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UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

HISTORY WORKSHOP

THE MAKING OF CLASS

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TITLE: Cape Town at the Advent of the Mineral Revolution (c. 1875): Economic Activity and Social Structure

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CAPE TOWN AT THE ADVENT OF THE MINERAL REVOLUTION (c.1875)

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

VIVIAN BICKFORD-SMITH

Cape Town in 1875 was the capital of Britain's Cape Colony. Located on the Cape Peninsula, by the shores of Table Bay, this small town of 33 000 people[1] was contained within a natural amphitheatre of approximately six and a half square miles formed and dominated by Table Mountain and Signal Hill.

In the sixteenth century the Table Bay area, relatively flat and well watered, had been a place of barter between the Peninsula's Khoisan inhabitants and crews of ships passing between Europe and the East Indies.[2] In establishing a settlement at the Bay in 1652 the directors of the Dutch East India Company were primarily concerned, it would seem, to maintain the status quo ante.[3] The settlers' and Khoisan's failure to achieve this aim has been well documented and led to the inexorable growth of a Dutch colony at the Cape, complete with imported slaves as well as subjugated Khoisan.[4]

In this process the settlement in Table Valley, Cape Town, continued to serve first and foremost as a trading centre between land and sea; between hinterland and port, port and passing ships. The extent of such trade underpinned the economic and demographic fortunes of the town. Demographic expansion in turn increased opportunities for retail trade and manufacture for local consumption. But the town's economy also drew nourishment from Cape Town's further roles as administrative capital and

military headquarters, and the concomitant expenditure. Such nourishment, and indeed the extent of exchange, remained meagre before the nineteenth century, meagre while the Cape Colony was under the control of the monopolistic D.E.I.C.[5]

Under the British the Cape was for the first time, brought within the ambit of a powerful industrialising economy. The British had both the inclination and the ability to change the nature and capacity of colonial production, with the consequent implications for the accumulation of capital and urbanisation in her new colony. Khoisan labour, under the Dutch reduced to serf status, was liberated, mobilised and made responsive to market forces by 1828. Slavery was abolished in 1834 and the ex-slave apprentices freed four years later.[6] Yet for economic growth, for the growth of Cape Town and other places of exchange to take place, there needed to be more than a transformation in conditions of production at the Cape. The Cape had still to find the product or products that the world market required.

One such product seemed, by the 1840's, to be wool. The rapid rise of British demand for wool took place between 1840 and 1870. With it came a rise in the price of that commodity. Cape merchants and farmers responded by concentrating their attention on the possibilitis of maximising this new source of profit.[7]

One problem, from Cape Town's point of view, was that Port Elizabeth and East London, founded by the British, had developed as rivals in competing for expanding agricultural output. Geographical determinism should have ensured that Cape Town was

eclipsed as the Midlands and Eastern Cape became the heartlands of wool production, the logical hinterlands of the other two ports. Indeed logic seemed to be winning the day as Port Elizabeth's exports, chiefly wool, took premier position over those of any other Cape port in 1854.[8]

Despite this challenge Cape Town retained its commercial pre-eminence in the late nineteenth century. This was partly made possible by the town's function as seat of government. This put Cape Town's mercantile elite [organised since 1822 in a commercial exchange], at something of an advantage when competing for the favours of the colonial state. Representative government, granted in 1853, accentuated the advantage by giving the Western Cape, and thus Cape Town, a majority in the legislature. Competition between East London and Port Elizabeth merchants only led to their greater mutual inability to counter dominant Western interests, a factor still very much alive after responsible government in 1872 had effectively diffused a simple East versus West divide.

So it was Cape Town that secured government money, in part gleaned from Port Elizabeth's enlarged custom, to build a proper harbour between 1860 and 1870 and continued to attract large sums on further improvements until the severe depression of the 1900's.[9] With Cape Town remaining the first potential Cape port of call for ships on their way from Europe, such expenditure and such facilities gave the economy of the town a sound foundation in the late nineteenth century as this potential was realised.

But continued government money, and the continued economic well-

being of the town, depended very largely on the southern African interior continuing to provide a product that could be successfully marketed overseas. By 1869, after several years of severe economic depression, considerable doubts had been raised in financial circles about the ability of wool to maintain an export-led growth of the colonial economy.[10] Such doubts were dispelled by the major diamond discoveries at Kimberley in 1870. They paved the way for the granting of responsible government to the Cape Colony in 1872 which, combined with increasing diamond revenue, led in turn to the development of a sophisticated infrastructure.[11] Between 1873 and 1883 more than 1 000 miles of railway and 7 000 miles of telegraph were constructed. For reasons outlined above, Cape Town interests were well served by the nature of the resulting network. Her effective hinterland was massively increased and, thanks in part to a special fast train service, Cape Town became the main port of entry for the escalating number of passengers to the interior. After initial overspeculation, over-trading and a minor recession in 1876-7, Cape Town merchants were enjoying unprecedented prosperity by the end of the decade. It was in these closing years of the 1870's that the diamond bonanza had its most dramatic effect on the political economy of Cape Town.[12]

DEMOGRAPHIC AND SPATIAL GROWTH

When the British took over the Cape in 1806 they had inherited a still-small capital of 16 000 people, the only sizeable urban centre in an overwhelmingly rural colony of 75 000. Cape Town's inhabitants were housed in a cluster of buildings between what had been the D.E.I.C.'s vegetable garden, an aid to the

provisioning of passing ships, and Table Bay. The rest of the amphitheatre was occupied by sizeable estates or left unsettled. A few hamlets, future suburbs of Cape Town, lay behind and to the south of the mountain, sandwiched between the latter and an area of sand dunes and marshes, the Cape Flats.[13]

The demographic growth of Cape Town under British rule was steady if undramatic before 1875. The population of the town itself had, after all, only doubled by this date. Yet the composition of the population had undergone some significant changes. In 1806 there was a two-way division of Capetonians into approximately 7 000 free and 9 000 slaves. The former group, predominantly Dutch or German in origin, also included other European immigrants as well as about 1 400 freed slaves and Khoisan. The majority of the slaves, many of whom were Moslems, were from the East, from the area of company activity in the Indies, and from Madagascar and Mozambique. By the late 18th century they included a high proportion of Bantu-speaking Africans (hereafter referred to simply as Africans). By the beginning of the 19th century perhaps half the slave population had been born within the colony.[14]

Between 1806 and 1875 the natural increase of this population was retarded by two notable factors: the negative rate of slave reproduction and frequent severe epidemics.[15] On the other hand, Cape Town's demographic growth, required by and for her economic growth, gained by migration from elsewhere in southern Africa, and immigration from overseas. To begin with, besides heralding the arrival of their merchants and civil servants, British control of the Cape brought the importation of several thousand 'Prize Negroes', Africans freed from slave ships after 1807. Their numbers were supplemented by the voluntary arrival of

workers from Europe, particularly from Britain. Cape Town's population was further bolstered by seasonal and/or permanent migration of Khoisan between countryside and town and a growing community of Africans from the eastern Cape.[16]

Close settlement moved beyond the castle to the east and towards Green Point in the west, into areas which became known as Districts 6 and 1 respectively. Houses also crept beyond Buitengracht street and up the slopes of Signal Hill, as well as to the south of the D.E.I.C.'s gardens, to an area which took its name from the latter.[17] The very centre of Cape Town, the Adderley/St George's street area, was all but abandoned as a place of residence. It was now the commercial centre of the city. Shops, warehouses, banks and insurance offices stood as monuments to the god that had created them, merchant capital.[18]

Since 1806 those hamlets to the south of Cape Town had become suburban villages. This development had been facilitated by something of a transport revolution just before the slump of the 1860's. A railway line, built by private capital, reached as far as Wynberg in the south by 1864 and was backed up by a tramway service. The latter also linked Cape Town to Sea Point by 1863. Spread along a fourteen mile line from Sea Point in the west to Wynberg in the south-east, these suburbs, more rus than urbs, contained 12 000 people by 1875.[19]

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

Any analysis of economic activity in Cape Town in 1875, and of the city's social structure, must rely very heavily on the census

of that year. Yet using the census for this purpose presents a number of problems. Firstly, the individual returns themselves no longer exist. Secondly, as with any other census, it is by no means certain that the 1875 returns were entirely accurate or indeed comprehended all of the city's population. Indeed there is evidence to suggest that Cape Town, if not its suburbs, contained considerably more than its official population; it seems that 'coloured' Capetonians were, literally, underestimated as some of them refused to give the full number of residents in their houses. The implication is that they feared municipal action against overcrowding.[20] Lastly, there is the problem of the vagueness of some of the categories used to describe peoples' occupations. 'Shopkeeper', 'Draper', or 'Merchant' are labels which say nothing about divisions of wealth and/or status within these categories. Yet 'Merchant' or even 'Draper' is suggestive of higher social status than plain 'Shopkeeper', which itself would appear superior to mere 'General Dealer'. A further flaw from the social historian's point of view, is the lack of distinction made in most instances between employers and employees in industrial production, between master and journeyman, workshop owner and worker.[21] Nonetheless there is much that can be deduced from the 1875 census and this, together with additional evidence, when available, allows for a fairly confident reconstruction of Cape Town society at the advent of the mineral revolution.

Cape Town's economy was dominated by the great mercantile firms such as W. Anderson and Co., Wilson and Glynn's and Barry and Nephews. Often dependent on credit from their parent houses or financial backers in England, these companies, granting lengthy

credit in their turn, supported both retailers serving farmers up country as well as in Cape Town itself. They also supplied the semi-finished or raw materials used in Cape Town's industrial production. In addition many of these wholesale merchants were involved in exporting agricultural commodities, chiefly wool, ostrich feathers, wine and brandy. In doing so they were obviously vulnerable to a fall in the international price of such commodities, while they would be hit as farmers' incomes dropped, they bought less imports and repayment of credit was delayed all along the line.[22]

The power of these merchants, numbering a maximum of 150 individuals,[23] within Cape Town's economic system was enhanced by their control over local banks, as shareholders and directors.[24] Flush with funds in the early 1870's, Cape Town's mercantile elite invested principally in diamond and insurance shares, [indeed they controlled the local insurance companies], which in turn became securities for further bank loans and extensions of their business enterprises after 1875.[25] Investment in residential property appears to have been pursued by the older mercantile families such as the Wichts or the Glynns, who between them owned a sizeable percentage of the housing stock before the big building boom of the late 1870's.[26]

Despite the dominance of merchant capital within Cape Town's social formation, wholesale merchants directly employed only about 700 individuals,[26A] as clerks, accountants or storemen. But the extent of economic activity within the city was, of course, inextricably linked to the success or failure of their business ventures.

The retailers of Cape Town and its suburbs undoubtedly came in many shapes and sizes. Some were, as will become evident, the heirs apparent to the dominant position of the wholesalers. Others were not so much bourgeois, let alone grand bourgeois, as lumpen proletarians, hawkers and pedlars. Apart from differences of class, retailers could be distinguished typologically. There were those who retailed the imported goods of the wholesale merchants and might be directly indebted, literally, to the latter for their start in business. They numbered perhaps another 500 individuals. In a somewhat different category were the 450 or so retailers of locally produced food and drink. Such butchers, fishmongers and so on were not directly dependent on the importers for credit or supply of goods. Instead they could purchase their wares from fishermen or farmers.[27]

Serving the needs of merchants and retailers, if not actually in their employ, were those people involved in the transportation of goods, or in facilitating their transportation. Numbering about 500 according to the Census, individuals in this category ranged from dock officials to watermen and messengers. But this figure does not appear to have included day labourers employed at the docks in various capacities; they were presumably numbered amongst general labourers. The Harbour Board employed, on average, over one hundred labourers on maintenance and construction (alongside about two hundred convicts).[28] Several hundred more must have been employed in stevedoring and as dock labourers yet it has been impossible to estimate how many. What can be established is that there was no simple division of labour between those two branches of dock work. This was due to the particular system of loading, landing and delivery of goods

employed at Cape Town docks. Loading and unloading from ships to quay, could either be undertaken by the ship's crew or by a landing agent apppointed by the dock superintendent on behalf of the Harbour Board. This landing agent could then sub let the work to several other such agents. Landing agents doubled up as dock agents (appointed this time by the merchants) so were also in the business of moving goods from town to harbour or vice versa, work which landing agents, per se, were not allowed to undertake according to Harbour Board regulations. This meant that goods might, or might not, be handled by two different landing and dock agents between town and shipboard.[29] In contrast one company owned by A R McKenzie, had a monopoly of delivering goods to and from the railway station.[30] The whole system ensured that the men who worked for the agents would undertake stevedoring, dock and general labour for their employers.

Cape Town's demographic expansion, which had increased opportunities for retail, had a similar effect on local industrial activity: overwhelmingly, if not exclusively, the production of food, drink, clothing and shelter. The nature of such production was in part determined by the ability of the wholesale merchants to import finished or semi-finished goods into a colony whose low tariffs on such commodities they unsurprisingly supported. To make matters more difficult for putative industrialists, duty still had to be paid on raw materials.

These factors, together with Cape Town's distance from any cheap fuel deposits, meant that factory production was in its infancy, and remained relatively insignificant for the whole of our period.[31] Those factories that did exist were few, small, with

minimal mechanisation and thus low in capital value. They produced a motley array of articles such as soap, candles, snuff, biscuits or sodawater, requiring little labour or machinery. On only a slightly larger scale there were half a dozen or so printing, furniture, fishing boat and coach building establishments. Apparently an exception to the general pattern was the growing railway workshop at Salt River. But this was owned by the Cape government and, at this stage, was confined to the reassembling of railway carriages built in England. Greatest private capital investment was probably in plant processing local agricultural products: breweries, distilleries, mills and tanneries. These were located on the Liesbeeck river between Observatory and Newlands in the southern suburbs.[32]

The local production of finished articles of clothing and footwear, when not actually undertaken by independent craftsmen, was seemingly characterised by the putting out system and a low division of labour.[33] Employing some fourteen hundred Capetonians, this was the city's most important industrial activity, ahead of building.[34] The building industry had at its head thirty four people describing themselves as builders. They could call on over one thousand artisans, mainly carpenters, masons and painters, while there were no plasterers and only sixteen bricklayers.[35] These artisans were, in slack times, available to Cape Town's other major industry, fishing.

Two hundred and eighty Capetonians described themselves as fishermen to the census enumerators of 1875. Yet 245 fishing vessels were active from Table Bay,each of which took an average of five men.[36] This anomaly is perhaps explained not just by the

possibility of faulty returns, but also by a government report of 1892 which stresses that the structure of the industry had not changed significantly since the 1870's:[37]

> In regard to the fishermen themselves, those at Kalk Bay and at places distant from towns usually adopt that calling when young and follow it all their lives; but in Cape Town many of the men.....are half carpenters, masons, or coolies who only go out fishing when they cannot get other work, and even when fishing pays best they frequently prefer to remain on shore lest they be unable to obtain employment when the fish are scarce.

Certainly those fishermen operating from Rogge Bay considered *scarcity of fish the norm except in the 'snoek season'*, lasting roughly from the end of October to the beginning of February. Only during these months could they save money.[38]

What we have said about fishing and dock labour begins to demonstrate the imprecise division of labour within Cape Town's working class. In fact, seasonality and casual employment characterised the Cape Town labour market as they did that of London in the late 19th century. Seasonality, in the form of the weather, obviously affected both the fishing and building industries.[39] In terms of the supply of raw materials, seasonality would also affect the production of finished goods: the textile industry might wait upon the arrival of cloth from Europe; baking, milling or confectionery on the incoming harvest.[40] Fluctuations in production presumably also occurred due to fluctuating consumer demands such as may have occurred before and after Christmas.

Casual employment was closely linked to seasonality. As Stedman Jones has pointed out, attempt to adjust the size of his labour

force to his exact requirements when ' the supply of labour was plentiful or the proportion of fixed capital was insignificant'.[41] Thus, if these conditions existed, an employer could react to seasonal or even shorter term fluctuations in demand. Dock agents, master builders, and many other employers using a proportion of unskilled or semi-skilled labour would want, and might be able, constantly to adjust the size of their workforce. Those casually unemployed in the process would, failing all else, have to scrape a bare living from such residual occupations as shell gathering, or rag and bone picking.[42]

Our analysis has taken no account of informal sector activities such as shebeen, or illegal canteen, running. But the latter, for which there is ample evidence in following years, must certainly have existed in 1875 and was perhaps quite extensive.[43] One might also safely assume that there were rather more than the fourteen officially recorded prostitutes in this harbour town.[44]

Altogether, according to the 1875 Census, 6 000 Capetonians were employed in commerce, the professions and the production of goods. Slightly more, some 6 500, were either labourers whose precise employment was undefined [1 600] or were in the service industries [c. 5 000]. Approximately four thousand of the latter were in domestic service, while another thousand were washerwomen and a couple of hundred were employed in hotels, lodging or coffee houses. Most of the residue of Cape Town's adult population was also in domestic service but received no pay.[45] These were the 5 400 individuals listed as housewives.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

In looking at economic activity in Cape Town, I have already suggested some significant features of the city's social structure. Cape Town, like Stedman Jones's London (but unlike Johannesburg with its randlords), was a place of 'small masters'. Indeed similarities in the functions of London and Cape Town produced many similarities in their social formations. In both cities economic power lay with ' those whose income derived from rent, banking and commerce'.[46] Seasonality of production, types of casual occupations and a strong artisanal sector characterised both labour markets. In both cities there was a notable absence of one of Marx' and Engels' fundamental classes, the industrial proletariat.[47] Instead there was, amidst a sea of casual labour, the strong presence of the self-employed resisters of proletarianisation.[48]

Because of the lack of clarity of the 1875 Census categories, it is difficult to delineate Cape Town's social structure with the kind of precision that Foster used in his study of three nineteenth century English cities.[49] With the absence of comprehensive research on marriage patterns or friendship groups, and only partial evidence on the wealth of some Capetonians, the task is made even more difficult. The line between grand and petty bourgeois, for instance, must perforce remain somewhat blurred. Yet, while recognising the truth in Engels' statement, one can do a little better than merely stating that Cape Town experienced '... the division of society into innumerable gradations'.[50]

Undoubtedly to be counted amongst Cape Town's grand bourgeoisie,

its upper class, were many, if not most, of the wholesale merchants and their families. These men belonged to firms with tens of thousands of pounds in capital, and were often extremely wealthy in their own right.[51] At least three firms were connected by matrimonial alliances which, together with an examination of the Boards of local institutions, enhances the impression of a self-conscious and self-perpetuating elite.[52] In terms purely of wealth, Cape Town's grand bourgeoisie also included a number of industrialists, retailers and professionals we can identify, as well as retired individuals of substance.[53] Leading civil servants, joined together in social solidarity and exclusiveness in their Civil Service Club and receiving generous annual incomes of a thousand pounds or so, must also be included in this group.[54] Cape Town's grand bourgeoisie enhanced its social and physical separation from the city's hoi polloi by residing in some splendour in the picturesque suburbs.[55]

Foster defined petty bourgeois to include both tradesmen and 'little masters' while excluding ' non-bourgeois (but also non-manual workers) occupations such as small shopkeepers and clerks.' According to Foster, the latter formed a masssive 'social tail' to the bourgeoisie of Northampton and Shields, yet, politically at least, identified with Oldham's working class.[56] In the absence of better statistics, Cape Town's petty bourgeoisie and non-manual workers are not easily distinguished or quantified. Instead of accepting Foster's distinction between what he defines as the petty bourgeoisie and its social tail, one would wish to dub both as petty bourgeois and include in their ranks the likes of hotel keepers, minor professionals and commercial travellers. If we do so, then the occupations of approximately 3 000 Capetonians clearly fall into either our

grand or petty bourgeoisie. Yet this is, equally clearly, an underestimate of the total number. Several hundred more must have existed amongst those broadly classified as artisans.[57]

The 'social tail' to our petty bourgeoisie could be said to come from that unidentifiable number of Capetonians who were self employed workers. These would include cab owner/drivers and independent craftsmen. There were perhaps one thousand Capetonians who lived solely 'by fish'. Although fishing may have provided residual employment for many artisans, there seems to have been a hard core of fishermen and their families who did nothing else but catch, cure and sell fish. Widows of fishermen were able to support themselves by fishcuring. Amongst these people were some who seemingly enjoyed greater status. Jongie Siers, John Mahomet and Jacobus Bruins, fishermen and/or fish curers at Rogge Bay, fought for the preservation of their way of life in the late 1870s against Municipal and Central Government interference. The literacy displayed by Jongie Siers and their joint leadership of the struggle suggests that they held a position amongst their fellow fishermen akin to that held by the 'better-off' peasants of late Medieval Europe in their struggle against their Lords.[58] One might then suggest that at least some of the fishermen of Cape Town were also close to our petty bourgeoisie in terms of wealth and status, although one would argue that a sense of being part of the fishing community precludes them from being counted amongst our 'social tail'. Clearly not petty bourgeois or part of this social tail were the thousand or so washerwomen working at the Platteklip stream on the lower slopes of Table Mountain.[59]

Lastly, there were the manual workers. This group ranged from skilled to residual occupations, from engineers through to shell gatherers. Although the 1875 Census shows X numbers of domestic servants, or carpenters and joiners or general labourers, Cape Town's workers were mostly, as we have argued, part of a large casual labour force. Only the highly skilled, such as the engineers, could hope to escape such casualisation.[60] Even a large number of railway workers at Salt River were not on the 'fixed establishment'.[61]

Thus far, our account of Cape Town's social structure, apart from ludicrous discrepancies of scale, bears close comparison with that of London revealed by Stedman Jones. But the additional factors - colour, of far less significance in London, as well as ethnicity - have yet to be discussed.

With the abolition of slavery members of Cape Town's embryonic working class were technically equal before the law. If identification with race or colour existed among them in the 1830's it does not seem to have played an obvious role as yet in their social organisation. Residential and recreational intermingling certainly existed.[62] There was no job reservation. But the consciousness of Cape Town's dominant bourgeois class was not colour blind. Indeed from what we know of racial attitudes in the early nineteenth century there is no reason to believe that those of the growing number of British merchants, officials and professionals entering Cape Town in this period would in some way have diluted the colour consciousness of their Dutch-speaking counterparts.[63] The newspaper that both language

groups read, The South African Commercial Advertiser, certainly evidences consciousness of colour. So do the observations of a British visitor to Cape Town in the 1830's, Cowper Rose.[64] In the 1830's official statistics had a category for free blacks and thereafter distinguished between Coloured and White.[65] Although free black and white had been made technically equal before the law, prison sentences in the 1830's appear to have varied according to the colour of the offender.[66] Likewise, although there was no legal segregation in education, those schools established by the British from 1822 specifically to instruct the inhabitants of the town in English were effectively white institutions. A significant degree of educational intergration only characterised Dutch-medium and other 'inferior' schools.[67]

The government census of 1875 retained a two way division of Capetonians into 'European or White' and 'Other than European or White'. The latter had a number of subdivisions: Malay, Hottentot, Fingo, Kafir and Bechuana, Mixed and Other. How many citizens saw themselves as belonging to any category is uncertain. In 1873 there was a 'Petition of Coloured persons, inhabitants of Cape Town and neighbourhood' against the Albany liquor licensing board in the Eastern Cape. The Board intended to stop liquor being sold on a Sunday to people it considered to be of colour. The petition was signed by A.C.Jackson, a Cape Town doctor,[68] and 120 others whose names were not published. In 1877 a correspondent to the Cape Times signed himself 'A Coloured Attendant' in a letter that said he believed 'coloured folk' would not be welcome amongst white pew holders in the town's Anglican cathedral.[69] Abdol Burns, a cab owner and a fairly prominent figure in Cape Town political circles replied 'yes' when asked by a white member of a Cemeteries Commission whether

he belonged to the 'Malay community'.[70] A. Jackson, presumably the same person as the 1873 petitioner wrote to the Lantern magazine in 1879 complaining about the exclusion of 'non-whites' from Cape Town's newly built roller skating rink.[71] But even these fragments do not imply that the petitioner/correspondent accepted a permanent racial/ethnic identity. Rather it would seem as though they were reacting, save perhaps in the instance of Abdol Burns whose Malay 'identity' was intimately connected to his religious beliefs, to what has been described as a 'white imposed "ethnic" categorisation'.[72] Jackson wrote forcefully in 1879:

> In Cape Town we cannot be particular about colour; the touch of the tar brush is so common and of so much variety in shade that, if your rule was strictly applied, highly placed personages could not be admitted into the sacred precincts of the rink.

He also said that excluding people from the rink on account of their colour was a relic of slavery and he feared for the future:

> We, the excluded, may soon expect to hear churches refuse us admission, theatre doors closed against us, the very side walks in the street we dare not tread. In train and tram-car we'll be refused, because we are inferior...

The term coloured, [like Malay, Hottentot and Kafir], was used by at least some of those who thought of themselves as white. In this context coloured was being used to refer to the descendents of mixed marriage or liaisons between Europeans, Khoisan, Asiatic slaves and Africans.[73] Malay was used to describe Muslims, whatever their origin.[74] The label Hottentot was given to people who looked like Khoisan, though the latter were believed to be virtually extinct as a distinct race.[75] Kafir referred to '...

all tribes south of Delagoa Bay', excluding the 'Fingos' (Mfengu) and Bechuana (Batswana).[76] Using these racial, arguably racist, distinctions the 1875 Census found 25 567 Whites, 7 656 Malays, 19 Fingos, 221 Kafirs and Bechuana, and 11 340 Mixed and Other' [i.e. coloured] lived in Cape Town and its suburbs.[77]

What probably determined white identity in the Cape Colony was a mixture of origins, appearance and social success. A recent historian of race relations in South Africa has put it this way:[78]

> The coloureds who were most likely to 'make it as white' in the late nineteenth century were those who both came close to a not very exacting notion of European appearance and had some degree of wealth or education.

The corollary was that to be coloured,'mixed or other',was in the minds of those who thought of themselves as whites to be associated with a ' socially disadvantaged lower class within the Western Cape.'[79]

One white Capetonian, probably Langham Dale (the superintendant of education) summed up the relationship between race and social success in this poem:[80]

> But white is the hue, that to us is genteel.
> The black one of course, is tabooed.
> Jan Wit-Schyn he ranks with the favoured race,
> Though conscience by vice is long sear'd.
> What matter? He's truly veneer'd.
> Poor Zwart-Kleur's an honest and truly good fellow
> Fears, honours and humbly obeys;
> But still, 'mid the fold of the black sheep, he's spurned,
> 'Tis colour ,not merit, that pays.

In suggesting that there was an approximate correlation between whiteness and social success, coloured identity and social

disadvantage, both Frederickson and the author of the poem appear to be supported by the Cape Town statistics. If we take all those categories from the census that could conceivably include members of our grand and petty bourgeoisie, we see that their whiteness is striking. In these categories the census enumerators counted 2 988 whites and 316 people deemed to be 'other than white'.[81] When looking more closely at the latter, the socially successful become even paler.

There was only one 'other than white' doctor, [A.C.Jackson], out of 30 in Cape Town. 222 of the 316 were retailers. Most of these were undoubtedly in business in a small way: 102 of the 222 retailed agricultural foodstuffs [including fish], while only 38 were described simply as shopkeepers. Two came under the heading of 'tobacconist, grocers or tea dealers'. Of our remaining, identifiably bourgeois, 93 'other than white' Capetonians, only one was described simply as a merchant, [though 9 were 'timber merchants'] another one a protestant clergyman and two were commission agents. 'Malay clergymen' and teachers or 'those connected with education' each described a further twelve. Many of the rest fell into clearly petty-bourgeois occupations.[82]

Meanwhile, merchants, professionals and 'independent'/ 'capitalists', allowing for the four exceptions noted above, were almost entirely white. Whites also dominated amongst clerks [473 out of 478], lodging and eating house keepers [165 out of 177] and commercial travellers [136 out of 138]. Cape Town's grand bourgeoisie more or less completely and her petty bourgeoisie overwhelmingly were white. Moreover it was the lower ranks of this combined bourgeoisie that contained the vast majority of those classified as 'other than white'. This being so one might

correctly speak of a white dominant class in the city divided by degrees of wealth and status but united by its whiteness.

In terms of the two way division, artisanal occupations - remembering the census makes few distinctions between employer and employee - were fairly evenly divided: 1 541 white and 1 397 'other than white'.[83] But even here most of the highly skilled crafts, those least liable to casualisation, were white dominated and in at least some crafts whites would appear to have received somewhat higher wages.[84] On the other hand domestic service [1 235:2 742] and general labouring [287:1 341] saw a preponderence of 'other than white', while, again, white labourers and domestic servants, according to official statistics, received, on average, higher wages. Finally self employed members of what Rude would call the 'traditional' classes saw the smallest white representation of all: 62 out of 284 fishermen and 94 out of over one thousand washerwomen.[84A]

De facto white supremacy in Cape Town's social structure meant differentially favourable access for many people so classified to capital and education. Education was expensive if required above a level of instruction in reading and writing offered in the mission schools.[85] Even acquiring basic literacy was apparently beyond the means of most of Cape Town's poor who also happened not to be white. Of the latter 69% in the city itself who were over the age of fifteen could neither read or write [6020 out of 8692]. The equivalent white statistic was 9% [1131 out of 12559]. In the five to fifteen age group the respective figures for 'other than whites' and whites were 88% [4 652 out of 5 316] and 26% [1 106 out of 4 232].[86]

To what extent had de facto domination translated into an ideology of white supremacy that bolstered bourgeois control in 1875? The question is not an easy one to answer. Apart from the likelihood of ideological hangovers from slavery,[87] there is ample evidence of racist thought in publications such as the Cape Monthly Magazine and the Cape Argus in the 1870s. The Cape Times in January 1880 talked quite simply of the struggle for 'supremacy of race' that was being waged in the country. 'Whites' in the course of 1879 albeit the year of the Zulu war) had shown their intention of '...being the governing class'.[88] Whether these ideas had gained general acceptance amongst the white bourgeoisie is impossible to ascertain. One of the problems is that an acceptance by at least white bourgeois Capetonians of white superiority may have existed in a period before such acceptance became visible in white supremacy's 'highest stage': segregation.[89] We know that the Dutch Reformed Church officially espoused segregation in worship by this period, but there was apparently no discrimination in Cape Town or Cape Peninsula institutions belonging to other denominations. Equally, only two of the couple of dozen or so 'Friendly Societies' constitutionally excluded 'other than whites' from joining although there were another three or four that only had coloured members.[90]

Yet a novel, Sitongo, by J.D. Ensor and published in 1884, supports the contention that, despite the absence of widespread official segregation, one had to be white to be socially acceptable, to be accepted as part of the white dominant class. Ensor's novel concerned a man descended from a 'mixed marriage' of an African chief to a 'white lady'. In Cape Town he passed

himself off as a German music professor, a Herr Von Lutz, to gain access to 'society'. The fact that he could do so may say something about the indistinct nature of the colour line in a city with Cape Town's population. But the fact that he had to do so surely confirms that racism, at least in the form of an ideology of white supremacy, was part of dominant class consciousness.

Classification of people into White, Malay, Coloured and so on, occured in official statistics, newspapers, handbooks and court reports. These were presumably read by the largely white literate population but they went unchallenged by whites in every publication I have read. What was challenged by some 'negrophilists' like Saul Solomon, the editor of the Argus, was possible legal discrimination based on colour/race, not the whole conception of permanent racial or ethnic difference.[91] An example of such consciousness is given in this graphic description of how one white Capetonian, John Noble (clerk of the House of Assembly), classified and viewed his fellow Capetonians in his Descriptive Handbook of the Cape of Good Hope. It is worth quoting from at some length because of the information it provides on differing perceptions of defined ethnic groupings and how the latter related to occupational categories. Noble said that in Cape Town there were:[92]

> ...White and Coloured races, with all their varieties of nationality and gradations of colour, from the fairest Saxon to darkest Nubian. Conspicuous amongst the latter, are the descendents of the liberated slaves, mostly half-caste negroes, who, with the mixed Hottentots and Kafirs, form the 'Coolies', or working labourers. They are the Lazaroni of the Cape, - contented with warm sunshine and a meal of fish and rice, and always full of animal spirits, grinning with natural good humour, or ready to explode in fits of laughter or contortions of merriment at the least suggestion of fun

> or excitement. Next to them are the half-oriental Malays ...They are a numerous and well-balanced class, very serviceable not only in household occupations, but in various mechanical employments ... several of them have of late acquired considerable property, and are quite an aristocracy amongst the coloured people. With all their adaptability and progressiveness, however, there is noticeably wanting the intelligence and skill of the European artisan - the results of education and training - which give a marked superiority to the latter, and enable him here, if steady and industrious, quickly to rise from the condition of employee to that of employer.

Racial and ethnic perceptions of this kind are, perhaps, hardly surprising when differences of pigmentation, language, religion and even dress amongst Capetonians were real enough and easily observable;when bourgeois control so closely approximated to white control. Moreover Cape Town's grand bourgoisie, by living in villas in the suburbs, or even the Gardens, put physical distance between themselves and the reality of the racially intergrated streets elsewhere in Cape Town.[93] In the same way they were putting physical distance between themselves and the wretched living conditions of Cape Town's lower classes.

Cape Town's 33 000 inhabitants, probably itself an underestimate, were squeezed into under 4 000 houses almost half of which were small, three rooms or less.[94] The latter were inhabited chiefly by shop keepers, fishermen, artisans and labourers. The last three categories provide virtually all of the householders of the most densely inhabited dwellings, with fourteen or more occupants being common.[95] One particularly small house contained fifty people.[96]

Cape Town's grand bourgeoisie had little direct contact [save in their capacity as employers of domestic servants] with the city's manual workers. Isolated in those villas it would seem as though

they could ignore the poverty of casual labour, salving their consciences with the occasional donations or bequests to charity.[97] But they did not completely avoid the question of urban reform. They agreed with the visiting British novelist Anthony Trollope that Cape Town was a 'somewhat ragged place'.[98] They disliked uneven sidewalks,dirty streets, open drains and lack of water. But it was precisely these deficiencies in Cape Town life that this section of the city's dominant class chose to define as urban problems in the late 1870s, much as they chose to define people, in accordance with their own self interest.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

CA CAPE ARCHIVES

CBB CAPE BLUE BOOK

CGR CAPE GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS

CHB CAPE HARBOUR BOARD

CMM CAPE MONTHLY MAGAZINE

CPP CAPE PRINTED PAPERS

CT CAPE TOWN

GM GENERAL MANAGER

HA HENRY ARCHIVES - Records of the Standard Bank in private possession of J A Henry, Cape Town.

IR INSPECTION REPORT

LC LIMITED COMPANY

LO LONDON OFFICE

RM RESIDENT MAGISTRATE

SAHJ SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORICAL JOURNAL

SBA STANDARD BANK ARCHIVES (Johannesburg)

TBHB TABLE BAY HARBOUR BOARD

UCT UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

FOOTNOTES

1 CPP G42 - 1876 Cape census for 1875 p.9.

2 The term Khoisan follows R Elphick 'The Khoisan to c.1770' in R Elphick and H Giliomee ed. The Shaping of South African Society (Cape Town, 1979) p.4; the term Khoisan is an amalgam, coined by scholars, of names for the two groups into which Khoisan are conventionally divided: the Khoikhoi ('Hottentots') who kept cattle and sheep, and the San ('Bushmen') hunter-gatherers who did not.

3 Elphick p.10.

4 E.g. Elphick and Giliomee, T R H Davenport South Africa: a Modern History (2nd edition, Johannesburg, 1977) and S Marks 'Khoisan Resistance to the Dutch in the 17th and 18th centuries' JAH XIII, 1, 1972, pp.55-80.

5 For the little information we have specifically on the development of Cape Town before the nineteenth century, see R Ross 'Cape Town: synthesis in the dialectic of continents' (unpublished paper, Leiden University, 1980). Also R Ross Cape of Torments (London 1983) pp.17-22 and N Worden Slavery in Dutch South Africa (Cambridge, 1985).

6 S Newton-King 'The Labour Market of the Cape Colony' in S Marks and A Atmore (ed) Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa (London, 1980) pp.171-207; T R H Davenport 'The Consolidation of a New Society: the Cape Colony' in M Wilson and L Thompson (ed) The Oxford History of South Africa vol. 1 (Oxford, 1969) p.288.

7 T Kirk 'The Cape Economy and the expropriation of the Kat River Settlement, 1846-1853' in Marks and Atmore pp. 226-246. Davenport 'Consolidation' pp. 290-1.

8 Ross 'Cape Town' p.9. A Mabin 'The Making of colonial Capitalism: intensification and expansion in the economic geography of the Cape Colony, South Africa, 1854-1899 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Wits University, 1977, revised 1984) pp. 75-76.

9 Mabin pp. 65, 71-2, 86-7, 98-100.

10 HA General Manager (GM) to London Office (LO) 16-8-69.

11 See e.g. HA GM to LO 16-1-70 or 16-1170. Mabin pp. 105-179 contends that the importance of diamond discoveries has been

exaggerated, increasing agricultural output underplayed. Although the latter is a fair point, the significance of diamonds in the timing of the rapid infrastructural development of the Cape Colony is surely beyond dispute. See C W De Kiewiet History of South Africa Social and Economic (Oxford, 1957) pp. 167-8, 96-8; D Hobart Houghton 'Economic Development, 1865-1965' in M Wilson and L Thompson (ed) Oxford History of South Africa vol. 2, (Oxford, 1971) pp. 10-13.

12 Houghton pp. 10-22; De Kiewiet pp. 67-8, 96-8; Mabin p. 179. HA GM to LO 3-7-76, 2-2-77, 10-12-80, 14-1-82; CBB 1906 p. xxii.

13 Ross 'Cape Town' p. 3; P W Laidler The Growth and Government of Cape Town (Cape Town, 1939), especially pp. 372-408; W Bird The State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822 (originally London 1823, reprinted Cape Town 1966) p. 354.

14 Ross 'Cape Town' pp. 2-4; L Guelke 'The White Settlers' in Elphick and Giliomee pp. 66-69.

15 Ross 'Cape Town' pp. 2-3; S Judges 'Poverty, Living Conditions, and Social Relations - Aspects of Life in Cape Town in the 1830's' (unpublished MA thesis, UCT, 1977) pp. 85-99; H P Barnett-Clarke The Life and Times of Thomas Fothergill Lightfoot, BD, Archdeacon of Cape Town (Cape Town and London, 1908) esp. pp. 140-2, p. 184: particularly severe epidemics occurred in 1840, 1858 and 1867.

16 M Marshall 'The growth and development of Cape Town' (unpublished MA thesis, UCT, 1940) p. 59; A F Hattersley An illustrated Social History of South Africa pp. 98, 186-8; C Saunders 'Africans in Cape Town in the nineteenth Century: an Outline' in Saunders (ed) Studies in the History of Cape Town vol. 2 (Cape Town, 1980), pp. 15-23; Newton-King pp. 180, 182-191; Judges pp. 18-19; Mabin pp. 94-5; Laidler p. 309.

17 The geographical growth of Cape Town from the first decade of the nineteenth century can be traced from directories in the possession of the African Studies section of the UCT Library. Computerising these directories has been undertaken by a member of UCT's Library staff, Clare Laburn.

18 For contemporary descriptions of Cape Town in the mid-1870s see especially: J Noble Descriptive handbook of the Cape Colony: its conditions and resources (Cape Town, 1875) pp. 31-46; A Trollope South Africa (London, 1879) pp. 2-4; R M Ballantyne Six months at the Cape of Good Hope (London, 1878) pp. 201-220; CMM vol. X, No. 60, and vol. XI, No. 61, 1875, articles titled 'Cape Town revisited'.

19 CPP G42 - 1876 p. 9; Hattersley p. 208; Marshall p. 70; J D Linnegar 'From Village to Municipality: A History of Wynberg to 1903' (unpublished Honours thesis, UCT, 1975) p. 35.

20 CPP A19 - 1877 SCR on sanitary arrangements of municipalities p. 7; CPP G42 - 1875 p. 1 suggests that fear of taxation might have influenced some people not to fill in the returns; the Cape Town municipality was in charge of

conducting the census. I have not yet found the instructions to enumerators.

21 CPP G42 - 1875. 'Occupations of the People' pp. 485-499.

22 J H Henry The first hundred years of the Standard Bank p.15; SBA 1/1/24 Inspection Report (IR) Cape Town branch (CT) for 1871 and 1874; SBA 1/1/25 IR CT 1880; CPP A3 - 1883 SCR on 'Colonial Agriculture and Industries'; R F M Immelman Men of Good Hope: The Story of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce (Cape Town, 1955).

23 CPP G42 - 1875 'Occupations' pp. 487, 496.

24 CA: LC 101 Colonial Bank; LC 85 Cape Commercial Bank; LC 45 South African Bank; LC 32 Union Bank; LC11 Cape of Good Hope Bank. These Company registers give Directors, Shareholders and Share transactions.

25 SBA 1/1/24, 1/1/25; CA LC 9 Colonial Marine Insurance and Trust Company Ltd.; The General Directory and Guide Book of the Cape of Good Hope and its Dependencies (Cape Town, 1875) pp. 9-33.

26 CA 3CT 7/1/2/1/31 - 33. 'Town Council Assessment Rolls 1873 - 1875'

26A CPP G42 - 1876. 'Occupations' pp. 487, 488, Public Company officer, commercial clerk, storeman. (not shopman). Total 722.

27 CPP G42 - 1875 'Occupations' pp. 487, 489, 491-2, 496, 498: 'shopkeepers'; 'other general dealers'; 'drapers'; 'booksellers'; 'dairyman/milkseller'; butcher'; 'fishmonger'; 'baker'; 'confectioner'; 'greengrocer'; 'grocer/tea dealer'; 'tobacconist'. Some of these categories are imprecise, and my figures of 500 and 450 should be treated as maximums.

28 CPP G42 - 1875 'occupations' pp. 488, 496; class III order VI. I have excluded the following categories: 'merchant service'; 'engineer stoker'; 'ship servant'. CA CHB 10 'minutes of the Table Bay Dock and Breakwater Management Commission, January 18th 1875 to December 28th 1877.

29 CPP G50 - 1876 'Report of the Table Bay Dock and Breakwater Management Commission for 1875', p.2; CPP A7 - 1880 SCR on 'The Table Bay Harbour Board'.

30 CPP A7 - 1880, p.69.

31 CPP A3 - 1883.

32 CPP A3 - 1883; CBB 1875 pp. FF 2-3; Whittingdale pp. 9, 88-90; CPP C1 - 1891 SCR on 'Colonial industries'; Mabin pp. 198-307; Cape Times 19-11-1889.

33 In the absence of detailed information on the labour process in manufacturing in 1875 it is nonetheless safe to assume that tailors and boot/shoe makers in the city were 'working

up' materials either bought from, or supplied by, the merchants. It is, unfortunately, not possible to estimate how many tailors were, at this stage, still independent craftsmen or 'small masters'.

Clothes: Cape Times 26-9-1906, letter from Fred Burt, master tailor, on the tailoring industry: Burt's experience of the industry went back forty years and seems to suggest a 'putting-out' system through those decades. South African News 4-4-1901 'Labour movement': The South African Tailor's Union gives useful information about the production of clothes before the first factory in Cape Town; the first two small clothes factories appear to have opened up only in 1906: Cape Times 15-9-1906 'Trade and Labour Council'. Even then nine-tenths of Garlick's tailors were still apparently working outside the factory on piece work; see also Cape Times 19-9-1906 'Tailoring Trouble'.

Boot and shoe making: CPP A3 - 1883 pp. 56/7. The year of the select committee on colonial industries, only the Western Tanning Company, locatd fittingly at Wellington, appears to have been producing boots for sale in Cape Town; Excalibur 25-6-1886: the first description of a boot and shoe industry in Cape Town itself comes in 1886 when Garlick was using forty men on 'outdoor works', but Garlick had been behind the manufacturing of boots since at least 1882.

34 CPP G42 - 1876 'occupations' pp.491, 497-8. Included here are all persons listed in Class V, Order IX, Sub-Order 2 'in dress', except the category 'washerwomen etc'.

35 CPP G42 - 1876 'occupations' pp. 490, 497. All persons in class V, Order VIII, Sub-order 12'in houses and buildings', except architects who I include amongst professionals.

36 CPP 442 - 1876 'occupations' pp. 489, 497; CBB pp. FF 2-3; CPP A4 - 1878 p.39. No distinction is made in many categories of the 1875 census between employers, self-employed and employees, so 'fisherman' is a vague label in this respect.

37 CPP G37 - 1892 report on the 'Fishing industry' p.xv.

38 CPP A4 - 1878 Appendix G p. viii.

39 G Stedman-Jones Outcast London (Oxford, 1971) Chapters 2 - 5 has obviously informed my analysis here and in the next paragraph. CPP C1 - 1891 p. 116 re fishing when weather permits. CPP G39 - 1893 p. 27 evidence of G Smart, builder. For a good impression of seasonality in the Cape Town labour market look at the labour bureau reports carried in newspapers in the mid-1900's e.g. Cape Times 21-4-1906 'Labour Bureau' or 'Labour Market'. It would seem as though employment possibilities would be at their peak between about mid-October and mid-February. This was not only due to the fact that this period covered the dry, snoek and Christmas seasons in Cape Town. Harvest time in the city's hinterland, besides meaning the supply of agricultural produce referred to, also meant employment opportunities in the countryside: see CPP A26 - 1879, S.C.R. on 'Labour', p. 21 and CPP A12 - 1890 SCR on 'Labour', p. 37.

40 Baking Cape Times 18-5-1907 'Labour Market'; fruit season: A6 - 1906 p. 58.

41 Stedman Jones p. 52.

42 Dock labour is possibly the classic example of casual work. Evidence abounds throughout my period (1875-1911) of the daily fluctuations in the demand for dock labour, e.g. CA CHB 10 and subsequent volumes; from the beginning of the 1880's to the end of the 1890's the Cape Times has monthly reports on the average number of labourers, free and convict, employed on dock works; CHB 268 N Adams Lowe (Dock Location Superintendent) to Assistant Manager T.B.H.B., 13-2-1903, 'Native labour problem' p. 4 CPP G39 - 1893 pp. 16-18, evidence of A R McKenzie, Dock Agent and Builder. Shell gathering: Cape Times 23-1-1879 sub-leader; Rag and Bone picking: Cape Times 11-11-1879 'Supreme Court' (Rogge Bay murder case) occupation of Dinah Kock.

43 Cape Times 26-12-1879 'Cape Town Police Court' - cases of Loutje Afrika and Fred Kannemeyer both of whom sold liquor illegally. Lantern 28-5-1881 talks of 50 'shebeening houses' in Cape Town.

44 CPP G42 - 1876 'occupations' pp. 494, 499; Cape Argus 7-8-1875 'Police Court' case: Maria de Groot; 29-8-1876 'Police Court're brothels in Bree and Castle Streets. Cape Times 'R.M.'s Court' case: W Wirgman who smashed the window of the brothel known as 'Chain-locker' in Riebeek Street. Lantern 3-9-1881 speaks of 31 houses of 'ill-fame' known to the police.

45 CPP G42 - 1876 'occupations' pp.485-499.

46 Stedman Jones p. 239.

47 G. Rude Ideology and Popular Protest (London, 1980) p. 8.

48 For stimulating accounts of such a presence on the Witwatersrand in the late nineteenth century see C van Onselen Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand 1886-1914. volume 2: New Nineveh (Johannesburg, 1982) chapters 2-3.

49 J Foster Class struggle and the Industrial Revolution (London, 1974).

50 Quoted by J Foster in 'Nineteenth-century Towns - a Class Dimension' in H J Dyos The Study of Urban History (London, 1968) p. 283.

51 SBA 1/1/24-26 I.R. CT 1871, 1874, 1875, 1878, 1880, 1881; under names of merchants: Wm Anderson and Co; Anderson and Murison; Barry and Nephews; Bensusan and Co.; De Pass, Spence and Co.; A W Eriksson and Co.; Flower and Sons; Goodliffe, Smart and Searle; Holmes and Co.: Jamieson and Co.; W A Lippert and Co.; W Macleod and Co.; Pringle and Co.; Hamilton Ross and Co.; J G Steytler and Co.; Thomson, Watson and Co.; van der Byl and Co.; J H and T van Ryn and Co.; R Warner and Co.; C and A Wicht; Wilson and Glynn.

52 Wm Anderson and Co.; Anddrson and Murison and Thomson Watson and Co. General Directory and Guide-Book (Cape Town, 1882), p.520 City Club members include Searle, Lippert, Anderson (W G), Farmer (of Anderson and Co.) and Wiener (of van der Byl and Co.).

53 SBA 1/1/24-26 e.g.: Daniel Cloete, brewer; H M Arderne, solicitor; M J Louw, tanner; J Ross, ex Hamilton Ross and Co.; J Silberbauer, retired miller; W F Stuttaford and W Thorne, drapers (wholesale and retail).

54 'General Directory' 1875, pp. 235-251 and p. 254/5.

55 This is evident from the information in SBA 1/1/24-26, as well as from the directory for 1875 which Clare Laburn is working on (see above: footnote 17).

56 Foster pp. 161-166.

57 CPP G42 - 1876 'occupations' pp. 486-499: Class I, Order 1, Governor, Government Officer, Subordinate Officer, other Government Officers, Officer of Divisional Council, Officer of Municipal Council, Army Officer, Navy Officer; all in Order 2, 'persons engaged in the learned professions...' except 'midwives' and 'billiard table keeper/marker'; Class II, Order IV, Hotel-keeper, coffee, House-keeper, Boarding, Lodging, House-keeper; Class III, Order V, Sub-order 1 'Mercantile persons'; Order VI, Sub-order 1, Officer, Clerk, Station-master; Sub-order 2, Livery Stable-keeper, cab, wagon-owner; Sub-order 3, Shipping agent, clerk; all listed in footnote 27A in retail; Class V, Order VIII, Sub-orddr 1 Newspaper proprietor, Editor, Publisher; Sub-order 12, Architect, Builder; Order XI, Sub-order 2, Timber Merchant; Class VI Order XIV, 'persons of property or rank'. Total: 3 304.

58 CPP G42 - 1876 'occupations' pp. 491, 498; Cape Times 6-11-1971 'District Six wash-house...'

59 CPP A4 - 1878.

60 See Stedman Jones ch.4 'The Structure of the casual Labour Market'. CPP G42 - 1876 'occupations' p.490: there were 50 'mechanical engineers' in Cape Town.

61 Or so it would seem from CA CGR 20/1/3 'Staff register Salt River Works' c.1879 - c.1910.

62 Judges pp. 116-163.

63 See e.g. D A Lorimer Colour, Class and the Victorians (Leicester, 1978).

64 Cowper Rose Four Years in Southern Africa (London, 1829).

65 CBB 1830's and subsequent decades.

66 Judges p. 133. E. Bradlow 'Emancipation and Race Perceptions at the Cape' in SAHJ No. 15, November 1983, p. 24, argues that impartiality in the administration of justice was on

the increase in the apprenticeship period.

67 G M Frederickson White Supremacy (Oxford, 1981) p. 259; Bradlow 'Emancipation' pp. 28-29 says that initially Government Schools admitted ''considerable numbers' of coloured children' but that gradually they were excluded because of cost or white antipathy.

68 CPP A3 - 1873 'Petition of coloured persons, inhabitants of Cape Town and neighbourhood'.

69 Cape Times 21-11-1877 'Correspondence'.

70 CPP A2 - 1875 SCR on 'Cemeteries Bill' p. 183.

71 Lantern 23-8-1879.

72 G L M Lewis 'The Reactions of the Cape Coloureds to segregation, 1900-1948' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Queen's University, 1984) p.9. Such categorization apparently existed in the labour market, with many types of white skilled and unskilled labour receiving sometimes considerably higher pay than their coloured counterparts according to official statistics: see CBB's 1871-1879 'wages'. Whether in reality employers, or all employers, paid these rates is harder to establish.

73 Frederickson p. 132.

74 CPP G42 - 1876, 'Report', p.3: 'Originally of Asiatic origin this small class has become so leavened with foreign elements as to owe its distinctive existence rather to the bond of a common and uniform faith - Mohammedanism...' Cape Argus 8-2-1876 sub-leader.

75 CPP G42 - 1876, 'Report', p. 3; Cape Times sub-leader.

76 CPP G42 - 1876, 'Report', p. 3.

77 CPP G42 - 1876 'Return of Population' p. 3.

78 Frederickson p. 133.

79 Frederickson p. 131; Cape Times 26-7-1880, 'Impressions of Cape Town by an Ulster Irishman'

80 E Bradlow 'Cape Town's labouring poor a century ago', SAHJ, No. 9, November 1977, p. 25.

81 Using the categories listed in footnote 57.

82 CPP G42 - 1876 'occupations' pp. 485 - 499:Subordinate officer (4), officer of Municipal Council (5), clergyman of other denomination (1), Church officer (1), Law clerk (1), musician/vocalist (6), hotel keeper (2), boarding, lodging house keeper (5), commercial clerk (4), commercial traveller (2), others engaged in mercantile pursuits (2) officer/clerk/station master (4), livery stable-keeper/cab/wagon owner (4), builder (4), 'person of property or rank' (1).

83 CPP G42 - 1876 Class V: Bookbinder, printer/compositor, watch/clock maker, gunsmith, mechanical engineer, coach/wagon maker, cart/coach trimmer, saddler/harness maker/dealer, wheelwright, millwright, sailmaker, carpenter/joiner, bricklayer, mason, slater/thatcher/tiler, painter/plumber/glazier, furniture maker, tailor/tailoress, shoe/bootmaker, tanner/currier/leather manufacturer, tallow chandler, French polisher, turner, cooper, sawyer, stone cutter, brickmaker, goldsmith, basketmaker, coppersmith, tin worker, iron-founder, blacksmith, gasfitter.

84 E.g. Whites were 24 out of 26 watch/clock makers, 50 out of 55 mechanical engineers, 28 out of 30 goldsmiths and provided all the gunsmiths.

85 Bradlow 'Labouring poor' pp. 26-28.

86 CPP G42 - 1876 'Education' pp. 75-76.

87 Bradlow 'Labouring poor' p. 25.

88 E.g. W Bisset Berry 'Evolution and class legislation' in CMM, vol. X, No. 60, 12875, pp. 321-7; Cape Argus 4-2-1875, 'Original correspondence', letter from 'Emeritus', which says that coloured people '... have to be informed, directed, controlled, and watched continually.'; or Cape Argus 27-2-1875, sub-leader, which suggested that Africasns will serve well as 'labouring machines', but that the colony also needed a 'higher class' of immigrants from the 'civilized countries' of Europe.

89 J W Cell The highest stage of white supremacy (Cambridge, 1982), argues that this stage came with industrialisation and was distinct from previous ideologies of white superiority e.g. p. 50 'The institutions and language of segregation were not inherited directly from slavery nor could they have grown automatically out of the Afrikaners' own frontier past. They had to be invented'.

90 P Le Feuvre 'Cultural and theological factors affecting relationshps betwen the Nederduitse-Gereformeerde Kerk and the Anglican Church... in the Cape Colony 1806-1910' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, UCT, 1980) chapter 10, 'Race Relations'. Le Feuvre shows that, though officially opposed, the Anglican church was full of segregationalist rhetoric in the late nineteenth century and many congregations were, de facto, segregated.

91 See the Cape Times 11-11-1884 for a review of Sitongo;W E G Solomon Saul Solomon, 'the member for Cape Town' (Cape Town, 1948).

92 Noble pp. 44-45.

93 Clare Laburn's work (n.17 above) will provide the statistical detail.

94 CPP G42 - 1876 'Population' p. 9. See Bradlow 'Labouring poor' re wretched living conditions.

95 CA 3CT 7/2/1/5 'List of registered householders 1872', gives

name of householder, occupation and number of inhabitants.

96 Cape Argus 8-1-1876 'In the slums'.

97 Cape Times 29-4-1878 'Free Dispensary'. The Annual Report shows two legacies from the Farmer family.

98 A Trollope South Africa (London, 1879), p. 2.