In mid-1946, South African police learned that Charlotte Beukes, a young woman from the small Natal farming town of Piet Retief, had collapsed in a stationary, unused train at a rail-yard on the South Africa-Mozambique border. Taken by her worried lover to Lourenço Marques, Charlotte died en-route, and had been hastily buried in a numbered grave. Her parents, who had not known their daughter had even left the Union, did not initially believe Charlotte had died. When convinced by grave-tender, the family's enquiries led them to suspect that Charlotte had been abducted in Pretoria by Maxi Groenewald, a Lourenço Marques 'taxi-girl', and taken as prostitute to the Café Penguin, a nightclub-casino of a certain repute. There, her parents said, Charlotte was either poisoned by a 'Baster' woman in a fit romantic jealousy, or by Maxi herself over a financial disagreement.

Police investigated. Some months prior to her death, Charlotte, after deserting a tedious clerkship at the Department of Defence in Pretoria, had gone with a friend, a Miss Hattingh, to a Pretoria hotel. There, they approached Maxi, who was a part-time recruiter for 'dançarinas' (literally a dancer but also barmaid or hostess) for the Penguin, and had likely advertised positions in the local press. Estranged from her husband and having had a liaison with one Lieutenant Abreu that had led to the latter's transfer from the city, Maxi lived in large house with four other South

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1 The following is constructed from investigation notes in SAB/SAP 1/57/39 Vol. 2. Re: Charlotte Beukes.
African taxi-girls near Lourenço Marques' Chinese pagodas. With her help, Charlotte kept her parents in the dark by forging the paperwork required to cross the border. On reaching Lourenço Marques, her arrival as dançarina was publicized in the Lourenço Marques Guardian. Relatively well-paid and living in an apartment in town's Indian quarter, Charlotte shared a romance with a two-timing barman as well as with some young Afrikaans men working as conductors on Johannesburg-Lourenço Marques train. Charlotte would often rendezvous with these men in the train-yard at the Ressano Garcia border stop. During one such visit, she succumbed to Blackwater Fever. Although the police sympathised with the Beukes family over their deviant daughter, they dropped the case.

Then, in January 1947, a similar episode. A typed letter arrived at a Durban police office, from a decommissioned soldier who began with news of "my wife's sordid adventure in Mozambique". He blasted away at "a vicious crowd of vice-traffickers [and] coon confederates" who smuggled the Canadian Mrs. Maureen Thomas to the Imperium Café in Lourenço Marques, a bar somewhat more salacious than the Penguin. After being confined on a Swaziland farm, in Lourenço Marques Maureen had apparently been "degraded by Dagos, Totties and God knows what". Amid the "Latin corruption and lethargy of Dago captains", Capt. Thomas wrote that Maureen had been impregnated by the city's Chief of Police. Maureen had since disappeared.

Again jolted, Union police embarked on a discreet three-country enquiry (corresponding only in Afrikaans "for security"). It turned into a wild-goose chase. On the outskirts of Durban some week previously, Maureen had, in fact, fortuitously met Alan Young, a "coloured" ex-felon and now part-time recruiter at the Imperium. She had negotiated work as a dançarina at the Imperium and travelled there legally and conventionally while her husband was away from town. She worked for three months with some ex-prostitutes, after which, unhappy with conditions, she returned to the Union but not her agitated husband. In a telegraph to Captain Thomas – a vindictive man she once charged with battery - she concocted the pregnancy story to rid herself of his attentions, and made up another decoy about a mysterious Durban Playhouse tout, to deflect attention from the arrangement with Young. The Police again declined to proceed further.

Unclear who was fooling who, Union officials privately described these overlapping scandals as “extremely alarming.”. As this article will show, they were a manifestation of the decades, even

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2 The following is constructed from SAB/SAP 1/57/39. Vol. 2. Re: Maureen Thomas.
3 SAB/SAP 1/57/39 Vol. 2. Commissioner, SAP to Secretary of Justice, 24 October 1948.
centuries, old question of bars and barmaids in southern Africa. Using a mixture of official, settler-folk and visual sources, and integrating some English and Portuguese language literature, this article argues that bars and barmaids were a significant, long-lasting aspect of the colonisation of the region. At its most general level, this article provides a gendered reading of the successive 'waves' of explosive colonisation accounted for in James Belich's 'setter revolution'.

More specifically, the history of barmaids in nineteenth century Britain have received attention from Peter Bailey, and in twentieth century Australia from Diane Kirkby. The former offers a cultural history that considers barmaids as “competent, assertive modernists” who pioneered a distinctly modern phenomenon of ‘parasexuality' (a notion discussed below). For Bailey, “history is also made by people in the pubs”. The latter, meanwhile, offers a social history that argues that bars are spaces of organised women’s labour (albeit one usually outside of formal wage work), crucial to the formation of settler culture and imagined very differently by their protagonists and antagonists. This article incorporates these insights, but adds more empirical detail (Bailey states that barmaids were “unique to Britain and the colonies of Australia and New Zealand”) and, more importantly, explicitly places the barmaid in transnational perspective. In simple terms, it asks what happened to barmaids when they crossed different geographical and temporal regimes. In so doing, it reveals unexplored aspects in the linked social histories of liquor and sex in southern Africa. A history of young whites, we take up Waller's call to understand how “youth [in colonial Africa] understood their various predicaments, what young people wanted and why they acted as they did.”. We approach the question conscious that a global world was taking shape.

The first part offers a short discussion of the origins and character of a colonial 'tavern economy' that emerged at the Dutch and early British Cape, and the place of women in it. The second part considers the rise and fall of the South African barmaid in the second half of the nineteenth century, as the mineral frontier spread north-east from the Cape to Kimberley, Barberton and early Johannesburg, among others. Linked to new cultures of glamour, entertainment and commercialized drinking cultures around the North Atlantic, guilds of flashy, assertive and quick-witted barmaids emerged to serve white 'crew cultures' in escapist pubs and saloons across the

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4 Belich, Replenishing the East (2010).
southern African interior. Barmaid work, usually at one or two removes from prostitution, was characterized by sophisticated recruitment systems, relatively high rewards, and more independence than many of other settler women. White barmaids enjoyed a degree of local support, but at a time when gender, class and ethnic identities sharpened, barmaids' moral ambiguities attracted the attention of reform movements. At the turn of the twentieth century, an obliging colonial state suppressed bars and barmaids in the Anglophone south African colonies, preferring to see the white barmaid business as “nearly akin to White Slavery”.

The third section of the paper shows, however, that at precisely the moment of suppression in the Union of South Africa, a new capitalist 'frontier' opened up in the Mozambican ports of Lourenço Marques and Beira. For a variety of reasons discussed, the ports represented pockets of metropolitan bohemianism to adventure-minded settlers. This allowed barmaid guilds – now made mostly up of a small group of young, materially insecure white South African women – to persist until the middle of the 20th century. This small, even tiny, number of women self-fashioned a transregional world which, though always ambiguous, unconventional and even dangerous, allowed them some measure of social mobility. Finally, such women had a disproportionate effect on the development of the South African border-control regime, until the barmaid phenomenon retreated with the FRELIMO victory in the 1970s.

**The Origins of a Southern African Tavern Economy, 1650s-1850s**

A southern African tavern economy emerged in Dutch Cape Town, just a few short years after the 1652 establishment of the VOC way-station. On the eve of colonial settlement, indigenous fermentations, wherever they were consumed, were a necessary part of spiritual and medicinal ritual, the consolidation of kinship ties, the performance of chiefly prestige, or reward for labour service. The new colonial tavern economy, strikingly, introduced a commercial drinking culture based on cash exchange, and drew settler women to such establishments either as providers of drink, or as entertainers. In 1656, the very first establishments to take cash from visiting strangers in return for drink belonged, notably, to two Dutch women, Annetje Joris (the dairy-keeping wife of the Company gardener) and Jannetjen Boddijs (wife of a sergeant) who began working out of a rudimentary timber construction and a converted sheep byre, respectively.

Over the next century and half, an annual average of around ninety, mostly European, ships

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8 Crush and Ambler, “Introduction” in *Liquor and Labour*, p.[?]
called at the Dutch Cape, clustered in the southern summer and autumn months and each remaining for several weeks, the so-called *Oorlamentyd* when thirsty sailors, soldiers and passengers disembarked eager for nutrition and diversion of myriad sorts after months at sea. In all, perhaps close to a million people stopped temporarily at Dutch Cape Town, the settlement's own population gradually reaching only seven thousand. The local economy was crucially dependent on this transient population from the start; as Gerald Groenewald demonstrates in the most sustained and serious study of the Cape's oft-quoted 'Tavern of the Seas' mythology, there were indeed few services more lucrative than tavern-keeping, and few people better prepared to do it than the former inhabitants of the towns and villages of Germany and Holland, where drinking accompanied virtually every social occasion.

Enthusiasm for tavern-keeping in the Cape was officially sanctioned. The impetus came first from van Riebeck, the VOC Commander, who sought a way to unburden the Company books of the expense of providing refreshments to visitors. At the same time, entrepreneurial *freeburghers* (families released from the VOC service and encouraged to settle lands immediately surrounding the fort) petitioned to keep taverns as a means of wealth creation or to offset poverty, where the potential of local agriculture frequently disappointed. By 1669, there were twenty taverns on the peninsula when the Company made their its attempts at regulating the trade through a *pacht* (a kind of monopoly lease) auction in which individual *freeburghers* bid for the right to sell alcohol, and who were compelled to buy supplies from the Company or, later, pay an excise duty. Over the following century, nearly two hundred officially licensed tavern-keepers opened doors, many with multiple *tapjens* (taverns) and closely linked to the nascent Cape viticulture and brewing industry. There were also innumerable *shaggerij*, informal, actually illegal, canteens set up on the margins of town: free blacks, exiled Chinese and disreputable Europeans ran the back-rooms and were mostly dependent on smuggling grog off visiting vessels.

Both *tapjens* and *shaggerij* were almost always part of private homes, a centrally placed barrel or tankard dispensing sugar and malt beers, araks, brandies or wines to drinkers. Identified by signage and curious names that represented the region's first instances of commercial advertising,

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12 Identifiable Cape Town taverns include, in translation: *The Little Lamb, The White Horse, The Black Bird, The*
taverns typically offered games of hazard and dexterity (dices, cards, skittles, cock-fights), hot fare and rudimentary hostels. To these early moderns, drink was more than mere escapism: alcohol provided nutrition, and taverns offered social contact, credit and lodging, and material comforts. They provided spaces to resolve conflicts of honour, and opportunities for concealment from harsh VOC discipline. In these bolt-holes, polyglot patrons turned cotillions and contradances to the syncretic strains of adapted fiddles, seaweed trumpets and ramkies played by semi-professional musicians of the Khoekhoe underclass. It is difficult, at this remove, to know precisely what purposes dancing served for tavern goers; most likely small group dancing consolidated group bonds, made co-operative labour easier and excited emotions of hope and desire in an otherwise alienating environment. These themes will recur in the story that follows.

Women were a critically important part of this early tavern economy. Officially, only ten of the 198 official tavern keepers were women. Yet in the Cape, as elsewhere in the early modern world, taverns were family affairs, sometimes assisted by slaves and tappersknechts (local servants). Women - as wives, daughters and widows - were certainly involved in the day-to-day running and management of taverns and, in some cases, used their husbands as 'fronts' to obtain licences while taking on the bulk of the business. For Groenewald, women were widely active in the 'background' of the Cape tavern economy; his study of the tavern matriarch Aletta de Nijs and her lineal descendants well illustrates that taverns presented important opportunities to economically mobile women (whether upwards or downwards) and that such women also assured continuity over time of tavern-keeping family dynasties. We know rather less about women of the shaggerij: they seem to have similarly been ran as 'family affairs' and were also places to which marginalised women gravitated, in search of employment, or opportunities for gain from liaisons, of many kinds, from visiting men – certainly men in search of company knew exactly where to find it. To the town fathers, the tavern economy frequently presented scenes of unacceptable dissolution so that in 1794 women - a later commentator user the phrase "barmaid" - were forbidden to work in taverns unless they were blood relatives of pacht holders.

16 Groenewald, “Kinship, entrepreneurship and social capital”, p [?].
The dynamics of the Cape tavern economy were intensified rather than fundamentally altered by the British takeover of the Cape by 1806. The volume of ocean traffic increased, gradually bringing greater numbers of troops, maritime workers and visitors, from a wider variety of backgrounds, to Table Bay and the nearby naval base at Simonstown. The pacht system dissolved with the departure of the VOC, but the British administrators, following long-standing custom at home, installed a generally liberal licensing system for Cape tavern keepers in an attempt to bring some uniformity to the trade, to counter monopoly practices, to combat fraud and adulteration, and to suppress widespread gambling, prostitution and desertion with which the taverns were frequently entangled. These oft-repeated regulations seem to have met with little success in the following decades: the number of unlicensed canteens serving drink 'under the rose' grew steadily, so that by the 1840s there were about 300 unlicensed canteens to about 100 licensed taverns. By that stage, yearly liquor consumption in the town, now numbering about permanent 20,000 residents but regularly swelled by seaborne transients, had passed fully 750,000 imperial gallons (nearly three and half million litres).

The tavern economy of the British Cape in the first half of the nineteenth century saw the introduction of new drinks (English ales, stouts and porters, and a brandy-based rotgut called Cape Smoke), some new popular dances (a variety of squares, polkas, minuets, and tarantellas) along with the tried and tested gambling entertainments. The tiered structure of the tavern economy established under the VOC remained intact, although hard and fast boundaries are difficult to draw. A respectable collection of small family-ran establishments - the first 'hotels' as they were called in the local press - were eager for the custom of visiting gentlemen, officers and dignitaries. They provided quality, sometimes exotic, liquor and foods and proclaimed themselves, via signboards dripping with romantic nostalgia for Albion, as "Truly English" and able to provide "Old English Comforts". A middling level of boarding houses were ran by local women whose matriarchal charms quickly entered the lore of visiting Navy: Mrs Van Raike's, Mr's Sanderson's, Mrs Gunn's, Mrs Van Schoor's. At the more numerous lower-end dives - some owned by ex-slaves

21 The following picture is drawn from Notes on the Cape of Good Hope (1820); State of the Cape of Good Hope (1822); A Voyage around the World (1834); The Pilot, or Sailors' Magazine, (1840); A Narrative of a visit to Mauritius and South Africa A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises (1845); Journal of a Residence at the Cape of Good Hope (1848). See also the amateur but detailed secondary sources: Eric Rosenthal, Tankards and Tradition (Cape Town: Howard Timms, 1961); Lawrence Green, I Heard the Old Men Say, A Taste of the South Easter and Harbours of Memory.
after 1830, others by ex-seamen – the clientèle remained considerably more catholic, an "underclass subculture" where the usual boundaries of status and ethnicity collapsed.22 Women of all backgrounds continued attended revelries (sometimes called Rainbow Balls), to serve, meet and frolic with men, and to provide sexual services. Unsurprisingly, these resulted in another wave of moral panic among British town administrators, doubtless mindful of the perennial 'Gin Fever' debauches of home, but liquor and gambling legislation stopped short of banning women working in taverns, unless they were doing so as prostitutes.

The Rise and Fall of the Barmaid in the South African Colonies, 1860s-1900s

In the first half of the 19th century, several economic, political and cultural developments around the North Atlantic would have important consequences for the tavern economy in southern Africa. In Britain, working men were on the demographic increase. They laboured under a new kind of time-discipline. With their homes and work places now separated, they sought respite from the increasing demands of their unpaid kin. Alehouses, always an important social institution for all ranks, began to house new kinds of "masculine republics," in which men found a defensive refuge, a modicum of independence, and fortified class bonds.23 Drink entrepreneurs rode a more general wave of investment in building, brewing and retail, and stepped up to satisfy the new demand. Meanwhile, technological changes in distillation meant for ever-cheaper forms of liquor.

Together these factors led to a multiplication of Public Houses from about 1830. The general term of 'Pubilc House' obsucred local variations: most notably the dramshop, beer house, and gin palace. Most were characterised by a new kind of pub architecture. Most important was the bar counter, integrated for reasons of efficency, profitability and security. Gas light, mirrors, beer machines and flamboyuant decoration helped bars began to take on distinct, commercial identities, and 'guests' became 'customers'.24 It was in this context that the figure of the modern, glamorous 'British Barmaid' began to appear in order to entice and to serve.25 As Britons dispersed to the new world, bars and barmaids where among the first social institutions to on frontiers of the Angloworld.

The barmaid's emergence on the scene in Britain had also owed much to the rise of precosiously democratic but fiercely competitive European cities offering visial feasts of

22 Bickford-Smith, van Heyningen and Worden, Cape Town. p. [?].
24 Clark, Alehouse.
25 Bailey, "Parasexuality".
consumption, while the expansion of the manufacturing and imperial consumer economy made available luxury goods to a wider audience.\textsuperscript{26} In the political sphere, rise of popular sovereignty and the decline of hereditary deference left open the arena for new kinds of social assertion by a range of groups and individuals who, less encumbered by the barriers of a retreating aristocratic society, were now able to harbour, and then satisfy, fantasies of self-promotion and transformation. A distinct notion of modern glamour began to appear, where men and women began to 'fabricate' the fashions of nobility.

While a sober soleninity descended over the bourgeois home, currents of transgressive desire, yearnings for excess and sex found their outlet in popular, commercial entertainment. This “alternative world,” enriched by other forms of Romantic expression, sustained a North Atlantic culture of dreams and escape. Thus it was that, even as 19\textsuperscript{th} century feminine propriety demanded women retreat into ever-tightening corsets during this period, feminity itself became commodified and the female body elevated and exposed, literally and metaphorically. The renewed visibility of the courtesan - a figure of ancient origins, who was placed somewhere between the prostitute, mistress and performer - was important in this shift. Highly inventive, autonomous and courageous women who flaunted, with shrewd calculation, bourgeois respectably, they pioneered "sex appeal" while manipulating desires of men.

As the decades of the early 19th century advanced, there were other developments that contributed to the growing public visibility and exoticisation of women's bodies, neatly described in Shteir's history of undressing\textsuperscript{27}: impressionist painters celebrated the vitality of the whore and, by mid-century, photographers began creating thousands of commercial images of demi-monde women in various stages of exposure, a phenomenon repeated in the fashion for tableaux vivants. In the dance world, the popularity of the romantic ballet and the cancan also highlighted the exposed female form. Most obviously, advertisers and retailers deployed myriad representations of female nubility. These developments later culminated in the Belle Epoque, with the leg-shows and undressing acts of the Folies Bergers in Paris, and the celebrated zaftig and burlesque women of the Angloworld. At a level somewhat below the celebrities, but undoubtedly sharing in the same mid-19\textsuperscript{th} century milieu of female exposure, theatrical performance and consumer spectacle was the Barmaid.

\textsuperscript{26} This section draws from Stephen Gundle \textit{Glamour: A History} (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp [?].
\textsuperscript{27} Rachel Shteir, \textit{Striptease: the untold history of the girlie-show} (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. [?].
Drawn to the new opportunities of the cities and desperate to avoid the drudgery of domestic service and other ill-paid work, thousands of women, mostly daughters of the peasantry, service and working classes, became barmaids after the 1830s. Well-organised recruitment systems evolved in the middle third of the century, and involved word of mouth, advertisements in victualling publications, widely circulated *cartes de visite* and eventually dedicated recruitment and registry offices. Victorian barmaids were, as Bailey shows, “assertive and competent modernists” who pioneered what he calls 'parasexuality' - a distinctly modern form of glamour, “where sexuality is deployed but contained, carefully channelled rather than fully discharged...in vulgar terms, it might be represented as 'anything but'.” By the 1870s, so-called 'Barmaid Shows' featured public displays not unlike beauty pageants.

Resplendent in a 'uniform' of fashionable coats, sporting peroxide-dyed hair, fake busts and with bodies bejewelled, perfumed and rouged, barmaids had to possess a certain expertise. Besides the technical skills of operating bars and accounts, and competency in singing, dancing and music, barmaids had to be connisseurs of bar argot and etiquette. Keeping a step ahead of topical news, they also needed to master sweet-tempered conversational arts in atmosphere of often rank vulgarity; they needed to provide motherly comforts while still maintaining an erotic charge. An ability to conceal one's marriage-status also paid dividends. Being all things to all men involved subtle character judgements: the barmaid needed to be able to both entice a man into parting with his cash, and expel or subdue him when necessary. Thought undoubtedly working hard and long hours, barmaids could earn relatively high wages compared to other semi-skilled work, and frequently used their positions to solicit gifts, to hold out for prospects of upward marriage, gain employment in higher class establishments or eventually open their own establishments.

Some soon looked abroad – to the concert saloons of New York, the hotels of Australia and, also, to the new bars and canteens of Southern Africa's industrial revolution. There, an investment and farming boom in the 1850s in the Cape, followed by mineral discoveries in the interior (first in diamonds in the northern Cape in the late 1860s and then gold in the Transvaal Republic in in the

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28 Estimates throughout the century typically claimed 100,000 to 200,000 barmaids were employed, but the first official figures, in 1901, counted 27,000. Wakemen, in his in 1890 study, interviewed 1,700 barmaids and reported their previous occupations as follows: 760 daughters of farmers, villages and employed on estate of British nobility, 214 daughters of small trades, 187 daughters/relatives of publicans, 83 seamstresses and milliners, 34 factory girls, 72 school mistresses, 57 mission workers, Sunday School teachers and Salvationists, 53 nursemaids, 44 unsuccessful singers and music-teachers, 39 various, 30 drapers, 25 cashiers, 19 photograph colourists and artists, 18 scullery maids, 14 canvassers, 13 actresses, 13 domestics, 11 divorced wives, 8 poets, 7 governesses, 6 telegraph operators and postal employees, 4 pamphleteers, and 2 balladeers and published book writers. See “British Barmaid” in *The Sunday Union* (1891).

29 The following picture is drawn from newspaper sources: "The British Barmaid" (1875); "British Barmaids" (1891), “Girls Serve Drink” (1891); “London Barmaid” (1892), “England's Barmaid” (1895); “British Barmaid” (1896), “Land of the Barmaid” (1899).
1870s and 80s) brought a spectacular burst of immigration to the region, but one that reflected a heavy preponderance of men.30

On the early diggings, mainly white Australian, Cornish and American men (with a smattering of Germans and French) developed an archetypal 'crew culture'. These men, the shock troops on the frontiers of an expanding capitalism, were typically detached (at least temporarily) from the sanctions of stable communities. Characterised by relative isolation, high mobility and irregular but highly variable pay, they developed a distinct and highly masculine subculture. Crew values - egalitarianism limited to whiteness, ambiguous machismo, political militancy and sporadic violence - have been by well addressed Belich, Hyslop and Wilk. among others.31 Crews, for Wilk, adapted to "impossible economic settings" by binging on various intoxicants. Profligacy and dissipation were a pointedly carnivalesque, and even rational, rejection of bourgeois values of prudence and domesticity. Sudden wealth was ritually squandered on drink, gambling and women, with whom relationships were highly commodified. A slightly different dynamic obtained with respect to African migrant labourers, but they still provided a lucrative market for drink entrepreneurs. Even has the mining towns came under the domination of industrial conglomerates, in three decades between about 1870 and 1900 opportunities for bar-keepers and barmaids in southern Africa multiplied as so-called 'dude diggers', 'young johnnies' and 'flash boys' sought refreshment.

At Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London and Port Natal on the coast, and then Kimberley, Barberton and the Witwatersrand in the interior, new drinking houses began to replace the old Cape style tavern in several respects.32 Initially, there was some overlap: the diversity of establishments was maintained and then, in the interior, added to by a profusion of fly-ridden tents, tin-shanties, canteens and German-style beer halls. Musical entertainments continued to be provided by creole itinerants travelling from the Cape. Some bars, for a short time, remained multi-ethnic and recalled the underclass subculture of the early decades of the century. 'Mothers' still ran their small lodges and hostels. Gambling and dancing remained the preferred past times, infused once more with new

wave of influences: faro, roulette and prize-fighting at the gambling table, and the Sir Roger de Coverly, Caledonians and the men-only “Bull dances” on the sawdust.

As the number of bars and drinkers increased, the family-ran side-room gave way to purpose built bars with architecture to match. The mahogany bar counter with its silver beer machines made it debut in southern Africa by the 1860s – it is difficult to say where exactly by most likely in one of the dedicated side-structures built by enterprising hoteliers on the Cape Penninsula. As was the case in early Victorian Britain, many bar interiors started to place a premium on comfort and spectacle. To attract custom and create 'atmosphere', better class rooms were filled with stained mirrors, gas lights and velvet curtains, lower ones with billiard tables, pianos and sawdust. The sights and sounds of the bars carried visitors out of time and out of place, functioning both as temporal escapes from what Auerbach coins as “imperial boredom”, the prosaic work of colonisation, and as protected interiors in which deals were struck, thought confessed, ideas exchanged and politics plotted.

For a start, the very names of bars pointed to geographical and temporal displacement. Some select examples must suffice. Singage incorporated the motifs of the British nobility, military and bucolic idylls, and creatures mythological and familiar abounded. But as the century closed many bars turned to Orientalist, Continental, American or Internationalist themes. By now, at least some bars were beginning to cater to specific nationalities, and black drinkers were gradually excluded and displaced to marginal 'shebeens' and compounds. Other 'signs of the times' publicising settler pubs included nods to the ironies of looming poverty on the richest mineral seams in the world. Some names simply remained quirky, now unfathomable, tokens of home. Others need no elaboration.

33 By about 1890, Cape Town and Johannesburg each had around 300 legal bars. Official records for other centres are to locate, but using a combination of pictorial and anecdotal evidence, I have identified, by names, around 30 in each in the much small towns of Port Elizabeth and Durban, and about 20 in Kimberley and Barberton. There were almost certainly more.
34 Jeffrey Auerbach contrasts imperial literature and propaganda, that characterised empire as thrilling, romantic and heroic, with the more mundane realities. “Imperial Boredom” in Common Knowledge 11,2 (2005), pp. 283-305.
35 The Crown, The Prince of Wales and Victoria, among others.
36 The British Banner, Fireman’s Arms and The Royal Navy, among others.
38 The Silver Tree, The Red Lion and The Phoenix, among others.
39 The Black Horse, The Goose and the Black Cat, among others.
40 The Oriental, The Crescent and The Peking, among others.
41 The Bodega, The Monte Cristo, The Trocadero and The Sicilia, among others.
42 Uncle Tom’s Cabin, The United States and The White House, among others.
44 The Hard Times, The Perfect Cure, and Nil Desperandum, among others.
45 Oddfellows, The Pig and Whistle, The Cat and Gridiron and The Fountain and Albion, among others.
46 The Scarlet, The Red Lamp and The Red-Light, among others.
Bars were sometimes decorated with exotic curiosites acquired from passing drinkers: antique weapons, wild animals skins and skulls, relics from shipwrecks, and the occasional resident baboon or monkey. In-house entertainments became professionalised and internationalised. Before purpose-built theatres, larger bars installed stages - one even had a fake firmament - to host an assortment of acts doing the burlesque and music-hall circuits, bringing English, French, American and German touring artistes. In less salubrious bars, entertainment usually revolved around ill-tuned pianos on which drinkers, often under the dangerously twinned spells of courage and intoxication, turned out approximations of ragtime and honkey-tonk. As the turn of the century neared, peep-shows, panoramas, dime-shows and mechanical music machines plugged drinkers into the aura of Empire-wide popular culture, but also isolated them from their immediate surroundings. Ever the case, it was in these spaces that class, ethnic and masculine chauvinisms were forged.

If drinkers needed additional help, locally made beverages also gave way to beers and spirits mass produced by heavily capitalised breweries and distilleries with comparatively expansive distributions networks; at the same time, smuggled rum and German Potato spirits from Portuguese East Africa (of which more presently) began to make their appearance in south African bars. This had the effect of both increasing the variety but often decreasing the quality. Tipples such as square-face gin, rotgut and cango dop may be imagined. 'Cocktails' also debuted, following the fashions set by New York's virtuoso barmen of the 1850s and 60s.47 Their names - Pickaxes, Revivers, Nectars, Brandy Smashers, Cherry Cobbler, Shandygaffs and Rocky Mountains for example – were all drunk in southern African bars. Amid this heady assortment came champagne.

Women were hardly absent from the industrial frontiers, although they were few and far between at first. We know that, initially, it was not wholly unusual for early diggers to take black and creole lovers, often meeting in the numerous bars. Prostitution was integral part of any mining and port towns, and bars were obvious rendezvous. With the sharpening race consciousness of late Victorian empire, cross-ethnic liaisons and transactional sex attracted stigma so that they could be pursued only sub-rosa. Yet while it was considered poor form for respectable settler women to enter a canteen or bar (this had been the case since the Dutch period), white women's presence was indeed sanctioned if she were on the stage, at once secure and visible. Many, perhaps most, of the touring acts featured women ensembles. The can-can was as popular in the south African concert bars as elsewhere, while female burlesque acts were saturated with sexual innuendo and non-verbal

48 See Jerry Thomas, How to Mix Drinks. Or, The bon-vivant's companion, etc (Dick & Fitzgerald, 1862).
clues for those 'in the know'.

The other place where white women were tolerated, and indeed encouraged to occupy, was behind the bar. Numbers are hard to establish, but there we close to 50 in Johannesburg in 1893, and running list of names that emerge in the sources doubles that number. Though there is evidence of some 'black barmaids, their very names - Black Sophie and Black Fossie - indicated that there were uncommon. Instead, most seem to have been English and Australian women, with the occasional Scandinavian, French or German representative. Some took stage or pet names, the better known examples including Cockney Liz, the Golden Dane, the Queen of Sheba, The Blonde Venus, La Singularite and The Golden Goose. Despite their relatively small number, they were highly visible: news of the imminent arrival of a barmaid in town often drew a crowd, sometimes a public reception, and, apocryphally, barmaids sometimes auctioned their own bodies on bar-counters. That barmaids provided popular spectacle is also suggested by the so-called “Barmaid Referendum” in Johannesburg in 1893, organised by The Burlesque, which attracted 17,000 votes ( for the 'Best Barmaid in town”)

Southern Africa's barmaids came from a number of backgrounds. Some were imported directly from Britain and Australia by enterprising recruiters with commercial connections to the metropolitan drinking industry. Others came of the own accord, from Cape and Natal farms and towns where, as domestic servants entrapped by debt, onerous employers and alien conditions, there was plenty of reason to escape. Yet others were ex-actresses, chorus girls and prostitutes on their way up or down the career ladder. As in Britain, recruitment was either through word of mouth, or through adverts, placed either by bar-keepers or aspirant barmaids, in likely publications: the South African Licensed Victuallers Review and the Mining Argus seem to have been popular. Once a barmaid, it was common to circulate from town to town in an attempt to move up the hierarchy of bars.

South African barmaids were expected to possess the same physical and psychological charms as the British sisterhood noted above: conspicuous dress and bodily ornamentation, seductive mannerisms and, on the gold fields at least, a particular kind of hair-cut – a short fringe cut to droop on the eyelashes – signified the barmaid's calling. It seems likely that, at least in early settlements, the informal duties of south African barmaids may have exceed those typical in Britain. The shortage of women meant they had to be all-rounders, able to dance, plays billiards, and vamp the

50 van Onselen, New Babylon and New Nineveh, pp. 112-115.
latest music hall songs, but also to act variously as creditors, counsellors, nurses, folk-healers, and 'middle-women' linking men in a small bartering economy. Another apparent peculiarity of the south African barmaid was the 'five-shilling hop', in which she agreed to partner a buyer for a short dance. Barmaid birthdays were publicised and tickets sold for the occasion.

Barmaid's rewards were varied. In the ports, wages seemed to have been modest – around £2 a month, but in the interior, where demand was much higher, remuneration could be a relatively opulent £20 or even £30 a month. As one observer put it: “even 4th rate barmaids are receiving £5 a week...their airy-fairy forms are seen attired in riding habits, cantering through town, or driven in an American spider by some cavalier”. Whatever the wage, the attraction lay in informal 'perks'. Barmaids were typically provided with “free station” - ie. food and lodgings. They accepted gifts, sometimes in the forms of mining shares, from besotted men. Several married into money (Fanny Bees, ex-barmaid wife of Barney Barnato, was one notable example). Some become bar managers, and then owners, or returned home the wealthier for the experience.

Bars and barmaids enjoyed a level of public support. There was obvious enthusiasm from investors in the trade who knew that the presence of barmaids encouraged men to visit their establishments. Some argued that the rewards gave a respectable living wage to women who had few other options or skills. By providing the "comforts of home" to men, many in the colonial establishment also thought that barmaids, like drink and prostitutes, played some role in stabilizing rapidly growing towns - at worst a 'neccessary evil' to be tolerated. A strain within the late 19th century feminist movement also argued for women's right to work where were she wished. The Barmaid was also undoubtedly romanticised in many popular depictions, allowing them to be indulged fruther. In the Tranvaal, Kruger's police thought barmaids were useful as spies and informers, and several were employed to take advantage of 'loose tongues' as war with Britain drew closer.

For all this implied approval, powerful opposition to the barmaid began to gather strenth from an Empire-wide coalition of Christian groups, Temperance and Abstinence Associations, Imperial Feminists,Women's Emigration Societies and colonial administrators. There was broad agreement between these groups that the early phases of colonial expansion had been predominantly male, characterised either by undisciplined frontiersmen prone to concubinage and miscegenation, or 'homosocial' regiments of soldiers and administrators unable to reproduce a pattern of long-term

51 For several discussions of the current state of a now extensive historiography, see Gender and Empire, ed. Phillipa Levine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); for South Africa, see Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945, ed. C. Walker (Cape Town: David Philip, 1990).
settlement and therefore prone to ennui, neurosis, or homosexuality. 52 In an attempt to engineer a solution to the social instability that either of these alternatives might herald, metropolitan thinkers championed the importation of settler women into colonial domains. 53 The importation of respectable white women would henceforth be crucial to the maintenance of racial distinction, to stabilizing gender balances, to policing the ideal settler family and to bolstering the civilizing mission.

For obvious reasons, flashy and seductive barmaids undermined the moralist project. From the reformist perspective, barmaids neglected their duties in the home, were vulnerable to moral and physical dangers of their rough-and-tumble working environment, led men into the temptations of drink (and more), and transgressed 'proper' labour-divisions. Barmaids joined a long list of a targets for legal reform. The last quarter of the 19th century saw the beginnings of a sustained efforts to enforce hetero-normative categories of bourgeois womanhood (and manhood) though legislation on sex, marriage, leisure and work, and to carve racial difference out of the messy domestic contingencies of colonial expansion. 54

The anti-Barmaid movement in southern Africa undoubtedly benefited from a triple coincidence in the 1890s: growing demand for white women in South African towns, political developments in Eastern Europe. and reforms in the justice system in the United States that had pushed Russian, Polish, French and American white slavers to South Africa. 55 Some bars were transformed into unambiguous brothels and centres of international rings of violent, organised prostitution. Bars and barmaids were made scapegoats for facilitating wider networks of violent criminality and fatal disease. By the early 1890s, memorials from religious Transvaalers, “trembling at the skittish barmaid” were delivered to to Pretoria, pointing out the dangerous temptations into which young men and women were being drawn. 56

Administrators, first Kruger’s and then Milner’s, moved against bars and barmaids with new vigour. Their work, inaugurated in Johannesburg, was duplicated in Cape Town and Durban, as a range of convivial spaces came under strict municipal oversight. 57 The new administrative, legal and

52 For important statements on South African masculinities, see the special issue of Journal of Southern African Studies 24, 4 (1998).
53 For South Africa, see Cecille Swaisland, Servants and Gentlewomen to the Golden Land.
57 Julie Baker, “Prohibition and Illicit Liquor on the Witwatersrand, 1902-1932” in Liquor and Labour, eds. Crush
policing regime to crush the sex traffickers was achieved with the support of imperial politicians, philanthropic, temperance and religious associations and a supportive international context in which the suppression of ‘white slavery’ was high on the agenda.\textsuperscript{58} In South Africa, the reform efforts did not come easy, being initially bedevilled by political confusion, weak enforcement agencies, the outbreak of war, bribery epidemics and the sophistication and persistence of pimping networks. But by the early years of the 1900s, the worst of the sex economy had been extinguished by the 'Morality Squad'. With the victory had come a host of “Morality Acts” across the colonies.

It was in this context, in 1902, that a range of religious and civil bodies convened public meetings in the Transvaal to insist a clause forbidding the employment of barmaids be inserted into new Liquor Ordinance.\textsuperscript{59} Despite a widely circulated petition, signed by nearly two hundred and thirty of Johannesburg's “influential residents” opposing the suggestion, Transvaal law-makers were unsympathetic and, taking the opportunity of the temporary exodus of many barmaids during the war, the prohibition was duly passed in 1903. Although the Cape and Natal stopped short of full of prohibition in favour of a discretionary licensing system, and though even the Transvaal law remained vulnerable to important loop-hole\textsuperscript{60}, the thickening puritanical atmosphere of Anglo-Dutch south Africa meant that the barmaid numbers stagnated. Like her black “Shebeen Queen” counterpart, white women involved in the liquor trade came under repeated scrutiny and their dwindled further when further restrictions were implemented by the Roos Liquor Act of 1928.

**'Barmaid Business' in Portuguese East Africa, 1900-1960s.**

At precisely the moment that opportunities for white barmaids declined in the British colonies, they opened up on a new frontier, on the coast of Portuguese East Africa. In the 1890s, after over two decades of diplomatic wrangling, the British, the Transvaal and the Portuguese administrations finally conspired to give the Reef a rail route to the ocean via Delagoa Bay.\textsuperscript{61} Further north, at the tiny Portuguese coastal outpost of Beira near the old port of Sofala, imperial investors, driven by
Cecil Rhodes, coveted British Central Africa for its economic and strategic value.\textsuperscript{62} Heavily capitalized, they inaugurated a railway network that would, within two decades, link all the British and Portuguese colonies south of the equator.

As had happened in the northern Cape and the Transvaal, crew settlements mushroomed throughout the sub-continent in the 1880s and 90s. Delagoa Bay had hitherto been a small bridgehead to a spasmodic hinterland trade populated by small garrison of hunters, whalers and slavers.\textsuperscript{63} It was now by reinforced by soldiers, railway labourers and (in smaller numbers than desired) Portuguese aided-settlers. African refugees from Gaza and Nkomati arrived in numbers and were limited, by law, to manual, menial and domestic jobs. These were joined by an “extraordinarily mixed” but transient population of sailors, merchants and temporary visitors drawn from around the Indian Ocean, including risk-taking Indian merchant houses, Chinese forced-exiles from Macau and so-called 'Klondikers' – Australians and Americans en-route to the goldfields.\textsuperscript{64} In 1893, the town's foreign population was slightly over a 1,000 people, representing some twenty nationalities; when war break-out, Lourenço Marques also received its share of refugees.

Until 1891, Beira (literally, “sand”) was a hot and unhealthy single-street outpost on the Mozambican coast, largely cut off from international communications and a minor pawn in imperial rivalries.\textsuperscript{65} The transport boom here likewise brought battalions of sub-contractors, speculators and artisans from across the word, joined by African migrants working principally as stevedores and trolley-pullers.\textsuperscript{66} Beira also had some additional geo-strategic significance as a staging post (for both sides) during the South African War and absorbed some of the surplus shipping when overland routes from Cape Town were disrupted. To the port came troops, muleteers, sailors, arms dealers and spies. Under the administration of the grandly-named Companhia de Moçambique, the permanent population at the turn of the century was about a thousand. In 1898 an American war correspondent painted a colourful portrait of the transient Madagascans, Malays, Parsees, Russians, Americans, French, Germans, Chinese, Japanese and Omanis.\textsuperscript{67} Ten years later the English adventurer Stanley Hyatt added Greeks, Spaniards, Italians, Turks, Armenians and Levantines and “Natives from every land between Suez and Yokohama” in a contemptuous account of the


\textsuperscript{63} Malyn Newitt, \textit{A History of Mozambique} (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1995), pp. [?].

\textsuperscript{64} Bill Freund, \textit{The African City. A History} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 80. See also “In the Grip of Asia” in \textit{The Queanbeyan Age}, 30 July 1907.

\textsuperscript{65} Newitt, \textit{Mozambique}. p. [?].

\textsuperscript{66} See “Life in Beira” in \textit{Grey River Argus}, 16 November 1900;

Settler women were sparse in these settlements – in Delagoa Bay (renamed Lourenço Marques in 1902) in the first decade of the century, they made up less than 5% of the population and in Beira something less. Even these small numbers were physically segregated in the domesticated 'upper town' where women married early or arrived already married, as part of a small, apparently unapproachable administrative elite. Settler women were marginalised from public life yet further by religious orthodoxy and political conservatism.

The sudden growth of these highly masculinised towns produced a litany of unsettling effects. In short order many Africans in the southern parts of the Portuguese colony, already trying to recover from military conquest, were further alienated from their land and livelihoods. Racialised labour-violence was part of day-to-day life, political tensions simmered and crime unexceptional. Visiting English writers, typically with an eye to justifying the beneficence of British interference, rarely failed to comment on the towns' unsavoury side. Beira, which saw the most spectacular detonations (mass-brawling, riots, and the assassination of the British Consul at the turn of the century), was called “a perfect sample of polyglot rascality...a sultry little Gomorrah”. Lourenço Marques was called a “fever-stricken, misgoverned sink of inequity...its morals are as notorious as those of Aden.”

Unsurprisingly, the Portuguese ports sported a vigorous drinking culture that competed with, and probably outstripped, those of the interior. Indigenous traditions of alcohol were well established by the late nineteenth century, and drink was often used as currency in the slave trade. Lisbon then forced open a market in cheap 'colonial wine', making an attempt to criminalize the brewing or distillation of indigenous drinks in 1902. A coalition of Lisbon-based exporters, colonial planters and even local administrators (eleven of the twelve Lourenço Marques councillors were wine importers!) meant that drink production soared.

71 Hyatt, “Naughty Beria”
72 “In the Grip of Asia”.
74 Vladimir Zamparoni, “Entre narros & mulungos: Colonialismo e paisagem social em Lourenço Marques, c. 1890–
A success at encouraging importation combined with a failure to suppress local drink production meant that the ports were soon awash with drinking establishments of varying degrees of legality. In the 1890s, Lourenço Marques supported at least eighty-two canteens, but a decade later even this already high density had increased. According to Dr. Serrão de Azevedo, Chief Medical Officer, the number of drinking establishments in the district - which included anything from “native huts” (distinguished by a coloured rag), to Chinese and Indian backrooms, to “pavement kiosks in the style of Parisian boulevards”- had reached precisely 2,411 serving about 15,000 people.75 As they had in the interior, drinking dens served all-comers with drink, music, gambling and dancing. They were, in fact, central to social life: as another doctor put it: “all business transactions are commenced, continued and ended in a canteen or kiosk. If one does not frequent certain canteens and kiosks at least once a day he dies unhonoured and unknown”.76 In 1898, Beira, rather smaller, still had forty licenced saloons serving its permanent population of a mere thousand inhabitants.77

Predictably, the bar-scene was closely linked to gambling houses and prostitution, with sex-workers drawn initially from dispossed local women. Zamparoni's research suggests various forms of concubinage by settler men with such women was relatively common (and, incidentally, that wealthy Indian merchants privately brought devadasi from Goa, Zanzibar and Mombasa).78 Both ports also saw organised prostitution: in Beira a Japanese brothel train was opened at nearby Fontesvilla for railway workers, while in Lourenço Marques American and Eastern European white slavers established profitable 'branches' during the crackdown in the Transvaal.

At the turn of the century, evidence of the first barmaids of the kind described earlier also begins to appear in both ports.79 Some were attracted by adverts placed in the south African and English press, while others were 'sent' by Transvaal servant's registry offices, a kind of employment bureau; a few others seemed to have gone on the informal suggestion of friends. These women earned about £10-15 “all found” in exchange for joining tables of drinkers, being amiable with them

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77  British Consul, Report of Trade at Beira, 1898
78  Zamparoni, “Entre narros & mulungos”, p. [?].
and encouraging them to drink. In Lourenço Marques, most headed to the Rua Araújo (sometimes known colloquially as Whiskey Street, Rum Row or Street of Troubles), the strategically situated street connecting the harbour to the train station. Meanwhile in Beira, Hyatt reported “every second building is a bar presided over by some rouged deity with peroxide-dyed curls”.  

Most seemed to be “British subjects” of one kind or another. In the decade after the War, barmmaids presence excited officials in Pretoria and Lourenço Marques. The British Consul wrote that barmmaids had been him causing “difficulties for some time”, but his language dithered in precisely identifying the problem.

> It is publicly, and on occasion, officially, stated the bars are respectable institutions and that prostitution in the actual bar, does not take place. This is technically correct, but the fact remains that I am in a position to state that nine-tenths of the women so employed lead an immoral life.... [These] bars are different from the usual public house bars in England. The usual bar exists, but the place is furnished with tables and chairs. The girls serving are expected to sit around with the customers and be amiable (in the derivative sense of the word), and encourage them to spend money on drink, which leads to the girls themselves drinking, and, coupled with the liberties permitted to the customers, the general immortality of the conversation and habits of the majority of the frequenters of the bars, proves the undoing of the best intentioned girl.... [The] local barmaid business is in my opinion nearly akin to a white slave traffic.  

Several steps were taken to strangle the 'barmaid business'. First, before women could work, the Consul required they the register first with British Consul with a suite of documentary proof as to their respectability. Second, warnings against the dangers were circulated in the press, and the labour registry offices told to report to the police any prospective barmaid. As we shall see, this had little of the intended effect; the 'barmaid business' was about to boom.

During the decade after the South African war, economic stabilization attracted steady investment in the urban centres in Portuguese East Africa. 'Lourenço Marques' began to parade itself as a modernist colonial capital in contrast to decadent Delagoa, while observer's reports of Beira began to reflect a growing confidence in the economic potential of its port and the settler agriculture of south-central Africa to which it was linked. Part of the modernization drive was to

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80 Hyatt, “Naughty Beira”.
82 SAB/JUS 174/3/940/13.
83 For Lourenço Marques, see “Portuguese Africa Center is Like Galveston – Both a Port and a Playground” in Galveston Daily News, 31 December 1922; José dos Santos Rufino, Álbuns Fotográficos e Descritivos da Colônia
clean up the seedier side of life in the ports, and segregationist moves against the ‘the dangerous classes’ proliferated. As ever, Africans bore the brunt with restrictions on residence, occupation and mobility.

Yet hopes for imperial showcase in East Africa faced a setback after the Republican Revolution in Portugal in 1910, when Lisbon decided the dominions ought to be paying their own way and cut much financial support. Needing to raise money, local administrators set about licensing and domesticating, rather than suppressing, the white bars, barmaids and brothels. There remained support for such a move beyond the fiscal: administrators feared black peril and sodomy epidemics, and saw in the bars and brothels a potential outlet for social and racial tensions. Around 1912, Lourenço Marques annual bar licenses sold for £60, while barmaid licenses cost an additional £40. Licenses for registered brothels were cheaper, at £16 in town and £20 in the suburbs. In Beira, police closed down several brothels but allowed to some to maintain a discreet presence.

With the same revenue-generating possibilities in mind, a nascent “tourist industry” was developed after the Great War, reaching its fullest expression in the 1920s and 30s. Both ports began to market their many diversions and new leisure opportunities to white visitors from British South Africa, including forthright continental architecture, shark-protected beaches, adventure sports, cosmopolitan fashions and epicurean delights in numerous high-end hotels. Lourenço Marques struck deals with the Railways and Transvaal for a very liberal passport regime for settlers traveling between the two colonies. Travelers needed only get a simple permit, without the kind of photographic or fingerprint attachments common at the ports, from any magistrate in the Union; young women needed a letter of parental permission or an Oath. A publicity campaign gave Lourenço Marques and Beira international exposure as modernist playgrounds complementing economic development. They proclaimed themselves the very gateways to the sub-continent, the visual imagery of the campaigns reflected a conscious embrace of international glamour.

The Portuguese East African bar scene flourished. In Lourenço Maques of the 1920s, the Rua...
Araújo alone was home to many establishments who names at once rejected the parochial, puritan aesthetic and rejoiced in the metropolitan: *Tivoli, Trocadero, Chandos, Bohemian Girl, Russian Bar, Akropolis, Fauvette, Parisienne, Gaiety, Ginette, Frivolity, Continental, Phoenix and Universal among many others.*

The programs of the *Gil Vicente, Varieta* and *Scala* theatres on the same street turned it into a south-East African pocket of continental bohemina, with visiting *fadistas*, female vaudeville-type stars and assorted troupes from the Parque Mayer, Lisbon's thriving but slightly decadent carnival and theatre quarter. In Beira, the *Progresso, Café Mondego, Gremio, Orientale, Internacional, Juba, Regent* bars and another *Trocadero* opened doors.

If the consumption of all things metropolitan became a ritual of refinement in these houses of fantasy, bar keepers put a premium on white women. They looked to the Union for recruits, and offered the usual 15-20 quid “all found” (sometimes also including commission-based pay) to women able attract drinkers, to perform ‘ribbon-dances’, and to sell dud alcoholic drinks at inflated prices. From the surviving testimony, the candidates were South African telephonists, clerks, dressmakers, actress or worker in hotels, cinemas and garment factories.

Changes in the Union's post-war economy had produced a class of mobile, urban, but often insecure proletarianized white women. The rural economy began to strain through demographic expansion in a closed frontier, unequal land distribution and partible inheritance, the growing penetration of agro-capitalism and recurrent crises of livestock disease. An unusually large proportion of women migrated to town jobs: their wages helped sustain larger, impoverished families in the countryside, and often helped pay for their own dowries. There were pull factors, too. Urban employers sought the cheapest and most disciplined labour; black women 'disappointed' in both respects, so surplus white women filled the gap. Notwithstanding these opportunities, working class white women had little financial capital, had to confront uneven and localised demand, stiff competition in the labour market and workplace chauvinism and misogyny. High demand for housing pushed rents up and conditions down. The threat of destitution was always tangible.

Some formed sisterhoods; others became active in the political arena, whether on the left or the

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91 *Delagoa Directory* (1926) and notes below.

right. But some found informal solutions to the contingencies of insecurity. For all the legislative work in suppressing sex work inaugurated with the 'Morality Acts' of the early 1900s, social agencies, church groups and state officials still saw white's women's sexuality as a major and unresolved public question in the inter-war period. These groups fought difficult battles against 'loose' white women, whom they viewed as the antithesis of the volksmoeder and undermined the 'cult of domesticity'. Freed's research into the late 1930's world of 'European prostitution' in Johannesburg suggested young white women had continued to form a wide variety of illicit relationships in the city's milk-bars, road-houses, dance halls, hotels, bioscopes, laundries and race-course. “Masseuse”, “Dancing Teacher”, "French Teacher", “Nursemajds”, “Servants’ and "Waitresses” were occupations that offered more than met the eye in the Union. There were also 'Charity Girls', young women who were not prostitutes as such, but who occasionally exchanged emotional and physical favors in return for material “treats” and “good and easy living”.

One further possibility, as we might guess given developments on the east African coast, was to make trips across the eastern border to the bars of the Lourenço Marques and Beira. The attraction lay partly in the tourist publicity that suggested enchanting vistas of continental life and even the Orient could be enjoyed on the Indian Ocean coast. Although dots are hard to connect, it also seems likely that many east-bound barmaids were, or aspired to be, 'Modern Girls', whose aesthetic delighted in the foreign, allowed young women to drink, take intoxicants and explore sexuality in ways manifestly unsavoury in the minds of policy-makers. Meanwhile, the fox-trot, tango and bunny-hug dance crazes that animated many young urban whites in the 1920s-30s, resonated with the opening of the Radio Clube De Mocambique (later LM Radio) in Lourenço Marques in 1934.

A critical aspect in facilitating the 'export' of barmaids were professional recruiters, white women who had themselves worked the East African barmaid circuit. The recruiters consisted of a handful of women who had arrived in Mozambique from South Africa in earlier days and who had now established careers for themselves as proprietors or manageresses of bars. Recruiters - Glarissa

96 Louis F. Freed, *The Problem of European Prostitution in Johannesburg*” (PhD Diss, University of Pretoria 1941).
98 For white women's dancing in interwar South Africa, see Alida M. Green, “Dancing in Borrowed Shoes: A History Of Ballroom Dancing in South Africa, 1600-1940s” (Mcs Diss, University of Pretoria, 2008), pp [?].
Woodcock and Magdalene Smit may serve as examples - lived itinerant, border-crossing lives. They travelled to Beira and Lourenço Marques first as barmaids, established reputations and resources and then criss-crossed Portuguese East Africa, the Rhodesias and the Union of South Africa in search of young women, who could themselves aspire to management status. In so doing they created a precarious system of chain migration.

How did such recruiters go about their work? Typically they relied on two strategies, which mirrored in most respects the barmaid business of the mineral frontier. One was to place advertisements in the major South African newspaper for typists, domestic servants, cashiers, 'tea-girls' and housekeepers. Sometimes, word of mouth was sufficient. News of positions fanned out through networks of women workers at bars, hotels, cinemas, clerical offices, garment factories and private homes. Recruiters set up for perhaps a week in city hotels, rented an apartment or met prospective women at tea lounges. These meetings involved an interview and a naked audition: recruiters preferred “tall and slim” women with fair skin and “blue eyes,” able to dress in “nice clothes” and “evening frocks.” Once a deal was struck, appropriate dresses and cosmetics were provided. A compliment of servants was promised and marriage prospects were mooted. Indeed, there was a great deal of enticement, exaggeration and false promises in the recruitment process. The charms of the Mozambican ports were talked up; recruiters were happy to meet parents and by

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99 Glarissa Woodcock was born in Cape Town in 1902 and was schooled at Salt River and the Metropolitan Business College until 1919. She then worked as a telephonist and a post office clerk at the New Law Courts for two and a half years. Living at home, she helped her mother as a dressmaker. In 1925 she moved to East London, taking her first jobs as a barmaid at the Prince of Wales Hotel and Deal's Hotel. Her stay lasted only a matter of months, but she met Maud Emerald, an unsuccessful actress also working as a barmaid. Emerald was married to the comedian Charlie Emerald, and the couple had performed in Beira. Woodcock tried jobs in Hotels in Durban and the Union Party Club but these were seemingly unhappy experiences. Still in touch with Emerald, the latter put Woodcock in contact with a Cape woman running the Regent Bar in Beira. Woodcock travelled alone via Johannesburg and, after some time at the Regent, became ‘proprietor’ at the Progress Bar in 1926. There, she took on different names (sometimes Sonia, sometimes Gladys, sometimes Fonseca) and recruited women from southern Rhodesia and Johannesburg. This short biography draws from SAB/CIAA 54/ M388. “Glarissa Vernon Woodcock @ Sonia @ Gladys @ Fonseca,” Correspondence between Immigration Department (Bulawayo) and Commissioner for Immigration (Pretoria), 16 July 1928; Statement of G.V Woodcock [undated].

100 Magdalene Smit was born in the Orange Free State in 1898, and soon after arrived as an infant war refugee in Cape Town. In her late teenage years she married Edward Lee but left him soon after, for reasons uncertain. She travelled to Kiteba in the Congo and there lived for six years with a lover, Mr. Guichard, who was Administration Agent for Education there. The couple came to Johannesburg in 1924 and ran the Popular Bioscope, but Mr. Guichard was killed in a car-crash near Pretoria. She appears to have been involved with another man, Joubert, who was tragically also killed in a car accident in 1925. Smit then took the name Madame Guichard and worked as a barmaid in East London and Pretoria, before ending up at the Phoenix Bar in Lourenço Marques. In 1928, she moved to the Mondego Bar in Beira as proprietor and had rejoined Edward Lee, her husband by law (Lee was said to be unemployed in Beira). That year Madame Guichard was making regular trips to Johannesburg recruiting women. See SAB/CIAA 54/ M388. Correspondence between Immigration Department (Bulawayo) and Commissioner for Immigration (Pretoria), 16 July 1928 and 23 July 1928; Cooper to Divisional CID Officers (Witwatersrand), 29 April. 1928.

101 These sections are constructed from sources noted in the two previous notes, as well as the testimony of barmaids in SAB/CIAA 54/ M388.
all accounts were persuasive. Doubts were assuaged by referring to friendly relations with police officers (this does not seem very likely but was nonetheless a useful selling point).

Recruiters also took responsibility for the logistics. Recruiters negotiated the relatively straightforward bit of bureaucracy to get the travel permits (see above), coaching barmaids in how to get parental approval or, where that was not possible, forging the permits. Recruiters paid travel expenses and sometimes arranged for small groups, up to four women, to travel together. They might offer accommodation in the rented rooms while other women were sourced for the trip. Finally, the recruiters wired back to the coast to make sure the new arrivals were well publicised. Adverts in local newspapers and a champagne reception were typical.

Alas, not all barmaid experiences were bubbly. The case of Irene De La Porte in 1928 woke South African officials to the fact that earlier attempts to quell the cross-border 'barmaid business' had failed quite dismally, and through her case much of the details of the system emerged. Irene, daughter of a Cape Town police officer, had been unhappily engaged as nursemaid at an isolated Mashonaland farm near Mutorashanga. On a return home to Cape Town, she responded to an advertisement in the Cape Argus and signed up with a female recruiter. She forged a letter of permission for the magistrate, and soon after began her journey to Beira. During a drunken overnight train journey, she resisted the physical attentions of man, a friend of the recruiter and postmaster of Beira, by slapping him across the face (he had clambered through the cabin window while she undressed). Once in Beira, she had to decline numerous propositions from local men, including the tenacious (and married) Captain Llorente, who had entered her room in the middle of the night. A period of arguments with her recruiter ensued, during which point Beira police became aware of her forged permit (she had lied about her age). Then, in a strange denouement, she moved to Captain Llorente's house and then become engaged to his son before being deported back to Cape Town.

Irene's testimony, captured at the Beira police office, circulated widely and at high levels through the Union government. One might imagine their horror on reading it. There was deception and conspiracy on all sides. There was compulsion and vulnerability in the dark train compartments. There were unsavoury entanglements with superficially respectable officials, and De La Porte had been seemingly abandoned in a highly sexualised foreign space. Julia Solly and the National Council for Women responded by insisting all travel documents should be flatly refused to

102 The following constructed from SAB/CIAA 64/M388. Correspondence re: Irene De La Porte, 1928.
barmaid. A Beira resident called Irene a “low-whore [and] we don't want any sand-rats here in Beira”. South African officials agreed that “some definite action was needed” on the whole problem of the barmaid business.

The Union immediately insisted all women travellers have a full passport (which made it difficult to making multiple crossing without raising suspicions). The management would would be taken out of the hands of local magistrates and transferred to the Police and Immigration Department, who would lead pre-emptive cooperation with counterparts in Portuguese East Africa. Defaulters faced jail. In the early 1930s, the available sources suggest the barmaid traffic to Portuguese East Africa went quiet, but there remains some evidence that recruiting did not entirely die out. Indeed, in the late 1930s, the Union castigated the Portuguese administration for failing in its obligations to communicate violations.

Whether or not the new rules had a discernible effect, by the 1940s, the Lourenço Marques barmaid business flourished once more (perhaps animated by War). The music had changed as *fado* gave way to marrabenta, rock n'roll and cha-cha. Some of Lourenço Marques' segregationist restrictions were partly loosened so that black and brown women re-emerged in new cabarets and dance-halls after a thirty year hiatus. At the same time, coloured South African women were recruited from the fah-fee clubs of southern Johannesburg. As for white barmaid, the investigation into the strange disappearances of Charlotte Beukes and Maureen Thomas, with which we began this story, proved the barmaid networks were durable. In 1946, the Union's Consul in Lourenço Marques admitted that despite the effort to stamp out the barmaid traffic after the De La Porte affair in 1928, “we have not been singularly successful...[it] is a most unsatisfactory state of affairs.

After the Beukes and Thomas affairs of 1946-47, all requests for passports from women hoping to cross the border to Portuguese East Africa would be subject to a “very careful” enquiry by police, who could exercise their powers of discretion and refuse or withdraw a passport at any time without explanation. But even here a war of attrition continued between border-guard and barmaid. In 1949,

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104 Ibid.
105 SAB/CIAA 53/ M318. Vol. 2. Union Consul General (Lourenço Marques) to Secretary for External Affairs (Pretoria), 5 November 1946.
106 SAB/CIAA 53/ M318. Vol. 2. Union Consul General (Lourenço Marques) to Secretary for External Affairs (Pretoria), 5 November 1946.
nine women were caught out by the new system and others were suspected of continuing to recruit until the mid-1950s when the archival records abruptly end.\textsuperscript{107} But Lourenço Marques hardly lost its lustre in the following decades. Verwoerdian South Africa pushed some whites to seek the temporary hedonism promised by a trip Lourenço Marques: the evocative photography of Ricardo Rangel well-captured Rua Araújo’s enduring spirit into the 1960s.\textsuperscript{108} The Rua Araújo’s strip-joints, neon bars and nightclubs continued to offer settlers a kind of haven from the stresses of colonial life, with names that echoed the mineral frontier of a century before: \textit{Texas}, \textit{Ritz}, \textit{Casablanca}, \textit{Palace Cafe}, \textit{Aquario}. In 1974, one of Frelimo’s first acts after the capture of the capital was to ‘cleanse’ the decadent Rua Araújo and rename it Bagamoyo Street, after the Tanzanian village where the FRELIMO ‘cultural seminar’ had resolved to create a Mozambican new man.\textsuperscript{109} An era had ended.

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\textsuperscript{108} Ricardo Rangel, \textit{Pão Nosso de Cada Noite} (Marimbique, 2004).