Cattle and colonialism: an animal-centred history of southern Africa, 1652-1980s

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Chapter Four: A history of slaughterhouse development in the Cape, with reference to cattle's experiences, 1652–1935

Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the emergence of veterinary expertise and infrastructure in the region, as a response to disease epidemics, and also to monitor and maintain the productive health of cattle, in service of emerging capitalist cattle flesh markets. This chapter addresses another crucial aspect of capitalist cattle markets. It explores the development of slaughterhouses as an impact of colonialism in southern Africa. It focuses on the Cape Colony as a case study, although developments in South Africa and the region at times contextualise the focus on the Cape. It traces the development of the Cape's first slaughterhouse, set up by the VOC in the late seventeenth century, through to the emergence of industrialised slaughterhouses in South Africa and the southern African region in the early twentieth century. Slaughterhouses were core, necessary institutions in the development of capitalist animal flesh markets. The chapter investigates two primary questions. What led to the development of industrial slaughterhouses in the Cape Colony? And, how did the development of slaughterhouses impact the experiences of cattle?

Approximating a bovine perspective, this chapter argues that the development of animal flesh markets and slaughterhouses were transformative impacts of colonialism in southern Africa. It aims to explore how industrial slaughterhouses impacted cattle's experiences. The chapter focuses on three impacts of colonialism which contributed to the early twentieth century development of industrialised, mass animal slaughter. The first was the VOC's creation of an animal flesh market from the mid-seventeenth century, which connected cattle and sheep to global capitalist markets, stimulated a demand for cattle breeding, and facilitated the beginning of settler colonialism in the Cape. The second factor was the British army's large war contracts to supply its troops with cattle flesh during the South African War, and which provided a major financial stimulus to the flesh production monopolies. Third, the vast market for animal flesh created by the mining industry's compound contracts, in the context of the mining boom, hastened the development of industrial slaughterhouses. Industrial, state-run slaughterhouses occurred in the context of new refrigerated transport technologies, and early state-building processes in what became South Africa. The chapter endeavours to investigate how slaughterhouses impacted cattle's experiences, to enter historical slaughterhouses, and describe what they were like for cattle.

Diverse evidence is invoked to explore slaughterhouse development in the Cape. The period from 1652 to the late nineteenth century draws on secondary literature, two doctoral theses on the VOC period, VOC records, Jan van Riebeeck's journal, zooarchaeological evidence, travellers' accounts, newspapers, archival material, a court case, and a contemporary recipe book. Owing to a paucity of secondary material about slaughterhouse development in the Cape and South Africa, evidence for the early twentieth century until the 1930s draws extensively on previously unused archival materials. These materials include SPCA and *Die Burger* journalist investigations into slaughterhouses, newspaper articles, voluminous Cape's Joint Slaughterhouses Committee meetings' minutes, correspondence, government reports, and architectural designs of various slaughterhouses designed for the Cape in the early twentieth century.

There is almost no secondary literature on the development of slaughterhouses in South and southern Africa, and certainly none which investigate animals' experiences of them. Philidia Simon's *Ice Cold in Africa: The History of the Imperial Cold Storage & Supply Company Limited* (2000), is an industry-endorsed history, that pays much attention to individual men, and which can at times read as semi-hagiographic.[1] It is uninterested in slaughterhouses *per se* but is full of references to archival material and offers a detailed history of Imperial Cold Storage, the region's major animal flesh production monopoly. Eric Rosenthal's unpublished *Cold Storage Chronicle: History of the Imperial Cold Storage* (circa 1955), the sole known copy of which is housed at Cambridge University Library's Rare Books Department, makes for useful background reading and notes key developments in the emergence of Imperial Cold Storage.[2] Although historians of the region have not been interested in animals' experiences of slaughterhouses, as this chapter shows, concerns about animals' welfare and experiences were discussed and debated in parliament, members of the public wrote to newspapers, and animal welfare concerns were even engaged by the Secretary of Agriculture, and various health and veterinary officials in the early twentieth century. Patrons of the Animal Welfare

[1] P. Simons, *Ice Cold in Africa: The History of the Imperial Cold Storage & Supply Company Limited* (Cape Town: Fernwood Press, 2000).
[2] Cambridge University Library, Rare Books Department, E. Rosenthal, 'Cold Storage Chronicle: History of the Imperial Cold Storage' (Unpublished: circa 1955).

Society of South Africa (AWSSA), which lobbied for laws regulating animal slaughter from the late 1920s, for example included the Mayor of Cape Town and leaders of important religious groups, like the Dutch Reformed Church.

More broadly, Amy Fitzgerald's social history of slaughterhouses focuses on the broad history of slaughterhouses as modern institutions in the United States and Western Europe. It traces the shift from private to public slaughterhouses, explores the industrialisation of animal slaughter, and discusses the contemporary social impacts of slaughterhouses on workers, the environment, and rural communities.[3] Chris Otter's detailed study of the development of British public slaughterhouses from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century explores how changing attitudes towards animal slaughter saw public slaughterhouses 'banished to the perimeter[s] of the cit[ies]'.[4] Animal slaughter went through a 'civilising process' by removing slaughter from public experiences. He observes that killing and eating animals is 'one of the most conservative rituals in Western cultures'.[5] Drawing on Norbert Elias's *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations* (1939), he argued that 'civilisation develops by consuming more meat but devoting more effort to effacing the gory evidence of its production'.[6] As this chapter suggests, this form of civilisation was enacted in South Africa under British colonisation, particularly from the late nineteenth century.

Various scholarship has investigated the development of the Union Stockyards of Chicago, which exemplified the emergence of industrial slaughter, including William Cronon's *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (1991) and Rudolf Clemen's *The American Livestock and Meat Industry* (1923).[7] In Joshua Specht's *Red Meat Republic: a Hoof-to-Table History of*

[3] A. Fitzgerald, 'A Social History of the Slaughterhouse: From Inception to Contemporary Implications', *Human Ecology Review* 17, 1 (2010), 58–61, 63–66.
[4] C. Otter, 'Civilizing Slaughter: The Development of the British Public Abattoir, 1850-1910', *Food and History* 3, 2 (2005), 39.
[5] *Ibid*, 48.
[6] *Ibid*; N Elias, translated by E. Jephcott, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2000).
[7] W. Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1991); R. Clemen, *The American Livestock and Meat Industry* (New York: Ronald Press, 1923); J. Skaggs, *Prime Cut: Livestock Raising and Meatpacking in the United States, 1607-1983* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1986); R. Horowitz, *Putting Meat on the American Table: Taste, Technology, Transformation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

how Beef Changed America (2019), he notes that previous studies of the Chicago Stockyards have focused on the supply of cattle, the development of railroads, refrigeration, and important men.[8] What he calls the 'great-man narrative' has been dropped in more recent histories but technology and 'organisational changes', he argues, have remained core features of the narratives.[9] He notes that previous 'accounts present the modern food production system as an inevitable result of technological change and business optimization rather than one aggregate outcome of many social and political struggles.'[10]

With some hyperbole, he argues that a 'complete picture of the rise of centralized meatpacking must portray human conflict alongside technological changes and business developments'.[11] His own approach is to place 'people and social conflict at [the] center.'[12] He regards 'the animal's perspective' as a distraction from concerns about the roles and contributions of labourers.[13] In contrast to Joshua's Specht's approach, this chapter aims to foreground what slaughterhouse developments in South Africa, specifically in the Cape, meant for the cattle themselves, and how slaughterhouses affected cattle's lives and experiences.

Upton Sinclair's influential novel *The Jungle* (1906), while not directly approximating animals' perspectives, contains some vivid and affecting descriptions of what the Chicago Stockyards were like for animals.[14] J. M. Coetzee's novel *Elizabeth Costello* (2004) and a short story 'The Glass Abattoir' treats the subject of industrial animal slaughter from the perspective of Elizabeth Costello, a protagonist who contemplates the moral and psychological crisis that industrial slaughter presents.[15] In an interview about the short story, J.M. Coetzee has said:

[8] J. Specht, *Red Meat Republic: A Hoof-to-Table History of How Beef Changed America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), 177.
[9] *Ibid*.
[10] *Ibid*.
[11] *Ibid*.
[12] *Ibid*, 3.
[13] *Ibid*, 184.
[14] U. Sinclair, *The Jungle, Webster's Thesaurus Edition* (San Diego: ICON Books, 2005), 38–47 72–73.
[15] J. M. Coetzee, *Elizabeth Costello* (London: Vintage Books, 2004); J. Malec, 'JM Coetzee Reads a New Story, "The Glass Abattoir", and Announces a New Book to Feature Elizabeth Costello', *The Johannesburg Review of Books*, 25 September 2017.

> The question you ask is, why a story about factory farming, why not a lecture about factory farming? And the answer is, I think, that 'The Glass Abattoir' is not about factory farming or about vivisection so much as it is about the state of mind of someone to whom these questions matter very deeply.[16]

The most notable attempt to enter a modern slaughterhouse is Timothy Pachirat's *Every Twelve Seconds: Industrialised Slaughter and the Politics of Sight* (2011).[17] His ethnographic research involved spending over five months as an employee at a mega industrial slaughterhouse in Nebraska. The slaughterhouse killed over 2 400 cattle daily, or one every twelve seconds. The book is narrative-driven, and includes intricate details of the various jobs he performs, as well as the layout of the slaughterhouse. One core argument is that the modern slaughterhouse is carefully compartmentalised so that myriad labour roles mostly block workers from having an overall view of the enterprise. Of the over 800 workers employed there, only seven had contact with live animals, a mere four workers were directly involved in killing animals, while 770 workers had no visuals of the slaughter process whatsoever.[18] The external walls of the slaughterhouse block the public from seeing in, but many interior 'physical, linguistic, and phenomenological walls', writes Timothy Pachirat, 'often feel every bit as rigid as those marking off the exterior of the slaughterhouse from the outside world'.[19] His book was an attempt to give sight to the internal workings of modern slaughterhouses. In the southern African historiography, the historical impact of slaughterhouses on cattle's experiences remains unacknowledged and unarticulated. My approach is to draw on available historical materials, such as architectural designs of slaughterhouses and SPCA investigations, and to interpret these sources in light of an interdisciplinary understanding of cattle's experiential capacities. Via this approach, inferences about cattle's likely experiences of slaughterhouses are drawn.

Chronologically, the chapter starts with the VOC's arrival in 1652; after which cattle were connected via the VOC to global capitalist markets. It discusses an early formalised VOC animal flesh market set up near the Cape harbour in 1665, and the appearance of a VOC

[16] Malec, 'JM Coetzee Reads a New Story', 2017.
[17] T. Pachirat, *Every Twelve Seconds: Industrialized Slaughter and the Politics of Sight* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).
[18] *Ibid*, 62.
[19] *Ibid*, 236.

slaughterhouse, the Shambles, from at least 1698. It discusses the expansion of the VOC's processes for provisioning ships and the local market for animal flesh over the eighteenth century. It then discusses changes in the regulation of animal slaughter under British colonialism in the Cape from the early nineteenth century, and increasing public dissatisfaction over the sights, smells, and sounds emanating from the Shambles. An 1883 court case, which later led to the closure of the Shambles, is investigated to draw inferences about cattle's likely experiences of the slaughterhouse. The late nineteenth century marked the period when dramatic, rapid changes in the development of slaughterhouse unfolded. In the context of new refrigerated transport technologies, David Graaf's animal flesh monopoly was established. A shift from private to public slaughterhouses, underpinned by health regulations, also started to occur. At this juncture two of the major causative factors in the emergence of industrialised slaughterhouses come into focus. These are the British army's contract to supply its troops with animal flesh during the South African War, and the mining industry's compound contracts, which involved supplying mineworkers with daily animal flesh rations. Both factors saw huge quantities of capital injected into the extant animal flesh industries. In 1902 a mega, heavily capitalised animal flesh monopoly, Imperial Cold Storage and Supply Company Limited, emerged when the mining industry's major animal flesh firms joined forces with David Graaf's monopolistic cold storage firms. The early twentieth century saw shifts to industrialised, state-run slaughterhouses, which were established in Johannesburg (1910), and Cape Town (1914). The chapter then notes the proliferation of industrial slaughterhouses in the Cape province and the emergence of slaughterhouses in South Africa and the region. It includes a discussion of cattle's experiences of industrialised slaughterhouses in the early twentieth century. The chapter closes by discussing the enactment of South Africa's first significant animal welfare law (1934), which aimed to improve animals' experiences of mass slaughter. This chapter argues that the development of slaughterhouses was a wide-reaching, transformative impact of colonialism, with extensive consequences for cattle.

Precursors to industrialisation: the VOC, the Shambles, and health disputes in the Cape, 1652–1890s

The Cape of Good Hope, at the southern tip of Africa, marked something of a halfway point for merchant ships travelling to and from Europe and the East. Thus, in the mid-seventeenth century the Cape of Good Hope was of major strategic interest to the VOC and other merchant shipping groups. Landing in 1652, Jan van Riebeeck's mandate was to set up a station to provision Dutch East India Company VOC merchants *en route* to the East. By provisions the VOC meant fresh water and vegetables, and sheep and cattle flesh. 1652 thus marked the start of major transformations for southern African cattle. We saw in Chapter Two that from 1653 the VOC forced oxen to perform wagon labour for them. The other major impact for cattle was that the VOC set up a market to sell cattle and other animals' flesh to ships and merchants. The VOC connected southern African cattle to global capitalist markets. Because the Dutch set up animal flesh production in the Cape, the development of slaughterhouses in what became South Africa had its origins in the VOC's animal flesh trade. For this reason, this chapter starts its analysis from 1652. Previous chapters have been chronologically connected to each other. This chapter jumps back to the start of colonialism at the Cape to indicate the beginnings of animal flesh production at the Cape.

Jan van Riebeeck's journals show a lively, obsessive concern to accumulate and breed cattle. In December of 1652, his journal records that:

> To-day we had ample opportunity of depriving them [Saldaniers] of 10 000 head cattle had we been allowed to do so. If we are ordered to do this, it can always be done at some future date… Once we had possession of so many cattle, we could maintain an adequate supply by breeding.[20]

For cattle a new human tribe had arrived, the VOC and accompanying settlers, backed by a pioneering mercantile empire's transnational limited liability corporation, with a strong partiality towards capturing and breeding them, forcing them to pull wagons and ploughs, and regularly slaughtering and eating them. The VOC brought with them a culture and

[20] J. van Riebeeck, translated by H. Thom, *Journal of Jan Van Riebeeck Volume 1, 1651-1655* (Cape Town: A. A Balkema, 1952), 112.

economics premised on frequent, normalised cattle flesh eating. The Khoikhoi who lived in and around the Cape in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were transhumant pastoralists who used the milk of cattle and sheep as well as their hides and wool, but slaughtering and eating cattle was reserved for special ceremonial events.[21] Based on his observations at the Cape in the early eighteenth century, Peter Kolben said of the Khoikhoi's views on eating cattle:

> The victuals of the Hottentots are the Flesh and Entrails of Cattle and of certain Wild Beasts, with Fruits and Roots of several Kinds. But setting aside the Sacrifices, which are indispensable, at Births, Legitimations, Marriages, and other Andersmakens, *the Hottentots, rarely kill Cattle for their own Eating but when they are at a Loss for other Sustenance.* The Cattle they devour between the Andersmakens, are, for the most Part, such as die naturally.[22]

Andermakens translates to change-making; *maak anders*, change to something else. The term referred to special ceremonies or rituals, including marriages, initiation, driving out malevolent spirits, or curing disease.[23]

Also based on his observations in the Cape, between 1733 and 1741, Otto Mentzel concurred that the Khoikhoi only rarely ate cattle flesh.

> Should an animal die, be it a beast or a sheep, it is cut up and eaten, but they never slaughter any, except for some festival or "different-making" [*andersmaken*]. When a member of their family falls ill, they generally cut off a sheep's tail, melt out the fat, anoint themselves or the sick person with it, and pick off the meat. To spare their cattle they frequently go hunting. If they are so fortunate as to stalk and kill an elephant, rhinoceros, buffalo, eland or other game, not only the whole family but the entire village have their fill.[24]

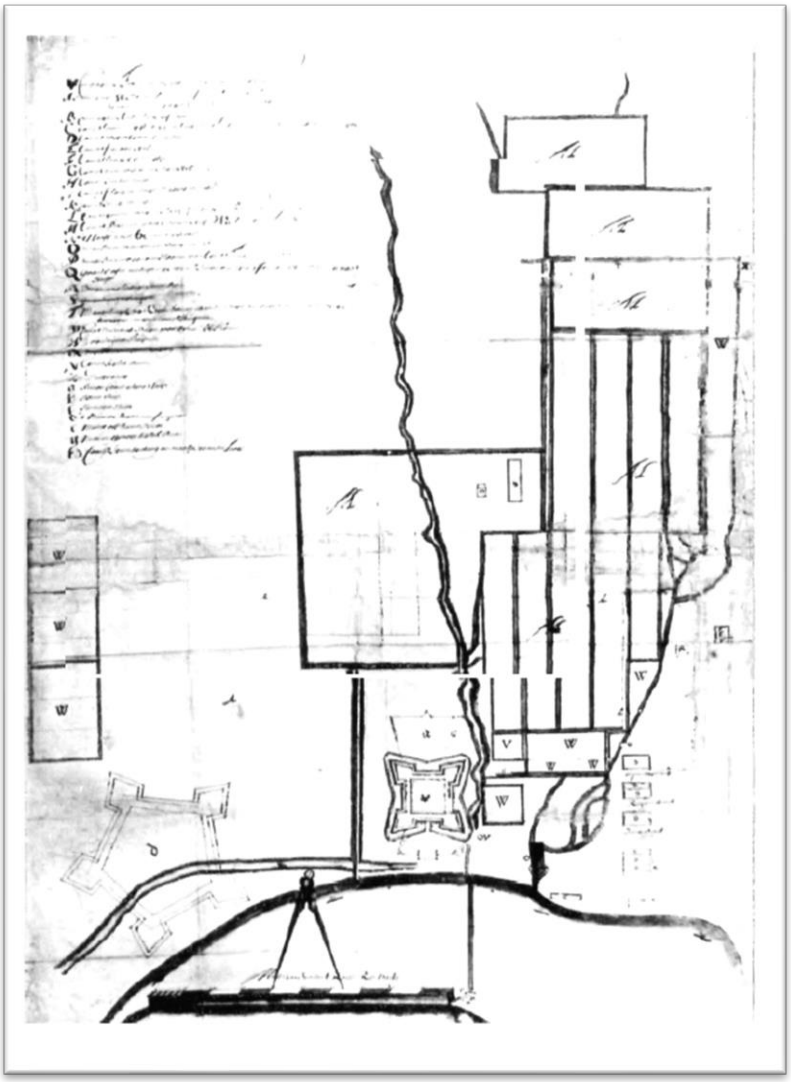
[21] E. Boonzaier *et al*., *The Cape Herders: A History of the Khoikhoi of Southern Africa* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1996), 46.
[22] P. Kolben, translated by Mr Medley, *Present State of the Cape of Good-Hope* (London: W. Innys, 1731 [1719]), 200, emphasis added.
[23] J. M. Coetzee, 'Idleness in South Africa', *Social Dynamics* 8, 1 (1982), 2; O. Mentzel, translated by G. Marais and J. Hoge, *A Geographical and Topographical Description of the Cape of Good Hope* (Cape Town: The Van Riebeeck Society 1944 [1787]), 281, 288.
[24] Mentzel, *A Geographical and Topographical Description of the Cape of Good Hope*, 292.

Thus, whereas the Khoikhoi infrequently ate cattle flesh, the VOC brought to the Cape the human social and cultural practice of regularly killing, eating and selling domesticated animals. At least fourteen years after Jan Van Riebeeck's arrival a formal market was set up at the Table Bay harbour, located alongside the beach, near to where merchant ships berthed. The German merchant Zacharias Wagenaer in 1665 mentioned that a shed constructed the previous year had been repurposed as a bazar or market – 'een bezer off marckplaets' - where fresh animal flesh, fish, and vegetables were sold.[25] By 6 August 1665 Dutch settlers were encouraged to bring cattle and sheep carcasses on Saturdays to be sold by the VOC's butcher.[26] The 'nieuwen Marcktplaats', new market, was mentioned again on 22 August when produce prices were listed.[27] The animal produce sold at the market included the flesh of cattle, sheep, pigs, wild boars, various types of African antelopes including elands, steenboks, and hartebeests, rabbits, fish, hippopotamuses and rhinoceroses.[28]

The marketplace was first depicted in a map of the town in 1665.[29] See the long rectangular building alongside the beach, image 4.1, and compare to building 'G' in image 4.2.

[25] A. Boeseken, *Dagregister en Briewe van Zacharias Wagenaer, 1662 – 1666* (Pretoria: Staatsdrukker, 1973), 352; Cited in R. Fitchett, 'Early Architecture at the Cape under the VOC (1652-1710): The Characteristics and Influence of the Proto-Cape Dutch Period' (PhD Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1996), 254, 733.
[26] Boeseken, *Dagregister en Briewe van Zacharias Wagenaer, 1662 – 1666*, 209–10; Cited in Fitchett, 'Early Architecture at the Cape under the VOC', 254, 733.
[27] M. Jeffreys, *Kaapse Plakkaatboek. Deel I (1652-1707)* (Cape Town: Cape Times Limited, 1944), 87–90; Cited in Fitchett, 'Early Architecture at the Cape under the VOC', 254, 733.
[28] Jeffreys, *Kaapse Plakkaatboek. Deel I (1652-1707)*, 88–89.
[29] Fitchett, 'Early Architecture at the Cape under the VOC' 254, 910.

Image 4.1. Plan of the Castle, fort and nascent town circa 1665

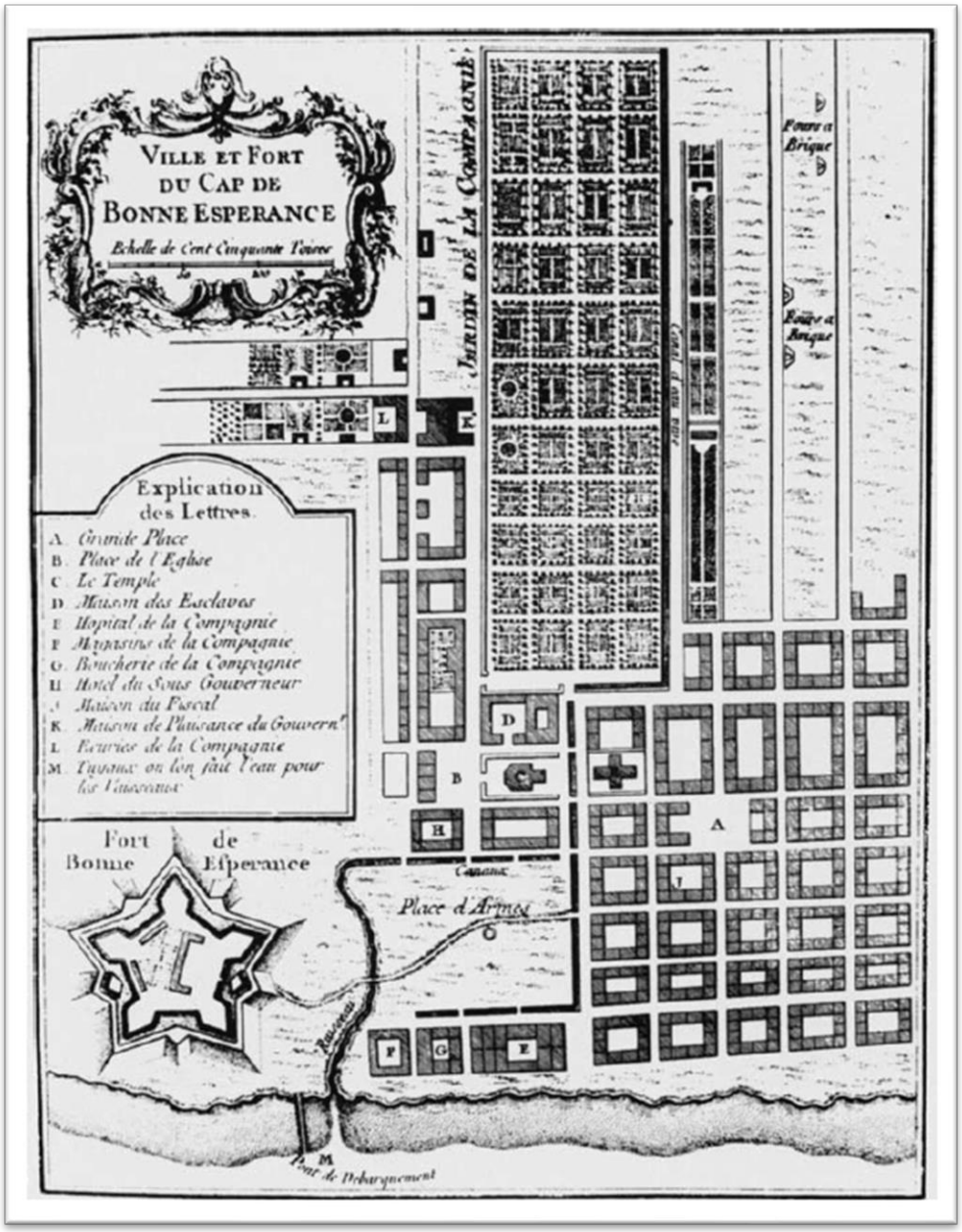


Source: R. Fitchett, 'Early Architecture at the Cape under the VOC (1652-1710): The Characteristics and Influence of the Proto-Cape Dutch Period' (PhD Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1996), 254, 910.

According to Martin Hall, the 'new' Castle, depicted above and below, was built from 1666.[30] For reference, a clearer map from 1764 depicts the butchery near the castle at building 'G'.

[30] M. Hall, *Archaeology and the Modern World: Colonial Transcripts in South Africa and Chesapeake* (London: Routledge, 2000), 61.

Image 4.2. 1764 map of Cape settlement, with butchery shown at block 'G'



Source: M. Hall, *Archaeology and the Modern World: Colonial Transcripts in South Africa and Chesapeake* (Routledge: London, 2000), 28.

By 1686 a new 'vleeshuijs' or butcher's hall had been built near the waterfront and jetty, paid for by the VOC and the burghers.[31]

[31] Fitchett, 'Early Architecture at the Cape under the VOC', 255, 733.

It is not entirely clear when the flesh market at the harbour first became a slaughterhouse. From 1665 there was a market that sold animal flesh but it is not clear that it was yet a slaughterhouse. The 1686 reference to the 'vleeshuijs' suggests that between 1665 and 1686 the market may have morphed into having a slaughter function. The 'shambles' is mentioned in VOC correspondence from 1698.[32] In 1698, Simon van der Stel, the VOC's commander at the Cape Colony, wrote to the Seventeen at Amsterdam, noting that:

> In order to make better provision for the supply of the ships and the hospital, and prevent all abuses and irregularities which have taken place without our knowledge and in spite of our care, new regulations have been framed for the shambles after careful consideration. The shambles will henceforth be under the supervision of two sworn commissioners, and the butcher will also be sworn.[33]

This shows that the VOC imposed some form of regulations on animal slaughter, and that at least by 1698 there was a definitive slaughterhouse, the 'shambles'.[34] Zooarchaeological evidence, discussed below, suggests that by at least 1691 butchery occurred within the Castle, and from at least 1720 animals were slaughtered near the castle, and that their bones were thrown into the Moat. In 1700 the VOC commissioned an upgraded slaughterhouse, this time with a kraal for receiving cattle and sheep, the construction of which was completed by 14 March 1701.[35] This suggests that by the eighteenth century, the VOC had set up a mass flesh production system. By 1706 the shambles were referred to as 'the Company's slaughterhouse and kraal'.[36]

From 1700 settlers began moving over the Berg River towards Tulbagh, over 100 kilometres from Cape Town, and in 1714 the VOC issued grazing rights to 6 000-acre farms in exchange for yearly rent.[37] We saw in Chapter Two that via trade, raiding, and theft colonial settlers by 1710 had acquired over 20 000 cattle and 130 000 sheep, meaning that they needed more

[32] H. Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Letters Despatched, 1696-1708* (Cape Town: W. A Richards & Sons, 1896), 67.
[33] *Ibid*.
[34] *Ibid*, 10, 141, 156, 282. The VOC had already in 1696 contracted a designated butcher, Henning Huysing, to slaughter and butcher animals for sale to the company and settlers. Henning Huysing was again contracted as the VOC butcher and slaughterer between 1701 and 1705.
[35] Leibrandt, *Precis of the Archives*, 170, 217, 282.
[36] *Ibid*, 282.
[37] M. Adhikari, 'A Total Extinction Confidently Hoped for: The Destruction of Cape San Society under Dutch Colonial Rule, 1700-1795', *Journal of Genocide Research* 12, 1/2 (2010), 23, 26.

pasturage and water for their herds and flocks, and thus that they moved further into the Cape.

The genocidal clash between San versus the settler trekboers (migrant farmers) and commandos, for example, was one explained broadly by the contact between hunter gatherer and farming communities. The primary competition revolved around access to resources including water, grazing, land and control of cattle and sheep, more specifically explains the Dutch genocide of San foragers.[38] Cape Town provided a significant market for cattle, sheep, and wild mammal flesh throughout the eighteenth century. This market in turn created market-orientated cattle and sheep farming settlers.[39] Cattle were cut into pieces and their bodies, salted and preserved, or sold as fresh, became increasingly linked to global capitalist markets.

Jan van Riebeeck initially thought he could supply eight sheep and eight cattle to each ship.[40] While van Riebeeck was in power, between 1652 and 1662, there were about 40 ships each year. But by the late 1680s, the ships berthing at the Table Bay were buying around 2 000 sheep and over 300 cattle per annum, a ratio of approximately seven sheep to one cattle, and ships were receiving around 30 to 100 sheep each.[41] Sex and dentition indicators show that by the 1720s the VOC had a breeding regime set up, in that sheep were slaughtered at 'prime' ages, i.e., not when they were young and could grow larger yet.[42] Before this time, the VOC was unable to meet ships' demands for animal flesh. After 1700, trekboers – an admixture of Dutch and French Huguenot settlers, Asians, and Africans – moved further into the interior of the Cape, sometimes traded and often pillaged cattle and sheep from the Khoikhoi. These latter human societies, premised upon holding cattle as a form of wealth, were largely destroyed by trekboer conquests. Near the end of the seventeenth century there were around sixty-five ships each year and by the 1720s around eighty-five ships were provided

[38] *Ibid*, 27.
[39] *Ibid*, 20.
[40] A. Heinrich, 'Historical Zooarchaeology of Colonialism, Mercantilism, and Indigenous Dispossession: The Dutch East India Company's Meat Industry at the Cape of Good Hope, South Africa', in U. Albarella *et al*. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Zooarchaeology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 481.
[41] *Ibid*, 486.
[42] *Ibid*.

with cattle and sheep flesh.[43] The VOC desired a total of over 175 000 kilograms of sheep and cattle flesh for ships annually by the 1730s.[44]

Zooarchaeological research corroborates contemporary observations that the VOC and those in its employ butchered cattle and sheep in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.[45] Adam Heinrich's zooarchaeological analysis of faunal sites in the Cape offers striking insight into the VOC's animal flesh industry during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Two sites at the Castle of Good Hope, near the Table Bay shore, bear especial relevance. These are the infilled Moat, covering the period 1720 to 1725, and the Granary. The Moat was meters away from where cattle and sheep were slaughtered for the shipping market. The Granary was located within the VOC's castle, and the excavations cover the period 1666, when the new VOC castle was built, to 1691, and from the mid-eighteenth century.[46] The Moat and Granary sites supply zooarchaeological evidence of an animal flesh industry set up by the VOC in which animals were slaughtered *en masse* for ships and the local settler and military markets from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century.[47]

In the early eighteenth century, 1720 to 1725, sheep outnumbered cattle in these sites in minimum number of individuals ratios of approximately 10 to 1, and 14 to 1.[48] The faunal remains show explicit signs of 'provisioning', i.e., that sheep and cattle were slaughtered as part of an animal flesh industry. At the Moat, skulls are strongly represented while vertebral and appendicular bone structures are absent. In other words, mostly sheep skulls were found but not their skeletons, which indicates that 'primary butchery', cutting off sheep's heads was conducted at the Moat near the shore. There is very little evidence of cooking in the faunal remains, such as charred bones, at the Moat samples, which is evidence of a type of

[43] *Ibid*.
[44] *Ibid*, 481.
[45] A. Heinrich, 'A Zooarchaeological Investigation into the Meat Industry Established at the Cape of Good Hope by the Dutch East India Company in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries' (PhD Dissertation, The State University of New Jersey, New Jersey, 2010) This thesis comprises the most detailed analysis of the emergence of the VOC's animal flesh production system at the Cape in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
[46] Heinrich, 'Historical Zooarchaeology of Colonialism', 481.
[47] A. Heinrich and C. Schrire, 'Faunal Analysis and the Development of the Meat Industry at the VOC Cape in the 17th and 18th Centuries.', in C. Schrire (ed.), *Historical Archaeology in South Africa: Material Culture of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape* (California: Left Coast Press, 2014), 65; Heinrich, 'Historical Zooarchaeology of Colonialism', 482.
[48] Heinrich, 'Historical Zooarchaeology of Colonialism', 482.

slaughterhouse. Chopping at the Moat was to partition the animals into large units, rather than small pieces that could fit into pots, roasting pans, or be skewered manageably on spits. By strong contrast, the faunal samples from inside the Castle, the Granary, show clear 'kitchen signature[s]'.[49]

For sheep and cattle, the impact of colonialism was rapid and dramatic. Thirteen years after the VOC arrived, they had set up a permanent market, which sold cattle and sheep and other animals' flesh to locals, the military, and merchant ships. The VOC connected cattle to global capitalist markets. Faunal remains show that secondary butchery began from at least 1666. From the mid-seventeenth century onwards, cattle flesh would increasingly become a commodity in southern Africa.

In 1753 the earlier harbour slaughterhouse had been renovated and was more commonly called 'De Slagpaal', in Dutch, or 'The Shambles', in English.[50] Located near the Fresh River and the beach, the idea, as before, was that offal could be buried beneath the beach sand, or washed away at high tide, and the river could be employed to wash away the blood.[51] The Shambles was a row of thatched-roof shops, behind which were crude fence enclosures, or mini kraals, where sheep and cattle were driven to and incarcerated before slaughter.[52] Animals were slaughtered at all hours of the night and day, and the cries of animals could be heard by passers-by.[53] During the late eighteenth century the VOC controlled about half of the animal flesh trade in the Cape.[54] The rest was largely controlled by farmers. Describing the process of acquiring sheep for slaughter in the Cape in 1775, Anders Sparrman wrote:

> the butcher's men go about, buying them up, and afterwards drive them in flocks, consisting of several hundreds, and sometimes even thousands, to the slaughterhouses at the Cape, at times when the fleets are chiefly expected.[55]

[49] *Ibid*.
[50] Rosenthal, 'Cold Storage Chronicle: History of the Imperial Cold Storage', 3.
[51] Simons, *History of the Imperial Cold Storage Company*, 11.
[52] *Ibid*.
[53] Rosenthal, 'Cold Storage Chronicle: History of the Imperial Cold Storage', 3.
[54] R. Ross, 'The Rise of the Cape Gentry', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 9, 2 (1983), 200.
[55] A. Sparrman, *A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, Vol. I* (London: G. G. J and J. Robinson, 1785), 245–46.

Writing of the early nineteenth century Cape, William Burchell made similar observations, noting that a '*slagter's knegt* [butcher's man] is a person commissioned by a butcher in Cape Town to travel into the grazing districts, and buy up the number of sheep or oxen he may require; for which the man pays the grazier.'[56]

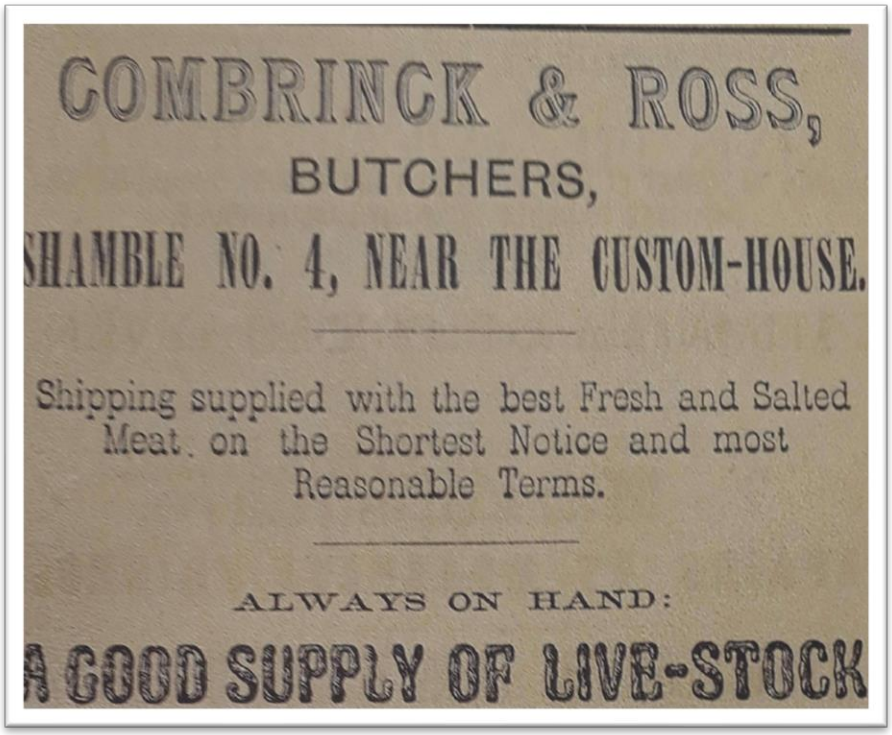
It was not until British control over the Cape commenced that rules regulating slaughter became more rigorous.[57] Until this time animals could be slaughtered wherever independent butchers decided to slaughter them, in the centre of town, outside their houses, in back streets, alongside shops. Blood and viscera and entrails were in the streets, and noxious stenches marked the town.

Since the early nineteenth century, various administrative and other buildings were built close to the Shambles. For example, 'a large handsome building' containing the 'Court of Justice, the Secretary's office, and most of the principal public offices' was built in 1815; a Custom house was built in 1813, and a Commercial Exchange was constructed on behalf of merchants in 1819.[58] Philidia Simons described the Exchange as 'a hive of activity'.[59] So, this place of slaughter was among administrative buildings, merchant and trade operations, and also in constant proximity to the military. The Shambles, or what William Burchell called the 'Butcher's Hall' was rebuilt in 1820.[60] In the same year, British colonial authorities declared that the Shambles would be rearranged and private animal slaughter was forbidden.[61] This marked the beginning of specific colonial laws regulating the slaughter of cattle in the Cape. By 1821 the Burgher Senate, which prefigured the Cape Town Council, passed municipal regulations to the effect that only burghers of the colony could be butchers and cattle sellers.[62] The Senate had re-erected the Shambles building, and divided it into stalls, in which

[56] W. Burchell, *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa*, *Vol. I* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1822), 201.
[57] In context of the Netherlands' defeat by Napoleon Bonaparte's French army in 1795 and the liquidation of the VOC in 1799, by 1814 the Netherlands had ceded control of the Cape to Britain at the Dutch-Anglo Treaty of the same year.
[58] Burchell, *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa*, *Vol. I*, 74.
[59] Simons, *History of the Imperial Cold Storage Company*, 10.
[60] Burchell, *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa*, *Vol. I*, 74.
[61] Rosenthal, 'Cold Storage Chronicle: History of the Imperial Cold Storage', 4.
[62] Ibid, 5.

each butchery firm positioned itself and had its own slaughter pole.[63] A later advertisement for Shamble number 4 follows.

Image 4.3. Combrinck & Ross advertisement, 1870



Source: P. Simons, *Ice Cold in Africa: The History of the Imperial Cold Storage & Supply Company Limited* (Cape Town: Fernwood Press, 2000), 11.

The advertisement locates the shamble 'near the custom-house', where merchants and traders conducted business. All cattle had to be brought to the Shambles before 8 AM, and there were specific routes along which cattle and sheep had to be driven to the Shambles.[64] In lieu of rent, butchers were taxed for each animal slaughtered.[65] Offal was to be buried, not thrown into the sea. The rules were clearly a way of diminishing human sensory experiences of the Shambles; limiting public experiences of the sights, smells, and sounds. In Chris Otter's framing, it was a British way of 'civilising slaughter'.[66] The Shambles, though regulated by the council, was not a public slaughterhouse, though. It was more a row of private butchers'

[63] Ibid.
[64] P. Laidler, *The Growth and Government of Cape Town* (Cape Town: Unie-Volkspers, 1939), 212–13.
[65] Rosenthal, 'Cold Storage Chronicle: History of the Imperial Cold Storage', 5.
[66] Otter, 'Civilizing Slaughter', 29.

sheds, lined up next to each other, in one convenient place. As with their approach to wagon transport, as seen in Chapter Two, British colonialism differed from Dutch colonialism. The British were far more concerned with regulating and controlling slaughter. Thus, the Cape's shift from VOC refreshment station to an emerging settler colony had implications for cattle, in that their slaughter was increasingly formalised and regulated.

The human sensory assaults accompanying animal slaughter did not go away. The smell of offal putrefying, sights of blood, cattle's death bellows, and confused and disorientated cattle escaping into the streets, reminded the humans of the animal slaughter in their midst. By 1837 a petition to the colonial secretary was presented, complaining of the smells of the slaughterhouses, the groans of cattle, and escapee cattle running in the street.[67] So pronounced were the sensory concerns of Cape residents that by 1845 municipal politics was divided into two camps, the 'clean party' which demanded stronger regulation, and the 'dirty party' which wanted the Shambles to proceed with business as usual.[68] As Eric Rosenthal put it 'nobody in his senses went near the Shambles if he could help it.'[69]

A contemporary observer, Richard Murray, who had seen the Shambles in 1854, mentioned it twice in his *South African Reminiscences* (1894), and both times emphasised the human olfactory and visual discomfort:

> slaughtering shambles were attached to the butcher sale stores, and the drainage from the Shambles – blood and offal – courses along the margin of the Bay… and on hot days the smell of it was nauseating to every living thing but blue-bottle flies.[70]

He went on to write, 'that the military frequently remonstrated, but no remonstrations availed much.'[71] By the 1870s, in two Cape newspapers, the *Cape Argus,* and the *Standard and Mail*, the Shambles was expostulated frequently.[72] The language used was disapproving,

[67] Simons, *History of the Imperial Cold Storage Company*, 13, 17.
[68] *Ibid*, 13; Rosenthal, 'Cold Storage Chronicle: History of the Imperial Cold Storage', 6.
[69] Rosenthal, 'Cold Storage Chronicle: History of the Imperial Cold Storage', 6.
[70] R. Murray, *South African Reminiscences* (Cape Town: J.C Juta & Co, 1894), 2.
[71] *Ibid*, 224.
[72] For links between nineteenth century public health concerns and twentieth century human urban social segregation in the Cape, see M. Swanson, 'The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1909', *Journal of African History*, 18, 3 (1977), 387–410.

often superlative, and always couched in a hygiene, disease, and human sensory offence vocabulary. The slaughterhouse was referred to as a 'longstanding Shamble grievance'.[73] The Shambles was variously described as 'disgraceful',[74] 'disgusting',[75] 'most offensive and sickening',[76] effecting an 'intolerable stench',[77] and 'not only an eyesore but a positive danger'.[78] Other articles were concerned about a 'fever epidemic' and noted that 'the Military will not allow the troops to go to near them, because they say the health of the troops is imperilled'.[79] A sanitary report from the late 1870s recommended removing the slaughterhouses from the beach to the north of Salt River, noting that the beaches were 'defiled by throwing on them the offal and refuse from the city abattoirs.[80] The Shambles was a sensory offence – in terms of smells, sights, and sounds – to the extent that it was soon sanctioned in a civil court case. If it was repellent to humans, it would have been exponentially more of a sensory affliction for the animals waiting their turn in the adjoining kraals. Since the military berthed their ships at the harbour, and could not well avoid sensory perceptions of the Shambles, disputes between the military and the town council came to a head in the form of a civil case.

In 1883 Colonel Grease, on behalf of the British Garrison, brought a civil case against the Town Council of Cape Town.[81] The court documents, and the newspaper articles reporting on the case in detail, include first-hand accounts from butchers, the Attorney General, and the Secretary of the Medical Board. Various insights which help to understand what the Shambles was like for cattle emerge. Public annoyance at the Shambles' sights and smells had accumulated over the nineteenth century, and the timing of the court case was likely a result of this and Colonel Grease being willing to pursue the matter on behalf of his troops.

[73] *Standard and Mail*, March 11, 1871.
[74] *Standard and Mail*, May 16, 1871.
[75] *Standard and Mail*, 21 Feb, 1871.
[76] *Cape Argus*, February 1, 1872.
[77] *Standard and Mail*, May 16, 1871.
[78] *Standard and Mail*, March 11, 1871.
[79] 'Drain to the Shambles', *Cape Argus*, 25 October, 1877, 3; *Standard and Mail*, March 11, 1871.
[80] W. Black, 'Sanitary State of Cape Town' *Sanitary Record*, 17 August 1887, 4.
[81] Cape Archives (hereafter CA), CSC 2/1/1/213 Vol 4 Illiquid Causes. Colonel Crease vs. Town Council of Cape Town, 15 June, 1883. The following discussion is based on this file.

According to the manager at shamble no. 4, Mr D. Turnbull, some 45 to 50 cattle per week and 80 sheep per day met their deaths in his shamble alone.[82] There were 16 shambles units. The slaughter process required draining blood from animals. Assume an average slaughter rate of 45 cattle per week, and an average weight of 500 kilograms per cattle. Assume further that cattle have a blood to weight ratio of 55 millilitres of blood to 1 kilogram of body weight.[83] 500 kilograms times 45 cattle per week, multiplied by 55 millilitres equals 1 237 500 ml or 1 237.5 litres of cattle blood per week, for one of 16 shambles. That is, in one year Mr Turnbull's shamble alone could plausibly let 66 825 litres of cattle blood. As one abstract indicator of their experiences, cattle lost a serious amount of blood at the Shambles, weekly.

To wash away the blood, each shamble received 41 640 litres of water per day.[84] Cape Town water supply in the summer months was 1 892 706 litres per day, and since there were sixteen shambles, over one-third of Cape Town's water supply in summer was used to clean the Shambles.[85] Each shamble had a drain for draining cattle's entrails and blood onto the beach. The Shambles' floors, on which bovine and caprine hooves stood or against which their bodies were pressed, were 'paved with hard bricks and cement'. During the trial, one butcher, J.P Mostert, noted that 'of course while slaughtering was going on it was not fit for respectable people to [watch]'.[86] Some hints of what cattle experienced emerge. J.P Mostert disclosed that in his shamble unit the 'cattle all bled to death owing to the Mohamedan [sic] method. The priest cut the animals' throats and they bled to death'. He continued that '[i]t was only the wild oxen who made much noise – not the tame animals (laughter).'[87] On another occasion the 'cries of dying oxen' was mentioned and was again met with laughter in the courtroom.

Because they have brains which include forebrains, limbic systems, and hypothalamuses, cattle experience fear, anxiety, and distress. The aggregate of such feelings in the Shambles,

[82] CA, CSC 2/1/1/213 Colonel Crease, 15 June 1883.
[83] M. Reynolds, 'Plasma and Blood Volume in the Cow Using the T-1824 Hematocrit Method', *American Journal of Physiology-Legacy Content* 173, 3 (1953), 421–27.
[84] CA, CSC 2/1/1/213, Colonel Crease, 15 June 1883. 11 000 gallons equals 41 639.53 litres.
[85] 500 000 gallons equals 1 892 705.892 litres. (11 000 gallons x 16 shambles) ÷ 500 000 gallons of daily supply = 0.32. 0.32 x 100 = 32% of total Cape Town daily summer water supply. 'Supreme Court, before Mr Justice Dreyer', *The Cape Argus,* 16 June, 1883, 3.
[86] CA, CSC 2/1/1/213, Colonel Crease, 15 June 1883.
[87] Ibid.

from the mid-seventeenth century, through to the late nineteenth century is unquantifiable. It is important to note, from a cattle-centric historical perspective, that each cattle who met her end with her neck tied to a slaughter pole had a personal, psychological, affective, and sensorily felt experience of the Shambles. This individual experience would have been expressed outwardly, as is the way of cattle, by groans, bellowing, writhing, and foaming at the mouth; with eyes jacked wide open, expressing distress and alarm. Plausibly, their cortisol levels soared, and their breathing became rapid as their hearts pounded. I had occasion during fieldwork for this project to spend a month among a herd of free-roaming Nguni cattle. I often witnessed how easily frightened and conflict avoidant cattle are. The merest unexpected hand movement caused a startle. To goad horned cattle to hard-floored, blood- and entrail-slippery, cramped shamble units, and fasten their necks to the slaughter poles must have entailed acute negative emotions for the cattle. There was no doubt much frantic jerking and thrashing about in the small shamble units.

Mr Upington, for the defence, jeered as squeamish the military's Major Gorges: 'The sight of blood seemed too much for Major Gorges, and the cries of ox affected him extremely (great laughter).'[88] There are three mentions of cattle and sheep escaping the Shambles and making their way to the commissariat's office. Clearly, such escape attempts were expressions of agency and resistance.

For cattle, olfactory perception is a fundamental source of information. As discussed in Chapter One, cattle can smell stress hormones in their fellow cattle's urine, which acts as an emotional contagion. Cattle's vocalisations correspond to discrete emotional states and they communicate these valences to each other.[89] For bovines, as social animals who operate in herds, intergroup communication is an elementary aspect of their existence. It is a Darwinian necessity. Thus, cattle would have communicated to each other what they felt at the Shambles. If humans' sensory perceptions of the stench from the Shambles afflicted them as intensively as the evidence tells, and their cries were memorable enough to be recorded in court proceedings and newspapers, what must the cattle have experienced, cramped together in small kraals, after long journeys, either by foot or on metal-floored train carriages,

[88] CA, CSC 2/1/1/213, Colonel Crease, 15 June 1883.
[89] See Chapter One.

smelling the innards of their kin on the stained floors, hearing their fellows as they stomped, shook and jerked away from the butcher's poleaxe? As they thrashed around, with necks tied to slaughter poles, what were their internal qualitative *felt* experiences? What was the collective mood or the individuated psychological state of the cattle, the sheep, the goats, the calves and pigs, as they waited in incarceration? These are the types of questions that an investigation of the experiential impacts of colonialism can highlight.

Cattle and humans have commonalities in the form of shared brain features, perceptual faculties, and neurochemicals. Foregrounding these commonalities, and then wondering what it was like for the cattle enables one to begin contemplating what cattle experienced at the Table Bay Shambles. This coheres with philosopher Elisa Aaltola's notion of embodied empathy, in which empathy with animals is enabled upon recognition that an animal is an embodied subject.[90] For cattle, goats, sheep, and pigs, stress was a default emotional state at the Shambles. Waiting in their kraals, cattle saw, smelt, and heard the workings of the Shambles, although at much closer range than the general public. They would have been frightened, exhausted, and hungry. Even before entering the Shambles, each animal suffered an internal, private hell. Shakingly, they lined up in great numbers, waiting to be killed. This is a core legacy of Dutch and British colonialism in southern Africa, which comes into view when an animal perspective is adopted, and which is invisible in human-centred history.

The jury's verdict was that the Shambles was indeed a public nuisance and that 'it [was] impossible to use the Shambles for slaughter without danger to the health of the plaintiff, his servants, and the public'.[91] In the following several years, the council was forced to close the Shambles, and animal slaughter reoccurred in the back streets in Cape Town.[92] The closure of the Shambles and the re-emergence of private slaughter did not last long. From the 1890s there began a shift from private to public slaughterhouses. It occurred against a social backdrop of frequent animal eating.

[90] E. Aaltola, *Varieties of Empathy: Moral Psychology and Animal Ethics* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018), 103–27.
[91] CA, CSC 2/1/1/213 1883 Colonel, 15 June 1883.
[92] E. van Heyningen, 'Public Health and Society in Cape Town, 1880-1910' (PhD Dissertation, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, 1989), 263.

By this time, frequent animal flesh eating had become normalised. In 1892 Cape of Good Hope resident Hildagonda Duckitt published a recipe book entitled *Hilda's 'Where is it?' of Recipes* (1892). The recipe book contained contemporary Cape, Indian, Dutch, and Malay recipes. Almost every single recipe makes use of domesticated animal flesh, body parts, or secretions as ingredients. The book includes recipes for 'beef tea', 'brine for tongue' and a jam made from four calves' feet.[93] Although a cultural artefact, and not indicative of all diets in the Cape, the book does suggest that frequent, normalised eating of domesticated animals was an entrenched cultural practice in the late nineteenth century.

The shift to British settler colonialism in the early nineteenth century had other consequences for cattle. New laws started to regulate animal slaughter, and public opinion, expressed in newspapers, and culminating in the 1883 court case was divided over whether the sights, smells, and sounds should afflict the humans who saw, heard, and smelled the workings of the slaughterhouses. These contentions would later lead to health, veterinary, and local government structures being involved in the administration and regulation of animal slaughter in the early twentieth century. The accounts of butchers during the court case, and inferences about the amount of bloodshed, coupled with a recognition of cattle's experiential capacities, provide some hints as to what cattle's experiences of the Shambles may have been like in the late nineteenth century.

The early forms of state legal interventions in animal slaughter prefigured the more closely controlled, centralised, state-run, industrialised slaughterhouses of the early twentieth century. Two factors in the late nineteenth century in particular galvanised the development of industrialised slaughter, which was the next significant impact of colonialism on cattle in the region. These were the British Army's animal flesh war contracts, and the mining houses' animal flesh rations for mineworkers. Both of these occurred in wake of the development of refrigerated transport technology and railway expansion.

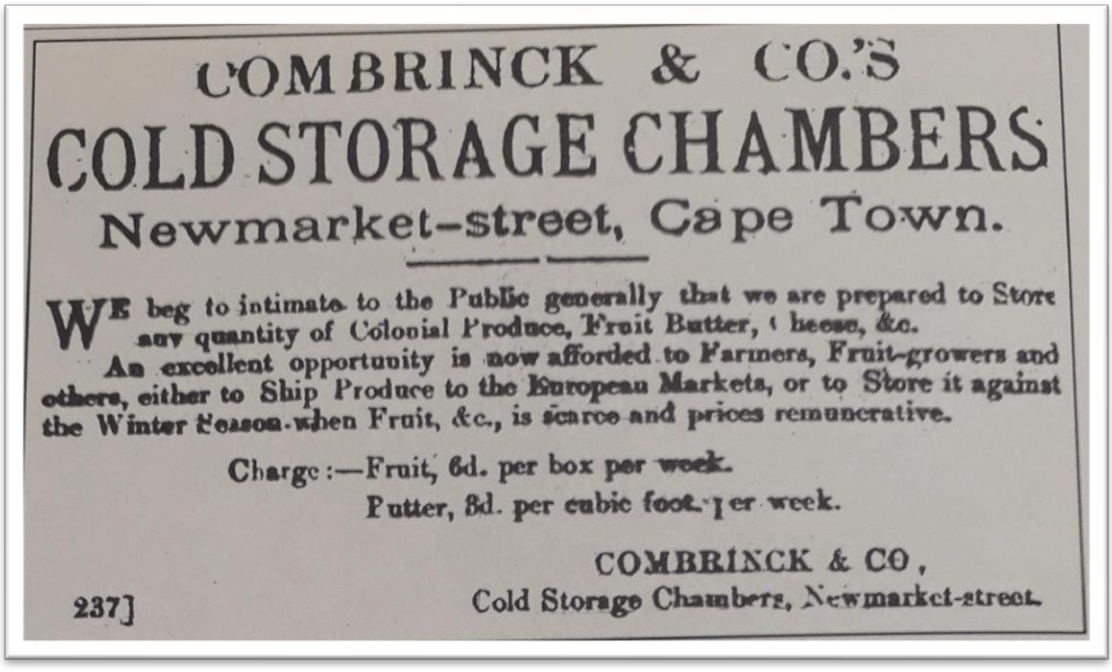
[93] H. Duckitt, *Hilda's 'Where Is It?' Of Recipes* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1892), 15, 109, 121, and *passim*.

The South African War, mining contracts, legislation, and the emergence of industrial slaughter, 1890s–1914

The South African War had a dramatic impact on cattle, and galvanised the development of slaughterhouses in South and southern Africa by injecting large sums of capital into its animal flesh industries. The war played a decisive role in the development of major animal flesh industries in the region.

In the Cape, from the 1870s into the 1890s a monopolistic butchery and cold storage enterprise, Combrinck and Co., under the direction of David De Villiers Graaf, had grown steadily in influence and reach.[94] After travelling abroad to learn of and then import new refrigeration technologies, David Graaf had set up the region's first cold storage plants in the early 1890s, and by the late 1890s he had set up cold storage infrastructure at strategic points along the railway from Cape Town to Johannesburg.[95]

Image 4.4. Cold storage advertisement, 1879


COMBRINCK & CO.'S
COLD STORAGE CHAMBERS
Newmarket-street, Cape Town.

WE beg to intimate to the Public generally that we are prepared to Store any quantity of Colonial Produce, Fruit Butter, Cheese, &c.
An excellent opportunity is now afforded to Farmers, Fruit-growers and others, either to Ship Produce to the European Markets, or to Store it against the Winter Season when Fruit, &c., is scarce and prices remunerative.

Charge:—Fruit, 6d. per box per week.
Butter, 8d. per cubic foot per week.

COMBRINCK & CO,
Cold Storage Chambers, Newmarket-street.

237]

Source: Simons, *History of the Imperial Cold Storage Company,* 36.

[94] E. Dommisse, *Sir David de Villiers Graaff: First Baronet of De Grendel* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2011), 88.
[95] Simons, *History of the Imperial Cold Storage Company*, 23.

By 1895 a ten-year monopoly contract had also been secured with the Cape Government Railways, meaning that David Graaf's firm had exclusive use of the Cape railways for transporting frozen animal flesh, at fixed rates, which offered long term financial planning to both parties.[96] He also had cold storage facilities in Aliwal North near the borders of Lesotho and the Orange Free State, Beaufort West, Kimberley, and Port Elizabeth.[97] By the late 1890s, David Graaf's flesh businesses were decried as monopolistic in the *South African Review* newspaper, and he had butcheries and cold storage infrastructure and networks in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Pietermaritzburg, and Durban.[98] He was the most important figure in the development of the region's major animal flesh industry.

Directly after the 1886 gold-bearing ore discoveries, a wave of investors, engineers, technicians, geologists, prospectors, lawyers, traders, labourers, and large sums of capital moved into the Transvaal Republic.[99] The Transvaal's revenue climbed nearly tenfold, from £178 000 in 1885/6 to £1 500 000 in 1888/9.[100] Britain paid attention. The Bank of England doubled its gold reserves to a total of £49 million in 1896.[101] As discussed in Chapter Three, the cattle population of the southern African region was dramatically reduced by the rinderpest epidemic of 1896-1897; 2 500 000 cattle perished in the region. [102] There was thus a shortage of cattle flesh in the quickly expanding market. In 1896 David Graaf's businesses imported 194 871 kilograms of frozen animal flesh from Australia, and by 1898 total imported animal flesh comprised 888 024 kilograms – an increase of 693 153 kilograms in two years.[103] David Graaf's control of frozen flesh imports was total by 1898.[104] He amalgamated his butchery and cold storage companies to form the monopolistic South African Cold Storage and Supply Company Limited on 4 May 1899.[105]

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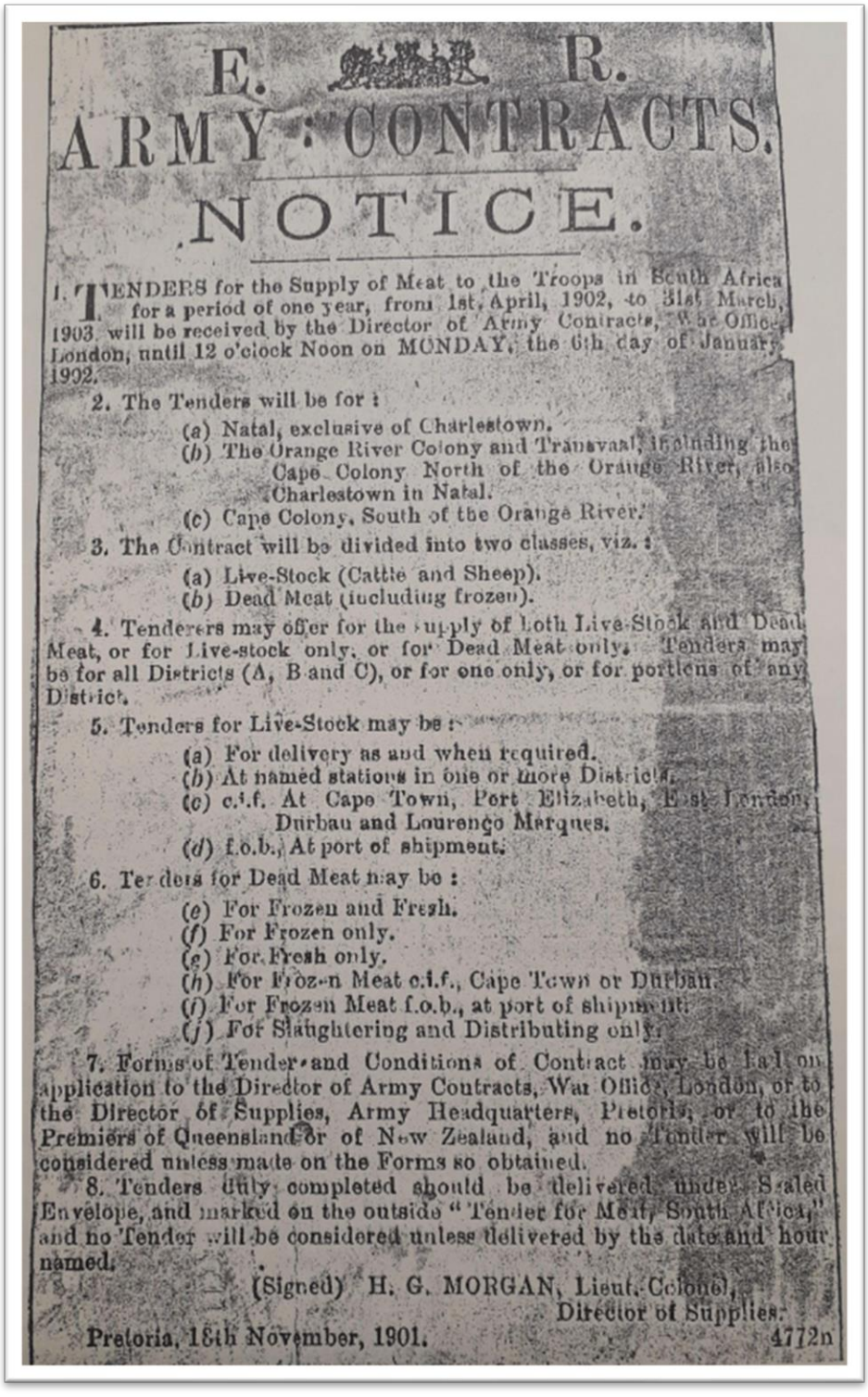
[96] Union of South Africa, *Board of Trade and Industries Report No. 54 Meat, Fish, and Other Foodstuffs: An Inquiry Into* (Pretoria: Government Printers, 1925), 2.
[97] Dommisse, *David de Villiers Graaff*, 85; Simons, *History of the Imperial Cold Storage Company*, 46, 48.
[98] Union of South Africa, *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Abattoir and Allied Facilities* (Pretoria: Commission of Enquiry into Abattoir and Allied Facilities, 1964), 18–19; Simons, *History of the Imperial Cold Storage Company*, 46, 48, 50, 55.
[99] L. Callinicos, *Gold and Workers* (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1985), 8–9.
[100] C. Bundy, *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1988), 111.
[101] S. Marks and S. Trapido, 'Lord Milner and the South African State', in P. Bonner (ed.), *Working Papers in Southern African Studies: Volume 2* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1981), 52.
[102] See Chapter Three.
[103] Simons, *History of the Imperial Cold Storage Company*, 51.
[104] Dommisse, *David de Villiers Graaff*, 89.
[105] The Graaf Trust Papers, MC. 55. 5.

When the South African War began, the British Army brought with them to southern Africa a demand for animal flesh on a scale the region and its animals had likely never experienced before. In 1899 colonel W. Richardson, who was tasked to secure supplies and transport, advertised tenders for the animal flesh supply for British troops, and David Graaf's firm was best placed, and won a contract to supply 181 436 kilograms of animal flesh.[106] He imported the flesh from Australia and sold it for three times the import cost.[107] A second contract, five times larger than the previous one, for 907 185 kilograms of flesh, was secured in 1900.[108] At its height, the contract was to supply animal flesh for 250 000 British troops.[109] This implied a tremendous capital injection into David Graaf's animal flesh company. Phillida Brookes writes that 'never before had an army in the field been provided with… fresh meat' and that 'never before had a catering operation of such magnitude or logistical complexity been undertaken before'.[110] Significantly, these large sums of capital injected into an already monopolistic mega firm, powered the development of industrialised slaughter industries. An advertisement for the following year's tender is reproduced below.

[106] S. Miller, *Lord Methuen and the British Army: Failure and Redemption in South Africa* (London: Frank Cass, 2008), 239; Union of South Africa, *Board of Trade and Industries Report No. 54 Meat, Fish, and Other Foodstuffs*, 4, 9; Simons, *History of the Imperial Cold Storage Company*, 57.
[107] Simons, *History of the Imperial Cold Storage Company*, 57.
[108] Simons, 60.
[109] Royal Commission, *Report of His Majesty's Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Military Preparations and Other Matters Connected with the War in South Africa* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1903), 140.
[110] Simons, *History of the Imperial Cold Storage Company*, 58–59.

Image 4.5. British Army animal flesh contract tender advertisement, 1901



E. R.

ARMY CONTRACTS.

NOTICE.

1. TENDERS for the Supply of Meat to the Troops in South Africa for a period of one year, from 1st April, 1902, to 31st March, 1903, will be received by the Director of Army Contracts, War Office, London, until 12 o'clock Noon on MONDAY, the 6th day of January, 1902.

2. The Tenders will be for :

(a) Natal, exclusive of Charlestown.
(b) The Orange River Colony and Transvaal, including the Cape Colony North of the Orange River, also Charlestown in Natal.
(c) Cape Colony, South of the Orange River.

3. The Contract will be divided into two classes, viz. :

(a) Live-Stock (Cattle and Sheep).
(b) Dead Meat (including frozen).

4. Tenderers may offer for the supply of both Live-Stock and Dead Meat, or for Live-stock only, or for Dead Meat only. Tenders may be for all Districts (A, B and C), or for one only, or for portions of any District.

5. Tenders for Live-Stock may be :

(a) For delivery as and when required.
(b) At named stations in one or more Districts.
(c) c.i.f. At Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, Durban and Lourenço Marques.
(d) f.o.b., At port of shipment.

6. Tenders for Dead Meat may be :

(e) For Frozen and Fresh.
(f) For Frozen only.
(g) For Fresh only.
(h) For Frozen Meat c.i.f., Cape Town or Durban.
(i) For Frozen Meat f.o.b., at port of shipment.
(j) For Slaughtering and Distributing only.

7. Forms of Tender and Conditions of Contract may be had on application to the Director of Army Contracts, War Office, London, or to the Director of Supplies, Army Headquarters, Pretoria, or to the Premiers of Queensland or of New Zealand, and no Tender will be considered unless made on the Forms so obtained.

8. Tenders duly completed should be delivered under Sealed Envelope, and marked on the outside "Tender for Meat, South Africa," and no Tender will be considered unless delivered by the date and hour named.

(Signed) H. G. MORGAN, Lieut.-Colonel,
Director of Supplies.

Pretoria, 18th November, 1901. 4772n

Source: Simons, *History of the Imperial Cold Storage Company*, 62.

The bulk of the cattle supplied to the British troops was in the form of frozen flesh, transported by refrigerated trains and ships. A smaller percentage of cattle were forcibly

marched alongside British troops – towards troops too far from railways or roads – and then slaughtered in the veld.[111] These doomed cattle, unacknowledged casualties and prisoners of the South African War, deserve mention. Two images of slaughtered cattle at British troops' camps are reproduced below.

Image 4.6. Cattle being flayed post-slaughter at a British Army camp

Source: Simons, *History of the Imperial Cold Storage Company,* 59.

[111] *Ibid*.

Image 4.7. Dressed cattle at a British soldiers' camp

Source: Simons, *History of the Imperial Cold Storage Company,* 59.

The other major impact of the colonial war, from a bovine perspective, was the scorched earth policy. First initiated by Lord Roberts, chief commander of the British forces, in September 1900, the command was to burn Boer homesteads within a 16-kilometre radius of any Boer military attack, and confiscate or slaughter the sheep, goats, and cattle.[112] When Lord Kitchener took over, he doubled down on this policy and razed about 30 000 Boer homes and tens of thousands of Africans' homes.[113] In the British concentration camps, a likely undercounted 51 000 Afrikaners and Africans perished.[114] Estimates of the animal death toll from the war are almost eight times as high, at 400 346.[115]

Jan Smuts, a general for the Boer military, while in the Cape in 1901 noted that:

> Dams everywhere full of rotting animals; water undrinkable. Veld covered with slaughtered herds of sheep and goats, cattle and horses. The horror passes description… Surely such outrages on man and

[112] G. van den Bergh, 'The British Scorched Earth and Concentration Camp Policies in the Potchefstroom Region, 1899–1902', *Scientia Militaria, South African Journal of Military Studies* 40, 2 (2012), 77.
[113] A. Wessels, 'The Anglo-Boer War (1899 – 1902) and Its Traumatic Consequences', in P. Gobodo-Madikizela (ed.), *Breaking Intergenerational Cycles of Repetition a Global Dialogue on Historical Trauma and Memory* (Berlin: Barbara Budrich Publishers, 2016), 163.
[114] *Ibid*.
[115] W. Direko, L. Changuion, and F. Jacobs, *Suffering of War: A Photographic Portrayal of the Suffering in the Anglo-Boer War Emphasising the Universal Elements of All Wars* (Bloemfontein: Kraal Publishers for War Museum of the Boer Republics, 2003), 112.

> nature must move to a certain doom... The moral debasement which can inflict such horrible sufferings on innocent must be something appalling.[116]

Since cattle were to Boers both food and transport, *qua* flesh, milk, *biltong* (dried salted animal flesh) and draught oxen, an important part of destroying Boer military capabilities involved slaughtering cattle, sheep and goats. Sheep, goats, horses, and cattle were driven to British camps and then slaughtered. The image below depicts a scene on a Bultfontein farm where British troops had corralled hundreds of sheep from farms near the Vet and Sand Rivers, and then slaughtered them.[117] On a neighbouring farm, 300 horses were driven into a kraal and then shot.[118]

Image 4.8. Sheep slaughtered on a Bultfontein farm

Source: Direko, Changuion, and Jacobs, *Suffering of War: A Photographic Portrayal of the Suffering in the Anglo-Boer War* (Bloemfontein: Kraal Publishers for War Museum of the Boer Republics, 2003), 110.

The other major causative factor in the development of industrialised slaughter industries was the demand for animal flesh created by the mining houses' migrant labour compounds. In mining compounds in Kimberley, mineworkers were in the late nineteenth century supplied

[116] W. Hancock (ed.), *Selections from the Smuts Papers, Volume 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 408.
[117] Direko, Changuion, and Jacobs, *Suffering of War: A Photographic Portrayal of the Suffering in the Anglo-Boer War*, 110.
[118] *Ibid*.

with 450 grams of animal flesh per day.[119] By the 1920s the Corner House mining group alone would purchase 589 670 kilograms of 'flesh'/offal per month, and an estimated 80 000 cattle were killed annually to supply flesh/offal for all compounds.[120] From the late nineteenth century, as Robert Morrell put it, the '"compound contracts" constituted the single most important part of the South African beef market', and mine owners were 'anxious to procure these supplies cheaply'.[121] Comprising enormous demand for animal flesh, the gold and diamond mines thus had a tremendous influence on the expansion and development of animal agriculture in South Africa. In the coming decades, the Rand would become a centre of a regional trade in cattle flesh. For example, most of the cattle the British South Africa Company and settlers stole from the Ndebele in the late nineteenth century was sold to the Johannesburg and Kimberley markets.[122] In 1898 over £1 million worth of animal products were imported into what became South Africa.[123] By 1919 South Africa imported thousands of cattle from Southern Rhodesia, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, South West Africa, and Swaziland.[124] This persisted for decades, on South Africa's terms. In 1949, for example, 208 446 cattle were imported from these countries.[125]

Because of the size of animal flesh contracts for mine compound contracts at the turn of the twentieth century, and the mining houses' disinclination to be bound to purchase animal flesh from David Graaf's monopolistic firms, the mining houses formed their own heavily capitalised cold storage and animal flesh industry. De Beers Consolidated Investments, powered by Cecil John Rhodes and with the ear of Lord Rothschild, managed to win the British Army contract in 1902.[126]

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[119] R. Morrell, 'Farmers, Randlords and the South African State: Confrontation in the Witwatersrand Beef Markets, c. 1920-1923', *The Journal of African History* 27, 3 (1986), 514; R. Turrell, 'Kimberley's Model Compounds', *The Journal of African History* 25, 1 (1984), 69.
[120] Morrell, 'Farmers, Randlords and the South African State', 513.
[121] *Ibid*, 513, 514.
[122] I. Phimister, 'Meat and Monopolies: Beef Cattle in Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1938', *The Journal of African History* 19, 3 (1978), 396.
[123] The National Archives at Kew (hereafter TNA), CO 633/148, *Report of the Secretary for Agriculture*, 1921, 9. And, see Chapter Five.
[124] See Chapter Five.
[125] Meat Industries Control Board, *Annual Report Livestock and Meat Industries Control Board for the Period 1st September 1950 to 31 August 1951* (Pretoria, 1951), 7.
[126] Simons, *History of the Imperial Cold Storage Company*, 71.

De Beers Consolidated Mines, Johannesburg Consolidated Investments, Barnato Brothers Ltd., Lewis & Marks and others joined together to form Imperial Cold Storage Company Limited with a capitalisation of £650 000 in February 1902.[127] But Cecil Rhodes died the next month, and three months later the war ended, producing a recession and a dwindled cattle flesh market. Thus, there was no place for two gigantic over-capitalised competing flesh industries, and the mining houses' company amalgamated in 1902 with David Graaf's company, which had a nominal capital of £1 150 000, to form Imperial Cold Storage and Supply Company Limited, with a capitalisation of £2 000 000.[128] Evidenced by the sheer quantity of capital involved, these two factors, the British war contracts and the mining compound contracts, were likely the two most import driving forces in the development of regional cattle markets and industrialised slaughter institutions. After the British took control of the Boer Republics and while the Union of South Africa was being formed, the state became involved in regulating, operating and constructing public slaughterhouses. The above suggests that two factors, a large, relatively predictable local market for animal flesh, and well capitalised monopolistic industry, drove animal slaughter to become industrialised. This occurred within the context of health, sanitary, and veterinary concerns, public attitudes towards sensorily experiencing slaughterhouses, and the formation of a modern state.

The development of public slaughterhouses in South Africa, as a government report on slaughterhouses later put it, was 'inseparably connected' with state legislation, which vested the control, maintenance and management of slaughterhouses in local government authorities.[129] By the late nineteenth century in the two British colonies, Natal and the Cape, and in the northern Boer republics, Transvaal and the Orange Free State, slaughterhouses were regarded as the province of local authorities, primarily on the basis of health and hygiene considerations.[130]

At the Cape Colony, Act 23 of the 1897 Public Health Amendment Act is likely the first time a slaughterhouse was defined in legislation:

[127] *Ibid*, 74.
[128] *Ibid*, 76, 80.
[129] Union of South Africa, *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Abattoir and Allied Facilities*, 15.
[130] *Ibid*.

> 'Slaughter-house' shall mean and include the buildings and places commonly called slaughter-houses or abattoirs, and also knacker's yards and any building or place used for slaughtering, or for dressing or preparing the carcasses of cattle, horses, or animals of any description.[131]

Part III 7.4 of the Act explicitly mandated local authorities to pass by-laws to regulate and restrict: animal slaughter; the sale of flesh; the establishment and supervision of slaughterhouses; the disposal of slaughter waste; the inspection of imported flesh; and the prevention of selling diseased or 'unsound and unwholesome' flesh.[132] Sub-section 5 (a) of Section 9 of the same Act further stated that:

> Every urban local authority may from time to time make, alter, or revoke by-laws or regulations for the establishment and maintenance of public slaughterhouses or abattoirs and for regulating the use and the charge to be made for the use of the same.[133]

The Governor, on the advice of the Medical Officer of Health, or based on representations of the relevant local authority, had the authority to promulgate, amend or repeal regulations for slaughterhouses, the inspection of slaughterhouses and cold storage facilities.[134] In Natal, Act 44 of 1901 provided that the Governor-in-Council had powers to make regulations for the construction, inspection, and supervision of slaughterhouses and butcher shops.[135] In the Transvaal, the Volksraad of the Republic agreed to a 'general' public slaughterhouse for Pretoria and in 1890 determined that a single slaughterhouse for Johannesburg be constructed.[136]

After making inspections of slaughterhouses in the Cape, colonial veterinary surgeon Duncan Hutcheon reported in 1902 on the need for state-run, centralised public slaughterhouses. He wrote:

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[131] E. Jackson, *Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 1894-1905 (Volume III)* (Cape Town: Cape Times Limited, Government Printers, 1906), 3742.
[132] *Ibid*, 3743–3744
[133] *Ibid*, 3743–3745.
[134] *Ibid*, 3477–3478.
[135] Union of South Africa, *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Abattoir and Allied Facilities*, 16.
[136] *Ibid*.

> There is nothing more urgently needed at our large centres than one or more properly-constructed and fully-equipped Public Abattoirs placed under Government inspection and control. The majority of the slaughter-houses around Cape Town and other centres are kept in a most disgraceful condition.[137]

Not long after this, in the Cape, the Public Health Amendment Act of 1906, enabled the establishment of a committee – comprising various municipal and local authorities, health officers, veterinary officials, public works officials, and the mayor – to acquire, provision, and maintain and use public slaughterhouses 'and all matters or things in connection therewith'.[138] It was this law that enabled the emergence of an intersectoral committee to manage and establish an industrial slaughterhouse in the Cape, and which bore profound experiential consequences for cattle.

On 9 October 1907, a new institution, the Joint Slaughterhouses Committee, met to discuss and begin to actualise the establishment of a public slaughterhouse in the Cape peninsula.[139] Municipal representatives from Woodstock, Cape Town city, Maitland, and Rondebosch, as well as the government veterinary surgeon, the city engineer, and the Cape Town clerk were present. The formation signalled that the state had begun to institutionalise the construction, operation, maintenance, planning and running of slaughterhouses as the exclusive preserve of local municipalities. They wanted mass slaughter to be centralised, meet hygiene standards, and be positioned out of the public's sensory range, near to a railway.

Informed by specific legislation, the emergence of public slaughterhouses was to be underpinned by intersectoral cooperation between diverse arms of state. The cooperation between different state departments can be read as a form of state-building. From a bovine perspective, various arms of a consolidating state started to develop and entrench centralised public institutions – public slaughterhouses – to maintain and perpetuate the mass slaughter of cattle and other domesticated animals.

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[137] D. Hutcheon, *Report of the Colonial Veterinary Surgeon for the Year 1902* (Cape Town: Cape of Good Hope Department of Agriculture, 1903), 15.
[138] CA, 1 1/4/7/2/1/1. Joint Slaughterhouses Committee Minute Book (hereafter JSCMB) 1907 – 1913. Annexure 'A' Agreement, 125.
[139] CA, 1 1/4/7/2/1/1. JSCMB 1907 – 1913. Minutes, 9 October 1907.

For the first five years the primary activity of the Joint Slaughterhouses Committee's sub-committee, mostly chaired by the Mayor of Cape Town, was formulating and executing a plan to construct a new mega public slaughterhouse for Cape Town.[140] From the start, the ambition was to construct a new public slaughterhouse in Maitland, which would be accessible to the nearby railway. The development of the public slaughterhouse comprised the work of a confluence of specialists, including veterinary surgeons, architects, builders, town engineers, and medical professionals.

The first record of a slaughterhouse in Maitland is from 1897, in correspondence between the Department of Public Works' clerk of works and an architect, when a building at 7th Mile in Maitland was inspected and then converted into a makeshift slaughterhouse to slaughter cattle during the rinderpest epidemic.[141] Again, between 1908 and 1914, buildings were rented by the Department of Agriculture to slaughter cattle infected with Tuberculosis. [142]

In conceptualising the new public institution, the committee wanted to determine the extent of its required killing capacities. The Cape Government Railways communicated to the Joint Slaughterhouses Committee that for the year 1907 the following numbers of living animals were transported to Maitland for slaughter: oxen and cattle, 6 749; sheep and goats, 151 301; pigs, 5 044; and calves, 119.[143] The numbers of animal carcasses received at Cape Town via Tulbagh road and Porterville road were: cattle, 2 847; sheep and goats, 38 843; and pigs, 56.[144] These numbers were the basis on which the slaughter-and processing-capacities of the new public slaughterhouse were to be determined. On such a reckoning, it would be required to slaughter and dismember around 204 959 animals per year, or 561 a day, or 70 animals an hour, or more than one animal per minute.[145]

[140] CA, 1 1/4/7/2/1/1, JSCMB, 1907 – 1913.
[141] CA, PWD. 1/4/2 Rinderpest – Maitland Slaughterhouses 1897 December – 1898 August.
[142] CA, CVS, 1/77 Slaughter Houses. Maitland. 4 December 1908 to 18 November 1914.
[143] CA, 1 1/4/7/2/1/1. JSCMB 1907 – 1913. 'Re Public Slaughterhouses meeting: 19 May 1906', 52.
[144] Ibid.
[145] 6 749 oxen and cattle + 151 301 sheep and goats + 5 044 pigs + 119 calves + 2 847 cattle carcasses + 38 843 sheep and goat carcasses + 56 pig carcasses = 204 959 animals. 204 959 ÷ 365 days ÷ 8 hours ÷ 60 minutes = a required slaughter capacity of 1,16 animals per minute, assuming that the slaughterhouse operated for every minute of eight hours per day for 365 days a year.

The slaughterhouse was to be designed to be expanded.[146] By 1911 it was decided that the slaughterhouse would be constructed at Nieuwe Molen, near the Swartrivier in Maitland, at a cost to the municipalities of no more than £35 000.[147] The South African Railways Administration and the committee were authorised to enter an agreement for constructing railway slidings to transport animals to the new slaughterhouse.[148]

By 1912 the tender of two architects, of the firm Messrs Lyon and Fallon, to erect buildings and drainage, and secure its fittings, was accepted by the committee.[149] The two architects were Walter Fallon and John Lyon, who trained in England and Scotland, respectively. Walter Fallon was admitted into the Royal Institute of British Architecture in 1907, and worked in London.[150] John Lyon studied at Gray's School of Art, Aberdeen, and was apprenticed in London and Aberdeen.[151] The first public slaughterhouse in Johannesburg was completed between 1906 and 1910 in Newtown.[152] There, as in the Cape, the human capital for designing slaughterhouses came from Europe. At the turn of the twentieth century, Johannesburg's town engineer, Charles Aburrow, constructed paved streets, public baths, fire stations, drainage systems, and slaughterhouses.[153] He had come to Kimberley from the United Kingdom in the late 1870s, to work for the London & South African Exploration Company.[154] G. Burt Andrews, who helped implement Johannesburg's sewage system, was from England, where he had worked with the Bournemouth Improvement Councillors and at the Hornsey Local Board in London.[155] Before, he had worked as deputy town engineer to town engineer D. Leitch, and D. Leitch had previously been an assistant director of the Architectural and Engineering works in the Admiralty.[156] The intellectual and human capital required to design and build the first public slaughterhouses in what became South Africa were colonial imports

[146] CA, 1 1/4/7/2/1/1. JSCMB 1907 – 1913. Minutes, 12 June 1908.
[147] CA, 1 1/4/7/2/1/1. JSCMB 1907 – 1913. Minutes, 21 September 1911.
[148] CA, 1 1/4/7/2/1/1. JSCMB 1907 – 1913. Minutes, 6 January 1913.
[149] CA, 1 1/4/7/2/1/1. JSCMB 1907 – 1913. Minutes, 31 August 1912.
[150] A. Brodie, *Directory of British Architects, 1834 – 1914, Volume 2* (London: Continuum, 2001), 476.
[151] Artefacts Website, 'Lyon, John. Architect', *Artefacts Website*, https://www.artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/archframes.php?archid=1022 (accessed 6 January 2020).
[152] E. Cripps, 'Provisioning Johannesburg, 1886-1910' (Master's Thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria, 2012), 14, 119–20.
[153] H. Mäki and J. Harhoff, 'Municipal Engineers in Johannesburg and Pretoria before 1910', *The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa* 5, 2 (2009), 234, 240, 245.
[154] *Ibid*.
[155] *Ibid*, 242–43.
[156] Mäki and Harhoff, 'Municipal Engineers in Johannesburg', 243.

from England.[157] Public slaughterhouses emerged in the years after the gold discovery and the South African War, when British colonial administrators deepened state-building processes.

Because it was the newest and one of the foremost books on slaughterhouse design in English at the time, it is highly likely that both John Lyon and Walter Fallon consulted Stephen Ayling's *Public Abattoirs: their Planning, Design, and Equipment* (1908) for their design of the Maitland slaughterhouse.[158] A wide range of books on slaughterhouses had been published in English but none had anywhere near the level of architectural detail or number of slaughterhouse designs in Stephen Ayling's book.[159] Stephen Ayling was a member of the Royal Institute of British Architects. In his book, he produced architectural plans for seventeen public slaughterhouses across England, Scotland and France, and included detailed descriptions of their planning, design, layout and functions.[160] Five features that are common to the function and design of slaughterhouses described by Stephen Ayling are lairs (kraals), slaughter halls, dressing rooms, suspension rooms, and, after ammonia refrigeration's invention in the late nineteenth century, cooling chambers.

The new Maitland slaughterhouse had all of these features.[161] There were lairages, or kraals, where cattle, calves, pigs, goats, and sheep would wait. There were main slaughter halls and dressing halls, there was a main cooling hall, a cold storage block, fitted with a Linde Ammonia Refrigerator Plant, a pig slaughter hall and cooling chamber, a tripery, a blood and offal house, a destructor house for incinerating diseased animal flesh and converting it into fertiliser, and a drainage facility, to wash away the animals' excrements and unusable offal.[162] The fittings and chill room plant were modelled on the Johannesburg slaughterhouse at Newtown.[163] In

[157] E. Cripps, 'Provisioning Johannesburg, 1886-1910', 118–19. Elizabeth Cripps shows that in 1895 the Johannesburg town engineer C. Aburrow was attempting to model slaughterhouses and sanitation infrastructure on those in England.
[158] S. Ayling, *Public Abattoirs: Their Planning, Design, and Equipment* (London: E & F.N Spon, 1908).
[159] R. Grantham, *Description of the Abattoirs of Paris* (London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1849); C. Cameron, *Report on the Establishment of Public Abattoirs* (Dublin: Joseph Dollard, 1867); R. Grantham, *A Treatise on the Public Slaughter-Houses* (London: J. Weale and Henry Renshaw, 1884); O. Schwarz, *Public Abattoirs and Cattle Markets*, trans. G. Harrap and L. Douglas (London: Ice Cold Storage Company, 1902); H. Heiss, *The German Abattoir System* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1907); C. Cash, *Our Slaughterhouse System: A Plea for Reform* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1907); Ayling, *Public Abattoirs: Their Planning, Design, and Equipment*, 40–80.
[160] Ayling, *Public Abattoirs: Their Planning, Design, and Equipment*, 40–80.
[161] CA, 1 1/4/7/2/1/1. JSCMB 1907 – 1913. Minutes, 24 December 1912.
[162] Ibid; CA, 1 1/4/7/2/1/1. JSCMB 1907 – 1913. Minutes 21 January 1913.
[163] CA, 1 1/4/7/2/1/1. JSCMB 1907 – 1913. Minutes, 24 December 1912.

1914 members of the Cape Institute of Architects visited and approvingly inspected the new slaughterhouse at Nieuwe Molen Maitland, which they found 'instructive'.[164]

Cape Town's previous major slaughterhouse, the Shambles, was a crude building used from the late seventeenth century until the 1890s, with little substantial change. By contrast, in the early twentieth century, the centralised public slaughterhouse in Maitland was a state-run mass slaughter institution. Against the backdrop of specific laws, it was conceptualised by a specific slaughterhouse committee, at times headed by the mayor of Cape Town, and comprising engineers, health and veterinary professionals and the town clerk. The slaughterhouse was designed by professional architects who were trained in Britain and Scotland. The South African Railways Administration too was involved. The Maitland public slaughterhouse signalled the emergence of industrialised animal slaughter in the Cape. For cattle history this development was profound. It meant that, with the backing of state and local bylaws, various arms of state had institutionalised practices of mass slaughtering cattle, sheep, goats, and pigs. There were now centralised, state-operated institutions in Johannesburg and Cape Town to mass slaughter cattle.

According to the national government's *Report of the Meat Trade Commission*, by 1920, in the Cape peninsula, 'all slaughtering' was performed at the Maitland slaughterhouse.[165] The chilling room had a capacity for 200 cattle carcasses and 1 000 sheep carcasses, and butchers could keep the carcasses there for up to seven days.[166] Thereafter the carcasses were carried to all parts of the peninsula on wagons.[167] As a further indignity, cattle and horses were thus tasked with transporting their butchered kin across the peninsula.

Around the time the Maitland municipal slaughterhouse was built, and over the next two decades, public industrial slaughterhouses in the Cape Colony started to proliferate. These were designed for municipalities in Mafikeng (1909),[168] Oudtshoorn (1912),[169] Caledon

[164] *The African Architect* 3, 12 (1914), 336.
[165] Union of South Africa, *Report of the Meat Trade Commission* (Pretoria: Cape Times Limited, Government Printers, 1920), 22.
[166] *Ibid*.
[167] *Ibid*, 23.
[168] CA, M3/4584.
[169] CA, M2/2402.

(1915),[170] Stellenbosch (1917),[171] George (1921),[172] Colesberg (1923),[173] Paarl (1924),[174] Queenstown (1924),[175] East London (1924),[176] Calvinia (1927),[177] Somerset Strand (1927),[178] Knysna (1927),[179] Wynberg (1928),[180] Strand (1928),[181] Braeside (1928),[182] Wellington (1929),[183] and De Aar (1934),[184] for example.

Across South Africa, there was variation in the development of slaughterhouses. In Newtown, Johannesburg, there was a centralised state-run slaughterhouse by 1910.[185] There were municipal slaughterhouses in Durban and Pietermaritzburg by the 1920s.[186] In Kimberley, there was no state-run slaughterhouse, and animals were instead slaughtered at nine private slaughterhouses.[187] In Bloemfontein there was a municipal slaughterhouse, and municipal cold storage facilities.[188] With varying success, the region's behemoth animal flesh company, Imperial Cold Storage and Supply Company, in the 1920s set up export slaughterhouses in Walvis Bay, South West Africa (1922), Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia (1925), and Lobatse, Bechuanaland (1927).[189]

It is crucial to emphasise from a bovine historical perspective that over this period animal killing became an industrialised process. The public slaughterhouse was but one institution, dramatically impactful for domesticated animals, that emerged within a broader shift from

[170] CA, M3/959.
[171] CA, M3/4842.
[172] CA, M1/3889.
[173] CA, M1/1468.
[174] CA, M2/2189.
[175] CA, M2/2549.
[176] CA, M3/3731.
[177] CA, M2/1628.
[178] CA, M2/2675.
[179] CA, M3/4869.
[180] CA, M2/1629.
[181] CA, M2/2436.
[182] CA, M3/4476.
[183] CA, M2/2352.
[184] CA, M3/1577.
[185] Cripps, 'Provisioning Johannesburg, 1886-1910', 14, 119–20.
[186] Union of South Africa, *Report of the Meat Trade Commission*, 21.
[187] *Ibid*.
[188] *Ibid*.
[189] M. Hubbard, 'Desperate Games: Bongola Smith, the Imperial Cold Storage Company and Bechuanaland's Beef, 1931', *Botswana Notes and Records* 13 (1981), 19. See Chapter Five for a discussion of the Lobatse slaughterhouse in Bechuanaland.

agrarian to industrial systems that occurred alongside and in wake of the industrial revolution in Europe.[190] The new public slaughterhouses were usually outside of towns and were state-regulated, out of sight, beyond the perceptual range of most humans.[191] In her social history of slaughterhouses, Amy Fitzgerald notes that the industrialisation of animal slaughter was exemplified by the Union Stockyard in Chicago in the late nineteenth century.[192] Developments in refrigerated storage and transport, observed above in the Cape, enabled this shift. The slaughter process became increasingly mechanised, involving conveyor belt systems to increase speed, efficiency and killing capabilities.[193]

No less than Henry Ford's assembly-line production, in his own words, emerged from inspiration he gained while visiting the Chicago slaughterhouses as a young man. Speaking of his first assembly line attempt in 1913, he says:

> I believe that this was the first moving line ever installed…. The idea [of the assembly line] came in a general way from the overhead trolley that the Chicago packers use in dressing beef.[194]

It was industrialised slaughterhouses in Chicago that provided models for Fordist factory production lines.

Industrial slaughterhouses, cattle's experiences, and new slaughter legislation, 1915–1935

Having traced the development of slaughterhouses in the Cape, this section moves to an analysis of public slaughterhouses by examining architectural designs and the various parts and functions of these institutions. The analysis is informed by first-hand accounts of slaughterhouses in the Cape, undertaken by the SPCA and journalists for *Die Burger* newspaper. It offers an attempt to get *into* the slaughterhouse, with an eye to making reasoned inferences about what cattle likely experienced.

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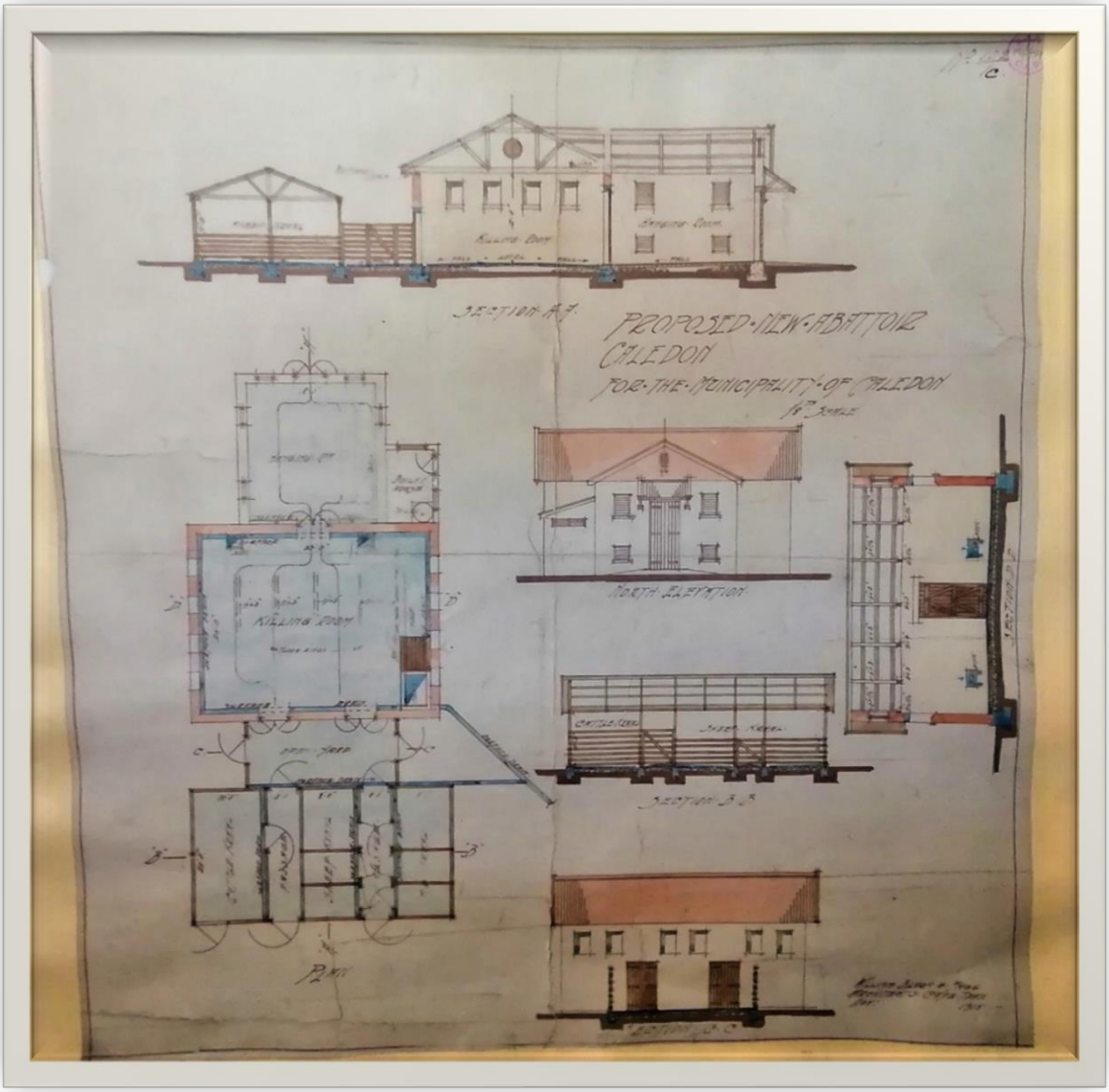
[190] Fitzgerald, 'A Social History of the Slaughterhouse', 59.
[191] *Ibid*, 59–60.
[192] *Ibid*, 58, 60.
[193] *Ibid*, 61.
[194] H. Ford, *My Life and Work* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1923), 81.

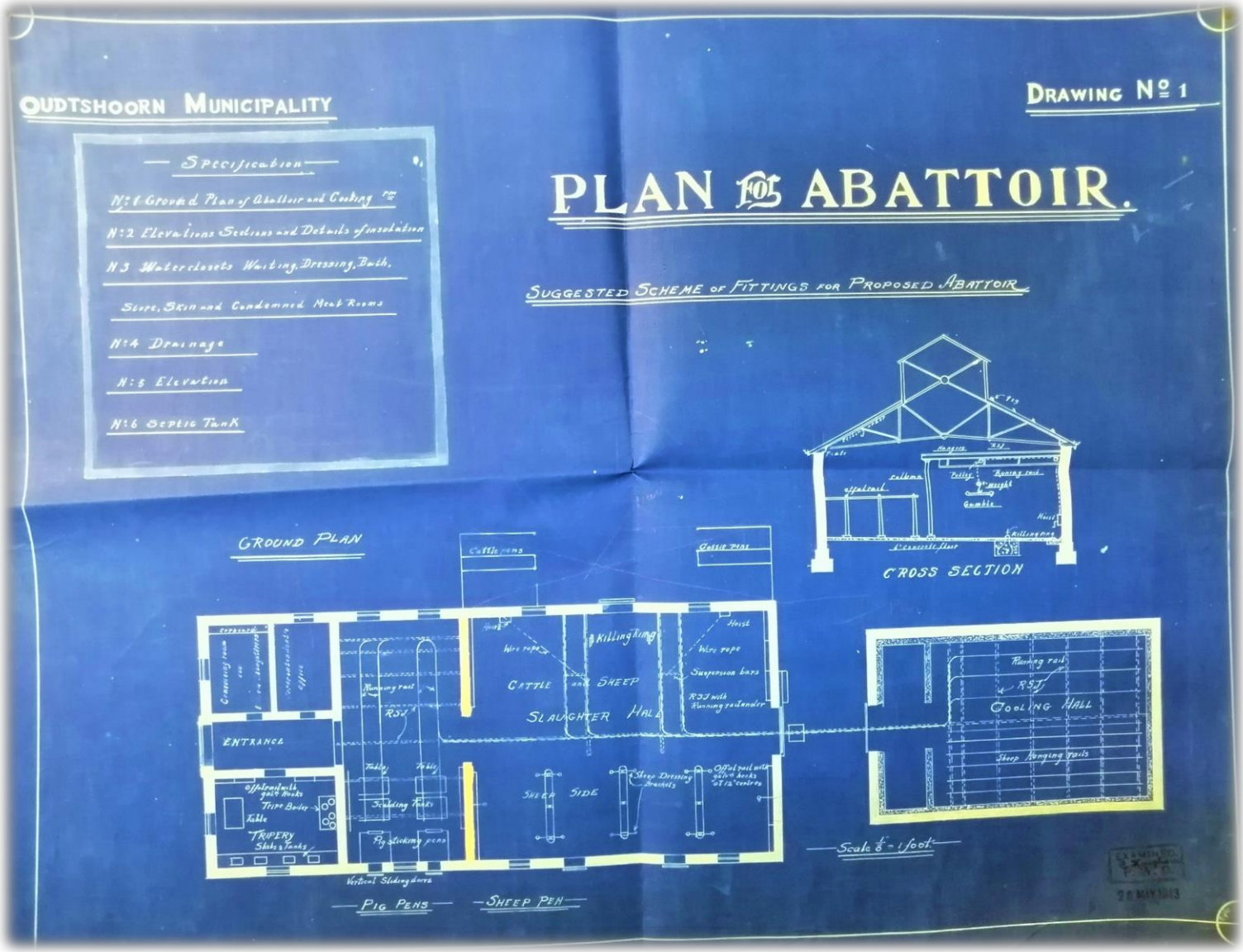
The following images are designs of public slaughterhouses in the Cape during the first three decades of the twentieth century.

Image 4.9. Public slaughterhouse design, Caledon 1915



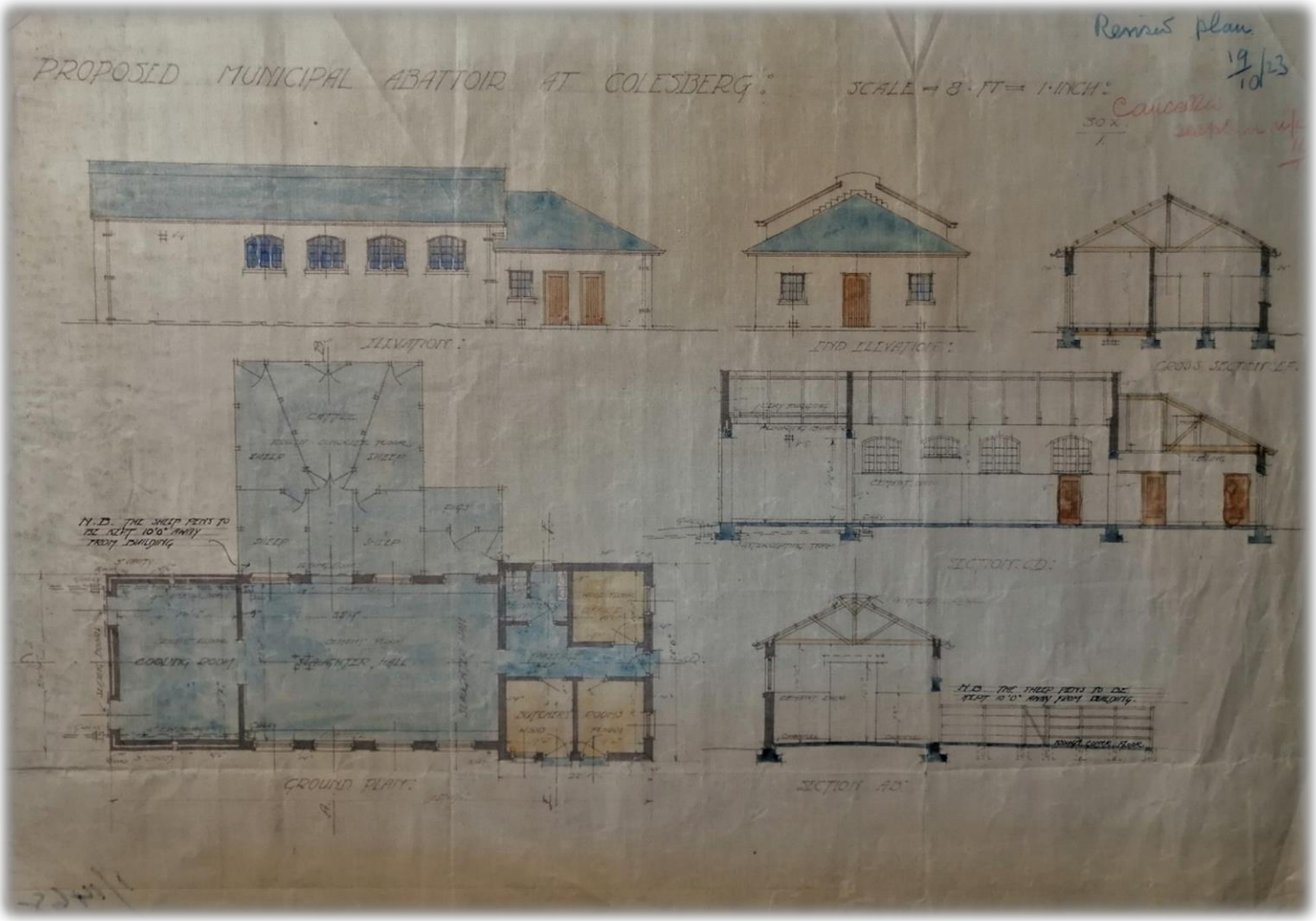
Source: CA, M3/959.

Image 4.10. Public slaughterhouse design, Oudtshoorn 1913



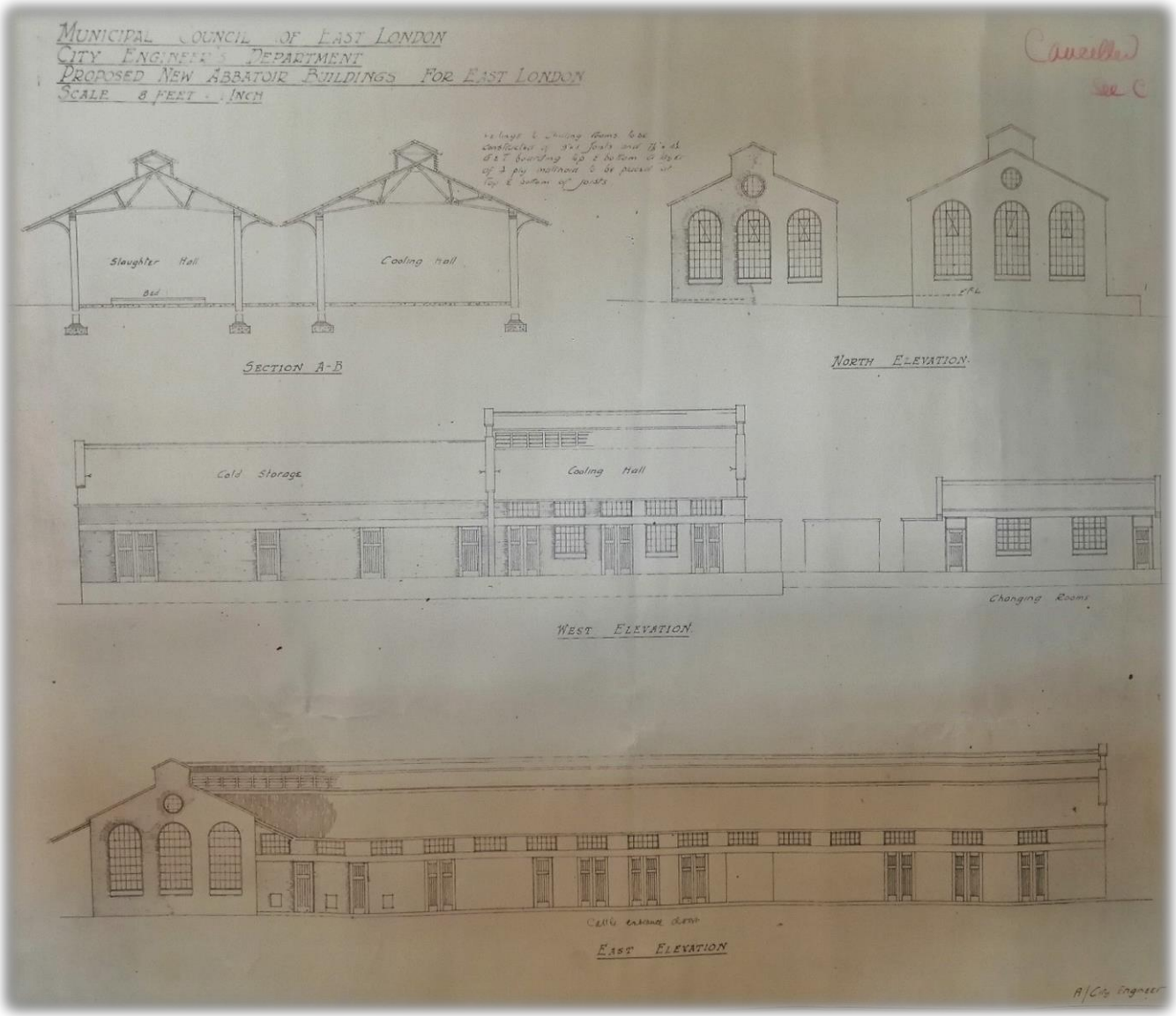
Source: CA, M2/2399-2400.

Image 4.11. Public slaughterhouse design, Colesberg 1923



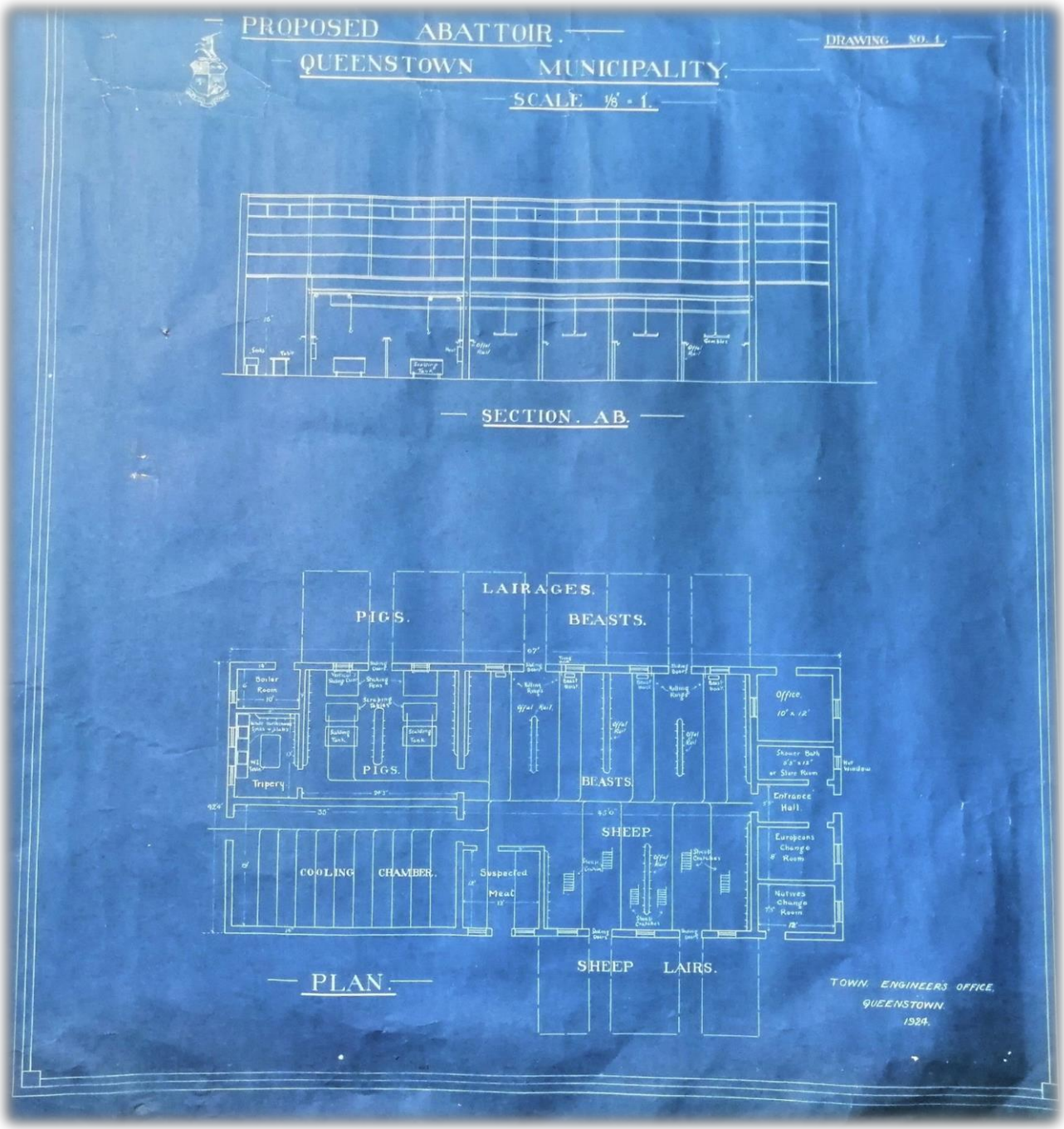
Source: CA, M1/1468.

Image 4.12. Public slaughterhouse design, East London 1925



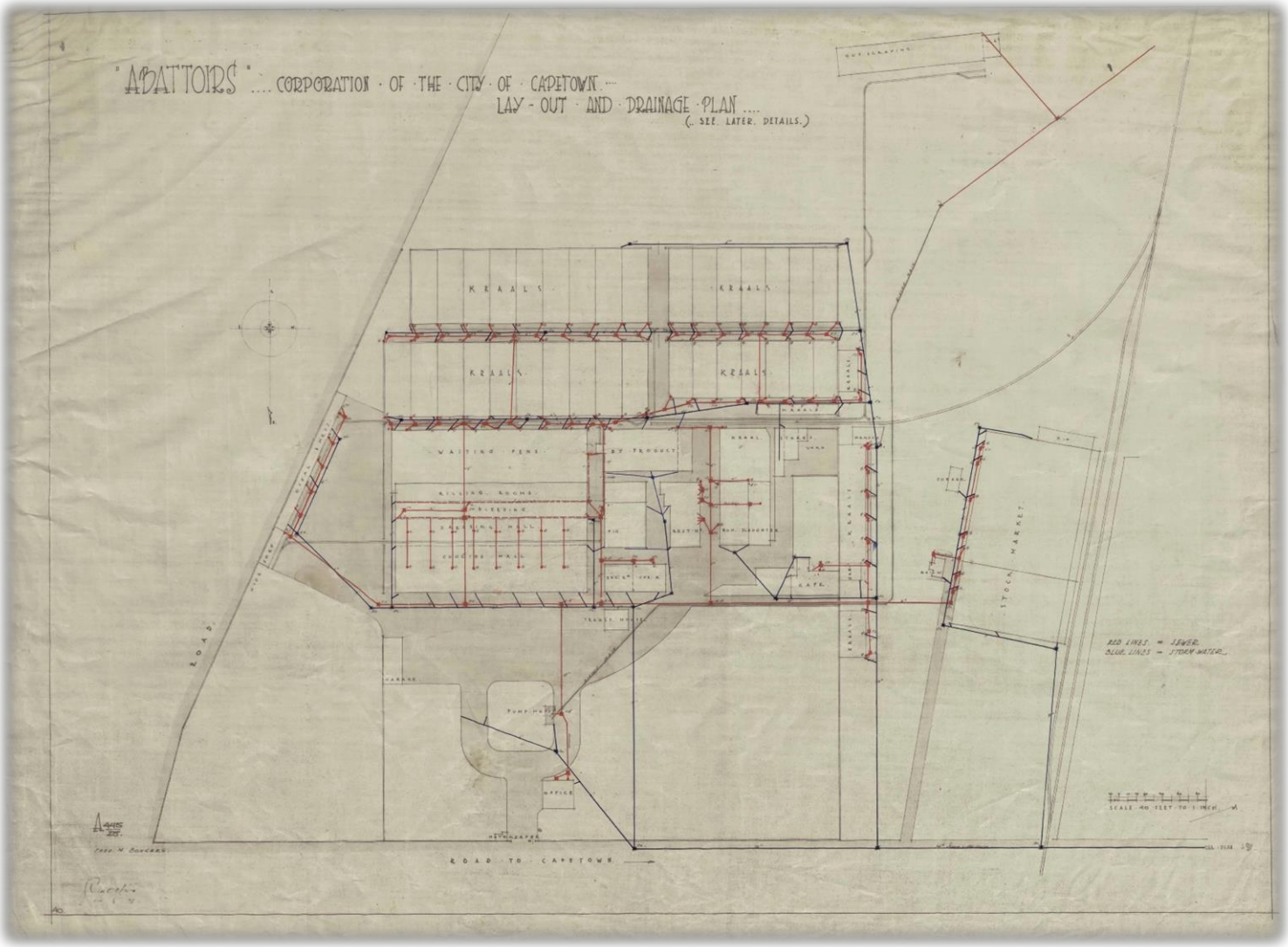
Source: CA, M3/3733.

Image 4.13. Public slaughterhouse design, Queenstown 1924



Source: CA, M2/2566.

Image 4.14. Public slaughterhouse design, Maitland 1928



Source: CA, M3/4561.

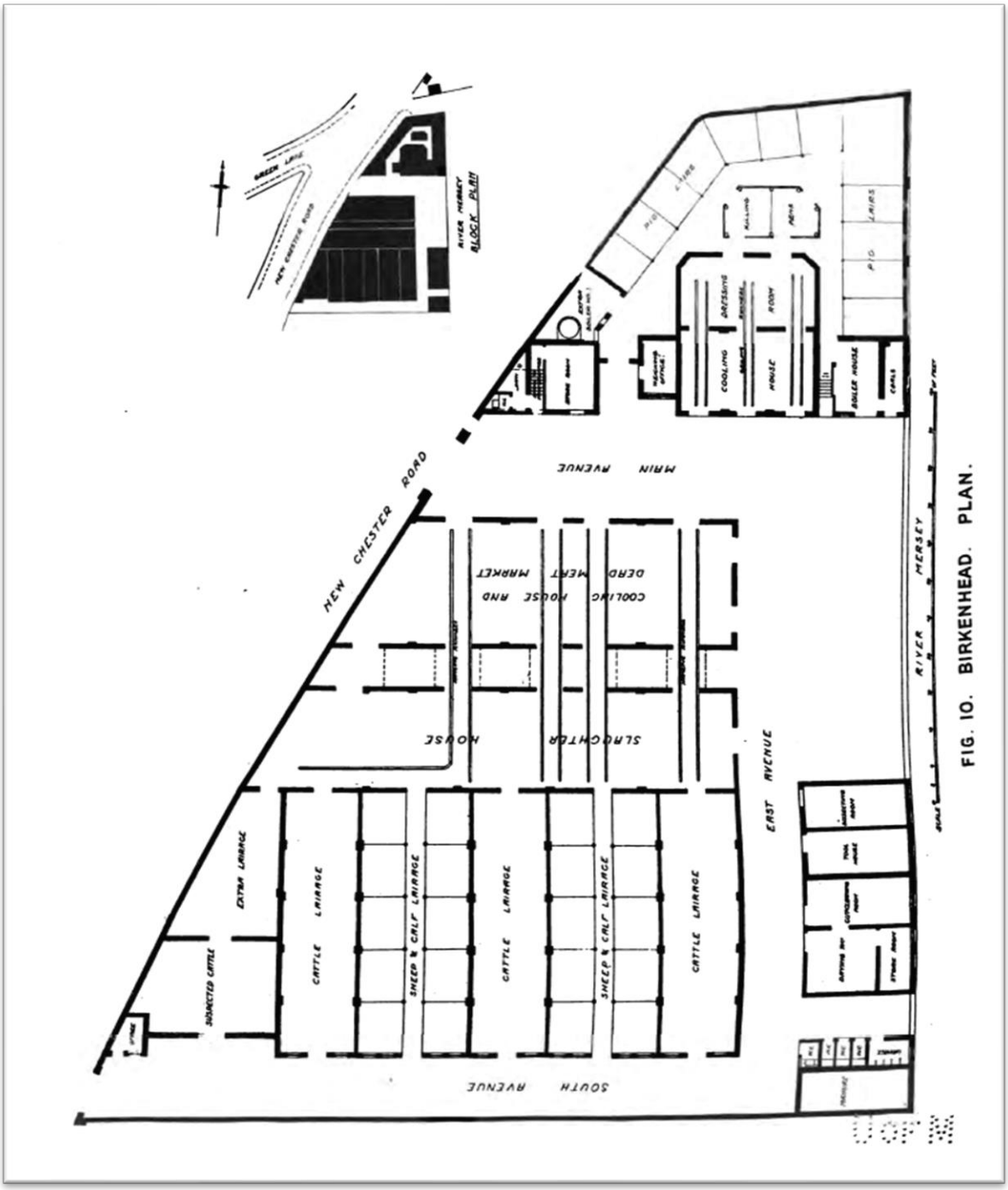
As can be observed in the above images, the exteriors of the buildings are drab and nondescript, unremarkable – like anonymous warehouses. This is reflected clearly in the designs of the Colesberg, Oudtshoorn, Queenstown and East London slaughterhouses. Second, there is what Chris Otter calls a 'directional logic', a kind of flow chart process, through which the animals passed.[195] They, the animals, began the process in the kraals, as breathing, moving, listening, smelling, feeling mammals. They had to pass through many gates and kraals on the journey to the slaughter halls. After that, by way of a winch, they were hoisted by their hocks onto hooks on overhead rails. In this way, they were conveyed to the

[195] Otter, 'Civilizing Slaughter', 39, 48.

dressing hall. Next, they were eviscerated, and then sawn or axed in two, lengthwise, and then conveyed to cooling chambers. They, cattle, went in as richly sentient subjects, they exited as cooled dismembered objects. That was and is the logic of an industrial slaughterhouse.

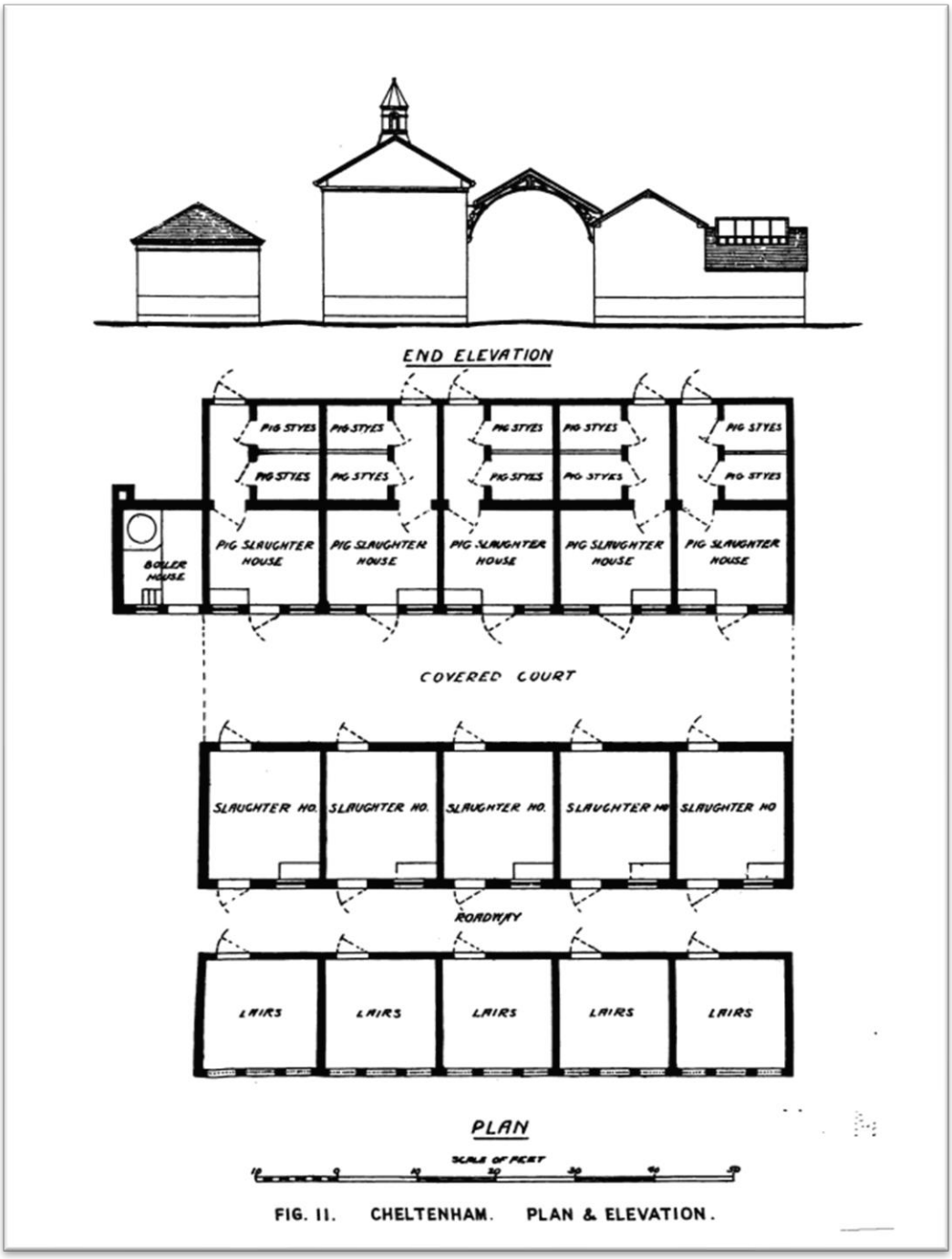
The Cape's early twentieth century public slaughterhouses, shown above, appear modelled on various British public slaughterhouses, shown below. The following two British slaughterhouses, a larger one in Birkenhead and a smaller one in Cheltenham, both from the late nineteenth century, indicate similarities to the Cape slaughterhouses.

Image 4.15. Birkenhead medium-sized public slaughterhouse, 1887



Source: Ayling, *Public Abattoirs: Their Planning, Design, and Equipment*, 55.

Image 4.16. Cheltenham small public slaughterhouse 1891



Source: Ayling, *Public Abattoirs: Their Planning, Design, and Equipment,* 67.

There are clear design commonalities between the Cape and British public slaughterhouses; Cheltenham's is similar to Queenstown, Outsdoorn, and Colesberg's, while Maitland's is similar to Birkenhead's. The slaughterhouses contain the following core features. There are kraals, corridors from kraals to slaughter halls, slaughter halls or killing floors, carcass dressing

rooms, suspension facilities, cooling chambers, and administrative blocks. In the section that follows, different features of public slaughterhouses are described in terms of their function. Where possible, investigative accounts of different steps in the process inform the descriptions. The objective is to use this method of description, paired with a recognition of cattle's mind and biology, to offer insights into cattle's likely historical experiences of public slaughterhouses.

Kraals, or lairs or lairages, are fenced or walled enclosures. These are annexes to the slaughter chambers, where animals wait. Cattle in kraals saw and heard and smelled their fellows and kin diminish in number. Cattle were moved from kraal to kraal by compulsion. A common method was securing a metal 'chain round the horns and dragging [cattle] to the ring in the floor to kill [them]'.[196] Otherwise, 'a good deal of striking with iron rods' so that cattle were compelled through the corridors to the killing floor, was deployed, as an investigation by the SPCA in the East London slaughterhouse exposed.[197] Extreme force was a constant variable in this process, since no animal willingly walked into a slaughter chamber. Cattle were dragged to slaughter halls, not by a solitary butcher, but by 'gangs' of slaughter men.[198]

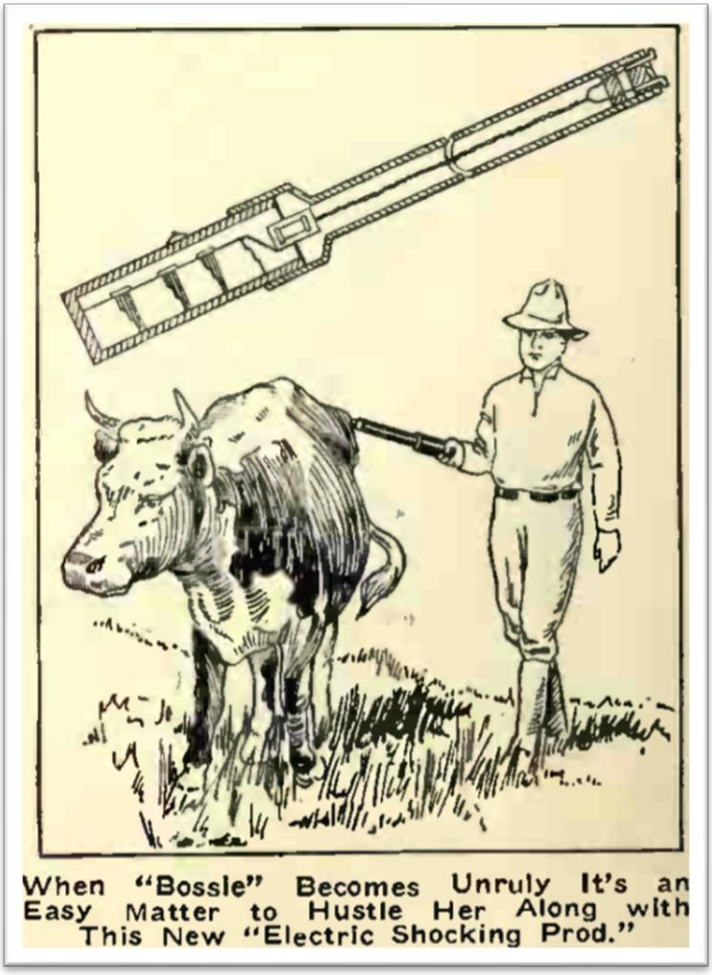
The Cape SPCA's 1917 report on investigations of the Maitland slaughterhouse, 'based on frequent visits' is illustrative. It noted that getting cattle to the slaughter hall involved 'dragging cattle through several gate-ways before finally getting them into [the] slaughter house' and that cattle confined at the end kraal on the west side 'have to be taken through no less than 5 gate-ways before finally arriving in the passage to the slaughter house.'[199] All of the designs above show multiple gates through which some animals would have to pass.
The manager of the slaughterhouses committee was no doubt uneasy about the method of dragging cattle to the slaughter halls. In response to a previous complaint by the SPCA, addressed to the town clerk, he wrote: 'If the Society would point out a better method of bringing animals into the kraals and killing bays, and a kinder method of killing them, they

[196] CA, 3/ELN. 259. Investigations at abattoir. SPCA inspector to SPCA secretary, 'Report re abattoir', 5 December 1922.
[197] Ibid.
[198] CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. Markets and Slaughterhouses Committee (hereafter MSC) 1928 – 1931. Manager and veterinary officer to town clerk, 'Report on Die Burger article', 8 August 1931.
[199] CA, 3/CT vol. 4/1/3/6. SPCA secretary to town clerk, 'Secretary's report on municipal abattoirs', 8 February, 1918.

could rest assured of the hearty support of the Councils[’] employees’.[200] Five years later the SPCA would recommend the use of a captive bolt piston, as discussed below.

Records of the Maitland slaughterhouse income show that in 1931 ‘electric sticks’ were hired to slaughter men for £5 a month.[201] These were likely used to goad cattle by electric shock to the slaughter halls. At the time, these were not yet widely used in slaughterhouses in South Africa, but they had been patented and in use in Texan slaughterhouses from 1917, where their main use was ‘to hasten the movements of the cattle thru [sic] the abattoirs’.[202]

Image 4.17. Electric cattle prod, 1917



Source: ‘An Electric “Prod” for Animals’, *The Electrical Experimenter*, April 1917, 878.

[200] CA, 3/CT vol. 4/1/3/6. Maitland abattoir manager to town clerk, 18 September 1917.
[201] CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. MSC. Comparative statement July 1931 & 1930.
[202] ‘An Electric “Prod” for Animals’, *The Electrical Experimenter*, April 1917, 878.

The caption is striking in that the cow's name 'Bossle' is used, which suggests a kind of familiarity with her. The word 'Unruly' betrays a victim-blaming mentality, in that it suggests that Bossle deserves to be shocked with an electric prod. The placement of the prod at Bossle's anus is likely not accidental, given the organ's preponderance of sensitive nerve endings. In Timothy Pachirat's ethnographic slaughterhouse investigations, he reported that electric cattle prods were used 'extensively', including 'sticking them under the animals' tails and into their anuses'.[203]

Animals in kraals were exposed to the smells and sounds which accompanied both compelled movement towards the slaughter hall and the slaughtering itself. As the Admiralty Commission into slaughterhouses noted with respect to British slaughterhouses, on which the Cape's public slaughter houses were modelled: 'there is no doubt that cattle especially, frequently show great reluctance to enter the slaughter chamber, and can only be dragged in by employment of considerable force'; the commission opined further that the 'presumption is that what they [cattle] chiefly object to is the smell of blood'.[204] Of course, cattle do not only have olfactory perception, they can also hear, see, and feel. Cattle heard the cries of their kin and fellows as they were beaten with rods, dragged by their chained horns, and pithed with spikes.

An East London resident wrote to the Town Clerk in 1922 to 'protest' the 'heart-rendering bellowing of cattle' he heard on Sunday mornings, which he found 'most distressing'. He further described the stench of 'putrid offal' being carted past his home as 'abominable'. He, the resident, recommended that the slaughterhouse be moved 'elsewhere', preferably 'as far away from the Town as possible'.[205] Whatever the resident's domicile proximity to the slaughterhouse was, it was not as close as the kraals outside the slaughterhouse, where the cattle waited. Thus, on the basis that cattle and humans share comparable auditory and olfactory capacities, we can reasonably infer that cattle heard the death cries of their kin or fellows, and smelled their entrails as they were carted away from the slaughterhouses.

[203] Pachirat, *Every Twelve Seconds*, 145.
[204] Ayling, *Public Abattoirs: Their Planning, Design, and Equipment*, 41.
[205] CA, 3/ELN. 259. Investigations at abattoir. W.B Magennis to town clerk, 're Abattoir', 6 December 1922.

Slaughter halls or killing floors are where cattle were killed. Humans who ate cattle and other animals did not like to see the animal's blood on the animal's flesh. Thus, as in previous private slaughterhouses or butchers' shops, a primary feature of a slaughter hall was exsanguination, or bleeding out. To do this a butcher's knife was inserted into the cattle's neck, and the carotid artery and jugular vein were sliced. These blood channels convey blood from the cattle's heart to their brain, face and neck, and from their brain, face, and neck to their heart, respectively. Severing these two channels with a knife thus allowed maximal blood to drain in the shortest time.

In the slaughter halls, cattle were restrained and then slaughtered. Three methods were used.[206] All involved slitting the cattle's throat, but one first involved stunning the cattle with a poleaxe or pithing lance, so that she was first rendered insensible, and then her main heart-linked artery and vein were severed.[207] The three methods used in the Cape slaughterhouses were the kosher method, the halal method, and what one might call the secular or non-ritual method.[208] The first, *shechitàh,* is slaughtering kosher mammals (ruminative ungulates) like sheep, goats, and cattle, via an incision that severs the animal's trachea, oesophagus, jugular arteries and carotid veins. It is performed using a *Chalaf* (*Shechitàh* knife) by slaughterers of the Jewish faith (shochet). Animals are to be fully conscious during this process.[209] No stunning is permitted. There is variation in halal slaughter methods across different times and regions, and different scholars and religious officials have disagreed about the exact nature of how halal slaughter should be conducted.[210] In the Maitland slaughterhouse, the interpretation was that the animals were not to be stunned or rendered insensible prior to slaughter, meaning that their throats were slit while fully conscious.[211] Indeed up until 1928 some 80% of animals slaughtered at Maitland were permitted to be slaughtered via the halal method of killing the animal while conscious.[212] The non-ritual method involved rendering the animal

[206] CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. MSC 1928 – 1931. Slaughtering operations February 1931, 3 March 1931.
[207] CA, 3/CT vol. 4/1/3/6. Secretary for Agriculture to town clerk, 17 November 1917.
[208] See CA, CSC 2/1/1/213, Colonel Crease, vs. Town Council of Cape Town, 15 June 1883; CA, 3/CT vol. 4/1/3/6. SPCA Secretary of SPCA to town clerk, 8 February 1918; CA, 1/4/7/3/1/10 MSC index 1926 – 1927: Meeting of 6 April 1926, 1–2. The term used in these materials for the non-ritual method is 'Christian'.
[209] G. Bozzo *et al*., 'Kosher Slaughter Paradigms: Evaluation of Slaughterhouse Inspection Procedures', *Meat Science* 128 (2017), 30.
[210] F. Armonios and E. Boğaç, *Halal Food: A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 63.
[211] CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. MSC 1928 – 1931. Minutes: slaughtering of animals, 12 February 1929, 55.
[212] CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. MSC 1928 – 1931. Memorandum of interview between Mayor, Councillors and Mohammedan butchers, 5 June 1929.

unconscious before the throat slitting. The reason was that while unconscious and insensate, the animal's heart could still beat and thus their blood could be drained.

A 1917 SPCA investigation into the Maitland slaughterhouse included a description of the kosher method, and described an observed case where 'an ox was kept for 25 minutes tied down with its [sic] head strained back and its [sic] legs in the air' before having his throat slit.[213] In response to the town clerk, regarding the SPCA investigation, the Maitland municipal slaughterhouse manager noted that all except two butchers used the kosher or halal method.[214] The two butchers who rendered the animals insensible before slitting their throats, unable to acquire 'humane killer' ammunition, used the 'pithing' method.[215] Pithing is a process whereby an animal is rendered insensible or immobile by thrusting a javelin or spike through the back animal's skull above their neck and into their brain.

No less than the Secretary for Agriculture received the SPCA's investigative report, and wrote to the town clerk, noting that:

> the manner in which the slaughtering of cattle is carried out in some of the abattoirs leaves much to be desired. It seems to be the unanimous opinion that the most humane method of slaughtering cattle is by means of "pithing", provided the "pither" is an expert. Unfortunately, however, from reports to hand it is evident that in a large number of cases the man employed to do the "pithing" is anything but expert, with the result that a great deal of unnecessary cruelty is practiced.[216]

The Maitland slaughterhouse manager himself wrote to the Town Clerk requesting a regulation to be issued stating:

> That all animals being slaughtered for export must be stunned, either by pole axe, humane killer, or pithing, prior to having their throats cut.[217]

[213] CA, 3/CT vol. 4/1/3/6. SPCA chairman to town clerk, 17 November 1917, 2.
[214] CA, 3/CT vol. 4/1/3/6. Maitland abattoir manager to town clerk, 'Letter from SPCA', 18 September 1917.
[215] Ibid.
[216] CA, 3/CT vol. 4/1/3/6. Secretary for Agriculture to town clerk, 17 November 1917.
[217] CA, 3/CT vol. 4/1/3/6. Maitland abattoir manager to town clerk, 'Alleged cruelty to animals', 3 December 1917.

'Pithing', he continued, 'not only requires an expert hand but a layout different to that here, e.g., that animals should be driven, not dragged, into the enclosure…and the pither, armed with a long lance, should be on a platform above them'.[218]

The Cape of Good Hope SPCA first supplied slaughterhouses in Cape Town with 'humane killers', a type of captive bolt pistol, in 1923.[219] In 1928 on 1 August there was a demonstration of a new 'mechanical killer' at the Maitland slaughterhouse.[220]

In all cases the animals were bled to death. There is some debate about how long cattle take to die from exsanguination. Where the heart-linked veins and arteries are partially severed, brain death can take minutes, and animals drown rather than lose heart-or brain function. For cattle, in twenty-first century Swedish slaughterhouses cardiac arrest from exsanguination takes an average of five minutes and 45 seconds.[221]

Thereafter cattle were dressed. Skinning cattle while their bodies were strung up onto overhead conveyor rails likely only began in the 1950s, when patents for this method appeared in the United States.[222] Before, cattle were likely skinned on skinning crates, and may have been hoisted onto overhead rails for evisceration. To hoist cattle, an incision is made between the large tendon and the bone above the hock.[223]

We know that cattle were dressed and eviscerated in the Cape slaughterhouses because each map shown above has dressing halls. The exact method of dressing is unknown but sources from elsewhere in the early twentieth century can offer insight into how the process likely occurred.[224]

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[218] Ibid. For a late eighteenth century description of pithing in the Cape, see R. Percival, *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope* (London: C. and R. Baldwin, 1804), 262–263.
[219] Cape Town SPCA Archives, 'Centenary Brochure, landmarks', 1972.
[220] CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. MSC 1928 – 1931. Town clerk to chairman of Markets and Slaughterhouses Committee, 28 July 1928.
[221] J. Jerlström, 'When and What Determines the Death of an Animal? A Study Investigating the Heart Activity during Slaughter of Farm Animals' (Veterinary Medicine Thesis, Swedish University of Agricultural Science, Skara, 2014), 3.
[222] L. Force, G. Moore, and W. Hincks, Process for dressing beef cattle and the like, US Patent 2, 640, 225, issued June 2, 1953.
[223] H. Smith, 'Circular no. 81 - Beef Slaughtering, Cutting, and Curing', *UAES Circulars* 69 (1929), 9.
[224] W. Major, *Practical Butchering: How to Make It Pay* (Kent: William Henry Major, 1900), 68, 111.

Dressing cattle is an integral part of public slaughterhouses' processes.[225] Because it discloses no hint of what the process involves, the term 'dressing' is a concealment and a euphemism. Speculatively, dressing involved some variation of the following aspects.[226] From a cattle perspective, what occurred in these slaughterhouses, deserves to be remembered.

Dressing includes flaying or dehiding, whereby the animal's skin is removed from their body. The cattle's head is usually flayed first, by making an incision from the cattle's poll, behind their ears, down the front of their head, down the centre of their nose, and then down to their mouth, where the incision ends. Another incision is made from the centre of the base of their neck to the centre of their lower jaw. The cattle's head skin is then pulled off. The atlantooccipital joint is then severed, which separates the cattle's head from their body. This is decapitation. Next, an incision is made at the base of the cattle's neck, along their brisket, or breast, along their belly, to the base of their tail. The cattle's fore and hind legs are slit from the knee joints upwards. The cattle's skin is pulled from their limbs, belly, breast, and neck. At some point, the tail is cut off.

After the cattle have been flayed, they are eviscerated. Evisceration means the removal of internal organs, when a deep circle is cut around the cattle's anus and the large intestines are pulled out. On the animal's underbelly, a deep cut is made from the middle of the pubic symphysis to the animal's sternum. Abdominal organs are then pulled out. A cut is made from the sternum to the middle of the cattle's neck, after which diaphragmatic and thoracic organs are removed, including the animal's larynx, trachea, liver, lungs and non-beating heart.

With a saw or an axe, next, the cattle's body is split down the middle into two halves from the cattle's pelvis up to her neck. The cattle's carcass is then sprayed with water, washed, and then dried. After dressing, cattle carcasses were moved to the cooling chamber via an overhead trolley to which their hocks were connected. Here they were kept for days before they were taken away to markets, and replaced by the next batch of cold cattle carcasses.

[225] Schwarz, *Public Abattoirs and Cattle Markets*, 78, 427; Grantham, *A Treatise on the Public Slaughter-Houses*, 48, 52; Ayling, *Public Abattoirs: Their Planning, Design, and Equipment*, 19, 45, 57–58, 7, 85, 92.
[226] Smith, 'Circular no. 81 - Beef Slaughtering, Cutting, and Curing', 8–9.

Some historical sources offer insights into the different aspects of the Maitland slaughterhouse. The next major investigation into the Maitland slaughterhouse was published in the Afrikaans newspaper *Die Burger* in 1931 in an expose based on a 'thorough investigation' entitled 'Verskrikleke Wantoestand in Kaapstad se Slagpale', translated as 'Terrible misery in Cape Town's Abattoirs'.[227] Parts of it are described here because it offers some insight into cattle experiences in the early 1930s. *Die Burger* journalists revealed that when they saw cattle arrive via rail cars from South West Africa, cattle who had been travelling for 'at least six days' were 'lean' from 'the hardships suffered along the way'.[228] It is plausible therefore, the authors implied, that the cattle had lost weight from stress and/or inadequate food and water. Of the 44 kraals, 20 had roofs, and 12 were equipped with some food.[229]

When the journalists asked when the cattle would be slaughtered, they were informed that the first opportunity would arise in perhaps four days' time. In the kraals, the cattle were cramped together 'like sardines in a tin'.[230] Sometimes the cattle were unable to eat because the kraals were too overcrowded. Sheep and cattle were often unable to move at all. Most sheep could drink no water. Some sheep had fallen into the water troughs and died there. There were about 400 cattle and two thousand sheep, 'and one can see that the poor animals are almost dead from thirst but cannot drink'.[231] 'There is no food to speak of', they persisted, 'apart from a few kraals with food troughs, but even there the food shortage is hopeless.'[232] In summary, animals in transit and the kraals were intensively cramped, and hungry and thirsty to the extent that some died. These findings were corroborated by the Animal Welfare Society of South Africa (AWSSA).[233]

The journalists did not discuss 'the actual slaughter… except to say that the system cannot handle slaughtering more than 2 000 sheep per day and a few hundred cattle'.[234] In the

[227] 'Verskrikleke wantoestand in Kaapstad se slagpale'. *Die Burger*. 13 June 1931. Author translation.
[228] *Ibid*.
[229] *Ibid*.
[230] *Ibid*.
[231] *Ibid*.
[232] *Ibid*.
[233] CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. MSC 1928 – 1931. Minutes, 6 June 1931.
[234] 'Kaapstad se slagpale'. *Die Burger*, 1931.

previous month 30 000 sheep and 4 000 cattle were slaughtered, or 2.24 animals per minute at 31, eight-hour working days. Of the dressing hall, they wrote '[e]verywhere you go, it is dirty and horrible'.[235] The cooling halls were 'filthy', butchers' aprons had probably never been washed, and were grease-black, and there were 'millions of flies.' Animals' hinds were thrown over workers' shoulders and carried from one place to another. They noted that: 'If the Cape Town housewives visited these slaughterhouses, they would probably never eat meat again'.[236] The following week *Die Burger* published a follow-up article that quoted Mr Wolfe Davis of Imperial Cold Storage saying that the expose was 'totally true'.[237]

Two months later the Acting Secretary for Public Health requested a full report on the allegations that conditions were 'extremely unsanitary and inhumane' and that 'buildings and pens were entirely inadequate'.[238] The manager and veterinary officer penned a response report, largely downplaying the expose but providing some details relevant to our purposes. On average four trains arrived daily with 200 cattle and 1 000 sheep. Kraals were 'as clean as possible' and water troughs cleaned 'twice weekly'. Insufficient kraal accommodation occurred 'periodically'.[239] He closed by noting that he would welcome a thorough investigation by a public health official.[240] In this way health, veterinary and agricultural departments were all connected to this issue.

In 1933 a remarkable newspaper article offered an extremely rare, descriptive account of the methods of slaughter across South Africa at the time.[241] Mr N. Harris addressed an audience, mostly comprised of women, the newspaper noted, at the SPCA's annual general meeting. He noted that most of the SPCA's work had been done by women 'as the men were no good for this sort of job'. The participation of women coheres with RSPCA work done in Britain from the early nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, whose prominent patronesses and leaders and toiling rank and file members, despite initial prejudice against them, were often women

[235] *Ibid*.
[236] *Ibid*.
[237] 'Stedelike slagpale'. *Die Burger*. 16 June 1931.
[238] CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. MSC 1928 – 1931. Minutes, 11 August 1931.
[239] CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. MSC 1928 – 1931. Manager and veterinary officer to town clerk, 'Report on Die Burger article', 8 August 1931.
[240] Ibid.
[241] 'Horrors of the Abattoirs: Mr Harris addresses Uitenhage SPCA, humane shooting pens must be introduced', *Eastern Province Herald*, 18 April, 1933.

who were moved by the plight of animals.[242] Mr Harris' topic was slaughter methods at slaughterhouses, and was informed by SPCA investigations in Johannesburg, Pretoria, East London, Durban, and Port Elizabeth.[243] He noted that the predominant method of compelling cattle into slaughter hall was via 'lashing' and 'dragging by steel chains' on the 'final torturing drag' to the 'ring bolted floor' of the slaughter halls. He had seen slaughter men take 'ten minutes to slaughter an ox, which [sic] was dragged inch by inch, with chains round its [sic] horns, boys [sic] tugging and others goading, through a spectacle of blood before it was dragged down to the iron ring and killed in front of the eyes of the beasts going to be killed afterwards.'[244] He offered an extremely rare description of the pithing system, noting that 'the slaughter man drove his javelin… into a bullock's neck just below the brain.'

The process involved a large horned mammal in a state of foreboding and acute distress being forced to hold still while a javelin was aimed at her cerebellum. It was unlikely that the pither would be able to perfectly aim and then thrust his javelin into her hindbrain, on his first attempt. Little wonder that the AWSSA would later refer to pithing and poleaxing as the 'old hit-or-miss' method.[245] 'Frequently,' he persisted, 'several animals were killed at once by this method and after the first beast was dispatched there was a frantic effort on the part of the remaining animals to escape'.[246] As regards religious slaughter methods he noted that it 'involved all the hounding and dragging' and 'sometimes it took ten minutes to bring a beast to its [sic] death.' He spoke further of the kraals and passages to slaughter halls being like a type of 'Chinese puzzle' through which cattle were dragged and that they, cattle, frequently charged at the iron railings.[247] The picture from cattle's perspectives is one of confusion, disorientation, contagious fear, heavy beatings, chained horns, and javelins thrust at moving cerebellums.

Legislation sought to circumscribe some of these methods and practices. The next major shift in slaughterhouse development, from a cattle perspective, occurred with the passing of the

[242] A. Moss, *Valiant Crusade: The history of the RSPCA* (Cassell: London, 1961). 24, 29, 36–37, 43,44.
[243] 'Horrors of the Abattoirs', *Eastern Province Herald*, 1933.
[244] *Ibid*.
[245] The Animal Welfare Society of South Africa, *Humane Slaughter and Model Abattoirs: With Special Reference to the Slaughter of Animals Act, 1934* (Cape Town: Cape Times Limited, 1934), 10.
[246] 'Horrors of the Abattoirs', *Eastern Province Herald*, 1933.
[247] *Ibid*.

national Animal Slaughter Act of 1934, and the South African Animal Welfare Society's publication of a Model Abattoir Design brochure to accompany the new Act's prescriptions.
As early as 1915 the SPCA started to pressurise the slaughterhouse committee in Cape Town to change animal slaughter methods and how animals were treated.[248] For the next two decades, various groups exerted further pressure on local authorities because they were moved by what they recognised as cruel treatments of animals in slaughterhouses. Even a cohort of five butchers in East London wrote to the mayor and councillors requesting that their slaughterhouse be redesigned and built so that they could butcher animals under 'humane and hygienic conditions'.[249] By 1926 the Cape Provincial secretary approved Slaughterhouse Regulation no. 233 with clauses stating vaguely and loosely that animals should be 'securely fastened, so as to enable such animal to be felled with as little pain or suffering as practicable' and that 'slaughtering… instruments and appliances' should be chosen to inflict as 'little pain and suffering as practicable'.[250]

No efforts for regulating animal slaughter and diminishing the individual harms animals endured during slaughter in South Africa were as impactful as one woman's, Edith Muriel Anderson. Edith Anderson lived in South Africa for six months in 1928, when her husband, who was vice-admiral of the British Royal Navy, was stationed as Britain's high commissioner to South Africa.[251] While in South Africa Edith Anderson started the Animal Welfare Society of South Africa.[252] In 1934, at least 15 of the society's 39-member council were women.[253] Its patrons comprised a diverse group, including the Mayor of Cape Town, the Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church, Earls and Countesses from Britain, the Royal Australian Navy's vice-admiral, and a bishop.[254] It seems plausible that on some level, emotions may have played a role in driving such people to lobby for legal changes to less violent slaughter practices.

[248] CA, 1/4/7/3/1/2 MSC 1915 – 1916. Minutes, 16 August 1916.
[249] CA, 3/ELN. 259. Investigations at abattoir. East London butchers to Mayor. 14 February 1923.
[250] CA, 1/4/7/3/1/10 MSC index 1926 – 1927. Minutes, 14 December 1926.
[251] D. Clune, 'Anderson, Sir David Murray', in D. Clune and K. Turner (eds.), *The Governors of New South Wales, 1788- 2010* (Sydney: The Federation Press, 2009), 507.
[252] CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. MSC 1928 – 1931. Chairman of slaughterhouse committee to slaughterhouse committee, 19 March 1931. Compare this claim to Animal Welfare Society of South Africa, *Special Edition, 90 Years, 1929 to 2019* (Cape Town, 2019), 4, which dates the Society's beginning from 1929.
[253] The Animal Welfare Society of South Africa, *Humane Slaughter and Model Abattoirs: With Special Reference to the Slaughter of Animals Act, 1934* (Cape Times Limited: Cape Town, 1934).
[254] *Ibid*.

Edith Anderson was aggrieved at the suffering animals experienced during slaughter, and lobbied for a law to make mechanical killer use compulsory in South African slaughterhouses, so that animals would be rendered insensible before being exsanguinated. At a Joint Slaughterhouses Committee meeting, the chairman described her efforts as a 'tremendous agitation'.[255] The AWSSA, under Edith Anderson, he said, urged the use of 'mechanical killers for every form of slaughtering'.[256] Legislation was drafted to the effect that slaughtermen had to apply for certificates if they wanted to be exempted from using mechanical killers. It was gazetted on 28 September 1928 as Government Notice no. 417 1928.[257] Thereafter, certificates had to be acquired to slaughter according to religious rites. 80% of animals were killed via the non-stunning Mohammedan method in the Cape in 1928.[258] In February 1930, of the 3 070 animals slaughtered at Maitland, 15.12% were slaughtered by the Halal method, 16.71% were Kosher, 2.93% were Kosher Treif, and 65.24% were slaughtered by a mechanical killer.[259]

In 1930 there were 1 326 186 cattle in the Cape province.[260] 18 874 cattle were slaughtered in the Cape in 1930.[261] Assuming that the cattle slaughtered in the Cape in 1930 were slaughtered by mechanical killer at the same proportion as those slaughtered at Maitland (65.24%), implies that in 1930 alone Edith Anderson's intervention would have affected the slaughter experiences of 12 313 cattle in the Cape.[262] Assuming further that from cattle's perspectives it is experientially preferable to be rendered insensible by a mechanical killer, the collective qualitative shift for cattle's experiences of slaughter was considerable.

Achieved in less than six months, Edith Anderson's institutionalised animal welfare impact regarding slaughter methods was at this point likely the most significant of at least the past 277 years. Her friends in London paid 'tribute to the social genius and delightful personality

[255] CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. MSC 1928 – 1931. Chairman of slaughterhouse committee to slaughterhouse committee, 19 March 1931.
[256] Ibid.
[257] Ibid.
[258] CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. MSC 1928 – 1931. Memorandum of interview between Mayor, Councillors and Mohammedan butchers, 5 June 1929.
[259] CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. Chairman to slaughterhouse committee, 19 March 1931.
[260] Union of South Africa, *Report of the Agricultural and Pastoral Production* (Pretoria: Government Printers, 1930), 51.
[261] *Ibid*, 64.
[262] 18 874 ÷ 100 x 65.24 = 12 313.

of Lady Anderson, who [gave] her energy and enthusiasm lavishly in social welfare work.'[263] No secondary sources mention her contributions to animal welfare in South Africa.

For individual cattle, the law may well have improved their experiences of slaughterhouses to some extent. But there is a tragic irony in that acting to improve animals' welfare, the AWSSA had to design and promote mass slaughter equipment. Temple Grandin is perhaps the person who has done the most to alter slaughterhouse designs to reduce the extent of anxiety and injuries for animals. Her contributions included designing curved cattle corrals, diagonal pens, and slaughterhouse welfare metrics. She designed a third of all the 'livestock-handling facilities' in the United States by the early twenty-first century, and published over 60 texts related to animal behaviour.[264] The 2010 'Times 100' list distinguished her as one of the most influential people in the world, and listed her in the 'Heroes' category.[265] Temple Grandin revealed the deep irony of compassion-driven slaughterhouse design when she once noted that:

> People always wonder how I can work in meatpacking when I love animals so much. I've thought about this a lot. After I developed my center-track restraining system, I remember looking out over the cattle yard at the hundreds and hundreds of animals milling around in their corrals. I was upset that I had just designed a really efficient slaughter plant. Cows are the animals I love best.[266]

It does seem hard to reconcile a conception of love that is compatible with mass slaughter design. And yet, while normalising mass slaughter, for individual cattle there were arguably some experiential improvements. At an abstract level, there may have been a different impact for cattle as individuals and cattle as a group. As a group, more efficient mechanical killing can enable an upscaling of slaughter capacity and thus increase the number of cattle killed. For example, whereas 653 804 cattle were slaughtered in South Africa 1939, 1 178 215 cattle were slaughtered in 1950.[267] During the same period, the number of pigs slaughtered increased from 286 864 to 820 606, while the number of sheep slaughtered peaked at

[263] *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 November 1935.
[264] C. Wolfe, *What Is Posthumanism?* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 128.
[265] M. Hauser, 'Temple Grandin', *Time*, 29 April, 2010.
[266] T. Grandin and C. Johnson, *Animals in Translation: Using the Mysteries of Autism to Decode Animal Behaviour* (New York: Scribner, 2005), 307.
[267] Meat Industries Control Board, *Annual Report Livestock and Meat Industries Control Board 1951*, 1.

4 622 989 in 1942.[268] The claim is not that the improved slaughter designs alone increased the rate of slaughter in South Africa but rather that increased slaughter capacities occurred in wake of the new slaughter methods.

The AWSSA visited the mayor of Cape Town and the chairman of the Slaughterhouses Committee in 1930.[269] They lobbied for animals to be driven in single file to the slaughter halls. They lobbied for better food and water for animals waiting in kraals (before *Die Burger* expose). They argued for the compulsory 'humane' casting pens (cattle crushes) where animals would be stunned pre-slaughter, pens, they argued, that were in use in London and Birkenhead. The AWSSA also monitored closely the percentage of animals killed by the various methods.[270]

A new more developed Humane Animal Slaughter Bill was drafted and went through various readings and amendments in the House of Assembly (lower parliament) and Senate (upper house of parliament) over the next six years.[271] In 1931, after a reading by Senate, the word 'humane' was dropped.[272] Perhaps the word humane, with denotations of compassion and benevolence was logically regarded as incompatible with animal slaughter, mechanical killer or no. By 1934 a law regulating the slaughter of animals was passed in the national Senate, entitled 'Act to Provide for the method of slaughter of certain animals and for matters relating thereto, no.26, 1934'.[273] The Act aimed to reduce two main forms of cruelty. First, the pithing and poleaxing methods of stunning animals, which relied on human 'muscular energy' and, second, dragging cattle to a ring fixed to the slaughterhouse floor, to which they were then chained pre-slaughter.[274]

The Act blocked any animal slaughter which depended on 'human muscular energy', so that mechanical killers (depicted below) became prescribed. This meant that pithing and poleaxing

[268] Ibid.
[269] CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. MSC 1928 – 1931. Minutes, 11 March 1930.
[270] CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. MSC 1928 – 1931. Minutes, 10 February 1931.
[271] CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. MSC 1928 – 1931.
[272] CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. MSC 1928 – 1931. Minutes, 9 June 1931.
[273] Union of South Africa, *Slaughter of Animals Act, no. 26, 1934*, (1934).
[274] Union of South Africa, *Slaughter of Animals Act, no. 26, 1934*; The Animal Welfare Society of South Africa, *Humane Slaughter and Model Abattoirs*, 1–2.

was no longer permitted. Further, all slaughterhouses that killed more than fifty bovines per month had to ensure that animals were killed in a 'casting pen' (depicted below), i.e., not while being chained or tied to a bolt in the floor, and that animals had to be driven in a single file to the killing pen via a 'race'. Certificates to kill animals without stunning, as per religious rites, had to be acquired from local authorities. Slaughterhouses using such methods and where more than fifty animals were killed in a month, had to be killed in a casting pen or a stunning pen.

In the same year, the AWSS published a brochure *Humane slaughter and model abattoirs: with special reference to the Slaughter of Animals Act, 1934* (1934) illustrating and advertising different mechanical killers and different casting pens, as well as large and small 'model' slaughterhouse designs. Their aim was to inform the design of new slaughterhouses and adjustments to extant ones to comply with the new regulation.

Image 4.18. Mechanical killers and illustrated killing pens

Source: The Animal Welfare Society of South Africa, *Humane Slaughter and Model Abattoirs: With Special Reference to the Slaughter of Animals Act, 1934* (Cape Town: Cape Times Limited, 1934), 11.

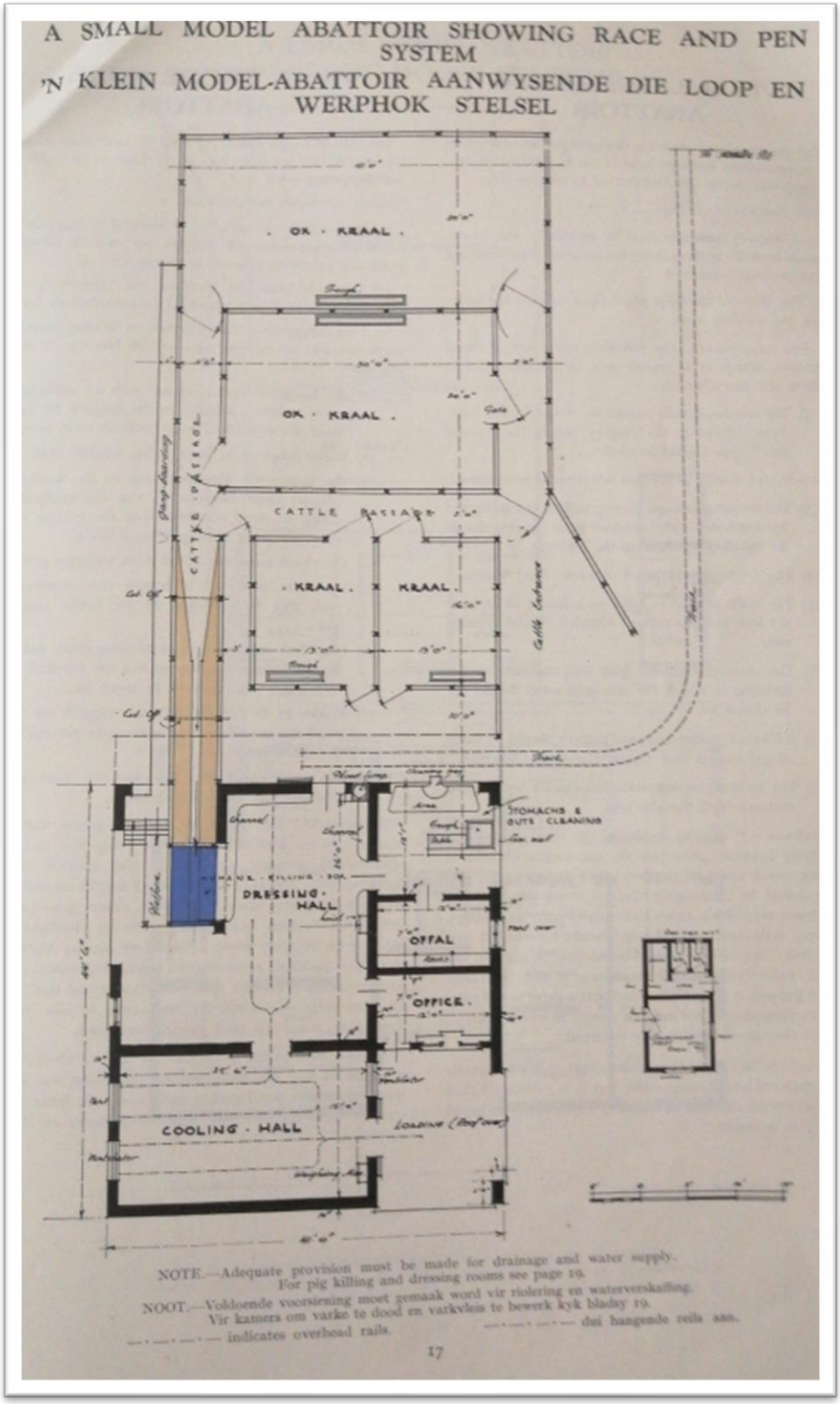
The image above shows four different mechanical killers that the AWSSA recommended so that slaughter men could abide by the law's injunction to kill without human muscle power.

These instruments were available in main cities across the country. The image of the cattle head depicts where on cattle's heads the mechanical killer should aim to destroy consciousness. The bottom, model depiction, shows the 'race'. The race is the long column running from left to right across which cattle were compelled to proceed in single file towards the casting pen. The object of the casting pen, or cattle crush, was to trap the cattle so that they could be stunned while standing upright, by means of the mechanical killer, as the AWSSA put it 'instead of having its [sic] head forcibly dragged down to a ring in the blood-soaked floor of the slaughter hall'.[275]

The AWSSA was naively optimistic about the function of the casting pen and its impact on cattle welfare. They imagined that once in the pen 'confined in a small space and unaware of its fate, the animal stands quietly'.[276] But of course those in the race could still hear the bang of the mechanical killer and the loud thud as their kin and/or fellows in the line before they collapsed onto the floor. We now know that cattle communicate emotional valences to each other with vocalisations and can perceive stress in each other's urine, stress which functions as an emotional contagion. Especially when paired with captive bolt pistol stunning, there is scant reasonable doubt that the race and pen system comprised a significant experiential improvement for cattle as they met their end, but it was only a paucity of knowledge about cattle's experiential capacities at the time that permitted the inference that cattle were unaware of their fate.

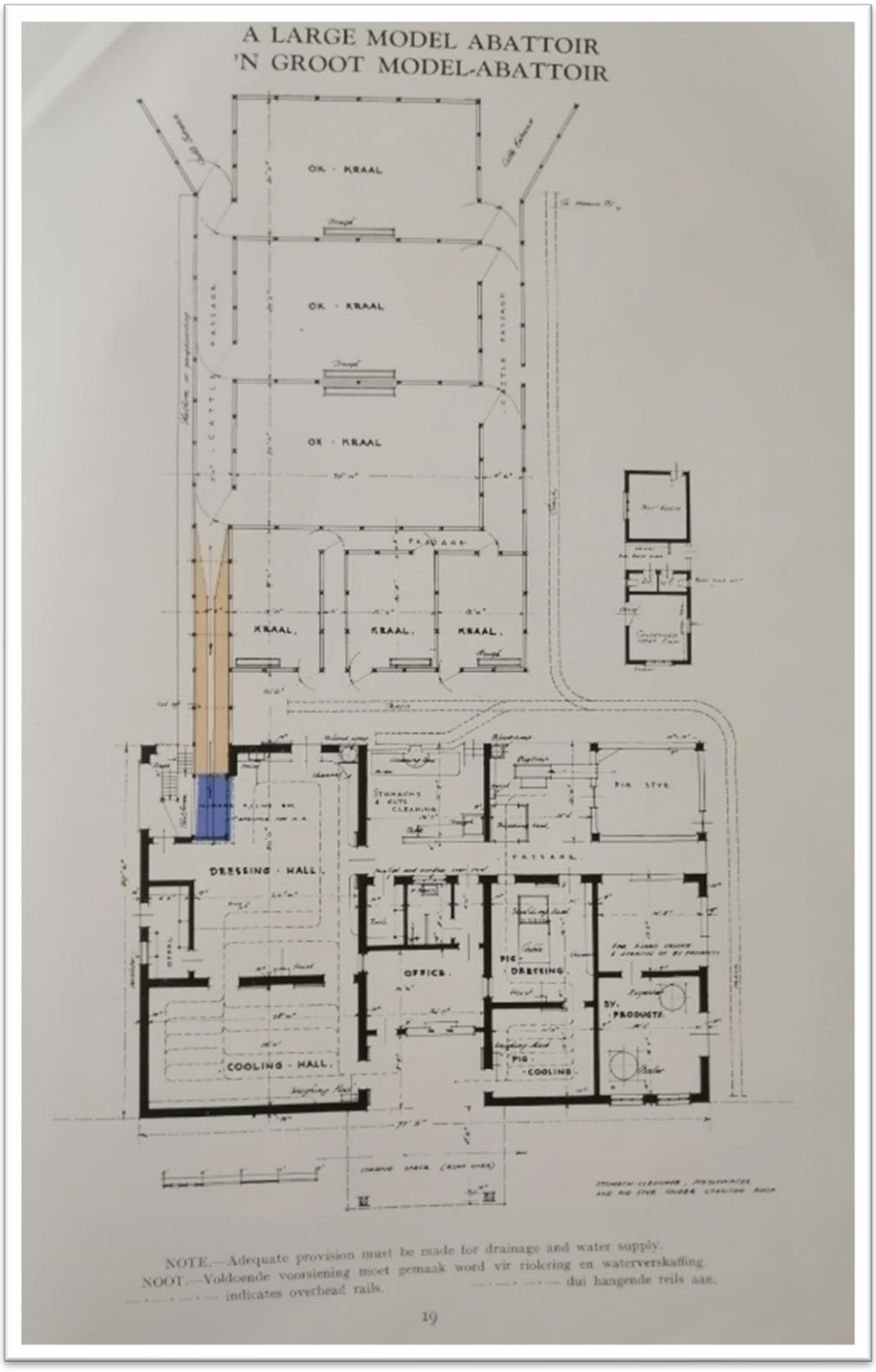
[275] The Animal Welfare Society of South Africa, *Humane Slaughter and Model Abattoirs*, 8.
[276] *Ibid*.

Image 4.19. Small 'model' abattoir design



Source: The Animal Welfare Society of South Africa, *Humane Slaughter and Model Abattoirs*, 17.

Image 4.20. Large 'model' slaughterhouse design

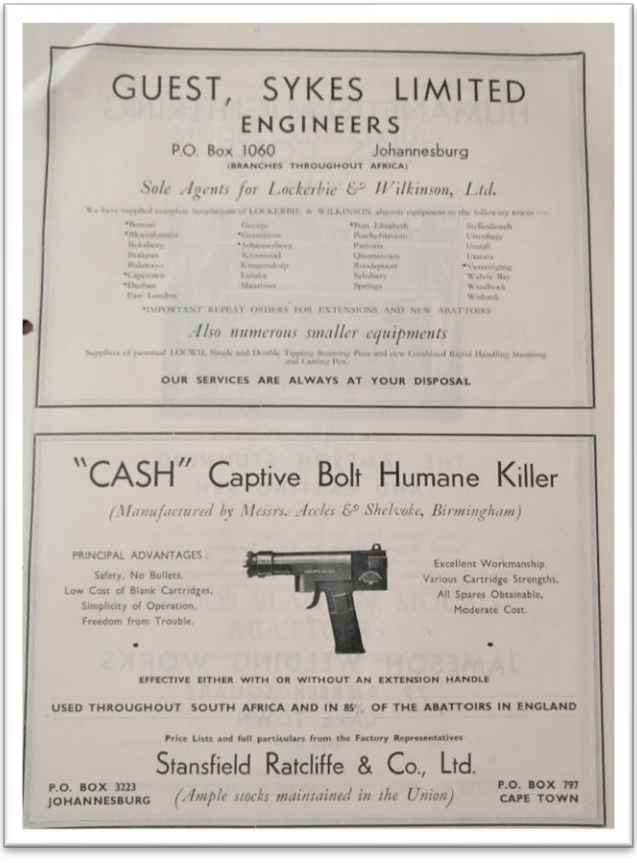


Source: The Animal Welfare Society of South Africa, *Humane Slaughter and Model Abattoirs*, 19.

The small and large slaughterhouse plans above show how the 'race' and the 'casting pen' could be added to extant slaughterhouses to abide by the Act's prescription of their use. The race is depicted in yellow and the casting pen in blue – it is positioned between the kraals and the dressing hall. The drawings were produced by the Dutch-trained Cape Town City engineer Fred Bongers who had designed the Maitland extensions in 1928.[277] Other aspects of the new design resembled existing kraals, in particular the numerous gates and turns through which cattle had to pass.

The AWSSA also advertised in their brochure two suppliers of casting pens, and four suppliers of mechanical killers.

Image 4.21. Mechanical killer and casting pen advertisements



Source: The Animal Welfare Society of South Africa, *Humane Slaughter and Model Abattoirs*, i.

[277] *Ibid*, 4.

The AWSSA promoted two types of mechanical killers. The one was a captive bolt pistol, which fired a 2.5-to-3-inch bolt into the animal's skull. The bolt stayed connected to the weapon and was withdrawn after penetrating the animal's brain. The weapons, the Temple-Cox, Shermer, and Cash pistols had to be wiped after use. [278] The other method involved a free bullet pistol which was not dissimilar to a handgun. Both types of mechanical killers were to remove 'human muscular energy' on which pithing and poleaxing depended.[279]

Image 4.22. Casting pens for religious slaughter, advertisement

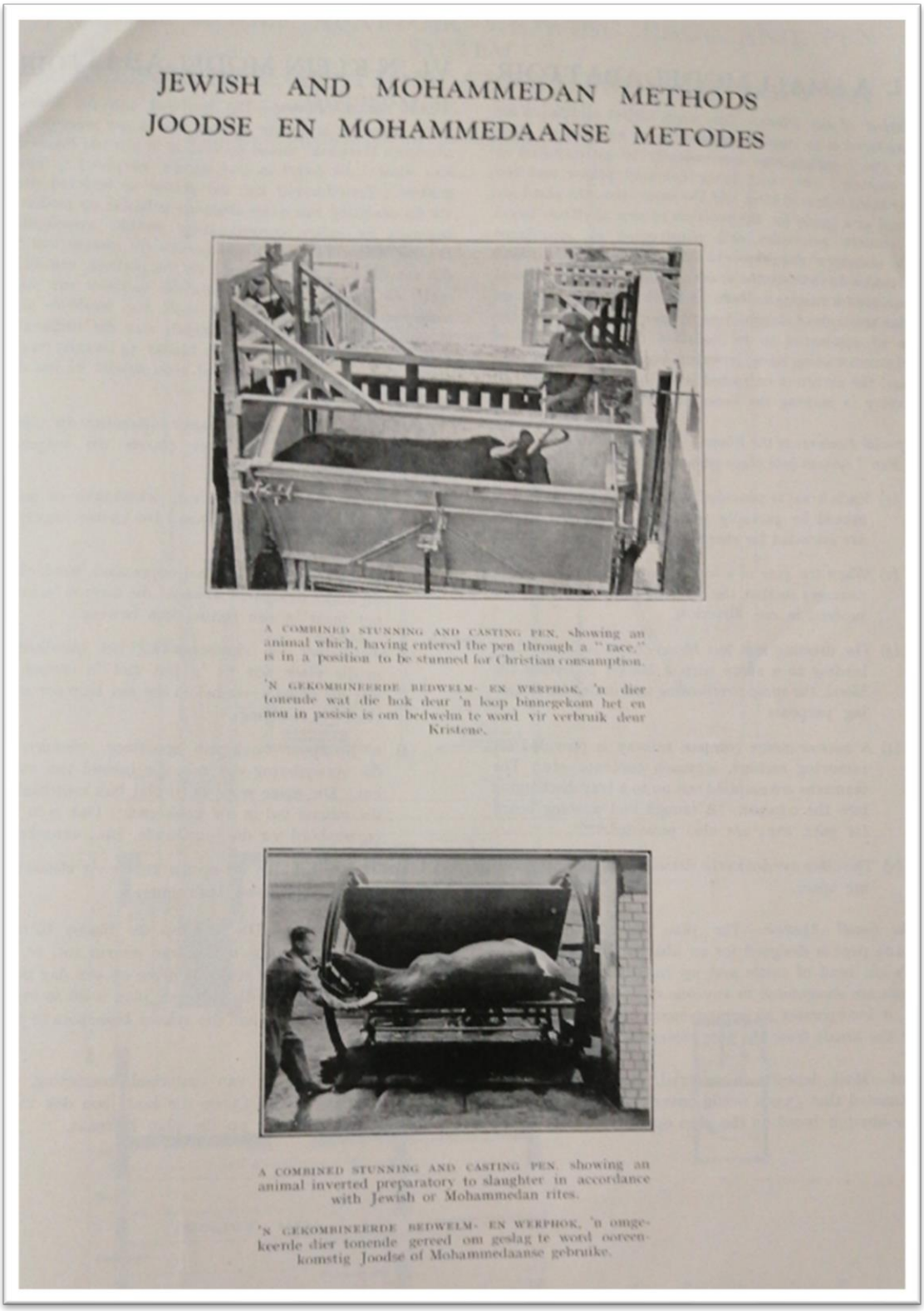
Source: The Animal Welfare Society of South Africa, *Humane Slaughter and Model Abattoirs*, iii.

[278] *Ibid,* 10.
[279] *Ibid*.

The Act radically limited the employment of halal and kosher slaughter methods to those strictly 'necessary', by compelling slaughter men to apply for exemption certificates to slaughter without stunning. These methods prescribed, according to religious authorities at the time, that the animal had to be on their backs, with their necks exposed and extended upwards, and that stunning before exsanguination was forbidden. In the House of Assembly, in 1930, when these methods were discussed, a representative noted in parliament that 'the Jewish community is prepared to go to any expense to improve the method of casting'.[280] An Islamic representative, Dr Abdurahman, noted that the 'Mohammedan community would welcome any action that would make slaughtering more merciful …if it did not infringe on their religion'.[281] The Act stipulated that in slaughterhouses where more than fifty animals were slaughtered monthly, a race and an approved casting pen were obligatory. The AWSSA's model pen is shown below.

[280] *Ibid*, 14.
[281] *Ibid*, 20.

Image 4.23. Casting pen for kosher and halal slaughter



JEWISH AND MOHAMMEDAN METHODS
JOODSE EN MOHAMMEDAANSE METODES

A COMBINED STUNNING AND CASTING PEN, showing an animal which, having entered the pen through a "race," is in a position to be stunned for Christian consumption.

'N GEKOMBINEERDE BEDWELM- EN WERPHOK, 'n dier tonende wat die hok deur 'n loop binnegekom het en nou in posisie is om bedwelm te word vir verbruik deur Kristene.

A COMBINED STUNNING AND CASTING PEN, showing an animal inverted preparatory to slaughter in accordance with Jewish or Mohammedan rites.

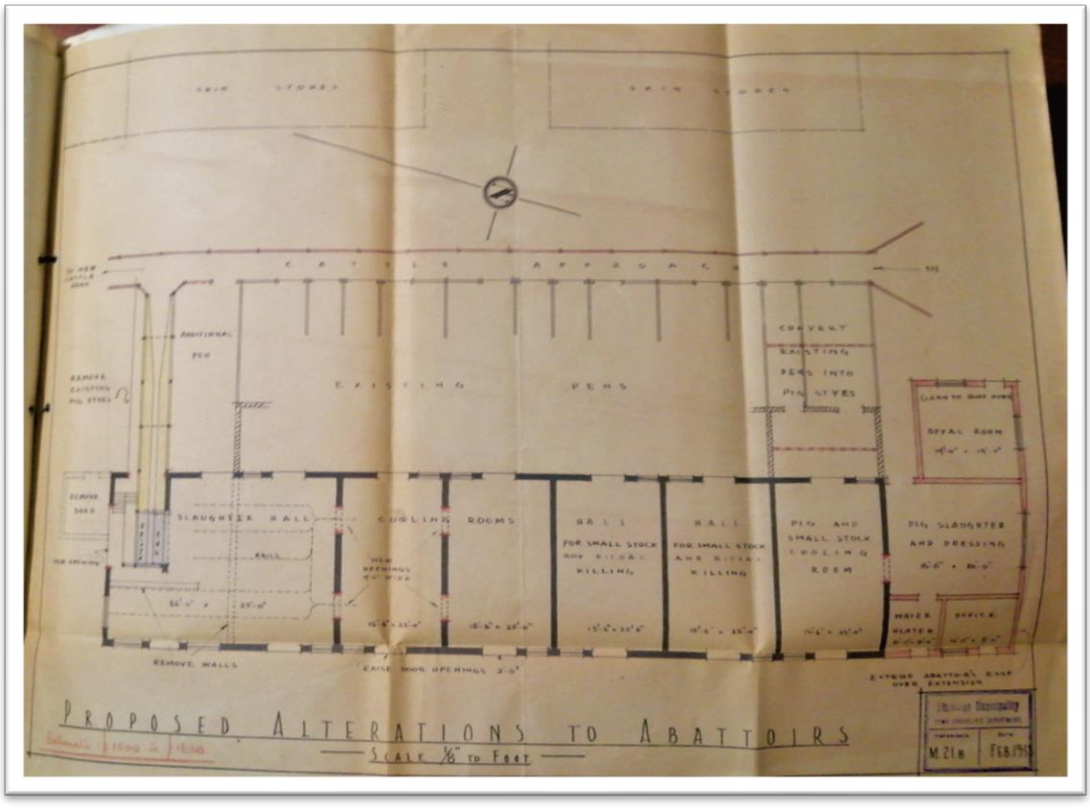
'N GEKOMBINEERDE BEDWELM- EN WERPHOK, 'n omgekeerde dier tonende gereed om geslag te word ooreenkomstig Joodse of Mohammedaanse gebruike.

Source: The Animal Welfare Society of South Africa, *Humane Slaughter and Model Abattoirs,* 15.

The animal is trapped in the pen (first image top) and then rotated onto his or her back (second image bottom), at which point the animal's throat is slit and is exsanguinated.

The law started to take effect on 1 January 1935. Thereafter slaughterhouses had to employ races and casting pens, mechanical killers became compulsory, and exemption certificates for religious slaughter had to be obtained from magistrates or local authorities. For illustration, consider the case of the Uitenhage public slaughterhouse. It was designed after the Act and built using the AWSSA' recommendations. The chief sanitary inspector wrote to the Town Clerk noting that the Uitenhage slaughterhouse had been re-designed with alterations in line with the requirements of the Act, and included the use of a Jameson Capture Casting Pen (refer to image 4.24).[282]

Image 4.24. Uitenhage proposed slaughterhouse alteration design, 1935



Source: CA, 3/UIT. 4/1/121. Abattoirs. Chief sanitary inspector to town clerk, 'Proposed new abattoirs', 25 February 1935.

[282] CA, 3/UIT. 4/1/121. Chief sanitary inspector to town clerk, 'Proposed new abattoirs', 25 February 1935.

On the far left, see the yellow race, and the blue casting pen where animals were to be slaughtered by mechanical killers. The following month alterations to include the pen and race were approved by the health committee.[283] The law, as this case suggests, began to take effect.

Conclusion

The chapter traced the emergence of an animal flesh market set up by the VOC to provision ships. It drew on zooarchaeological evidence and VOC documents to periodise the development of animal flesh production in the Cape. A core motive of Dutch colonialism in the Cape was to breed, kill, and sell cattle to VOC ships. It showed that with respect to animal slaughter, Dutch and British colonialism differed in that the latter was more regulated and formalised. Social pressures, expressed in local newspapers, the Shambles' proximity to the military and trading buildings, and a targeted civil court case, eventually saw the Shambles close down in the late nineteenth century. State-building processes deepened around this time. Often connected to health and sanitary concerns, specific legislation sought to regulate animal slaughter and conferred to municipalities the power to construct and manage state slaughterhouses. At the turn of the century, two major factors enabled the emergence of mass, industrialised slaughter: the war contracts, and the mine compound contracts. Huge sums of capital were injected into monopolistic animal flesh firms. In the Cape, state-building processes in the early twentieth century saw diverse arms of state, including veterinary officers, health officers, engineers, town clerks, municipal leaders, and the railway department work in concert to develop a centralised, state-run slaughterhouse for the Cape peninsula. In 1906 a Joint Slaughterhouse Committee emerged in Cape Town. It was intersectoral and specifically tasked to develop and manage slaughterhouses. The minutes and correspondence of this board were used extensively to analyse the development of industrial slaughter in the Cape. The chapter argued that centralised slaughterhouses were modelled on slaughterhouses in England, and that the human capital on which their development depended came from there. To depict the likely impact of slaughterhouses on

[283] CA, 3/UIT. 4/1/121. Extract from Report of the Health Committee, 4 March 1935.

cattle's experiences, the Committee's correspondence and minutes were interpreted alongside architectural designs of slaughterhouses and contemporary SPCA and journalist investigations into slaughterhouses. Cattle's experiences were clearly shaped by changing social and political contexts. The chapter examined how animal welfare campaigners lobbied for legislation to improve the methods and ways in which animal slaughter occurred. It showed that by reading official reports and correspondence against the grain, what emerges is that numerous arms of state – including health, veterinary, and agricultural departments – were responsive to concerns about the ways in which cattle were slaughtered. The chapter comprised the first history of slaughterhouses in southern Africa from an animal perspective.