

RESEARCH ARTICLE

# Motherhood, morality and materiality: how material changes to wartime Cape Town affected discourses around women, racial health and the city, 1914–1919

Sarah-Jane Walton\* 

Department of Historical Studies, University of Cape Town, Rondebosch 7700, South Africa

\*Corresponding author. Email: [wlsar002@myuct.ac.za](mailto:wlsar002@myuct.ac.za)

## Abstract

This article explores ways in which material changes engendered by World War I influenced ideas about Cape Town and its people. For the city's middle classes, these conditions – including a rise in the cost of living, increased urbanization, the growth of factory work for women and the notable presence of soldiers in the city – heightened the sense that Cape Town was a place of increased moral corruption. In particular, females were portrayed as pivotal to the upholding of the moral and racial integrity of the city, nation and empire. Yet the perceived race and class of different Capetonian women influenced the expectations (and accordant condemnations) of their behaviour. This linked to white middle-class anxieties about miscegenation and urban order. As such, discourses around female behaviour during the war represented a nexus between issues of health, race and morality within the South African urban context.

## Introduction

'Evil', warned the November 1915 edition of the Women's Christian Temperance Union's (WCTU) magazine, the *White Ribbon*, 'is never more active nor more openly aggressive than in times of war, when the passions of men and women alike are roused...and when many of the ordinary restraints of convention and public opinion are slackened'.<sup>1</sup> World War I pushed groups like the WCTU, but also other middle-class (and particularly white) Capetonians, to view Cape Town as a place of increased moral corruption. Within this, women, and young girls, were framed as responsible for upholding the moral and racial integrity of the city, nation and empire. This article argues that whilst this discourse was prevalent prior to World War I, the material conditions of wartime Cape Town were integral to accentuating it.

<sup>1</sup>Cape Town Archives Repository (KAB), Files of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, A1696, V295, *White Ribbon* (WR), XXV:14, Nov. 1915.

World War I was a moment of material change – with significant demographic, infrastructural and material implications for the cities and people involved (Jay Winter and Jean-Louis Robert's first volume, *Capital Cities at War: Paris London, Berlin 1914–1919*, makes this particularly clear, as does Stefan Goebel and Derek Keene's *Cities into Battlefields: Metropolitan Scenarios, Experiences and Commemorations of Total War* and Jerry White's *Zeppelin Nights: London in the First World War*).<sup>2</sup> In turn, these material changes to the city interacted with ideas about the city and its various inhabitants. This article affirms Vivian Bickford-Smith's approach to recognize the importance of, and interrelation between, both these 'objective' and 'subjective' components of a city.<sup>3</sup> On this basis, it contends that wartime material changes to Cape Town were important to understanding the heightening of moral anxiety in the city, and that this, in turn, placed greater emphasis on the position of women, and particularly those of the white, English-speaking middle class, as the moral bastions of society.

This article further adds to the small body of research that has been done on South African cities and World War I – in fact no specific urban-history-based work appears to exist. Bill Nasson's *World War One and the People of South Africa* is the most recent and holistic contribution to the history of the Union and the war, and whilst it touches upon opinions and experiences of South Africa's urban populations during the war, the city itself is not the focus.<sup>4</sup> Other publications have specifically focused on, or integrated, the 'national' story,<sup>5</sup> the military history of the war,<sup>6</sup> particular events,<sup>7</sup> specific troop or soldiers' histories,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>2</sup>J. Winter and J.-L. Robert, *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin 1914–1919*, vol. I (Cambridge, 1997); S. Goebel and D. Keene (eds.), *Cities into Battlefields: Metropolitan Scenarios, Experiences and Commemorations of Total War* (Farnham, 2011); J. White, *Zeppelin Nights: London in the First World War* (London, 2014). See also M. Connelly, *The Great War, Memory and Ritual: Commemoration in the City and East London, 1913–1939* (Woodbridge, 2015).

<sup>3</sup>V. Bickford-Smith, *The Emergence of the South African Metropolis: Cities and Identities in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, 2016).

<sup>4</sup>B. Nasson, *World War One and the People of South Africa* (Cape Town, 2014); see also B. Nasson, 'War opinion in South Africa, 1914', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 23 (1995), 248–76.

<sup>5</sup>N.G. Garson, 'South African and World War I', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth Studies*, 8 (1979), 68–85; S.E. Katzenellenbogen, 'South Africa and the War of 1914–1918', in M.R.D. Foot (ed.), *War and Society* (London, 1973); A. Samson, 'South Africa mobilises: the first five months of the war', *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies*, 44 (2016), 5–21.

<sup>6</sup>I. van der Waag, *A Military History of Modern South Africa* (Cape Town, 2014); J. Collyer, *The Campaign in German South West Africa 1914–1915* (Pretoria, 1937); H. Paterson, 'First Allied victory: the campaign in German South West Africa, 1914–1915', *Journal of the South African Military History Society*, 13 (2004), 1–9; A. Samson, *Britain, South Africa and the East African Campaign 1914–1918* (London, 2006); I. Uys, *Delville Wood* (Johannesburg, 1983).

<sup>7</sup>T. Dederig, "'Avenge the Lusitania": the anti-German riots in South Africa in 1915', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 31 (2013), 256–88; S. Swart, "'A Boer and his gun and his wife are three things always together": republican masculinity and the 1914 rebellion', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24 (1998), 737–51; S. Swart, "'Desperate men": the 1914 rebellion and the politics of poverty', *South African Historical Journal*, 42 (2000), 161–75; S. Swart, 'The "Five Shilling Rebellion": rural white male anxiety and the 1914 Boer Rebellion', *South African Historical Journal*, 56 (2006), 88–102.

<sup>8</sup>P. Digby, *Pyramids and Poppies: The 1st South African Infantry Brigade in Libya, France and Flanders 1915–1919* (Rivonia, 1993); B. Willan, 'The South African Native Labour Contingent, 1916–1918', *Journal of African History*, 19 (1978), 61–86; N. Clothier, *Black Valour: The South African Native Labour Contingent, 1916–1918, and the Sinking of the Mendi* (Pietermaritzburg, 1987); A. Delpont, "'Boks and

propaganda and the war,<sup>9</sup> identity-politics and the war<sup>10</sup> and its commemoration.<sup>11</sup> Exploring Cape Town's wartime urban history also heeds the call by Ross J. Wilson, writing about New York and World War I, to produce city histories during the war that look beyond Europe. The focus on the latter ('rubble cities' or 'cities in ruins') has become an imaginative short hand for *all* urban experiences of the wars, when it is clearly not universal.<sup>12</sup>

Women are central to this exploration into the material and moral effects of the war on Cape Town as discourses around them represented a nexus between concerns about health, race and morality. This argument has long been made by the likes of Ann Laura Stoler and Anna Davin. Stoler emphasizes that women were vital to the colonial project and that early twentieth-century concerns about infant welfare and racial degeneration exposed the 'vulnerabilities of white rule', and the need for countermeasures to 'safeguard European superiority'.<sup>13</sup> Davin has similarly focused on the 'pervasive' influence of Eugenics at this time and the positioning of motherhood as integral to the future of Britain and the empire.<sup>14</sup> This was reflected in the rise of infant welfare movements which campaigned for improved medical facilities and educational programmes for mothers and their children. Within the South African context, Sarah Duff demonstrates the connections between the Union's and Britain's child welfare movement, arguing that South African welfare societies – such as the Society for the Protection of Child Life (SPCL), founded in Cape Town in 1908 – were increasingly directed towards 'a South Africanist project' that sought to solidify white rule,<sup>15</sup> whilst Jennifer Muirhead links anxieties around 'poor whites' (largely poor, rural Afrikaners

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bullets, coffins and crutches": an exploration of the body, mind and places of "Springbok" South African soldiers in the First World War', Stellenbosch University Ph.D. thesis, 2015.

<sup>9</sup>A. Samson, 'South Africa and the First World War', in T. Paddock (ed.), *World War I and Propaganda* (Leiden, 2014), 113–36.

<sup>10</sup>P.S. Thompson, 'The Natal homefront in the Great War (1914–1918)', *Historia*, 56 (2011), 101–37; J. Lambert, "'Munition factories...turning out a constant supply of living material": white South African elite boys' schools and the First World War', *South African Historical Journal*, 51 (2004), 67–86; A. Grundlingh, *War and Society, Participation and Remembrance: South African Coloured and Black Troops in the First World War 1914–1918* (Stellenbosch, 2014); G. Vahed, "'Give till it hurts": Durban's Indians and the First World War', *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, 19 (1999), 41–61; R. Mendelsohn, 'The Boer War, the Great War and the shaping of South African Jewish loyalties', in M. Shain and R. Mendelsohn (eds.), *Memories, Realities and Dreams: Aspects of the South African Jewish Experience* (Cape Town, 2002).

<sup>11</sup>B. Nasson, 'Delville Wood and South African Great War commemoration', *English Historical Review*, 119 (2004), 57–86; B. Nasson, 'World War I in South Africa's memory', *Materiaux pour histoire de notre temps*, 1 (2014), 156–60; A. Grundlingh, 'Mutating memories and the making of a myth: remembering the SS Mendi disaster, 1917–2007', *South African Historical Journal*, 63 (2011), 20–37.

<sup>12</sup>R.J. Wilson, *New York and the First World War* (Farnham, 2014), 10.

<sup>13</sup>A. Stoler, 'Making empire respectable: the politics of race and sexual morality in twentieth-century colonial cultures', in A. McClintock, A. Mufti and E. Shohat (eds.), *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation and Postcolonial Perspectives, Cultural Politics*, vol. XI (Minneapolis, 1998), 355–6.

<sup>14</sup>A. Davin, 'Imperialism and motherhood', in F. Cooper and A.L. Stoler (eds.), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, 1997), 87–151.

<sup>15</sup>S.E. Duff, 'Babies of the empire: science, nation and Truby King's mothercraft in early twentieth-century South Africa', in S. Robinson and S. Sleight (eds.), *Children, Childhood and Youth in the British World* (Basingstoke, 2016), 59–73.

who were forced to move to the city) to the early twentieth-century child welfare movement in the Union.<sup>16</sup>

Studies have also examined the effects of World War I on discourses around motherhood. Referring to Britain, Katie Pickles has emphasized that ‘maternal identity’ was particularly stressed during the war.<sup>17</sup> Susan Grayzel has similarly demonstrated that the war heightened ‘the emphasis on motherhood as women’s primary patriotic role and the core of their national identity’.<sup>18</sup> It was particularly the loss of the empire’s white men as ‘cannon fodder’, however, that re-enforced the anxiety around child welfare.<sup>19</sup> Whilst Duff shows how the war (and English-speaking middle-class attitudes to poor Afrikaners) challenged the work of child welfare groups in Cape Town, and Susanne Klausen connects wartime anxieties around the future of white South Africa to an intensified discourse around racial degeneration, there has been no serious attention given to the nature of the wartime city itself in contributing to ideas around motherhood and morality.<sup>20</sup> This article thus offers a unique perspective by emphasizing the importance of the city’s material conditions in enflaming concerns around morality and the maintenance of white minority rule. As such, ideas emanating from the powerful white middle classes about the future of the Union were grounded in developments and experiences in the Union’s cities.<sup>21</sup>

### The context of Cape Town at the outbreak of war

In August 1914, the Union of South Africa, as a Dominion of the British empire, entered World War I. The nature of this involvement was hotly contested by the nation’s ruling white elite, whilst reactions from the largely disempowered black and coloured sections of the population varied from apathy, to anxiety, to strong

<sup>16</sup>J. Muirhead, ‘“The children of today make the nation of tomorrow”: a social history of child welfare in twentieth-century South Africa’, Stellenbosch University Ph.D. thesis, 2012, 1–39. See also J. Muirhead and S. Swart, ‘“The whites of the child?” Race and class in the politics of child welfare in Cape Town, c. 1900–1924’, *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 8 (2015), 229–53. The discourse of motherhood was equally important to the emerging Afrikaner nationalist movement. Marijke du Toit connects a twentieth-century construction of the ‘volksmoeder’ (‘mother of the people’) to ideas within women’s circles in the Dutch Reformed Church regarding ‘maternal piety’ and the guiding of young (white) children. M. Du Toit, ‘The domesticity of Afrikaner nationalism: Volksmoeders and the ACVV, 1904–1929’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 29 (2003), 162–4. See also E. Brink, ‘Man-made women: gender, class and the ideology of the Volksmoeder’, in C. Walker (ed.), *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945* (Cape Town, 1990), 273–92; L. Kruger, ‘Gender, community and identity: women and Afrikaner nationalism in the Volksmoeder discourse of Die Boerevrou, 1919–1931’, University of Cape Town MA thesis, 1991.

<sup>17</sup>K. Pickles, *Female Imperialism and National Identity: The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire* (Manchester, 2002), 9–10, 39–42; M. Smith, ‘Be(ing) prepared: Girl Guides, colonial life and national strength’, *Limina: A Journal of Historical and Cultural Studies*, 12 (2006), 42–8.

<sup>18</sup>S. Grayzel, *Women’s Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War* (Chapel Hill, 1999), 2.

<sup>19</sup>Davin, ‘Imperialism and motherhood’, 123.

<sup>20</sup>S. Klausen, ‘“For the sake of the race”: eugenic discourses of feeble-mindedness and motherhood in the South African medical record, 1903–1926’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 23 (1997), 43–5; Duff, ‘Babies of the empire’, 59–73.

<sup>21</sup>S. Parnell and A. Mabin, ‘Rethinking urban South Africa’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21 (1995), 61.

calls of pro-British loyalty (Figure 1). Cape Town's response was a seemingly cohesive cry in support of Britain. Nevertheless, the news was met with great anxiety. Despite the recent formation of the Union in 1910 (forged out of the former colonies of the Cape, Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State by a pro-British Dutch elite who saw the future of the country developing within the realm of empire),<sup>22</sup> the Anglo-Boer War had ended just over a decade earlier. Ten years was not a long time to forgive and forget a war, and there was great uncertainty about how an imperial war would affect the Union.

Cape Town was a 'cosmopolitan' city, and its people reflected its history both of slavery, starting after the Dutch East India Company first laid claim to the Cape in the mid-1600s, and later, from the 1800s, of British settler colonialism. It had been transformed into a British city over the course of a century of British rule – through education, language, culture, architecture and institution, Britishness became hegemonic.<sup>23</sup> On the eve of war, approximately 53 per cent of the city's population was white, whilst 46 per cent of it was coloured<sup>24</sup> (see Table 1 below). At this time, Cape Town's black population was notably small, sitting roughly at 1 per cent.<sup>25</sup> (Under the Cape Acts 40 of 1902 and number 8 of 1905, it was unlawful for black people living in Cape Town to reside anywhere but in the 'location', Ndabeni, with the exception of live-in domestics, property owners and those people qualifying for the franchise).<sup>26</sup>

Despite the city's cosmopolitanism, it has now been widely acknowledged that segregation was an established, albeit inconsistent, feature of the city by the early twentieth century.<sup>27</sup> White Capetonians (although not all) increasingly defined 'Britishness' in terms of a 'kith-and-kin' or 'ethnic variation', which presupposed a common 'ancestry, history and culture'.<sup>28</sup> As such, they looked down upon those who had assumed or adopted Britishness through acculturation – something which was overtly evident when one's skin colour differed.<sup>29</sup>

The city centre itself was divided into wards, or districts (see Figure 2), and the more affluent areas, such as 'Gardens', were predominantly white. This contrasted with poorer locales, such as District Six. The latter, which lay on the east edge of the

<sup>22</sup>S. Dubow, *A Commonwealth of Knowledge: Science, Sensibility, and White South Africa 1820–2000* (Oxford, 2006), 158–202.

<sup>23</sup>For phases of Anglicization at the Cape, see Dubow, *A Commonwealth of Knowledge*, 21–64; C. Saunders, 'Britishness in South Africa: some reflections', *Humanities Research*, 12 (2006), 61–9; Bickford-Smith, 'Inventing British cities in Africa', in *The Emergence of the South African Metropolis*, 16–78.

<sup>24</sup>The use of the terms 'white' or 'European', 'coloured', 'Malay' and 'black' or 'non-European' reflect the social construction of racial categories in the Union in the early twentieth century. 'Coloured', in particular, has been both a self-description and imposed racial classification for people of 'mixed ancestry', chiefly descending from slaves, whites, blacks and the indigenous Khoi groups of the Cape.

<sup>25</sup>Union Government of South Africa (UG) 32: *Census for 1911* (Pretoria, 1912), 86–7, 90–1.

<sup>26</sup>UG 7–1919, G68-IV: *Report of the Department of Native Affairs 1913–1918* (Pretoria, 1919), 17.

<sup>27</sup>V. Bickford-Smith, 'South African urban history, racial segregation and the unique case of Cape Town?', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21 (1995), 63.

<sup>28</sup>Bickford-Smith, *The Emergence of the South African Metropolis*, 18; V. Bickford-Smith 'Writing about Englishness', in G. MacPhee and P. Prodder (eds.), *Empire and After: Englishness in Postcolonial Perspective* (New York, 2007), 19, 62.

<sup>29</sup>Saunders, 'Britishness in South Africa', 67.

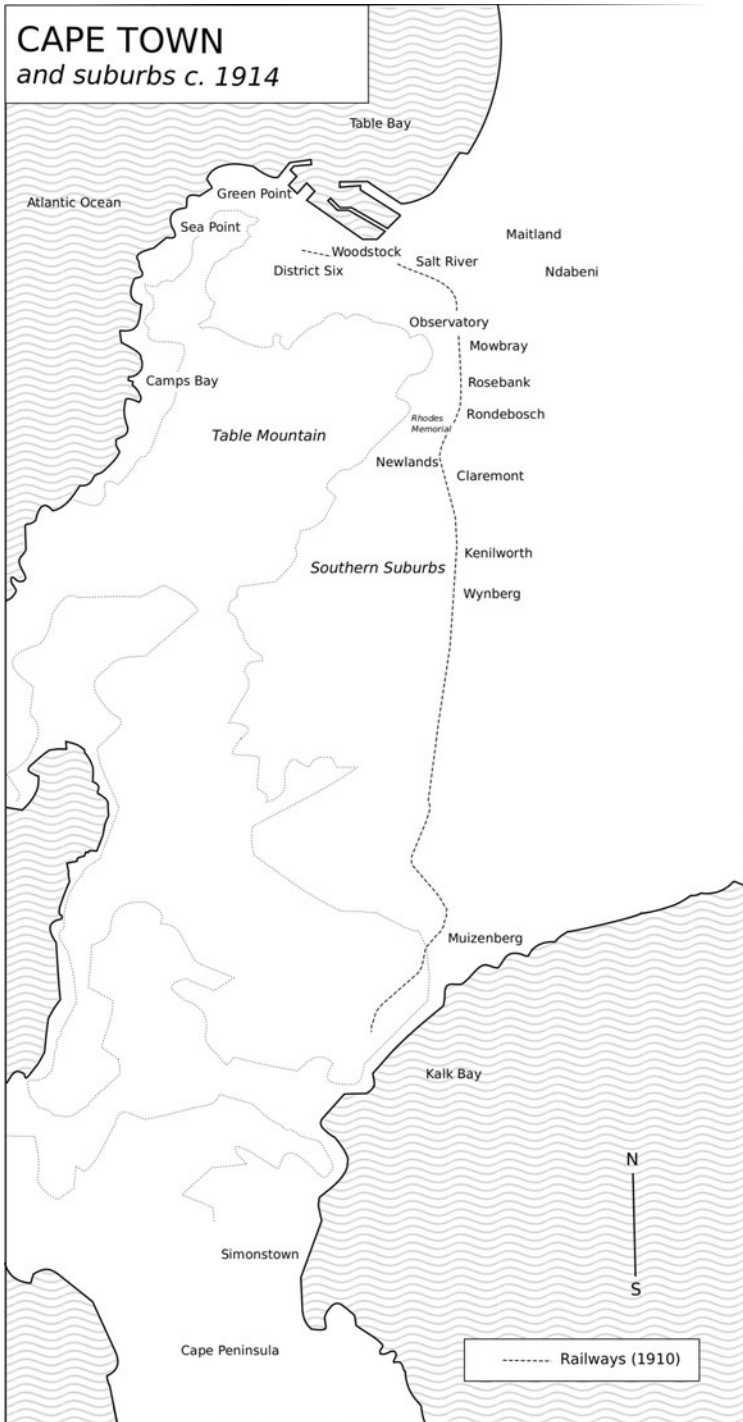
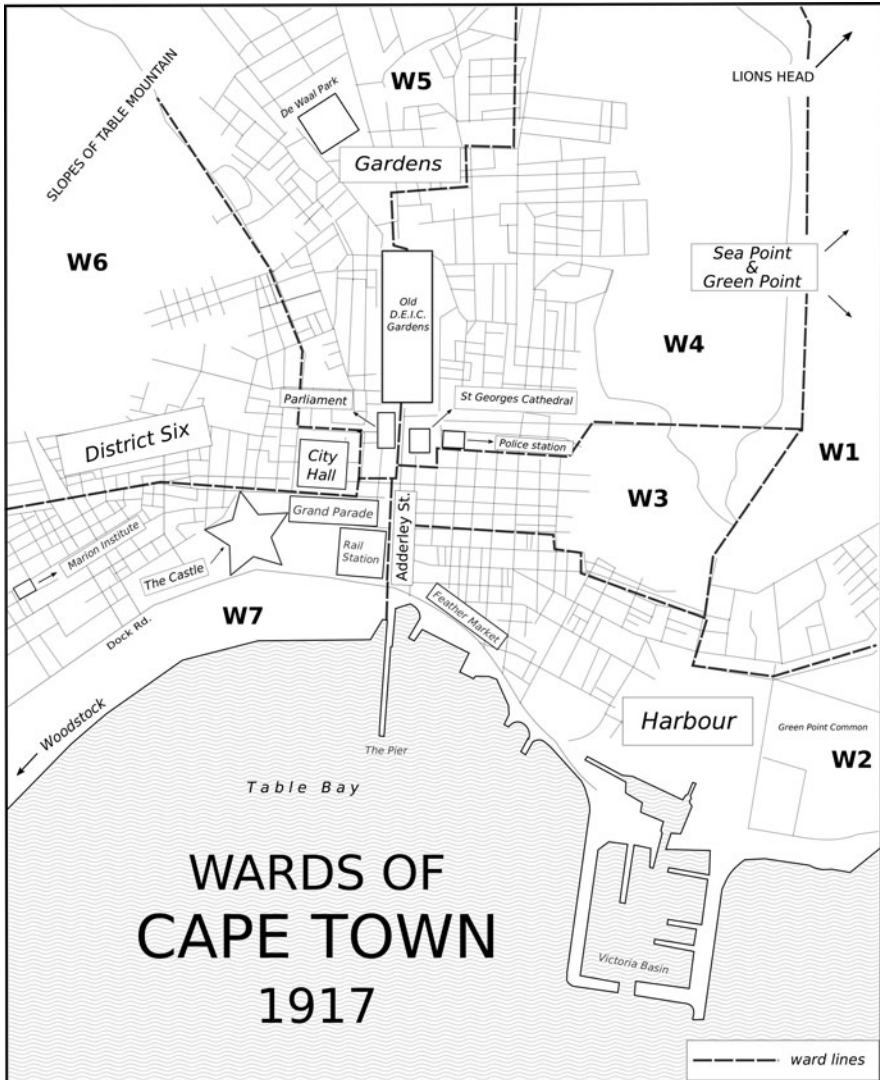


Figure 1. Map of the Cape Peninsula, 1914. In 1913, the city's various municipalities united to form Greater Cape Town (with the exception of Wynberg).

**Table 1.** Suburban population of Cape Town, according to census categories of 1911

	'European or white'	'Mixed and other coloured'	'Black'	Total
Number	85,442	74,749	1,338	161,579
Percentage (%)	52.9	46.3	0.83	100

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



**Figure 2.** Ward map of Cape Town city centre, 1917.

Source: Recreated from *Juta's Street Directory, 1917* (Cape Town).

city, held a predominately working-class coloured population which was interspersed with poor Afrikaners, Indians, Greeks, Germans and 'some immigrant Jews, Britons, and Italians', who 'still lived cheek-by-jowl'.<sup>30</sup> Even in areas which were generally considered 'poor', white Capetonians were, on average, half as cramped as their coloured and black neighbours (there were 1.7 times more coloured and black Capetonians per room across the city).<sup>31</sup> This disparity reflected the unequal access that coloured and black Capetonians had to education and wealth.

### Material changes and challenges to the wartime city

The war affected Cape Town both imaginatively and materially. It was seen in advertising, in fashion and literature. By September 1914, Heynes Mathew at 17–19 Adderley Street was advertising Kodak cameras to men 'off to the front' – 'just think of the many interesting pictures you can get on trek, in camps, groups of your comrades'. New fashion trends appeared in the display windows of Garlick's Department Store – 'German Kulture', declared the *South African Domestic Monthly* in March 1915, could not destroy fashion, 'even at the very edge of the veld'.<sup>32</sup> The war was woven into cinema (or the 'bioscope') and theatre.<sup>33</sup> By the first week of November 1914, the 'first public attempt to turn the war to dramatic uses' it was announced, could be viewed at the Tivoli theatre.<sup>34</sup> Bioscopes jam-packed soldiers and civilians together, and displayed war-themed dramas and informative newsreels. They were also used for recruiting. At the Tivoli and Alhambra in December 1915, Major Bass' call to arms was heralded by three trumpeters, with similar scenes across the city at Wolfram's, Fisher's Grand Theatre and the Opera House.<sup>35</sup> Music and song were other avenues through which the war was woven into the soundscape of the city. After bioscope and theatre performances, 'God save the King' was sung,<sup>36</sup> whilst on sports fields and in school halls, war-related tunes could be heard. In District Six, the song 'Here's health unto his Majesty' was performed during a November 1914 concert<sup>37</sup> at the largely black Zonnebloem College<sup>38</sup> (which was founded by the first bishop of Cape Town in 1858 'for the purpose of educating...the sons of Native chiefs and other members of the Bantu and mixed races in South Africa').<sup>39</sup> It is unclear

<sup>30</sup>B. Nasson, "'She preferred living in a cave with Harry the snake-catcher": towards an oral history of popular leisure and class expression in District Six, Cape Town, c. 1920–1950s', *History Workshop University of Witwatersrand* (1987), 2.

<sup>31</sup>UG 37-24: *General Report: Census of the Union of South Africa* (Pretoria, 1924), 315.

<sup>32</sup>*South African Domestic Monthly*, 20 (Mar. 1915).

<sup>33</sup>For a detailed discussion for the content and reception of films in the Union during the war years, see T. Gutsche, 'The history and social significance of the cinema in South Africa 1895–1940', University of Cape Town Ph.D. thesis, 1946, 190–224.

<sup>34</sup>*Cape Times (CT)*, 8 Nov. 1914.

<sup>35</sup>*CT*, 1 Dec. 1915.

<sup>36</sup>*CT*, 1 Feb. 1915.

<sup>37</sup>University of Cape Town (UCT), Special Collections (BC) 636, *Zonnebloem College Papers*, F4.10 Speech Day, 23 Nov. 1914.

<sup>38</sup>UCT/BC 636/ F2.2, Prospectuses 1910–63.

<sup>39</sup>J. Hodgson, 'A history of Zonnebloem College, 1858–1870: a study of church and society', University of Cape Town Ph.D. thesis, 1975.



if all the students were entirely enthused – the programmes left over from these occasions offer little nuance. Nevertheless, patriotic songs were particularly common during war-related occasions, including ‘Keep the Home Fires Burning’, ‘Soldiers of the King’, ‘It’s a Long Way to Tipperary’ and ‘Land of Hope and Glory’.<sup>40</sup>

The war also changed the city by militarizing certain spaces and altering where civilians were permitted to be. The initial uncertainty about the safety of the city saw measures put in place for the protection of the Cape Peninsula. Sizable sections of Table Mountain, for example, were declared prohibited areas – much to the disappointment of avid hikers of the Cape Mountain Club, with the exception of the permit ‘under the hand of the mayor’.<sup>41</sup> Perhaps the most overt sign of the war’s presence in the city was the presence of uniformed troops in the Peninsula. This was one of the first features to mark Cape Town noticeably as a city ‘at war’. Alice Green, writing to her brother ‘Eppy’ in September 1914, wrote of the troops encamped at ‘Groote Schuur and elsewhere along the mountain’, who, after totalling ‘more than 10,000...all vanished as silently and suddenly’ as they had come.<sup>42</sup> Of all the passing troops, it was the Anzacs who left the largest impression on Cape Town, and particularly so after 1916 when the route past the Cape was increasingly used. The Australian troops travelled in convoys of four or five ships, each holding between 1,500 and 2,000 troops on board.<sup>43</sup> By the end of 1916, according to one report, ‘approximately 40,000 men were provided with refreshments, entertainments and other troops services’.<sup>44</sup>

The presence of soldiers was one of the main material changes to the city that fed into a climate of heightened moral concern. Reports of soldiers ‘constantly’ visiting ‘unsavoury’ areas in District Six flamed the fires of moral outcry. Conveniently located in close proximity to the main thoroughfare of Adderley Street, the Castle (the old Dutch fort was used as the imperial military headquarters during the war) and the Harbour, troops did not need to wander far to visit the illicit bars and brothels of the district. ‘If our nation ever comes to an end’, argued the *White Ribbon* in April 1915, ‘it will not be by war with another nation...Our danger lies from within, from vice and evil.’<sup>45</sup> The idea that women’s virtues could uphold ‘civilization’, as discussed earlier, drew upon early twentieth-century ideas about the empire’s future (white) generations and the sustainability of the British colonial project. Within South Africa, it reflected concerns about maintaining white hegemony in order for the country to develop along modern and ‘civilized’ lines. Replicating the call for young men to volunteer, the *White Ribbon* thus appealed to young girls:

Your country needs you!...In the battles to be fought, and which women can share and take part in, all are needed and the delicate, refined, gentle girl can

<sup>40</sup>CT, 5 Aug. 1916.

<sup>41</sup>National Archives of South Africa, Pretoria, Records of the Governor-General, 536, *Prohibited Places, Cape Peninsula*, Government Notice No. 27, Martial Law Regulations, 6 Jan. 1915.

<sup>42</sup>UCT/BC 330 *Molteno Family Papers*, box 28, no date.

<sup>43</sup>*Geraldton Express* (WA), 9 Mar. 1917, available online at: <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/214195050>, accessed 23 Jul. 2019; *Rutherglen Sun and Chiltern Valley Advertiser* (VIC), 15 Aug. 1916, available online at <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/121013982?>, accessed 23 Jul. 2019.

<sup>44</sup>*The Advertiser* (Adelaide), 5 Mar. 1917, available online at: <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/5567195?>, accessed 23 Jul. 2019.

<sup>45</sup>KAB/A1696/V295/ WR, XXV:7, Apr. 1915.

take up her place beside her stronger comrade. Boys and men go out from their homes with the influences of mother and sister around them. It is the girls they meet everywhere that must help them to maintain right ideals of womanhood.<sup>46</sup>

This discourse wove together patriotism and moral purity and, at the centre of it all, middle-class, white women were framed as the bastions of civilization and empire.

Groups such as the WCTU believed that troops in the Peninsula would be best looked after by steering them away from the morally distasteful distractions of games, booze and bodies, and that the warm smiles of respectable women accompanied by tea and cake would be a pleasing way to welcome troops into the city.<sup>47</sup> The Mowbray WCTU branch, for example, entertained 33 young men from the HMS *Goliath* in early 1915. After being served refreshments 'in the shape of melons, buns and lemonade under the shade of trees in the *Avond Rust* garden', they were accompanied to Rhodes Memorial and the zoo.<sup>48</sup> Abstinence was also stressed as a way to counter immorality.<sup>49</sup> Inspired by Lord Kitchener's call for a teetotal war in 1914, and more pointedly the king's own pledge to abstain from alcohol, the WCTU initiated their temperance campaign in May 1915. Many ladies spent their weekends providing tea and handing out white temperance badges to troops visiting the Feather Market at the bottom of Dock Road and, by 1917, they boasted between 600 and 700 pledges.<sup>50</sup>

Troops may have been one of the main focuses around wartime morality for middle-class women, but their attention was also inward-looking. The idea that girls might be swept up in wartime passions, or 'Khaki fever', raised concerns about their moral sanctity.<sup>51</sup> This discourse varied according to race and class in the city. For middle-class white girls, this rested upon the idea that they were the future mothers of the South African nation. It was along these lines that Dr Lillian Robinson encouraged 'purity' to be taught as a form of patriotism, as 'the nation wanted hardy, self-reliant women for its future mothers'.<sup>52</sup> This was echoed by the WCTU and sister societies, such as the 'League of Honour', set up through the National Council of Women (NCW) in May 1915,<sup>53</sup> and the Child Life Protection Society (CLPS).<sup>54</sup> It was further believed that white working-class girls should be elevated to 'respectable' standards of living. This upliftment, however, also stemmed from fears that miscegenation (and thus racial degeneration) was

<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*, XXVI:12, Sep. 1916.

<sup>48</sup>The Greek-style memorial, commemorating Cecil John Rhodes, overlooked the Southern Suburbs and was completed in 1912; *ibid.*, XXV:6, Mar. 1915.

<sup>49</sup>*Ibid.*, XXV:2, Nov. 1914.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, XXV:8, May 1915; XXVII:2, Nov. 1917.

<sup>51</sup>L. Lammasniemi, 'Regulation 40D: punishing promiscuity on the home front during the First World War', *Women's History Review*, 26 (2017), 585. See also A. Woollacott, 'Khaki fever and its control: gender, class, age and sexual morality on the British homefront in the First World War', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 29 (1994), 325–47.

<sup>52</sup>*CT*, 7 Sep. 1917.

<sup>53</sup>KAB/A1696/V295/ WR, XXV:8, May 1915; Nasson, *World War One*, 150–1.

<sup>54</sup>Klausen, "For the sake of the race", 43–5; Duff, 'Babies of the empire', 59–73; Davin, 'Imperialism and motherhood'; Pickles, *Female Imperialism and National Identity*.

endemic in the city's multi-racial impoverished quarters, such as District Six. This was echoed in the desire to instil working-class, coloured girls with middle-class, Christian values. Whilst much of this work was driven by genuine concern for their welfare, it was also a question of limiting miscegenation and population control within the urban context. A seeming result of this increased wartime anxiety around the moral fortitude of the city's poor females was the establishment in 1915 of the Stakesby-Lewis Hostel for coloured women in Loop Street<sup>55</sup> (with the help of a visiting Scottish WCTU member, Miss Lochhead),<sup>56</sup> and the opening of the Marion Institute for coloured 'wayfarers' by Mrs Carter, the Anglican archbishop's wife.<sup>57</sup> The former also represented the formation of the Cape Town's 'Coloured WCTU', which sought to help poor, uneducated coloured girls become 'respectable ladies', by instilling in them the virtues of Christianity and Temperance (it also encapsulated the aspirations of the coloured petty-bourgeoisie).<sup>58</sup> At their first annual meeting, parents were advised by one 'Mrs Earp' to 'keep their children from associating with European men', whilst emphasizing that 'if their daughters went astray, it was the fault of the mothers'.<sup>59</sup>

The introduction of women's patrols by September 1915 was another way in which respectable Capetonian women sought to maintain the proper rules of feminine conduct, by countering "'excessively familiar talk with soldiers of uncertain character'".<sup>60</sup> These patrols were lobbied for by the NCW and the WCTU, who had taken increasing interest in the women patrols in Great Britain, Canada and the United States.<sup>61</sup> The wartime departure of policemen and the strains experienced by the police meant that the WCTU and the NCW had greater leverage with which to push their cause.<sup>62</sup> Adorned with special badges, these volunteers were tasked with spotting recognized prostitutes, patrolling public spaces and befriending 'any girl who needs it'.<sup>63</sup>

The presence of soldiers may have been a significant source of moral anxiety in the wartime city, but this anxiety was also exacerbated by deeper, infrastructural urban challenges. Increased urbanization, the development of factories and a wartime rise in the cost of living led to concerns about the moral and material welfare of the city's poor. Much of this was directed towards working-class women.

The wartime increase in Cape Town's population linked to fears around the material and moral corruption of the city. According to the 1911 and 1921 censuses, the city's population increased from roughly 150,000 to 183,000 (22 per

<sup>55</sup>J. McKinnon, 'Women's Christian Temperance Union: aspects of early feminism in the Cape 1889–1930', University of Cape Town MA thesis, 1995, 70.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, 70; KAB/A1696/V295/ WR, XXVI:9, Jun. 1915.

<sup>57</sup>Nasson, *World War One*, 152.

<sup>58</sup>McKinnon, 'Women's Christian Temperance Union', 37, 70; F. Cleophas, 'Physical education and physical culture in the coloured community of the Western Cape, 1837–1966', Stellenbosch University Ph.D. thesis, 2015, 1; W. Dooling, 'Poverty and respectability in early twentieth-century Cape Town', *Journal of African History*, 59 (2018), 27.

<sup>59</sup>KAB/A1696/V295/ WR XXVI:10, Jul. 1916.

<sup>60</sup>St Cyprians' Girls' School Magazine, 60 (1918) as cited by Nasson, *World War One*, 151.

<sup>61</sup>KAB/A1696/V295/ WR XXV:7, Apr. 1915.

<sup>62</sup>McKinnon, 'Women's Christian Temperance Union', 161.

<sup>63</sup>CT, 24 Oct. 1916.

cent).<sup>64</sup> The substantial increase in the city's white population, of roughly 30 per cent, reflected the number of poor, rural Afrikaners who retreated to the city during the war out of necessity.<sup>65</sup> This linked to a broader process of agrarian transformation, stemming back to the late nineteenth century.<sup>66</sup> Poor, rural farmers were further affected by the years during and after the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902), including a post-war depression (1903–9) and waves of drought and pestilence.<sup>67</sup> Whilst these factors had already triggered a movement of 'poor whites' into the city *before* World War I, the war years themselves saw little reprieve. With the collapse of the Ostrich feather industry upon the outbreak of war, the resurgence of drought years in 1916–17 and the substantial wartime rise in the cost of living, urban resettlement was the only option for many. Cape Town's black population similarly saw a substantial increase during the war years. For example, Ndabeni increased by 132 per cent between 1914 and 1918, from 1,536 people to 3,561. This was, according to the Department of Native Affairs, a result of the increased demand for 'native labour' during the war, which had caused many men to 'flock to the Cape'.<sup>68</sup>

The growth of the city's population during the war put the city's housing system under enormous strain. In fact, the Acts of 1902 and 1905, which prevented black men and women from residing outside of Ndabeni (barring exceptions), were increasingly waved as a result of the location's overcrowding during the war.<sup>69</sup> Poorer areas like District Six were also particularly affected by urbanization, as they were the more affordable choice for newcomers to the city.<sup>70</sup> The deplorable state of overcrowding in impoverished areas, exacerbated by the war, fuelled concerns around poor whites, miscegenation and the corrupting influences of racially mixed 'slums'. By 1919, it was admitted in a Report on Housing in the Peninsula that the city now required roughly 3,500 houses for its 'poorer classes (both white and coloured)', which amounted to 30 per cent of the overall housing shortfall for the Union's total urban areas.<sup>71</sup>

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

<sup>64</sup>These figures do not specifically reflect the war years, and that increasing urbanization during the given decade is likely to have been the trend regardless of the war. W. Beinart, *Twentieth-Century South Africa* (Oxford, 2001), 20–7; W. Beinart and C. Bundy, *Hidden Struggle in Rural South Africa: Politics and Popular Movements in the Transkei and Eastern Cape* (Johannesburg, 1987), 194.

<sup>65</sup>Cape Town City Council Records (CTC), *Mayor's Minutes* (MM), annual report of the medical officer of health, 1917.

<sup>66</sup>Beinart, *Twentieth-Century South Africa*, 20.

<sup>67</sup>B. Nasson, "Messing with coloured people": the 1918 police strike in Cape Town, South Africa', *Journal of African History*, 33 (1992), 307; Swart, "A Boer and his gun", 741.

<sup>68</sup>UG7–1919, *Report of the Department of Native Affairs 1913–1918*, 18.

<sup>69</sup>B. Kinkead-Weekes, 'Africans in Cape Town: the origins and development of state policy and popular resistance to 1936', University of Cape Town Ph.D. thesis, 1985, 92–3.

<sup>70</sup>Nasson, "Messing with coloured people", 309–10.

<sup>71</sup>N. Barnett, 'Race, house and town planning in Cape Town 1929–1940 with special reference to District 6', University of Cape Town Ph.D. thesis, 1993, 80.

Of all the tragic aspects of the great struggle which is going on, the most tragic is the profuse expenditure of young life...that should press upon us the desirability that the young children which are growing up shall be made as efficient as possible to take their place in the struggle in the future.<sup>72</sup>

Rose-Innes continued, stating that there was ‘no portion of the British Empire’ in which ‘the child is such a valuable asset as South Africa’. His argument positioned white South Africans as the ‘trustees of civilization’ in Africa and as such, he warned against the dangers of seeing ‘civilized children, white or black, flung into the sea of barbarism and ignorance’.<sup>73</sup> The city’s medical profession supported these views and, in 1916, the Cape British Medical Association published the *Training of our Girls* which proposed motherhood as key to securing racial and national well-being as ‘healthy mothers’ meant ‘healthy children’.<sup>74</sup> The idea that large swathes of the white population – generally poor Afrikaners – were moving into impoverished urban areas and ‘degenerating to the socio-economic condition of blacks’, threatened white hegemony in the country, and ‘civilization’ itself.<sup>75</sup> The upliftment of poor mothers and their children was accordingly perceived as vital to counter these dangers.

The substantial rise in the cost of living during the war accentuated anxiety around child welfare. By 1917, prices were 40 per cent higher than their 1910 levels.<sup>76</sup> Monthly expenditure for a family of five in Cape Town was estimated to have increased from £13 11s 4d pre-war to £18 16s by November 1917, whilst the city had the lowest effective wages in the Union from 1914.<sup>77</sup> The CLPS thus noted in September 1917 that the ‘staggering shock of war’ had chiefly affected the poor. Tinned milk, it was revealed, ‘has now got beyond the reach of the purses of slum mothers...Cow’s milk was always so; but now there is no alternative, not even the inferior one of condensed milk.’<sup>78</sup>

The growth of factories in Cape Town during the war was another reason for the city’s burgeoning population and subsequent concerns about morality, motherhood and the future of the white races. This was enabled by wartime conditions, which created a bubble of protectionism for the Union.<sup>79</sup> Factory production in the Cape Province as a whole increased during 1915–21 by 141 per cent.<sup>80</sup> By 1920–21, Cape

<sup>72</sup>CT, 4 Apr. 1916.

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup>Klausen, “For the sake of the race”, 45.

<sup>75</sup>Accordingly, ‘white-centred welfare’ was ‘all the more urgent in the eyes of the state’. This was compounded by the idea that such emerging degenerates might ‘outbreed’ more respectable, healthy whites. Muirhead and Swart, “The whites of the child?”, 236–7.

<sup>76</sup>Prices rose by approximately 40% between 1910 and 1917. M. Nicol, ‘A history of garment and tailoring workers in Cape Town, 1900–1939’, University of Cape Town Ph.D. thesis, 1984, 51.

<sup>77</sup>UG 55-’18, Cost of Living Commission General Report on Rents and Housing (CT, 1919), 33.

<sup>78</sup>CT, 1 Sep. 1917.

<sup>79</sup>Kinkead-Weekes, *Africans in Cape Town*, 57; whilst Africans represented only 4% of the labour force in 1916, they formed 14% of the labour force by the mid-1920s. See also A. Sayers, ‘Development, transformation and freedom: critical perspectives on development, transformation and freedom, with reference to a social and economic history of the state, markets and civil practices in the Western Cape of South Africa, 1910–1948’, University of Cape Town Ph.D. thesis, 2006, 88.

<sup>80</sup>G68-’24, *Industrial Development in South Africa* (Pretoria, 1924), 20.

Town was responsible for 88.2 per cent of the factory production in the province, and the largest concentration of industry lay in food production, at 26.4 per cent. The number of bakeries and biscuit factories grew from 71 to 120 between 1915 and 1919, with coloured female employees increasing by 320 per cent.<sup>81</sup> By 1917, the labour registration officer of the Department of Mines and Industries, Mr Harry Beynon, estimated that there were at least 5,000 female factory workers, the majority of whom were coloured and under 19 years of age.<sup>82</sup> Factory work was thus linked to the increasing presence of mostly coloured, but also poor Afrikaner, women coming into Cape Town from the impoverished farmlands of the Western Cape during the war, in search of work.<sup>83</sup>

It was this rise of women in factories that helped feed into anxiety around morality and motherhood during the war. One of the chief concerns was that children were being neglected as a result of absent mothers and, after being approached by the NCW, the city council opened a municipal day nursery in early February 1918 'in the vicinity of Sir Lowry Road', District Six.<sup>84</sup> The other concern was that working-class women were spending their wages on alcohol. This likely drew upon public discourse in Britain which targeted working-class women as the site of increasing moral corruption.<sup>85</sup> Indeed, Mrs K. van der Blerk, writing in August 1918, noted that 'a great deal has been written of late about the wicked misuse to which girls at home, who are earning big wages in munition factories, are putting their money. It is said they are simply wasting it on foolish luxuries, and often spending it on drink.'<sup>86</sup> Alcohol had been the target of temperance campaigns in the Peninsula during the war, but attempts to shut down liquor-selling businesses in the city were repeatedly overturned as a result of opposition from the Peninsula Licensed Victuallers' Association (which consisted of a politically connected stratum of liquor producers and retailers in the Cape). The desire to limit working-class women's access to alcohol, however, was widely accepted and, in 1918, legislation banning the sale of liquor to women was introduced.<sup>87</sup> Although this stirred up 'a great deal of feeling' within women's groups (both the NCW and the WCTU felt that the ban was sexist), they conceded that it

<sup>81</sup>Special Report 24, *Report on Bakeries and Biscuit Factories, 1915–16 to 1922–23* (Pretoria, 1925).

<sup>82</sup>UG, Select Committee Reports (SC) 4 1917, *Report of the Select Committee on the Regulation of Wages Bill*, minutes of evidence, interview with Mr Harry Beynon. According to Nicol, 3,200 of 4,500 women working in Cape Town in 1916–17 were coloured. Nicol, 'A history of garment and tailoring workers', 77.

<sup>83</sup>Nasson, *World War One*, 151; for the movement of Afrikaner women into urban areas, see M. du Toit, 'Women, welfare and the nurturing of Afrikaner nationalism: a social history of the Afrikaanse Christelike Vroue Vereniging, c. 1870–1939', University of Cape Town Ph.D. thesis, 1996.

<sup>84</sup>CTC/MM/1918.

<sup>85</sup>J. White, 'A war on purity', in *Zeppelin Nights: London in the First World War* (Kindle Edition, 2014); P. Levine, "'Walking the streets in a way no decent woman should": women police in World War I', *Journal of Modern History*, 66 (1994), 54.

<sup>86</sup>KAB/A1696/V295/ WR, XXVII:11, Aug. 1918.

<sup>87</sup>Public Welfare and Moratorium Act of 1914 and 1915, whereby the 'provisions of E, section 2 state: the sale or supply of alcohol to female persons is prohibited on all licensed premises except between 8am and 12 noon, and no female person shall be permitted to loiter or to be in any bar or room set apart for the consumption'. KAB, Records of the Chief Magistrate (1/CT), 15/9, *Union Gazette Extraordinary*, 3 May 1915.

was necessary 'to safeguard many women who are exposed to great temptations'.<sup>88</sup>

In contrast to the corrupting influence of wages on working-class women, another, seemingly opposite, worry emerged, linked to their inadequate pay. Most young (and particularly coloured) girls were heavily exploited, working long hours and in unsanitary conditions. This was particularly true in the numerous garment factories which were rapidly established in response to the wartime demand for uniforms.<sup>89</sup> Concern regarding the exploitation of women in factories fed directly into a 1917 Report on the Regulation of Wages Bill, which concluded that girls (sometimes as young as 12) were largely underpaid, making a decent standard of living impossible. Many factory owners justified low pay by arguing that females were dependants,<sup>90</sup> yet many were responsible for supporting children, parents and siblings. The Reverend Caradoc Davies of Maitland reported that a widow with five children who worked at a cardboard factory received only one shilling a day, whilst a girl at a sweet factory earned between six and seven shillings a week, with which she supported 'her very poor mother'.<sup>91</sup> Across the city's factories, most white apprentices were receiving £1–2 per month whilst 'improvers' (or mid-level) were paid between £2 and £3 per month. Skilled workers could be given as little as £2 8s per month, although their pay averaged around £5 per month. The committee estimated that the lowest wage which a 'grown-up girl' could live on 'decently' was £5 a month, but it left no room for savings or luxuries.<sup>92</sup> Even then, these figures refer only to the wages of white women and do not reflect the fact that many factory owners paid coloured women less, believing they did not require the same standard of living.<sup>93</sup>

The poor pay of women factory workers raised concerns that they were forced to 'eke out their income by immoral means',<sup>94</sup> particularly considering the wartime hike in the cost of living. It is, however, difficult to state how many women turned to prostitution during the war. The assistant medical officer of health for the Union, Dr J.A. Mitchell, approximated that, in Cape Town, there were roughly 50 European and 300 coloured prostitutes who were professional ('who lived solely on prostitution'), with a much larger, unknown number of women who were clandestine or occasional 'street-workers'.<sup>95</sup> As seen in Figure 3 below, there is an overall trend of increasing prostitution during the war years, despite a dip in April 1915 when only five women were arrested (although, as with all records, these numbers need to be taken with caution).<sup>96</sup>

What is known is that the majority of arrests for solicitation during the war were for destitute, coloured girls under the age of 21. Vagrancy arrests further reveal not only a high proportion of prostitutes, but a large number of coloured young women

<sup>88</sup>KAB/A1696/V295/ WR, XXVIII:12, Sep. 1918.

<sup>89</sup>Nicol, 'A history of garment and tailoring workers'.

<sup>90</sup>UG/SC4 1917.

<sup>91</sup>*Ibid.*, interview with Rev. C. Davies.

<sup>92</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup>Nicol, 'A history of garment and tailoring workers', 54.

<sup>94</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>95</sup>CT, 9 Jun. 1917.

<sup>96</sup>KAB/ 1/CT, *Criminal Record Books, 1914–1920*.

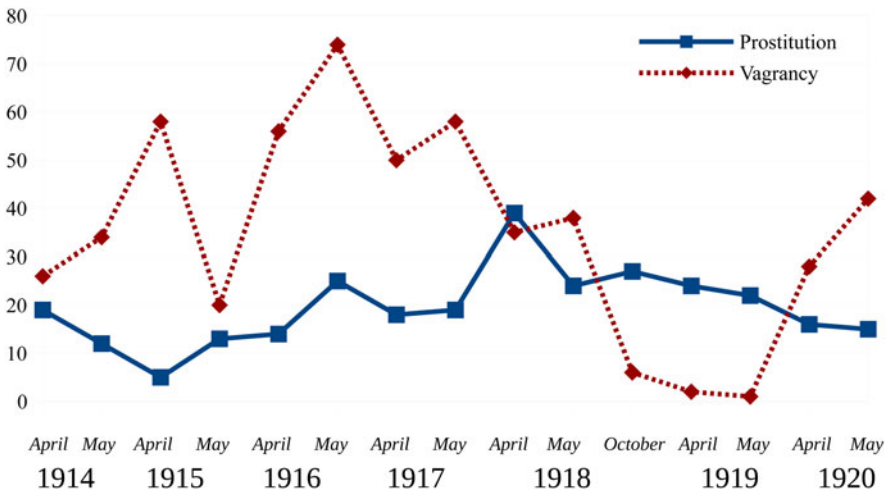


Figure 3. Arrests for prostitution and vagrancy, Cape Town, 1914–1920.

Source: Cape Town Archives Repository, Records of the Chief Magistrate, *Criminal Record Books*, 1914–1920.

more generally speaking<sup>97</sup> (for example, one prostitute, Rosie Murphy, in a case against her pimp, revealed to the magistrate that she lived ‘in the mountainside’).<sup>98</sup> Ultimately, it appears that the turn of impoverished females to prostitution might have been more than a reflection of the climate of heightened anxiety around morality, and was also a reality grounded in everyday hardships, exacerbated by the war.

## Conclusion

At the end of 1918, legislation was passed that granted women the right to be town councillors in the Cape Province. The Women’s Enfranchisement League and the WCTU had campaigned for this right during the war as ‘a woman reformer without the vote is like a soldier without a gun, an army without ammunition’.<sup>99</sup> In part,

<sup>97</sup>*Ibid.*; van Heyningen refers to Cape Town’s prostitutes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a ‘highly mobile population’. E. van Heyningen, ‘The social evil in the Cape Colony 1868–1902: prostitution and the contagious diseases acts’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 10 (1984), 180–1. For a detailed analysis on the development of Union, fears around the poor white problem and venereal disease, see K. Jochelson, *The colour of disease: syphilis and racism in South Africa, 1880–1950* (Basingstoke, 2001).

<sup>98</sup>Cloete was charged with ‘living off the proceeds of prostitution’. KAB/ 1/CT 6/429, *Cape Town Criminal Cases*: 7416 of 1916, Christian Cloete alias John Jacobs.

<sup>99</sup>KAB/A1696/V295/ WR, XXV:6, Mar. 1915; enfranchisement work was largely sidelined during the war. Nasson, *World War One*, 144; for a detailed analysis of the women’s suffrage movement in the Union, see C. Walker, ‘The women’s suffrage movement’, in C. Walker (ed.), *Women and Resistance in South Africa* (Cape Town, 1991), 313–45. For a comprehensive overview of Afrikaner women and the suffragist movement, see L. Vincent, ‘The power behind the scenes: the Afrikaner nationalist women’s parties, 1915–1931’, *South African Historical Journal*, 40 (1999), 51–73; L. Vincent, ‘A cake of soap: the Volksmoeder ideology and Afrikaner women’s campaign for the vote’, Paper for Rhodes University, Mar. 1998.



the passing of this legislation was enabled by the ‘absence of enlisted men’,<sup>100</sup> but it also reflected the idea that women were particularly capable of guiding questions of morality and child welfare which, as has been demonstrated, were deemed vital to urban order and the future prosperity of white minority rule. The material effects of World War I on the city certainly played a role in cementing this belief, aided by ‘Khaki fever’ and the increasing death-toll of the empire’s (white) men. Indeed, other legislation enacted after the war, including the 1919 Health Act, the 1920 Housing Act and the 1923 Native Urban Areas Act, similarly linked to concerns about the health of the white races and the nature of the Union’s cities.<sup>101</sup>

This article has demonstrated that women were at the centre of these ideas around war, health, race and the urban environment, and that action was largely driven by the white middle classes. It has also shown that the discourse was varied according to the race and class of different Capetonian women. For middle-class white females, it rested upon the idea that they were the future mothers of the South African nation, and that they were also responsible for guiding the moral lives of men. It was also believed that white working-class females should be educated and elevated to ‘respectable’ *white* standards of living. This upliftment reflected fears that miscegenation was rampant in the city’s multi-racial impoverished quarters, such as District Six, which were under increasing strain during the war. This approach was similarly seen in the desire to instil working-class, coloured females with middle-class, Christian values. Even if much of this work was informed by genuine concern for their welfare, it too was a question of population control in the urban context. Increased urbanization, the rise in the cost of living and the increasing availability of factory work to working-class women further incensed fears of their moral corruption and their ability to fulfil their roles as mothers. These ideas were powerful in that they fed into new legislation which increasingly emphasized a white-welfarist approach and informed ideas about the future of South African cities.

<sup>100</sup>McKinnon, ‘Women’s Christian Temperance Union’, 131.

<sup>101</sup>See H. Phillips, *Plague, Pox and Pandemics* (Johannesburg, 2012), 87–90; N. Coetzer, ‘Langa township in the 1920s – an (extra)ordinary garden suburb’, *South African Journal of Art History*, 24 (2009), 5–6.