in the first year of the war.¹³⁶ A committee was formed to assist with the securing of recruits for the South African Overseas Contingent.¹³⁷ A visit of members of the British Citizen Movement to Grahamstown in March 1916 provoked an outburst of aggressive patriotism, and a motion was passed calling on the government to enact legislation against Germans in the country.¹³⁸ When Lord Kitchener died, memorial services throughout the city in all the churches were filled to capacity.¹³⁹ A largely attended public meeting endorsed a resolution in August 1916:

"That on the completion of the second year of a righteous war, this meeting of the citizens of Grahamstown records its inflexible determination to support to a victorious end the struggle in maintenance of those ideals of liberty and justice which are the common and sacred cause of the Allies."¹⁴⁰

In 1918, a decision of Grahamstown employers to dismiss any unmarried man in their service, and a mutual agreement not to employ any such individual, created concern both inside and outside the city. The matter was raised in Parliament by C W Malan, a Nationalist member;¹⁴¹ locally, the decision was described as "an act of unbearable tyranny".¹⁴² Some employers thereupon qualified their original resolution.¹⁴³

134 Much anti-German sentiment was directed against S Schönland and B Moser, both of German birth, despite the fact that they both publicly deplored the sinking of the Lusitania at the meeting. GPM, 19 May 1915.

135 GPM, 16 Aug 1915; GTJ, 2 Sept 1915.

136 GPM, 27 Aug 1915.

137 GPM, 6 Sept 1915.

138 GTJ, 11 March 1916.

139 GPM, 9 June 1916.

140 GPM, 14 Aug 1916; LO, 19 Aug 1916.

141 GPM, 26 April 1918.

142 GPM, 8 May 1918, "Demos" to Editor.

143 GPM, 7 May 1918, D Knight to Editor

Up to September 1917, Grahamstown citizens contributed £10 633 to the war effort¹⁴⁴. 765 men from Grahamstown enlisted at the Resident Magistrate's Court up to August 1918, and the local War Sufferers' Aid Society had sent about two hundred parcels every three months to the Grahamstown contingent.¹⁴⁵

The cessation of the war caused unprecedented scenes of celebration in the loyal community. The capitulation of Austria-Hungary at the beginning of November 1918 resulted in spontaneous celebrations in the streets of the city, as flags were hung, bells rung and Grahamstown "threw off its mourning garb" from the influenza epidemic, and celebrated with "unrestrained enthusiasm".¹⁴⁶ When the armistice was signed on 11 November, people flocked into the streets amid "deafening cheers", the Cathedral bells rang continuously, crowds of cheering students and schoolchildren gathered from all over the town, bunting was strung up in Church Square, and businesses closed down. A crowd of two thousand people attended a meeting in Church Square.¹⁴⁷ The National Anthem was played, Rule Britannia sung and cheers sounded for the King, Marshall Foch, Lloyd George, the British generals, the allied armies, the Springboks and the Mayor. The Penny Mail praised the battered but victorious empire, and declared that Britain had

"unfurled her banner at a most momentous period to protect the weak against the strong, against a power animated by the lust for dominion, to whom the chastity of a girl was nought [sic], to whom the lives of old men and women and sucking babes were a

144 Mayoral Minute, 1917, pg.45. AM, unaccessioned.

145 GPM, 28 Aug 1918.

146 GPM, 6 Nov 1918.

147 The following resolution was unanimously acclaimed: "That the citizens of Grahamstown, in public meeting assembled, having learnt with great rejoicing and thanksgiving to Almighty God that the terms of the Allies have been accepted by the chief of our enemies and that hostilities have to-day ceased, offer their heartiest congratulations to H.M. the King, his Majesty's Government and the Rulers and Governments of our allied states upon the happy consummation of the great war ..." GPM, 13 Nov 1918.

hindrance in the march of rapine and the dismemberment of all those principles which in the mass we have held to be sacred and therefore right."¹⁴⁸

Celebrations of the end of the war continued with a torchlight procession, firework displays, bonfires fuelled with "disused mattresses and other impedimenta" from the epidemic hospitals, the lighting up of Church Square, the erection of an illuminated sign reading "G.R." and special church services.¹⁴⁹ Thanksgiving Day was observed at an open-air church service attended by over two thousand people.¹⁵⁰

Despite a victorious conclusion to the First World War, Britain and the Empire were already declining, and had been in retreat since the Anglo-Boer War. Such a trend was not evident to most contemporaries, particularly in colonial outposts such as Grahamstown. Grahamstown's citizens believed in the Empire; their security was in its stability. They were nonetheless forced to accept the changing South African dispensation and sought to find their identity within that; even if the authority of Britain was vague and distant, it was still there. The transition from the Victorian heyday to post-Edwardian decline was difficult to accept. Political and ideological change was one facet of the transition; economic and social circumstances also altered. By 1918, it was recognized that Grahamstown was no longer a bustling frontier town, and that its recovery was unlikely. Grahamstown citizens were less likely than before to indulge in fantasies of economic strength and industrial power; they looked to the educational institutions of the city for future expansion. Cuthbert Whiteside, Mayor from 1918 until 1922, acknowledged in 1920 the lines of future development, which lay in the city's educational, legal, clerical and residential features:

"Grahamstown has hitherto been, it might be said, almost entirely an educational, legal and residential centre, possessing many attractions to those who seek a town in which to spend their retirement with facilities for education of

148 GPM, 13 Nov 1918.

149 GPM, 15 Nov 1918.

150 GPM, 18 Nov 1918.

their children. It has been the desire of many citizens to retain these characteristics and not to permit anything that will interfere with the quiet, studious atmosphere which is always associated with a Cathedral town of educational institutions. We have been peculiarly free from the throb of the factory engine, the smoke of the tall chimney stack and the buzz of the manufacturing centre, and many residents value the town as a residential centre for that reason, more particularly in Grahamstown, which is justly regarded as a town of beauty and repose."¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ Mayoral Minute, 1920, pgs.30-31, AM, unaccessioned.

APPENDIX A

POPULATION OF GRAHAMSTOWN 1891-1921

Population of Grahamstown

	<u>1891</u>	<u>1904</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1921</u>
White	6 237	7 283	7 323	7 237
Malay	22	8))	143 (Asian)
Hottentot	506	996)	2 190)	1 898 (Coloured)
Mixed and Other	1 093	1 223)	mixed &) other	
Fingo	615	851)	4 317)	
Kafir	1 965	3 526)	(Bantu))	5 631 (Native)
<hr/>				
TOTAL	10 498	13 887	13 830	14 909

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Statistics drawn from: CPP, G.19 - 1905, pg 12.
 U.G.32 - 1912, pp 86-87.
 U.G.15 - 1923, pg 48.

Population of Grahamstown (Sex Distinction)

	<u>1904</u>		<u>1911</u>		<u>1921</u>	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
White	3 542	3 741	3 482	3 841	3 320	3 917
Malay	7	1))		
Hottentot	463	533)	1 023	1 167)	984	1 057
Mixed and Other	643	580))		
Fingo	361	490))		
Kafir	1 722	1 804)	1 943	2 374)	2 576	3 055
TOTAL	6 738	7 149	6 448	7 382	6 880	8 029

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Statistics compiled from: CPP, G.19 - 1905, p 12.
 U.G.32 - 1912, pp 86-87.
 U.G.15 - 1923, pg 48.

APPENDIX B

MAYORS OF GRAHAMSTOWN 1901-1919

Appendix BMayors of Grahamstown, 1901-1919¹Term: July-July

1901-1902)	Daniel Knight
1902-1903)	
1903-1904)	
1904-1905)	John Webber
1905-1906)	
1906-1907)	Henry Fitchat
1907-1908)	
1908-1909	John Webber
1909-1910	Henry Richard Wood
1910-1911)	Henry Fitchat
1911-1912)	
1912-1913)	
1913-1914)	Thomas Francis Barry van der Riet
1914-1915)	
1915-1916)	Henry Fitchat
1916-1917)	

Term: September-September

1917-1918	Henry Fitchat
1918-1919	Cuthbert William Whiteside

¹ Compiled from List of Mayors, AM, SMD 624.

Henry Fitchat² (Died 1943)

He was born in Kingwilliamstown in 1864. Details of his childhood, education and background are obscure, and it is also uncertain when he came to Grahamstown. He presumably possessed determination and acute business sense, as well as some financial resources; he established the firm of H Fitchat and Co in Bathurst Street, which grew into a flourishing draper and millinery business concern. Fitchat was reputed to be amongst the most wealthy inhabitants of Grahamstown, and he owned property all over the city.

He was elected to the City Council for the first time in June 1903, and was amongst the longest serving Mayors in the history of the city, occupying the mayoral chair for seven terms. He was prominent in several other local organizations. He served as President of the Grahamstown Chamber of Commerce on several occasions; he was Chairman of the Albany Board of Executors and Trust Co Ltd; he was Chairman of the Albany Hospital Board; and he was President of the Albany Agricultural Society. He was a Justice of the Peace for Albany for thirty years, a member of the Rhodes University College Council, and acted as the Council's Treasurer from 1907 until about 1932. In 1908, he was elected Grahamstown's senior member to the Legislative Assembly, where he promoted the interests of Rhodes University College. He was also elected to the Union Parliament for a year; in March 1923, he became MP for Albany as a South African Party nominee, but did not win the Party's nomination for the 1924 general election.

In 1887, Fitchat married Edith Kettle. He was a member of the St John's Lodge of Freemasons, and served as President of the local branch of the South African Temperance Alliance for many years.

² GDM, 9 Nov 1943; GDM, 12 Nov 1943; GDM, 19 April 1944; South African Who's Who, 1943, pg 129; B M Schoeman, Parlementêre Verkiesings in Suid Afrika, 1910-1976, pgs 126-127.

Daniel Knight³ (Died 1923)

Knight came to South Africa from England at about the age of twenty-five, in the early 1870's, for health reasons. He arrived in Grahamstown in 1876 and founded a boot and shoe business in Church Square in the same year. The successful store is still in existence today.

Knight served as a city councillor for over thirty years, and was Mayor between 1901 and 1903. His chief concerns as a councillor were finance, health and afforestation, and he was known for his progressive views. He was heavily involved in local affairs: he was a President of the local Chamber of Commerce, President of the Fine Arts Association, and Chairman of the Kingswood College Council. He further served as a member of the Municipal School Board, the Albany Museum Board, the Committee of the Wesleyan High School for Girls, and the Rhodes University College Council. He was also the first President of the Grahamstown Bowling Club.

He was a prominent Methodist layman, and was widely known for his frequent contribution at Conference and at District Synods. He served as superintendent of the Commemoration Church Sunday School for almost fifty years. Knight married twice.

Thomas Francis Barry van der Riet⁴ (Died 1916)

Van der Riet was born in Swellendam in 1851 and was educated there and at the Diocesan College in Cape Town. He was articled in Cape Town and moved to Grahamstown in 1872 as a Clerk of the Eastern Districts Court. After acting briefly as Registrar of the Court in 1873, he became an Attorney in the same year. He was soon known as a leading member of the legal profession in Grahamstown.

3 GTJ, 20 Sept 1904; GDM, 22 Jan 1923; GDM, 23 Jan 1923.

4 GTJ, 6 Aug 1912; GPM, 25 Aug 1916; GPM, 26 Aug 1916.

He served briefly on the City Council in 1887 and in 1903; he was elected again in 1911 and became Mayor in July 1912. He was a competent administrator and his Mayoralty saw the adoption of recommendations of the Special Investigation Committee. Other important innovations initiated by him were the installation of a water filtration plant, and the reconstruction and embellishment of Church Square.

In 1902, van der Riet founded the Eastern Province Building Society and remained its Chairman until his death. He was a Justice of the Peace from 1888. He was a member of the St John's Lodge of Freemasons. In 1877 he married Jessie Hayton and they had five children.

John Webber⁵ (Died 1912)

Webber was born in South Molton, Devonshire in 1842. His parents emigrated to the Cape in 1843 and settled in Grahamstown the following year. He received a rudimentary education in Grahamstown and, at the age of thirteen, was apprenticed as a printer to J G Franklin of the Frontier Times. He later took the newspaper over, with J Williams, before relinquishing it and joining the staff of the Grahamstown Journal in 1862. In 1864 he moved to Port Elizabeth and worked for the Eastern Province Herald for two years, when he returned to Grahamstown to take up a position on the Great Eastern. After that newspaper closed, Webber became a butcher for twelve years and, in 1887, purchased the business of T and G Sheffield, and established himself as a bookseller and stationer.

He was elected to the City Council in 1887 and served continuously, apart from a short break, until 1910. He served as Mayor for four terms. He was Chairman of the Committee of Management and Treasurer of the Trinity Church, and was also a member of the Albany Hospital Board. He married Elizabeth Stanton in 1864 and the couple produced ten children.

⁵ GTJ, 27 Aug 1904; GTJ, 19 March 1912.

Cuthbert William Whiteside⁶ (Died 1969)

Whiteside qualified as a lawyer in Port Elizabeth in 1901 and remained as an Attorney in that city until 1906. He moved to Grahamstown at the end of 1906 and formed the firm of Roberts and Whiteside. The practice was extremely successful and a profit of £1 500 and £3 000 was recorded in the first two years of its existence. In 1916, Whiteside entered a partnership with T B van der Riet (who died in that year) and C B Flanagan, with whom he remained in partnership until Flanagan left Grahamstown in 1926.

He was first elected to the City Council in 1912, and headed the reform movement called the Citizens' Union. He served as Mayor of Grahamstown between 1918 and 1922. In 1920 he inaugurated the 1820 Settlers' Association, and set up a national immigration scheme for further encouragement of British settlement in South Africa. He became a Knight Bachelor in 1921.

In 1947, Whiteside moved to Leisure Island at Knysna, where he lived until his death. Whiteside died a bachelor.

Henry Richard Wood⁷ (Died 1921)

A son of the Hon. George Wood, Henry Wood entered the family merchant business and, in the family tradition, was prominent in local civic and church activities. He was a city councillor for twenty-eight years, from 1892 until 1921. He served as Mayor between 1896 and 1899, and again between 1909 and 1910. He was closely involved with the establishment of gas lighting in the city in 1894, and the Slaai Kraal water scheme was decided upon during his Mayoralty, in 1897. His year as Mayor in 1909 was distinctive for its lack of innovation. Wood's conservatism and lack of imagination were renowned, but he was nevertheless a popular civic leader. He was a vigorous opponent of

6 G Randell, Gentlemen of the Law, pp 24-30; Who Was Who, 1961-1970, Vol 6, Addenda 1, pg xi.

7 GDM, 25 July 1921

the Provincial Council system, and more particularly the Municipal Ordinance of 1912, but he eventually accepted that it was necessary for Grahamstown to come under it. Wood represented Grahamstown in the Cape Parliament between 1902 and 1907 without any particular distinction.

For twenty-five years, Wood was Chairman of the Albany Hospital Board; for thirty-six years he served as Chairman of the Eastern Province Guardian Loan and Investment Company. He was a life governor of the Grahamstown Fine Arts Association, Honorary Treasurer of the Albany Museum Board, Vice-Chairman of the Albany Divisional School Board, a member of the Rhodes University College Council, a member of the Chamber of Commerce, and a member of the Licensing Court.

Wood was a devout Methodist. He was a Chairman of the Kingswood College Council and a member of the Wesleyan High School Council. He acted as superintendent of the West Hill Sunday School for forty-five years, and was a member of the Grahamstown District Synod for forty years. He married twice; first a daughter of Rev W Impey, and next a daughter of Josiah Slater. He had ten children.

APPENDIX C

GRAHAMSTOWN REPRESENTATIVES IN PARLIAMENT 1904-1918

Appendix CGrahamstown Representatives in Parliament, 1904-1918

Henry Fitchat (Cape Parliament 1908-1910)

See Appendix B, pg.355.

Leander Starr Jameson¹ (Cape Parliament 1904-1910;
Union Parliament 1910-1912)

Jameson was born in Edinburgh in 1853 and moved to England in 1860. He was educated at Godolphin School, Hammersmith and University College, London; he became MRCS in 1875 and gained his MD in 1877. In 1878 he set up a practice in Kimberley with a Dr Prince. In 1886 he became a close friend of Cecil Rhodes, who was responsible for his political career. Jameson went to Bulawayo in February 1889 to ensure that Lobengula would honour the mineral concession obtained by C D Rudd on behalf of Rhodes the previous year. In 1890 and in 1891 he travelled to Matabeleland for similar reasons. He was appointed Chief Magistrate of Mashonaland in 1891 and was Administrator of the area during the 1893 war.

In 1895, Jameson led the raid into the Transvaal Republic on behalf of Rhodes; he was sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment in England for his role. After the Cape inquiry in 1896 pronounced Jameson guilty, but blamed Rhodes chiefly, Jameson returned to Rhodesia. After war broke out in South Africa in October 1899, Jameson went to Natal and served as a doctor in the seige of Ladysmith. In May 1900 he was elected unopposed for Kimberley in the Cape Parliament and he condemned the Raid in his maiden speech in 1902. He supported suspension of the constitution during the Anglo-Boer War and his influence in the Progressive Party increased until he became its leader in March 1903. In 1904, he won the Grahamstown seat and became Prime Minister of the Cape when the Progressives won the election with a small majority.

1 DSAB, Vol III, pp 438-441.

Jameson's administration was unpopular, and he was soundly defeated by John X Merriman in 1908. Jameson was a Cape delegate to the National Convention and, after attempting to form links with Louis Botha, opposed Botha in the 1910 elections and became the first Leader of the Opposition under Union. He was elected unopposed for Albany in 1910. He resigned as leader of the Unionists in April 1912, and from the Albany seat in October 1912. He became President of the British South Africa Company in February 1913, and concentrated his efforts on the Company. Jameson became a member of the Privy Council in 1907, and a Baronet in 1911. He died in London in 1917.

Frederick John Werndly van der Riet² (Union Parliament, 1912-1923)

He was born in Swellendam in 1868, and educated at Victoria College in Stellenbosch and at the University of the Cape of Good Hope. He wrote the matriculation examination in 1885, the Intermediate in 1886 and obtained his BA in literature and philosophy in 1887. He entered the Civil Service and passed the Civil Service law examination in 1891 and the final BA law exam in 1894.

In 1895, he began his professional career and was posted to Grahamstown as Chief Clerk to the Solicitor General. He resigned in 1897 and joined a leading firm of solicitors in Johannesburg; in the same year, he married Mary Franklin of Grahamstown. He returned to Grahamstown in 1900 after the outbreak of war and became an Advocate at the Grahamstown Bar, where he built up a substantial practice. In 1912 he became a Senior Advocate and the leader of the Bar. In the same year he succeeded Dr Jameson as Member of Parliament for Albany and held the seat until 1923 when he resigned in order to take up his appointment as a Judge. It was expected that Judge van der Riet would become Judge President (for Sir Thomas Graham was about to retire), but he died suddenly in Grahamstown in November 1929.

2 George Randell to Rose-Mary Sellick, letter dated 17 Nov 1983

Henry Richard Wood (Cape Parliament 1902-1907)

See Appendix B, pg. 358.

APPENDIX D

MANIFESTO OF THE EASTERN PROVINCE ASSOCIATION

Manifesto of the Eastern Province Association¹

This association has been formed with the object of obtaining, at the earliest possible date, for the Eastern Districts of the Cape Colony together with the Native Territories, a provincial council and local administration of their own.

1. A non-party movement: The obtaining of a separate Eastern administration for local and private affairs is a matter affecting the welfare of the whole Eastern Cape Colony. It is therefore confidently anticipated that it will receive the support of persons belonging to all political parties.
2. The Right Moment: The South Africa Act of Union clearly recognizes the principle that local interests are best dealt with in the areas affected by them. It clearly contemplates the formation in the future of new provinces. The East should therefore at once shake off inaction, and strenuously endeavour to obtain what it would already have had but for Western opposition in the National Convention.
3. The position of the East: The area of the Cape Colony is larger than that of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State and Natal combined. The extremities of the East are distant near 1 000 miles of travel from the present seat of provincial government. Such a government cannot possibly, so far as the East is concerned, be termed a local government.
4. Hardships of the East: The interests of the East are in many respects entirely different from those of the West. They have been often misunderstood and regarded with indifference by a government seated in the West. They have frequently suffered from the passing, for the advantage of the West, of laws actually prejudicial to Eastern interests.

¹ Extracted from GTJ, 23 June 1910

5. Inconvenience of the present system: The handing over of local affairs to an administration seated at one extremity of this vast province is likely to produce much inconvenience and delay. Prompt and intelligent action in emergencies will be impossible.
6. Strength of the claim: Every Eastern town and district knew, under the old system, of grievances arising from their distance from the seat of government. But, apart from any catalogue of grievances, the claim is an immensely strong one if based merely upon considerations of convenience and the principles of good government.
7. Best Act Immediately: A division is sooner or later bound to come. It is better for the Eastern Districts and Territories now to claim the partition that they really desire, than to wait for some scheme of subdivision which may not be so acceptable.
8. Hopeful signs: The Eastern Province Movement has already received strong support in the press throughout South Africa. There are hopeful signs that assistance will be forthcoming, if necessary, from the other Provinces of the Union.
9. Membership of the Association: Any adult, without reference to his or her political opinions, may become a member of the Association, upon payment of the sum of one shilling, and upon signing the roll of membership.
10. Procedure: All towns, villages and rural areas throughout the Eastern Districts and Native Territories are invited to co-operate by forming branch associations. Each branch should choose one or more delegates to proceed to an Eastern Conference shortly to be held at some convenient centre, with the object of forming a central executive, discussing the whole question, and deciding on the further steps to be taken.

APPENDIX E

**SOME SPECIMENS OF EARNINGS : SALARIES OF ARTISANS AND
UNSKILLED EMPLOYEES IN GRAHAMSTOWN (1915)**

SOME SPECIMENS OF EARNINGS¹

	<u>Wages</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
a) <u>Skilled Employees</u>		
Printers - Compositors - Machinists	about 60/- per week	15% less than Cape Town (the next lowest of large towns); 17% lower than Port Elizabeth
Masons) Bricklayers) Joiners)	1/3d or 1/6d per hour 10/- to 12/- per day Council rate 10/- per day	viz. about £12 per month <u>if fully employed</u>
Painters	Rather less	
Cobblers	Piecework: earnings about same	
b) <u>Unskilled Employees</u>		
"Handyman"	Council employees 5/- to 7/- per day	Liable to lose wet days
Gardeners	About 25/- per week	
Cab drivers	?	
Post Office	<u>Per Annum:</u>	
- Messengers (from 16 years)	£48, rising to £96 in 5 years)	
- Carriers	£60-100; max £140)	Have security, overtime, allowances, uniforms, medical attendance, pensions, etc.
Railway)	
- White Labourers	Start 4/6d per day; up to 12/-)	
- Checkers, sub-gauges	Minimum 6/- per day)	(Labourers in New Zealand: Legal minimum 8/- to 9/- per day.
c) <u>Other Employees</u>		
Shop Assistants Clerks (Male)	No definite standard	Occasionally paid for overtime

¹ This chart is taken from W M MacMillan's paper Economic Conditions in a Non-Industrial South African town: a preliminary study, (no page number).

	<u>Wages</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
Counter:		
- Learners (from 15 years)	Start as low as £1 per month. Rises by 6 monthly increments of 10/- to about £5 at 21 years	
- Seniors	As low as £8 per month; Good average about £15	Relatively few openings
- Clerks	Probably similar	
<u>For Comparison:</u>		
Postal Service -		
- Learners (from 16 years)	9/-, rising to 18/-, a week in 6 months	
- Regular Staff (about 18 years)	£90 or £100 p.a., rising to £250 or higher grade	
Railways:		
- Learners (16 years)	£48 rising to £120 (age about 21) or higher grade	

APPENDIX F

TWO VERSES TO COMMEMORATE THE CENTENARY OF
GRAHAMSTOWN IN 1912

A Memorial Ode

- A Lord.

I

Let us come forth
And proudly sing
In praise of men of worth
Who, honouring their fathers and their king,
A city and a rampart built
For Freedom and for Good,
Bestowed their wealth, and freely spilt
In armed strife their blood.

II

Nor less in praise of those, their followers,
Whose patient toil
Made harvest ripen on a stubborn soil
Not for themselves alone,
But us and ours
And all who come hereafter. Stone upon stone
They crowned their city's walls with towers
And planted round about with careful hand
The green memorials of their native land.

III

Then, treading humbly in the ways
Of other men in other climes and days -
William of Wykeham, Colet, and of him
Who plundered vice that learning might abound -
Came the good bishop in whose hand was found
The lamp of wisdom; and upon the hill
He set it to enlighten all the dim
Twilight of purposes half-realised
And others like him each for his own devised
A beacon and a blessing.

Thus with us still
 Their pious origins with pride confessing,
 Our homes of learning shall resound their praise.

IV

But chiefly on this date
 Our founders ought we to commemorate.
 One was a scion of a noble race
 That o'er the sable records of the North
 Shed gleams of golden glory,
 Oft proved their valiance and their worth,
 Won and maintained a lofty place
 In Scotland's story.
 The other, from a loyal ancestry
 That earned a name for standing stubbornly
 Against a flood
 Of evils that beset a Swedish King,
 Had seen his father's blood
 Shed treacherously amongst the thorns that look
 Towards the evening sun setting
 Behind the Winterhoek.

V

Therefore they twain
 In double duty bound,
 The elder ancient honour to maintain,
 The younger to avenge a bloody crime,
 And both to staunch the wound
 From which the country hourly suffered grievously,
 Redoubled blow on blow
 And drove the barbarous foe
 Back once again across their river boundary.
 And the land had piece awhile, and Time
 Began to heal its woe.
 Then, here they chose a spot for settlement,
 Standing together near the historic tree

Which long was cherished as a monument,
But long since perished; and here also we
With verse, with music, and with statuary
A new memorial shall presently bestow.

VI

Chaunt then their praises in a measure meet!
Their valour and their virtues were not vain.
Green ever be their memories and sweet,
Sweet as the veld refreshed with summer rain.
And bright their glory as the kafir-boom
Spreading its blossom in a radiant sky
That open-eyed beholds our Southern home.
Their prowess perfected in victory
Shall yet procure Fame's immortality.

Let Grahamstown Flourish

Hon A Wilmot

One hundred years of progress and of strain -
 One hundred years all linking up the chain
 Which binds our Empire to its distant parts,
 Uniting colonies and uniting hearts.

As little acorns in good soil when placed
 Becoming trees, the wilderness have graced,
 So Graham planted a fair seed - when grown
 It blossomed into beauteous Grahamstown.

Few years have passed From yonder hill poured down
 Fierce savage hordes on fated Grahamstown -
 But broke upon the rock of a small band
 Of British soldiers from the Motherland.

And now the scene is changed and settlers come,
 Six thousand British from their sea-girt home,
 Leaving their vales and meadows, hill and plain,
 They come as Settlers in new homes to gain,
 By means of arduous energy and toil,
 The right to stand as masters of the soil:
 To live in peace, and happily to be
 The owners of free homes among the free.

A lovely land of sunshine and of ease,
 Fringed by the waters of bright sapphire seas,
 Where nature smiles, and all her prospects please -
 Under your vine and fig-tree seek repose.
 But first, alas! bethink thee of thy foes.

A hundred years have gone and now we stand
 'Midst peace and plenty in a happy land;
 But oh! what frequent wars and bitter woe
 It cost to overcome your savage foe!

Say, o ye chroniclers, who follow fate,
How many tales of war you can relate.
The burning farmhouse, and the children's cry,
The dark bush ambush and the assegai!

The Settlers stood their ground and guarded there,
'Midst scenes of anguish and of wild despair,
Their homes and hearths till war's black clouds rolled by -
Rose then the people from their agony.

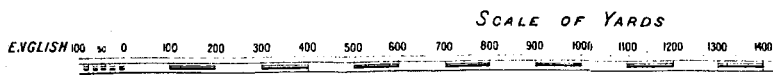
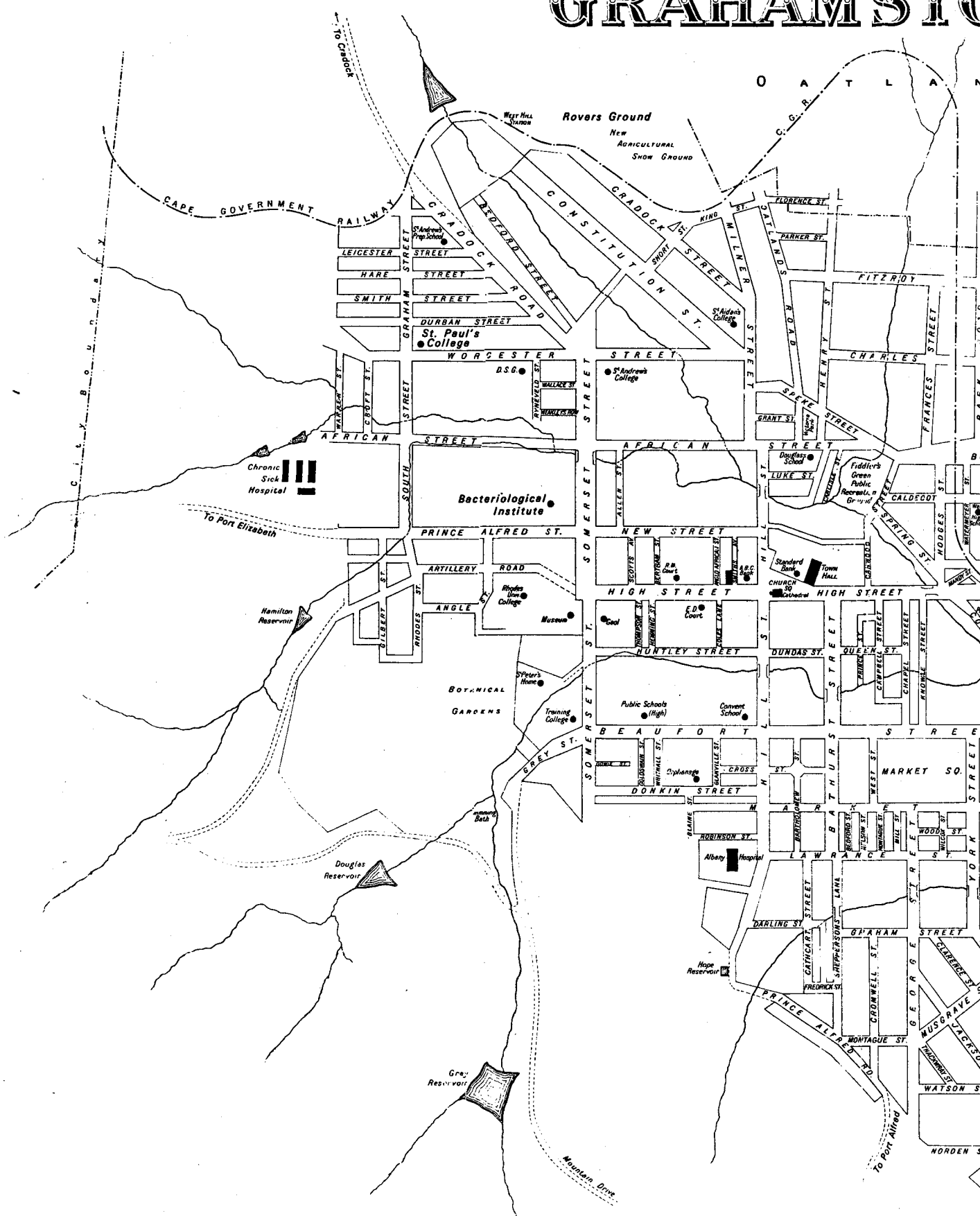
From first the Settlers worked hard to succeed.
The land was ploughed and freely sown the seed.
But blight came on the plenteous crops of corn
And the poor farmers felt indeed forlorn.

Soon other crops succeed and cattle roam
In the green swards around the settlers' home;
And rich successful commerce now repays
The land that sent them out in former days.
By such events the Homeland clearly learns
How bread cast on the waters e'er returns;
And that the flag of Empire, never furled,
Is followed by our commerce o'er the world.

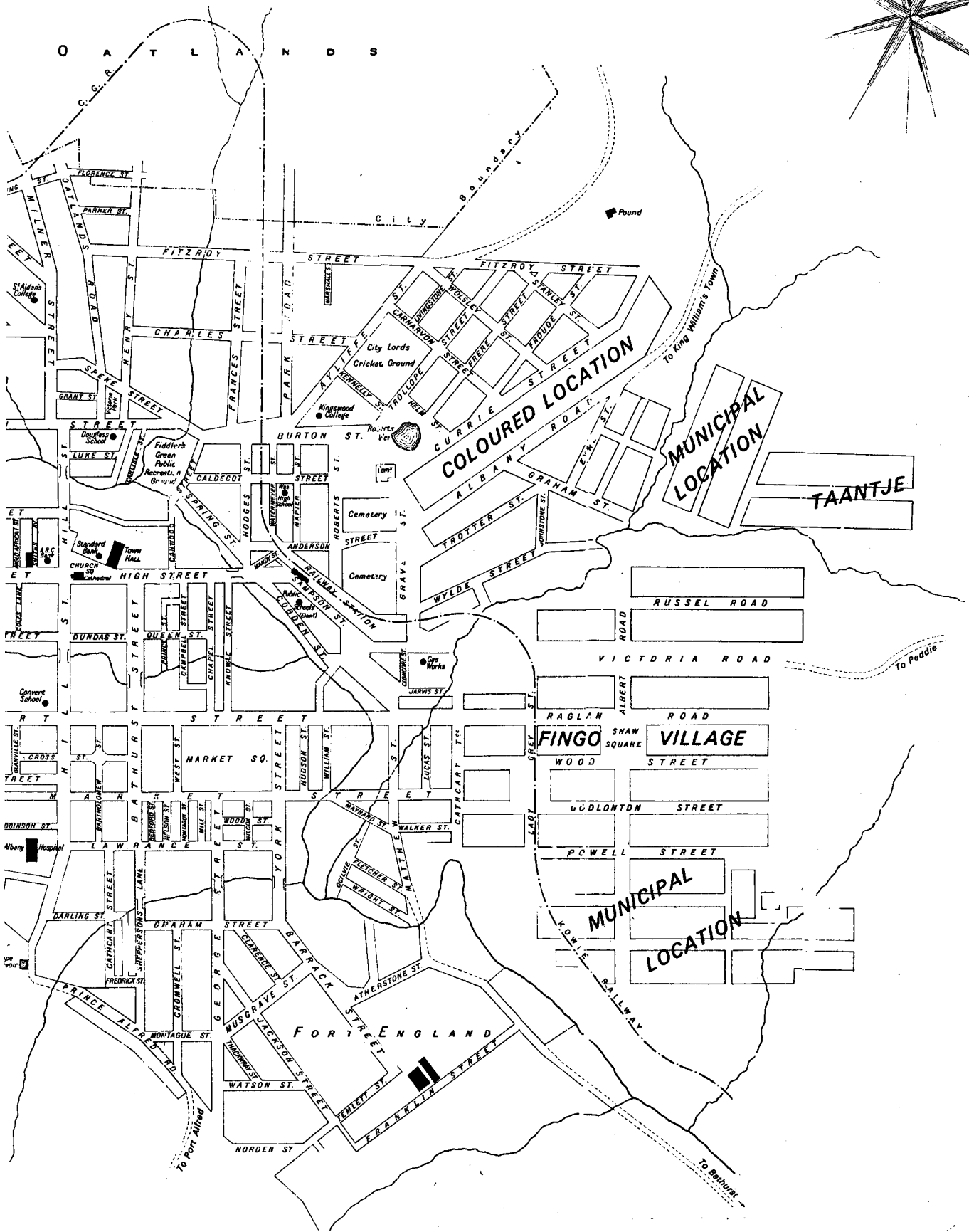
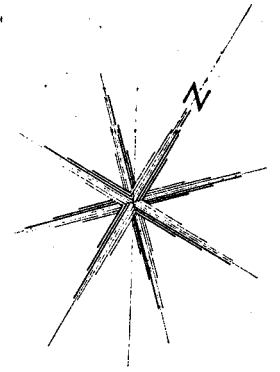
APPENDIX G

MAP BASED ON PLAN OF THE CITY OF GRAHAMSTOWN,
BY ERNEST GRUBB, CITY ENGINEER,
GRAHAMSTOWN, JANUARY 1909

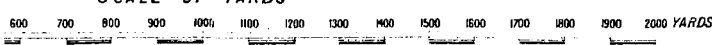
PLAN OF THE CITY OF GRAHAMSTOWN



MAP OF THE CITY OF HAMSTOWN



SCALE OF YARDS



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6. MAP

- Map based on Plan of the City of Grahamstown by Ernest Grubb, City Engineer.
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